THE AYMARA OF CHUCUITO, PERU

1. MAGIC

HARRY TSCHOPIK, JR.

VOLUME 44 : PART 2
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK : 1951

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HARRY TSCHOPIK, JR.

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FOREWORD: DATA AND INFORMANTS

THE PRESENT STUDY is the first of a projected series of reports describing the culture of the Aymara Indians of Chucuito, a small village situated in Puno Department in the southern highlands of Peru. In but slightly altered form, and under the title of "The function of magic in an Aymara Indian community," this study was submitted as my doctoral dissertation at Harvard University in 1950.

During the period of my field studies among the Aymara, my wife and I resided in Chucuito for approximately two and a half years, from March, 1940, to June, 1942. The following year, after we had changed our residence to Arequipa, I revisited Chucuito about once a month; in addition, during this interval, I employed my interpreter, Clemente Cutimbo, full time to collect case histories, autobiographies, and other materials.

Clemente was a young Mestizo, born and brought up in the village. He served as interpreter, advisor, field assistant, and friend throughout the field studies. He was always willing, intelligent, honest, and hard-working; such was his interest in the investigation that, had he lived, he might have become an anthropologist himself. It was in large part owing to his sympathetic attitude towards the Aymara and to his genuine friendliness with a number of them, that much of the material in the present report was obtained. Not only did he speak fluent Aymara, but, as a scribe in the local court, he had invented a system of notation that enabled him to record the proceedings in that language more or less verbatim. Such records were later dictated to me, and I transcribed them as phonemic texts.[1]

The house my wife and I occupied during the field studies was, for Chucuito, a fairly pretentious affair. It was situated on one of the main streets of the village near the Plaza de Armas and was owned by a local Mestizo. Our household staff consisted of a Mestiza cook, her two children, and an Aymara house boy (Informant 9). These details are mentioned because they, along with the fact that I owned an automobile, dressed like a gringo, spoke Spanish (and, unfortunately, very little Aymara), and maintained a style of living beyond the means of the average Indian, established us as Mestizos. In Chucuito, you are either an Indian or a Mestizo; you must be one or the other, because Chucuiteños have no techniques for dealing with anyone outside of this two-fold classification. Our identification as Mestizos on cultural grounds by the local people affected the field-work very profoundly; from the start it determined my role as observer and limited the types of social relationships available to me for the duration of my stay in the community. It is important, therefore, that my role in the field studies be understood, since so many things were to depend upon it. I can best describe it, I think, by quoting what I wrote in my field journal during a moment of introspection:

> In spite of the fact that I am a Mestizo for all practical purposes, I have to remain impartial in the matter of Indian-Mestizo relationships. The Indians (with certain exceptions) dislike and distrust the Mestizos, and they as a class look down upon the Indians and rather resent the fact that we take up space in our truck by allowing them to ride in to market with us. Openly we cannot afford to take sides with either group.
>
> Because we have a car, better clothes, a higher standard of living, and more money (apparently) than anyone else in town, we have access to all houses in Chucuito from that of the *Gobernador* or the *Alcalde* down to the hut of the poorest Indian. Since I am considered a "man of learning," I am more or less respected by all.
>
> There are important difficulties, however, that prevent me from becoming truly friendly with the Indians; and these arise mainly from the rigid social structure of the community. For years the Indians have been unaccustomed to meeting "whites" on a friendly basis and have separate patterns and attitudes for dealing with them. The Indians always meet the Mestizo on an inferior plane, for they are the tenant farmers, the laborers, or the household servants, while the Mestizos are the landed gentry. Whenever I enter an Indian's house, a poncho is produced for me (also for Clemente) to sit on. Indians of both sexes always tip their hats to us and step aside to let us pass them in the street. Their servile attitude is even worse when they are drunk. If I ask them into the house for drinks during a fiesta, they kneel and kiss my hand when departing.
>
> I have done my best to promote the good will of the Indians. During fiestas I ask them in for alcohol and pisco. I give them cigarettes frequently and some small payment (usually twenty *centavos*) for a morning's or afternoon's work. Whenever I take a photograph I always give them a print. I offer medical assistance on all occasions, and transportation to and from Puno.

[1] For the phonemic system of Aymara, see La Barre, 1948, 8; Tschopik, H., Jr., 1948a, 108.

But what have I accomplished? I feel that I am as friendly as the structure will allow with a number of Indian families and they seem spontaneously glad to see me. But I must make all the overtures, for they would not consider over-stepping the traditional bounds and presuming to such an extent. Except in certain specific and patterned situations I will never be asked to eat in an Indian's house and I will never be called by kinship terms; it is certain that no Aymara will ever dare to joke with me. It seems to me, therefore, that the best policy (after all, it is the only one available to me) is to make the most of my established role with reference to the Indians—that of a gifted, friendly, and very strangely behaved outsider. But I will always be an outsider to them; I can never hope to achieve a relationship on a basis of equality, or the intimacy of true friendship.

It should be clear, therefore, that the method of participant-observer was, to a very large extent, ruled out. In such a rigidly structured society behavior is highly symbolic of "class"; had I attempted to help an Indian to thatch his house or to weed his potato field I would have appeared equally ridiculous to the Mestizos and the Aymara. Indeed our house boy was acutely embarrassed if my wife even attempted to carry her own market basket!

Field methods, consequently, were reduced to simple observation and to formal interview. From the start I took notes openly and on the spot and encountered virtually no resistance on this score. All informants were highly suspicious at first and invariably wanted to know why I was interested in their activities. They feared that I was a government official, a tax collector, or an army recruiter. One man said,

I don't know what you are, but you must want something. I don't know anything and I don't have anything. Now go away and don't bother me.

Repeated explanations that I was writing a book about the Aymara so that people in the United States would know how they lived finally seemed to satisfy them. Word eventually got around (via the house boy) that I was slightly mad, but harmless, and that I *was* writing a book.

Interviews were conducted for the most part in the informant's house or patio, where everything that appeared to be of any ethnographic consequence was noted down. When the precise wording of some statement seemed desirable, Clemente recorded it in text. It was in this manner that the various prayers and incantations presented in the following pages were collected. During interviews the informant was always allowed to ramble on at his own pace, no matter how far afield he strayed, and specific questions were asked only when he had stopped. On nearly all subjects save sorcery, informants appeared to talk with a minimum of reticence after their initial suspicions had been quelled. The Indians soon learned that they could criticize Mestizos before us with impunity and did so at length and with great relish. Indeed, most informants seemed to enjoy the interviews thoroughly, since the situation gave them an opportunity to air grievances and to "let off steam." No matter how they began, interviews seemed to turn, sooner or later, to personalities. Most of the Indians, once they had recovered from the shock of learning that their personal affairs were actually of interest to me, appeared somewhat flattered by the attention. On the whole, except for their suspicion, their pessimism, and their general apathy, which I found depressing and sometimes irritating, the Chucuito Aymara were patient, and moderately truthful, informants.

During the field studies in Chucuito I worked, at one time or another, with a total of 113 informants. It should be obvious that I never got to know them all equally well; some were interviewed repeatedly and on a wide variety of subjects, while others were rarely consulted, and usually for some specific purpose. Informants ranged from children to old people and represented all economic levels in the village. Each informant was assigned a number. These numbers are employed consistently throughout the present report and will be so used in all future studies relating to the Chucuito Aymara. In some instances in the following pages, where a more vivid presentation seemed desirable, this technique of reference was abandoned in favor of the informant's actual name.

In the present report, 47 informants are quoted or cited. These include individuals of both sexes ranging in age from putatively 90 to 12. Most informants, it will be noted, fall between 20 and 40 years of age. Since the Aymara rarely knows his exact age, however, these figures are in many cases approximate. Although it is not possible to characterize each of these individuals, even briefly, short personality sketches of several magicians are included in the body of the report (see pp.

291–294). Except where ayllu affiliation has been noted, the informants were residents of Chucuito village proper.

The Chucuito informants who supplied material for the present study are listed, as follows:

Number	Name	Age	Specialty	Ayllu
Practitioners of Magic				
7	Vicente *č'aɬč'a*	73	Doctor, diviner	
88	Martín *čoqe*	31	Apprentice magician	
11	Manuela *ari*	60	Midwife, chiropractor	
39	Eusebio *čoqe*	90	Diviner	
40	Pedro *mamani*	78	Midwife, chiropractor	
43	Benita *wilka*	60	Midwife, chiropractor	
45	Manuel Barrientos	36	Magician	
64	Simón *kurasi*	49	Doctor	
65	Rosario *čeraxa*	45	Doctor	
66	Silverio Sosa	42	Magician, doctor	
84	Pío Serrano	27	Magician, diviner	
85	Manuel Corrasco	57	Magician	
86	Anselmo *čeqani*	40	Magician, diviner	
87	Juan de Diós *aski*	60	Magician, sorcerer	*marka suɬkapunta*
107	Vicente *sairitupa*	31	Apprentice magician	
109	Alejandro *sairitupa*	42	Magician	
Other Informants				
2	Juan *kurasi*	90		
9	Manuel Corrasco (son)	18		
16	Bernabé *kutipa*	31		
19	Mariano Chambi	52		*marka suɬkapunta*
21	Manuel *sap'ana*	38		*marka suɬkapunta*
23	Fabian *ačoqaɬa*	45		*paɬaɬa*
24	Raimundo *č'aɬč'a*	30		
26	Antonio *mamani*	40		*marka suɬkapunta*
27	Juan *kispe*	54		*marka hilapunta*
28	Pablo *aski*	34		*marka suɬkapunta*
30	Santiago *kenaya*	41		*paɬaɬa*
31	Margarita *apasa*	43		*marka suɬkapunta*
32	Bernardino *kispe*	38		*marka suɬkapunta*
33	Daniel *č'aɬč'a*	32		
36	Feliciana *aski*	80		
37	Maximo *č'aɬč'a*	23		
51	Natividad *čeraxa*	30		
52	Andrés *čoqe*	28		
53	Pedro *qorimayo*	65		
54	Juliana Flores	52		
67	Felipe Valdéz	40		*qota*
68	Juliana *mamani*	28		
71	Juana *arukipa*	78		
72	Timoteo Rodriguez	65		
89	Elifonsa *nina*	20		*marka hilapunta*
96	Antonio Cruz	23		
102	Marcela Meneses	27		
103	Eulalia Mendoza	12		
105	Luís Ascensio	25		
110	Rita *čukimamani*	28		
111	Genaria Rodriguez	21		
112	Mariano Laura	36		*marka suɬkapunta*
	Interpreter (occasionally designated "Informant A")			
	Clemente Cutimbo			

INTRODUCTION

It is . . . impossible either to explain any culture completely in terms of individual psychology or to explain it without constant reference to individual psychology.[1]

ALMOST SINCE THE BEGINNINGS of anthropology as a scientific discipline it has been recognized that, like "religion," "magic" functions importantly in connection with the universal human problem of anxiety—with man's uneasiness and fear in the face of critical situations and under conditions of emotional stress.[2] Although such a position is implicit throughout the writings of anthropologists of the late nineteenth century, investigations into the essential nature and function of magic, especially in terms of individuals, were largely ignored at this time in favor of problems related to the origins of magical rites, to the primacy of magic over religion (or vice versa), or to hypothetical stages in the evolution of supernaturalism.[3]

Since the turn of the century, and especially during the past 25 odd years, a considerable number of studies has been devoted to various "functional" interpretations of magic.[4] Those of the so-called "functionalist" school, although they, too, link magic with anxiety, tended to deal with cultural and social abstractions rather than with individuals and have attempted to formulate relations between magic and other cultural institutions, as well as to show the contributions made by magic to the society as a whole.[5] Other investigations, far fewer in number, have focused upon problems relating to magic (or to ritual generally) and the individual and have stressed the role of magic in anxiety reduction.[6]

At the present time it is doubtful whether any anthropologist would deny the anxiety-reducing function of magic or would find serious fault with Malinowski's statement which, in the broadest terms, expresses a widely held current view:

> Both magic and religion arise and function in situations of emotional stress: crises of life, lacunae in important pursuits, death and initiation into tribal mysteries, unhappy love and unsatisfied hate. Both magic and religion open up escapes from such situations and such impasses as offer no empirical way out except by ritual and belief into the domain of the supernatural.[7]

Yet even though such a hypothetical function of magic is generally accepted as altogether reasonable (indeed, it would seem to be obvious) surprisingly few studies to date have attempted systematically to analyze and to document with empirical evidence the functioning of "benevolent" magic within the framework of particular societies. Fewer still have dealt with magic concretely in terms of individuals. It is the objective of the present study, therefore, to analyze in detail the role played by magic in a specific society: the Aymara Indian community of Chucuito in the southern highlands of Peru. Throughout the study emphasis is placed upon the individual, and an attempt is made, in so far as possible, to describe the pattern assemblage "magic" in terms of actual people.

Before the problem is stated more specifically, it is desirable to digress briefly in

---

[1] Linton, 1936, 290.

[2] Throughout the present study "function" and "functional" are employed in the sense defined by Kluckhohn: a culture pattern is functional "insofar as it defines a mode of response which is adaptive from the standpoint of the society or adaptive and adjustive from the standpoint of the individual." Kluckhohn, 1944, 47. "Adaptive" behavior results in survival for the individual or for the society as a whole; "adjustive" responses tend to effect an adjustment of the individual by the reduction of the motivation stimulating the individual. *Ibid.*, 46.

[3] See, for example, Frazer, 1930; Hartland, 1914; Lang, 1901; Marett, 1909.

[4] In addition, of course, anthropologists have turned out a vast number of purely descriptive accounts of the magical practices of various primitive groups.

[5] See the various studies of Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, and their followers, especially Malinowski, 1935, 1948; Radcliffe-Brown, 1933; Evans-Pritchard, 1929.

[6] See, for example, Hallowell, 1949; Kluckhohn, 1942. The most extended analysis along these lines appears to be Kluckhohn's "Navaho witchcraft" which, of course, deals more specifically with "black magic." Kluckhohn, 1944.

[7] Malinowski, 1948, 67.

order to explain the usage of a term that appears with frequency in the following pages. The phrase "pattern assemblage" is here employed in the sense defined by Kluckhohn to designate a complex of interrelated patterns associated with a major sector of culture and clustering around a particular activity.[1] Thus in the case of "magic," the term would embrace concepts of and beliefs about the supernatural, ritual paraphernalia, acts and procedures, offerings, rites and ceremonies, as well as the patterned ways in which magicians acquire supernatural "power," and learn the numerous details of their professional calling.[2] Clearly some patterns discussed under "magic" could with equal justification be considered as belonging to some other pattern assemblage, such as that clustering around the extended family, for example, or agriculture. The concept of "pattern assemblage," of course, is merely a convenient classificatory device, a useful tool in cultural analysis. As employed here it is intended simply to focus attention upon the segment of culture under consideration and not to suggest that "magic" is an isolated entity. Indeed, it will be demonstrated that not only is magic *not* a thing apart, but it is thoroughly integrated into the totality of Aymara culture.

In the present study, "magic" refers specifically and exclusively to the practice of manipulating supernatural beings for benevolent ends. "Black magic," here called "sorcery," is anti-social in character, and its objectives are, generally speaking, thoroughly malevolent. Although it touches upon "white magic" at several points, "sorcery" is best regarded as a separate pattern assemblage, especially since the Aymara themselves draw a hard and fast line between the two, and operate for the most part as though "magic" and "sorcery" were entirely distinct.[3]

Magic, sorcery, and related practices have survived with such tenacity in so many parts of Latin America, even in Ladino or Mestizo communities, that it is a foregone conclusion that they must continue in some ways to be rewarding to many individuals. In the case of the Aymara, it is known that many ancient patterns have persisted largely intact, in spite of four centuries of vigorous missionary effort on the part of the Catholic Church. Indeed, it is clear that Catholicism has attained no more than nominal acceptance among the Chucuito Aymara and that, in a sense, it is merely a superficial veneer grafted onto the body of ancient magico-religious beliefs. It is the hypothesis of the present study that magic continues to perform certain very real functions with respect to the individual Aymara's problems of anxiety and hostility and that the pattern assemblage, in part as a consequence of these functions, makes certain important contributions towards maintaining social equilibrium in the community of Chucuito.

In order to substantiate and document this general thesis, it is necessary to probe more deeply into the nature of the relationship between the individual and his culture, to examine in detail the congruity between personality and the culture pattern. For obviously if magic is to be studied in terms of what it "does" for individuals, it is essential that its workings in a particular society be understood in terms of the psychological characteristics of the members of that society. Since anxiety-provoking situations, like the patterned mechanisms available for anxiety reduction, are to a large extent culturally defined, each society, just as it embraces a limited range of personality norms, tends to exhibit certain type anxieties. It follows that what constitutes an appropriate adjustive response in one society and culture does not necessarily do so in another. This being the case, it is incumbent upon the investigator who seeks to elucidate the function of magic in anxiety reduction to show *to what degree* and *in what respects* within the framework of a given society a particular pattern

[1] Pattern assemblage designates " . . . a complex of patterns associated with a major cultural function." Kluckhohn, 1941, 123.

[2] As employed in the present study, "magician" translates the Aymara word *paqo*, a term referring to the specialist whose profession is the practice of benevolent magic. The writer realizes that "magician" carries with it certain unfortunate implications; other terms, however, seemed even less satisfactory.

[3] A later section deals in some detail with the question of the nature of the Aymara's specialization in supernaturalism and the lines of demarcation between such specialized statuses as "magician," "sorcerer," "doctor," and the like (see pp. 219–225). With the exception of the status of the magician, however, these statuses do not receive systematic and detailed treatment in the present study.

assemblage magic is geared to the personality characteristics prevalent in that society. In what respects, it must be asked, are these culture patterns suited to the anxiety problems of this society and to the personalities of its members? To what degree, it is asked in the present study, is Aymara magic compatible with Aymara personality?

The notion that some degree of congruence prevails between personality and culture would seem, at the present time, to be well established. In her brilliant interpretive work Benedict delineated the "personalities" of four cultures qualitatively in terms of clinical psychology, formulating their respective emphases, preferences, biases, and bents.[1] She showed with great skill how individual "temperament" tended to conform to the cultural set; her framework of discussion was bold and sweeping, with total cultures and personality configurations considered as wholes. Yet, as Kroeber has pointed out, this and other recent attempts to assign each culture a strict counterpart in a "basic personality structure" or "modal personality" type have, perhaps, gone a bit too far, and almost certainly have been too rigid. He suggests that a part of our problems would be to ascertain

> . . . how close the correspondence of culture and psychology is or is not, rather than to assume the correspondence as complete and confine ourselves to tracing out its detailed workings.[2]

It seems to the writer, therefore, that the "goodness of fit" between personality and culture can be seen best in terms of isolable "personality traits" rather then in terms of a rigid, inflexible characterization of total personality which tends too often to single out some central integrating principle for emphasis. It is such a scheme that is followed in the present analysis of Aymara magic and personality.

The study that follows is divided into three major sections. In the first, entitled The Setting, an attempt has been made to establish a comprehensive background in order that the description of the pattern assemblage magic may become more intelligible in terms both of the general socio-cultural milieu and of Aymara personality. The first part summarizes the culture and society of Chucuito village as a whole and stresses the rigors and hardships of life on the *altiplano*. Although the writer here frankly acknowledges selective emphasis, he still believes that the dismal picture presented is descriptively accurate. Even though some of the more sunny aspects of Aymara life that might have been included have been omitted purposely as being irrelevant to the problems at hand, it would be impossible to depict Aymara culture as light-hearted and happy-go-lucky.

The second part of this section describes certain aspects of Aymara personality as these appeared to the writer and as they have been noted by other students of the Aymara. Here again the characterization is dour and gloomy, and the reader may be led to feel that there is no happy Aymara nor one who does not detest and distrust every other fellow villager. This, of course, is far from the truth. The Aymara does laugh and joke as do other human beings, and affection, love, and friendship are far from non-existent in this society. Yet it has been necessary for our present purposes to dwell upon the cheerless facets of Aymara personality. It is a matter of the record, moreover, that nearly all observers to date have been more profoundly struck by the somber, dejected nature of many Aymara Indians than by the sunny disposition of an occasional individual. The prevailing tone of Aymara personality is morose both in an absolute sense and in comparison with that of such neighboring Andean groups as, for example, the Cuzco Quechua.

The second section of the study describes the pattern assemblage magic as it exists at the present time. The first part attempts to depict the supernatural world as it is conceived by the Chucuito Aymara, while the second discusses the nature of Aymara magic, the techniques employed by the magician, and the role played by this specialist in Chucuito society. Lest he here be accused of selection and bias, the writer wishes to state that he has included in this section virtually every scrap of material in his field notes that relates to magic. These materials, moreover, were originally collected and assembled with no particular plan of treatment in mind, and in terms of no specific theoretical orientation save, perhaps, an historical one. Since it appears likely that the data may be of interest to some students of

[1] Benedict, 1934.

[2] Kroeber, 1948, 588.

historical ethnography, a number of parallels to Incaic and early Colonial Aymara magic are cited in order to indicate that many of the component patterns have ancient precedent and to suggest that the pattern assemblage in something approaching its present form may very well be one of long standing. The early chronicles and Colonial sources have not, however, been searched in any systematic, methodical way. Wherever possible, pertinent comparative data are introduced in order that the reader may be able to evaluate Chucuito Aymara magic in terms of similar practices in other Aymara communities.

The concluding section, which is essentially a summary and integration of points made in the body of the report, is divided into three brief parts. These set forth the writer's conclusions regarding, first, the "goodness of fit" between magic and Aymara personality; second, the function of magic with reference to the individual; and third, the function of the pattern assemblage with reference to the society as a whole.

Some final words of qualification seem necessary. First, the materials presented in this study apply specifically and in all details to the Aymara of Chucuito alone. Considering the lack of adequate comparative data for many other Aymara groups (particularly those of eastern Bolivia), as well as the known range of regional variation in Aymara culture, it would seem unwise to take Chucuito as "typical" of the Aymara as a whole. Second, this study does not pretend to deal with Aymara supernaturalism in its entirety, but with only one aspect of it; "sorcery," "curing," and "divination" (by specialists other than the magician) are merely mentioned in passing and are not described systematically. Third, while magic is unquestionably "important" in Chucuito, it is probably not any more "important" than any other major segment of the culture of this community. If such a false impression is given, it is simply an unfortunate consequence of the technique of cultural analysis here employed—of selecting and abstracting a single pattern assemblage as the framework of discussion. Let it be understood, therefore, that magic is not presented as *the key* to Chucuito culture, nor as *the only way* in which to approach an understanding of the Chucuito Aymara's way of life.

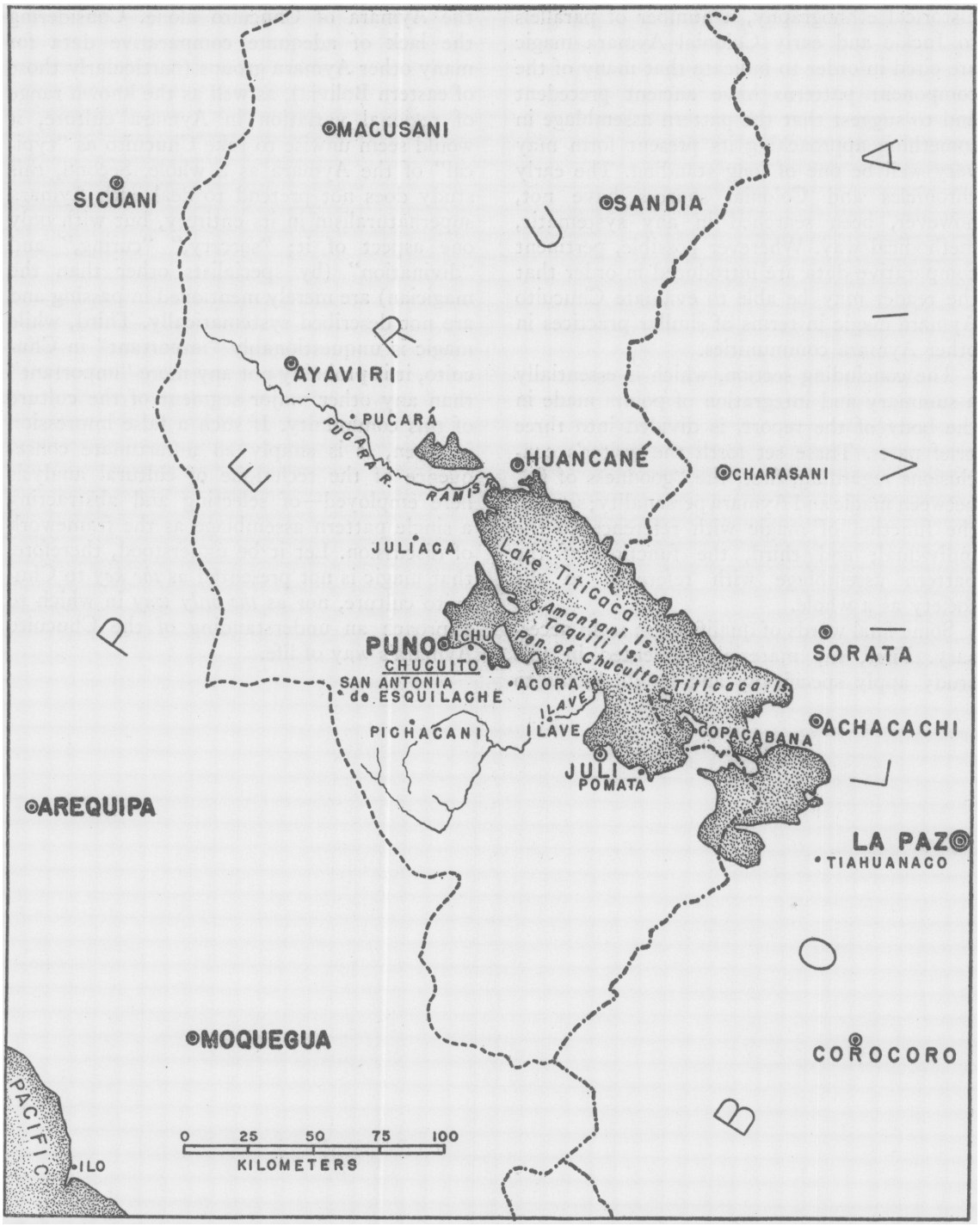

FIG. 1. Map showing the southern portion of Puno Department and adjacent regions of Peru and Bolivia.

THE SETTING

THE COMMUNITY OF CHUCUITO

THE AYMARA INDIAN VILLAGE of Chucuito, built on a rocky eminence overlooking Lake Titicaca, is situated in the Department of Puno in southern Peru (Pl. 24a; Fig. 1). Since the 1920's when the automobile road skirting the Titicaca lake shore was constructed, Chucuito has enjoyed easy access to Puno, the departmental capital, approximately 19 kilometers to the northwest; prior to that period, the village was remote and isolated, and was connected with the outside world by tortuous, stony, mule trails, and by remnants of the Inca highway.

Chucuito is an ancient village. According to native tradition, the town, as well as the other important settlements of the southwestern Titicaca lake shore, was founded on its present site by the Chucuito ruler, Cari, during the reign of Inca Viracocha.[1] At that time Chucuito was the capital city of the Lupaca, an Aymara subtribe and dialect group inhabiting the area between (approximately) Puno and the mouth of the Desaguadero River.[2] During the reign of Pachacuti, the successor of Viracocha, the state of Chucuito was occupied by the Inca and incorporated into the empire.[3] Under the Inca, Chucuito became the capital of that quarter of the empire known as Collasuyu, and its importance as an administrative and religious center is attested by impressive masonry walls of late Inca workmanship.[4]

Less than a century after its conquest by the Inca, the first Spanish explorers and missionaries arrived in Chucuito, and by 1550 monasteries and houses of the Dominican Order were established in all the large Aymara towns around Lake Titicaca.[5] Important silver mines were discovered in the Puno region, and the Provinces of Carabaya and Sandía yielded rich deposits of gold. Under the Jesuits, who succeeded the Dominicans, Chucuito became a wealthy and important city during the early Colonial era. The two great churches completed at the beginning of the seventeenth century still stand, as do the massive walls of the *Cajas Reales*, or Royal Treasury, and the elaborate carved stone portals of the Colonial houses.[6] Later in the seventeenth century Chucuito was eclipsed in importance by Juli, and during the eighteenth century by Puno.

In 1780 a series of Indian rebellions broke out and continued sporadically until 1821, when the Viceroyalty was overthrown and independence from the Spanish Crown proclaimed. During the great rebellion of Tupac Amaru, whole areas of the Titicaca Basin were virtually depopulated, and great numbers of Spaniards were killed.[7] The Puno region saw much of the fighting, and Chucuito was burned to the ground. There followed a series of devastating epidemics that continued to decimate and disrupt the Titicaca communities.

Present-day Chucuito, then, is built over and among the crumbling monuments of the Inca and Spanish Colonial eras (Pl. 26b). It consists of some 200 thatched houses that straggle down the crest of a rocky spur, from the slopes of Atoja Mountain to the reed-fringed shore of Lake Titicaca. The village possesses two main plazas, each dominated by an impressive, but dilapidated, Colonial church. Cobblestone streets cross one another at approximate right angles, and down the center of several of them water flows in ancient, stone-lined *acequias* (Pl. 25b). High stone and adobe walls, overgrown with cactus and broken here and there by arched doorways and iron grilled windows, line virtually every street on either side. Behind these walls the families of Chucuito, Indian and Mestizo, live in considerable privacy, screened from the view of the curious passer-by. Even in the center of town some of these compound walls surround fields and vegetable gardens, for Chucuito is a

[1] According to Rowe's dating (1945, 277), Chucuito and the other Aymara towns, including Ilave, Juli, and Pomata, were probably founded early in the fifteenth century.

[2] Cf. Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 503.

[3] Rowe, 1945, 270.

[4] See Tschopik, M. H., 1946, 7.

[5] For a summary description of the post-Conquest history of the Puno region, see Romero, 1928, especially 12–57.

[6] The Colonial edifices of Chucuito and the Puno region generally have been well described and illustrated. See Wethey, 1949, 12, 35–38.

[7] See Lewin, 1943.

city of ruins, and much of the area formerly inhabited has reverted to farm land.

The Plaza de Armas, flanked on one side by Asunción church and its cemetery, is a large, grass-grown square, recently planted with eucalyptus trees and adorned by an ancient sun dial, a fountain, and stone slab benches (Pl. 25a). To one side stands the *Concejo*, or council house, and a school. The lower plaza, which takes its name from its church, Santo Domingo, is considerably smaller, and is unornamented save for a megalithic cross and several gnarled and half-dead trees.

The principal street, which follows the ancient road from Puno to Acora, Juli, and beyond, passes through the center of the Plaza de Armas. It is lined on either side by houses of the Mestizos and by poorly stocked *tiendas*, or general stores. Other Mestizo houses and shops are situated around the two plazas and along the connecting street.

The farm lands of Chucuito spread out around the village on three sides, like a fan. Above it, on the high mountain slopes, are the pastures of the community, reached by a stony path that traverses Atoja Mountain en route to the grass lands of the Estancia (Pl. 24b). Below it are the lakeside fields and the *totora* marshes where cattle and pigs are grazed. At the lake edge is a small fishing settlement, the *Barco*, and the balsa landing. Beyond, extending over the grassy pampas and up the rocky hillsides, are scattered groups of house compounds, the outlying ayllus of Chucuito.

Chucuito is today the capital of a district of the same name, an administrative division corresponding to a township within the Department of Puno. The district is somewhat over 200 square kilometers in area. According to the 1940 Peruvian census, the population of the District of Chucuito was 15,107, of whom 14,848 were classed as Indians and 259 as Whites and Mestizos.[1] With very few exceptions, the Indians speak only Aymara, while the Mestizos are bilingual, speaking Aymara and Spanish. The population of the village proper, according to the writer's own census figures, was 554 Aymara Indians and 98 Mestizos.[2]

The remainder of the inhabitants of the District of Chucuito live in the 14 outlying ayllus that pertain to it. An ayllu is a social and geographical unit that usually bears a descriptive place name that is employed today, as in the past, chiefly for administrative purposes.[3] An individual usually takes the ayllu of his birth. The unit is ordinarily composed of several unrelated extended families, the component members of which have little group feeling. Although ayllu affiliation does not formally govern marriage, ayllus tend to be endogamous. The head man of an ayllu, who holds office for a year, is called *hilaqata*.

The Indians of the village proper are not organized in ayllus, but belong instead to one of the town's two *barrios*, called "lower" and "upper *barrio*," or more frequently "*ainača-*" and "*alaxa marka*," "lower" and "upper town." The function of these moieties corresponds closely to that of the ayllus of the countryside. Formerly most Indians of Chucuito village also pertained to one of two trade guilds, *Artesano Zapatero* (shoemaker's guild) and *Artesano Sombrerero* (hatmaker's guild), which corresponded roughly to the lower and upper *barrios*, respectively. At the present time the guild organization as such has disappeared except in name, and the shoemakers and hatmakers are distributed indiscriminately around the village.

While in a sense the District of Chucuito is a society, the village proper may be regarded as a smaller society within it and is so considered in the present study. It was observed that the Aymara of the town tend, because of the great distance involved, to lose contact with their ayllu-dwelling relatives, and to see them less frequently than their relatives and friends in town. The Chucuito ayllus, therefore, enter only occasionally into the following report.

Chucuito has every appearance of a dying town; the past is in evidence on every side, but there appears to be little interest in, or hope for, the future. There is the suggestion, especially among the Mestizos, that their existence in Chucuito is transitory, and that at any moment they may move away, never to return. Many

[1] Extracto Estadístico del Perú, 1940, 45. It should be noted that there are no pure Whites resident in Chucuito.

[2] In addition, 22 Mestizos, who lived elsewhere, owned property in the village.

[3] For a description of the Aymara ayllu, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 539–541.

have actually left permanently to seek a new and better life in the larger cities. In Chucuito few are economically secure, even by Sierra standards, and many are nearly destitute. The houses are dilapidated and the streets are nearly deserted; the great churches have been closed for years, and there is no resident priest. The Sunday market, consisting of a mere handful of ragged women huddled in a corner of the vast, empty plaza, is a pathetic affair. The village plays little or no role in the modern world. After three centuries of Spanish domination, and after a rich and colorful history, Chucuito is once more a village of Indian peasants.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The *altiplano* of the Titicaca Basin, confined between the eastern and western ranges of the Andes, is high, cold, semi-desert country. The entire plateau falls within what Pareja Paz Soldán has called the "*puna*" or "cordillera" climatic zones.[1] The traveler over the *altiplano* is at once struck by the oppressive monotony of the landscape; except for the immediate vicinity of the lake, one portion of the immense plateau is much like another. It is rolling plain, almost devoid of trees, and covered with coarse grass and low-lying clumps of *tola* and *yareta* bushes. The rocky flats and swellings are swept by winds and twisters of dust. Scattered huts are clustered defensively in the more sheltered localities, and flocks of llamas and alpacas graze on the grassy hummocks.

Near the lake shore the scene changes. Steep red sandstone escarpments alternate with flat cultivated alluvial fans, and agricultural terraces, some of ancient construction, climb the abrupt slopes. Streams of icy spring water descend the mountain meadows to course through narrow green valleys on their way to the lake. The towns are set amid groves of eucalyptus and occasional stands of gnarled *quenua* trees. From Chucuito village the hilly Peninsula of Chucuito juts forward, almost severing the Bay of Puno from the main depression of Titicaca. Behind it, to the northeast, rise the gigantic, glistening snow mountains of the eastern cordillera, crowned by the sacred peaks of Illimani and Illampu.

From the standpoint of human geography, the most important physical quality of the Titicaca Basin is the extraordinary and uniformly high altitude, not only of its spectacular snow peaks, but of the entire *altiplano*. The surface of Lake Titicaca is about 12,545 feet above sea level, and the altitude of Chucuito village is approximately 13,000 feet. Much of the cultivable land, moreover, is situated above this elevation, and it should be remembered that very few crops grow above 14,000 feet above sea level.[2] Thus, although Chucuito is just to the north of latitude 16° S., its climate is cold throughout the year and, owing to the highly rarefied atmosphere, there is great daily variation in temperature.[3] In the Titicaca Basin, as elsewhere in the Andes, climate is primarily a function of altitude.[4]

The year is divided into two seasons, a rainy season which lasts from October through April and corresponds to summer, and a dry season from May through September. These seasons are called, respectively, "green time" or "rainy time" and "dry time" or "ice time"; according to another system, harvest time is often designated "fat time," the season when food is (relatively) abundant, while the period preceding the harvest is called "lean time" because of characteristic food scarcity during this interval.

The Titicaca rainy season is highly capricious. At times the rain falls in a steady downpour that lasts for days, washing out newly planted seed and eroding the thin top soil. More frequent are cloud-bursts, often accompanied by electrical storms of such violence that the heavens are rent by vivid flashes while the crashing thunder is deafening. Loss of human life and of livestock due to lightning is not inconsiderable. At other times droughts are so severe and prolonged that many fields must be entirely abandoned.[5] In April, especially, devastating hailstorms often destroy the standing crops, beat the thatch from the houses, and not infrequently take their toll in sheep and

[1] Pareja Paz Soldán, 1943, 24.

[2] Maize does not grow well above 11,000 feet, and 14,000 feet appears to be about the upper limit of effective potato cultivation; quinoa, however, will grow almost up to the snow line. La Barre, 1948, 12.

[3] Cf. Ogilvie, 1922, 69.

[4] Tschopik, H., Jr., 1947, 8.

[5] At the time of the field studies in 1942, little rain had fallen in the Puno area for three years.

minor livestock. Similarly, unseasonable frosts often damage the near-mature crops, especially such tubers as potatoes, *ocas*, and *isaños*. Snowfall, however, is confined almost exclusively to the high mountains and is of little consequence in Chucuito village. During the rainy season the sky is usually overcast and, though the nights are warmer than those of the dry winter, the days are cold and raw.

During the winter the days are frequently clear and cloudless, and therefore warm, although the nights are bitterly cold, and subfreezing temperatures are common. The air is so dry at this time that the slightest breeze raises clouds of dust. To the hungry Aymara, however, the period of greatest hardship and physical discomfort is that preceding the harvest, when the food stores have been consumed and the new crops are not yet mature.

The soils of the Titicaca lake shore, while generally superior to those of the *altiplano* as a whole, are of uneven quality. The best, in the opinion of the Chucuito Aymara, are the valley-bottom fields, located in little valleys that descend from the mountains on either side of the village. These have the deepest top soil, and can be irrigated.[1] Second best are the lake-edge fields which, although they do not require irrigation, are occasionally flooded or damaged by mineral salts in the lake water. Third best are the hillside fields, some of which can be irrigated, although their top soil is usually thin and stony. The poorest soil is encountered on the flat pampas away from the lake shore, where the soil is a hard clay, often impregnated with mineral salts, and irrigation is impossible. Ogilvie writes of the Titicaca Basin soils in general,

> On the Altiplano, geological formations or their detritus are barely concealed by real soil save in hollows, where accumulation is possible; and even in these—alkaline deposit frequently renders the soil unfit for cultivation.[2]

As Romero has observed, agriculture in the high Andes is at best a difficult and delicate art.[3] The Aymara, moreover, live in a marginal area, at a very high altitude, and near the upper limits of effective agriculture. They must contend with poor soils in a region where the climate is severe and capricious. The lot of the farmer is traditionally uncertain and fraught with anxiety; the Aymara farmer tills his fields in the face of great odds, and his existence is always precarious.

The effects of high-altitude environment on biological man appear to be equally significant, if less well understood at the present time. Some degree of physiological adaptation of the Andean Indian to his highland environment has long been recognized.[4] Indeed, there is evidence that this phenomenon was noted and appreciated during earliest Colonial times.[5] Recently Monge has claimed, perhaps extravagantly, that the high-altitude environment of the Andes has produced an ethnic type with morphological and biological characteristics distinct from those of other groups.[6] The environmental factors involved, he states, include altitude, barometric pressure, humidity, solar radiation, and ionization of the atmosphere. That such adaptation to environment is not complete, however, is suggested by the fact that some Aymara, like coastal dwellers, suffer from *soroche*, or mountain sickness, on very high passes, and that heart diseases are far from uncommon among them.[7] Whether or not one wishes to accompany Monge so far down the road of environmental determinism, it appears certain that the high Andean environment does in some measure modify the biological equipment of its inhabitants, and the fascinating question of concomitant psychological modifications is likewise suggested. It has been noted recently by authorities on aviation medicine that the effects of anoxemia, or lack of oxygen, attendant upon high-altitude flying are depression or fits of hilarity or pugnaciousness, and that chronic "grouchiness" tends to be an "occupational disease" of pilots repeatedly exposed to anoxemia.[8] With regard to

[1] Included in this class are the fields within the boundaries of Chucuito village proper. Here the soil is a rich, ashy loam, most of it organic archaeological refuse material.

[2] Ogilvie, 1922, 108.

[3] Romero, 1944, 12.

[4] In the mid-nineteenth century Forbes correlated the Aymara's barrel chest and prominent, or varicose, veins with his life in a high altitude. Forbes, 1870, 218. Also see Rouma, 1933, 225–231.

[5] Monge, 1948, 1–25.

[6] Monge, 1948, xi–xix; 1949, 267–285.

[7] Bowman, 1909, 5–9.

[8] La Barre, 1948, 50–51. Also see McFarland, 1932, 1–135.

these observations La Barre points out significantly,

> The Aymara have made a physiological adjustment to their habitat, but this physiological and psychological fact may suggest a possible ethnological bearing, when one recalls the notorious sullenness, as well as the pugnacity and emotional lability of the Aymara inhabiting the Bolivian altiplano.[1]

Another aspect of the environment, namely, the diseases prevalent on the *altiplano*, must be considered briefly. The filthy houses and unhygienic living conditions of the Aymara, cited repeatedly by travelers and students, are, of course, cultural facts.[2] Although the diseases endemic in a given population are the result of a series of complicated interacting factors, biological and cultural as well as environmental, it is convenient to discuss this subject here.[3] No definitive medical investigations for the Puno area are available; a number of reports, however, contain some information on the diseases prevalent in this region. One, based on records of the Puno hospital for the years 1930 to 1934 inclusive, lists typhus, smallpox, dysentery, and typhoid as endemic; measles, whooping cough, and diphtheria as epidemic; others common include broncho-pneumonia, tuberculosis, enteritis, and heart diseases.[4] During these years the highest mortality resulted from tuberculosis and broncho-pneumonia.[5] Medical missionary W. J. K. Clothier writes that the incidence of disease is very high among contemporary Andean Indians, a situation he attributes to the harsh environment, unsanitary conditions, inadequate diet, and lack of knowledge regarding preventive medicine. He lists as common diseases: typhus, intestinal diseases (especially amoebic dysentery and enteritis), and respiratory diseases (especially tuberculosis); he adds that venereal diseases are probably common, but that reliable data are lacking.[6] A third medical authority lists as prevalent diseases of the near-by Ilave region: smallpox, whooping cough, typhus, and tuberculosis.[7]

It should be apparent, therefore, that the Aymara are not a healthy people and that their preoccupation with disease and illness (a matter discussed at some length in the following pages) appears to be entirely in accord with the reality. As La Barre has written,

> To an outsider the Aymara seem to be obsessed with the fear of disease, indeed to such an extent that one would be tempted to suggest that as a group they present a clinical picture of hypochondriasis, were it not that so many of their diseases seem to be genuine.[8]

SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The basis of subsistence in Chucuito is farming, supplemented by the breeding of livestock, and by fishing in Lake Titicaca.[9] The gathering of wild products is unimportant in the total economy, although *totora* shoots, wild greens, cactus fruit, honey, and the like are collected and utilized at certain seasons. Hunting, likewise, is of little consequence, and although lake birds, tinamous, and viscachas are taken occasionally, traps and hunting techniques generally are unelaborated.

The principal crops grown in present-day Chucuito are potatoes, barley, and quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*).[10] Lesser crops include ocas (*Oxalis tuberosa*), *ułuku* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), *isañu* (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*), *kañawa* (*Chenopodium* sp.), maize (*Zea mays*), *habas* or broad beans (*Vicia faba*), wheat, and a few garden vegetables. Maize is an unimportant crop throughout the *altiplano*, and *kañawa* tends to be restricted to the high punas where little else will grow.

The technology of agriculture is not only

[1] La Barre, 1948, 51.

[2] See Forbes, 1870, 242–243; Bandelier, 1910, 68–69; La Barre, 1948, 93–94.

[3] Cf. Kluckhohn and Mower, 1944, 11.

[4] Guerra, 1935, 70–82.

[5] The high incidence of pulmonary diseases among the Aymara has been noted by other observers. See Bandelier, 1910, 68–69; Bowman, 1909, 5; La Barre, 1948, 48.

[6] Clothier, 1946, 236–250.

[7] Kuczynski-Godard, 1944, 22.

[8] La Barre, 1948, 211.

[9] For a summary description of Aymara economic life, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 512–528.

[10] In the District of Chucuito alone some 40 varieties of white potato (*q'eni* or *saya č'oqe*) are recognized, as well as some 10 types of "bitter" potato (*luki č'oqe*). For a discussion of the potatoes grown by the Aymara and the ways in which they are classified, see Hawkes, 1947, 205–250; La Barre, 1947b, 83–103. Puno is the Peruvian center of quinoa production. Romero, 1944, 194.

primitive but in several respects is inadequate to cope with the poor soils and rigorous environment. Except for the simple, ox-drawn Mediterranean-type plow employed on the more level fields, and the iron-bladed sickle, the farming implements are largely aboriginal. These include the digging-stick for cultivating steep hillside fields and small terraces, the adze-hoe, the stone-headed clod crusher, and the rawhide-lashed threshing pole.[1] Although crop rotation has been practiced by the Aymara since time immemorial, some soils, particularly those of the pampas, are so poor that they must be allowed to lie fallow for 10 years between plantings. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale, but the great majority of fields are not watered. Fertilizers, employed to a very limited extent at the present time, are confined exclusively to potatoes. The Chucuito Aymara are ignorant of the importance of seed selection, and in fact save the smallest tubers for planting, with the result that their cultivated plants appear to have degenerated and deteriorated. In addition, they possess no means of coping with the potato beetle and other insect pests, and their ripening fields are constantly plagued by birds, field mice, and wild guinea pigs. From the time that the crops begin to mature, guard houses are erected in the fields, but these are constructed rather to protect the crops from theft by human beings than from damage by rodents and birds.

All able-bodied Aymara—men and women, rich and poor—work in the fields. Men clear land, plow, spread fertilizers, thresh, and winnow, while women plant and sow. Both sexes crush clods, weed, cultivate, bank potatoes, and harvest. No one is too proud to farm, and children assist in farming as soon as they are able to perform heavy tasks.

In Chucuito village the raising of livestock is secondary to agriculture, although in some of the ayllus (particularly in the pampas and in the Estancia) llamas and sheep are raised in greater numbers. Most villagers of average circumstances own a few sheep and pigs and a llama or burro. Scrawny, rangy chickens are almost universal; some people also keep guinea pigs. Fewer individuals own a yoke of oxen and a cow or two, the latter being utilized for the little milk they produce. Animals are slaughtered for food only on the most important occasions, but are eaten if they die naturally. Although adapted to their highland environment, the livestock of the Chucuito Aymara are of inferior breeds (for no systematic selective breeding is practiced) and, as are their owners, they are thin and undernourished. The pigs appear to be but one generation removed from their wild ancestors; the sheep are rangy and light in weight, yielding a wool clip of only one to three pounds per head.[2]

Overgrazing, an ever-present problem, leads to frequent inter-community brawls and, not infrequently, to intra-community squabbles. Herding, by and large, is an occupation of women and children; small children of five years and under herd lambs and baby pigs.

Fishing, a masculine activity, ranks with stock breeding in the economy of the village. Lake fish, one of the principal sources of protein in the diet, are eaten the year round. In addition fish are dried or roasted for future use, but techniques of preserving fish and meat are rudimentary and inadequate.

Except for the season immediately following the harvest, food is actually very scarce throughout most of the year. In actual practice fewer than 15 Aymara families in Chucuito village regularly harvested crops sufficient to meet their needs. The remainder were obliged to purchase food with their meager earnings from trade, road work, and the like.[3]

Schematically the diet of the Chucuito Aymara can be described as follows: from February to June the newly harvested crops and greens, but little meat, are eaten; from July to October the diet consists mainly of cereals, the last of the harvest, and stews with fish or some meat; from November to January food is

[1] See Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, Fig. 44a–d. It may be noted that Mediterranean-type plow culture and aboriginal-type hoe culture exist side by side in other parts of contemporary Latin America. Lewis, 1949, 116–127.

[2] Moomaw, 1946, 193.

[3] Regarding the near-by community of Ichu, Kuczynski writes, "... *la mayoría de los habitantes no tienen cómo suministrarse la comida del año por su agricultura propia.*" Kuczynski-Godard, 1945, 39. Later (43) he states that only 56 of 410 families (or about 13 per cent) harvested a crop sufficient for their needs, and that the rest were obliged to earn money by trade or other labors.

extremely scarce, and consists mainly of *chuñu*, fish, game, and a little dried meat. Only two true meals are eaten daily, one after sunrise and the other just before sunset. At noon a handful of parched maize or barley is eaten, although during the harvest season this meal may be more substantial. Specialized studies have revealed Aymara diet to be deficient in several respects. Clothier writes that

> just as his environment is not conducive to a healthy life, considering the climate he endures and the arduous life he lives, so too is the diet of the Indian far from adequate in quantity or in quality to meet his daily requirements.[1]

Kuczynski examined the Aymara diet in Ichu in some detail and found it extremely poor in fats, deficient in vitamins A and C, iron, and calcium, and particularly low in energy-producing foods during the period of the hardest physical labor in the fields.[2]

The preoccupation of the Chucuito Aymara with food and hunger, therefore, corresponds to the reality, and is reflected in many ways. Food is never wasted: in digging potatoes every tuber is excavated, grain fields are carefully gleaned, and each grain spilled during winnowing is swept up. Even isolated food plants that have sprouted by accident are carefully preserved and tended. Thefts of standing crops are frequent, and children steal food from their parents. Food is grudgingly offered to the casual visitor, and guests at feasts view the menu critically, not infrequently complaining about the quantity of the repast. At feasts and during the harvest season everyone gorges himself to the point of physical discomfort. In fact attitudes towards food are essentially religious, and feeding figures in all religious and social ceremonial. Food serves as gifts on formal occasions to parents, *padrinos*, and to prospective parents-in-law, and comprises a part of nearly all payment for services or labor. Finally, the intense interest in food is reflected on the linguistic level in Bertonio's list of some 55 terms referring to eating, all built on the stem *manq'*- (*Mank*-), "eat."[3]

In part as a consequence of their inadequate diet, the Aymara—old and young, men and women—are addicted to coca chewing.[4] The rationale of the habit is that the chewing of coca leaves with lime alleviates the pangs of hunger and fatigue, gives an apparent increase in energy, and produces a pleasurable "lift." It has been demonstrated experimentally that coca chewing does afford temporary relief from unpleasant sensations, including hunger, thirst, and fatigue.[5] Although reliable figures for the Chucuito Aymara are not available, Gutiérrez-Noriega and von Hagen report that the daily dose of dried coca leaves chewed by habitues of the Peruvian Andes averages 30 grams per day, or an average daily dosage of cocaine alkaloids ingested of 180 milligrams.[6] Medical experiments have demonstrated the effects of the immoderate use of coca to be pallor, muscular weakness, and moral decay. The psychological implications of excessive coca chewing are highly suggestive. Thus Gutiérrez-Noriega and von Hagen report that the coca addict alternates between states of excitement and depression; in addition they state that

> . . . coca chewers present emotional dullness or apathy, indifference, lack of will power, and low capacity for attention. They are mistrustful, shy, unsociable, and indecisive.[7]

Since, as is shown below, the above-mentioned attributes are all, to a greater or lesser extent, descriptive of Aymara personality, it is important that coca chewing be kept in mind as a pertinent factor in this connection.

Similarly, the proverbial Aymara addiction to alcohol has escaped the attention of no observer in Aymara territory.[8] In all honesty it should be stated that few Aymara appear to be habitual alcoholics; nevertheless, the degree of intoxication attained by them during fiestas is truly astonishing. Although the effects of excessive intake of alcohol on the human organism are, of course, well known, it should be pointed out, as Clothier has observed, that

[1] Clothier, 1946, 227.
[2] Kuczynski-Godard, 1945, 35–58.
[3] Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 213–215.
[4] Studies conducted in highland Peru by Gutiérrez-Noriega (1949, 151–152) indicate that one of the main "causes" of the coca habit is the deficient production of foodstuffs in the affected regions.
[5] Gutiérrez-Noriega and von Hagen, 1950, 86.
[6] *Ibid.*, 84.
[7] *Ibid.*, 87.
[8] See Bandelier, 1910, 112, 156; Forbes, 1870, 224; La Barre, 1948, 65–67.

in high altitudes, owing to the rarefication of the atmosphere,[1] alcohol enters the blood more rapidly, remains there longer in effective concentration, and is oxidized at a lower rate. Although alcohol affords the Aymara temporary escape from a rigorous and monotonous routine, as well as an emotional release from daily pressures and anxieties, it nevertheless contributes in turn to their state of ill health and is directly or indirectly responsible for not a few deaths.[2]

Although Aymara houses, constructed of stone or adobe and well thatched with grass or reeds, afford adequate protection against the elements, they are crowded, unheated, insufficiently lighted and ventilated, and are extremely dirty and unhygienic (Pl. 26a).[3] While some are supplied with built-in platform beds, in many the members of a family sleep huddled together in a small kitchen hut and utilize the house proper for the storage of their food, clothing, and other possessions, for only the wealthy are usually able to afford the luxury of a separate storeroom. As a result, the houses rarely receive a thorough cleaning and are often in a state of utter chaos. For all practical purposes, the Chucuito Aymara live out-of-doors during the day and utilize their houses only for sleeping and as places of refuge during inclement weather.

The clothing of both sexes is of wool, men wearing trousers, shirts, and jackets of homespun (today cut along European lines), as well as ponchos and knitted caps beneath their felt hats in cold weather. The female costume consists of a short jacket, a full skirt with many underskirts, a shawl, and a felt derby. Age and sex distinctions are carefully drawn by the Aymara and are clearly reflected by details of dress.[4]

In several respects, however, the Aymara costume is inadequate, considering their rigorous environment. Women almost never wear any footgear, and men frequently travel without their sandals in sub-freezing weather, and wade about barefoot in the icy water of Lake Titicaca. Children are even less well clothed than the adults, and the thin wrap-around skirts and loose jackets worn by small boys and girls are scarcely suited to the frigid climate of the *altiplano*. Because of the cold, the Chucuito Aymara almost never bathe, sleep fully dressed, and rarely wash their clothing.

Skills and crafts are poorly developed in Chucuito, and there is no tradition of fine craftsmanship.[5] Although felt hats, shoes, and some textiles are produced in the village proper for barter or sale, as well as for local consumption, the financial rewards from such manufactures are insignificant, and the Chucuito Aymara are famous neither as artisans nor as traders. Workmanship is generally slipshod and careless, and although certain individuals are known to excel in weaving, shoemaking, or in the manufacture of felt hats, skill as such in handicrafts carries little prestige, and artisans appear to take little pride in their work. Rather, emphasis is placed on the quantity of output and the utility of the object. Decorative arts, therefore, are rudimentary in the extreme, and artistic expression through handicrafts is confined almost exclusively to textiles. Music, on the other hand, is clearly an all-absorbing interest. During fiestas bands of musicians playing flutes or panpipes compete with one another for the approval of the spectators. Here again, however, styles are traditional and stereotyped, and the composition of new tunes is almost unknown.

INDIAN AND MESTIZO

For a span of at least five centuries the Aymara Indians have occupied a subordinate position in the total social hierarchy of Chucuito. There is evidence that class distinctions were characteristic of Aymara society prior to the Inca conquest of the Titicaca Basin. During the period of Inca domination, Inca officials as well as the descendants of the former Aymara aristocracy comprised the ruling class in Chucuito, and these in turn were supplanted by Spaniards early in the sixteenth century. During Colonial times widespread miscegenation and acculturation gave rise to a large Mestizo class which today constitutes the aristocracy

[1] Clothier, 1946, 229.

[2] Cf. Kuczynski-Godard, 1945b, 58.

[3] See La Barre, 1948, 93–96; Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 529–530.

[4] For descriptions of Aymara clothing, see La Barre, 1948, 86–93; Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 531–532.

[5] Cf. Bandelier, 1910, 76–78.

of most small towns and villages of the *altiplano*.

In present-day Chucuito the Aymara peasantry is dominated by a small group of Mestizos who form the aristocratic class of the village and are set apart from the Indians by language and culture, as well as by possession of a measure of Spanish blood. These individuals, who refer to themselves as the *vecinos*, "neighbors," and to the Aymara villagers as *indios*, "Indians," or (most inappropriately) as *cholos*, "Mestizos," hold all the important political offices (governor, mayor, judge, etc.), own nearly all of the best farm land, occupy more elaborate and more favorably situated houses, and, by and large, are financially far better off than the Indian population.[1] Most importantly, perhaps, the Mestizos have the advantage of being literate and of speaking Spanish.

Of the Indians of the town proper, some 40 per cent are share-croppers and farm regularly for Mestizos; many of these, in addition, are or have been servants in Mestizo households. This figure, however, does not necessarily coincide with the poor Aymara element in Chucuito, since some tenant farmers are actually better off and financially more secure than independent Indian families who cultivate their own lands. Similarly it does not indicate that 40 per cent of the Chucuito Aymara are landless, since many of the share-croppers also possess some land of their own. It does mean, however, that a large proportion of the Indians of the village are directly or indirectly dependent upon their Mestizo landlords, and that in not a few cases the *patrón-peón* relationship is a source of considerable frustration and anxiety.[2]

If a broad view of contemporary Andean society is taken, the rigid social hierarchy of Chucuito deserves to be described as "caste structured" rather than "class structured."[3] Within the confines of the community proper, there is no "passing," and social mobility is entirely absent, as is formal intermarriage between members of the two groups. While there is no concept of ceremonial pollution, no Indian may enter the house of a Mestizo socially or eat at his table (except in certain specific situations), although the latter is free to go where he pleases. Similarly, sexual relations between Mestizos and Indian women are expected and patterned, while relations between Indian men and Mestizas are extremely rare, and, if discovered, provoke retaliatory measures. Although Mestizos feel free to ridicule Indians publicly and to deprecate Indian customs and "superstitions," they demand respectful and deferential behavior from Indians on all occasions. Thus Indians tip their hats to Mestizos, address them in the whining voice of a child, and kneel to kiss their hands or garments in gratitude for favors granted.

Symbols of "caste" membership are too numerous to detail here: suffice it to record that while Indians farm and perform menial tasks, Mestizos are above manual labor, and that the two groups are visibly differentiated from one another by dress, diet, dances, religious behavior, and indeed by nearly all patterns of their respective cultures.

It is the official and frequently expressed view of the Mestizo that the Indian is an ignorant, superstitious brute, treacherous, untruthful, and untrustworthy, and that "better blood" (i.e., Mestizo) is necessary from time to time to improve the inferior breed.[4] It is true that Indians frequently lie to Mestizos and steal from them whenever the opportunity to do so with impunity presents itself. While servile in their attitudes, some Aymara of Chucuito hate the Mestizos of that town with a bitter passion and would cheerfully murder them were it not for fear of retaliation.

On the other hand, it is the official Aymara stereotype that the Mestizo is a thieving bully who uses his political and family connections as well as his superior education and knowledge to cheat the Indian at every turn and to exploit him by every possible means. Unfortunately this view is all too well founded in fact. It is a matter of the record that heavier "legal" punishments are handed to Indians than to Mestizos and that long-defunct Colonial laws are still enforced for the sole benefit of the latter.[5] Thus the governor of Chucuito retains

[1] For a discussion of the intricate problems of class designation and differentiation in highland Peru, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1947, 11–15; 1948b, 252–261.

[2] Cf. Saenz, 1933, 167–196; Bandelier, 1910, 78ff.

[3] Cf. La Barre, 1948, 146.

[4] For a discussion of Aymara-Mestizo relationships in Bolivia, see La Barre, 1948, 37–40.

[5] See Kubler, 1946, 353–354.

the privilege of purchasing a sheep once a year from each Indian for the ridiculously low figure of one *sol* per head, and demands a present from each *hilaqata*, or ayllu head man, on the occasion of the fiesta of the town's patron saint. The latter are, in fact, the governor's unpaid messengers and servants rather than respected public officials. In addition, Indians are drafted to repair roads and public buildings, to clean *acequias* and irrigation ditches, and to furnish their labor gratis on other projects of local or national benefit. Similarly, far more Indians than Mestizos have fulfilled their period of compulsory military service.

In spite of the mutually derogatory stereotyped views and in spite of iniquities on both sides, all relationships between Indians and Mestizos are not charged with hostility, and some are even positively toned. Thus some *patrones* deal fairly with "their" Indians and concern themselves with the welfare of their tenant farmers and servants. One of the principal mechanisms that binds together the Indian and Mestizo "castes" is the system of *compadrazgo*, or "ceremonial kinship" (see p. 280), and not a few Aymara of Chucuito have Mestizo godparents whom they regard with high esteem and affection.[1] Even these relationships, however, are structured with inequality, and the most indulgent and well-disposed Mestizo *padrino*, or godparent, treats his Indian *ahijado*, or godchild, with casual, tolerant affection, as though dealing with a beloved retainer or a helpless, incompetent child.

The Aymara, therefore, has no patterns for dealing with non-Indians save within the framework of dominance and submission, in which situations the Indian always plays the inferior role. In the larger world he sees himself as an inferior being to whom submissiveness, passivity, and deference to superiors are appropriate and expected responses.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

The traditional basic unit of Aymara social organization in Chucuito has for centuries been the patrilineal extended family. Ideally this group is patrilocal, and its lands are separated from those of adjacent families by walls or boundary markers. The extended family occupies a walled compound within which each conjugal family has its own cluster of houses. Such an extended family is normally composed of the head man, his brothers, their wives, sons, and unmarried daughters. A married daughter leaves her father's compound, but usually lives near by, often in the same ayllu or in the same section of town.

Domestic authority is invested in the head man who is characteristically a despot and autocrat, who dominates his family throughout his lifetime. After his death his eldest son assumes his role, and he in turn attempts to rule the lives of his siblings. Women, although their opinions are usually sought in matters of importance to the entire family, occupy an inferior position in spite of their active role in economic production.

Until very recently the extended family held its lands jointly, and the head man divided the fields among the component members according to their needs. Farming was a cooperative enterprise within the family, and the only land held permanently by individuals was that on which houses were located.

These, very briefly, are the salient characteristics of the Aymara extended family as elicited by numerous interviews in Chucuito. Informants described the institution in remarkably consistent terms notwithstanding that this unit of social organization is fast disintegrating in the town proper, although to a somewhat greater extent it survives intact in the surrounding ayllus. Everywhere, including the village, "ideal" patterns appropriate to the functioning extended family continue to dominate attitudes and behavior and loom large in the current value system. In the minds of the Chucuito Aymara, the extended family is far from dead.

In order to understand and evaluate present-day patterns of relationship within the family, it is necessary to review very briefly and in simplified form certain historical events that have wrought changes in extended family organization since early Colonial times. One of the principal factors contributing to the disintegration of the institution appears to have been changes in patterns of land ownership and inheritance, and repercussions of these changes can be noted throughout the fabric of Aymara social organization.[2]

[1] See Tschopik, H., Jr., "Indian-Mestizo relationships in a Peruvian community" (MS).

[2] See Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 546.

In pre-Hispanic times land was the inalienable property of the ayllu and was divided annually by the "*cacique*," or ayllu head man.[1] This land was not distributed among the ayllu members on an equal basis, but proportionately, according to need, as defined by the number of children in a given family. Thus as the family increased or decreased in size, land was allotted accordingly. Upon marriage a young man became a *utani* (literally, "with house") and received a share of the ayllu land, which he farmed for a year, retaining full rights to its produce for himself and his family. That this system of land use survived into the early seventeenth century is well documented by Cobo, who described land tenure in the Province of Chucuito in some detail.[2] Indeed much Indian land in modern Bolivia continues to be ayllu-owned and as in ancient times is distributed annually among ayllu members.[3]

In the sixteenth century a decree of Viceroy Toledo formally abolished communal ayllu lands (in theory) and divided them permanently among the component ayllu members.[4] At the same time the Colonial practice of imposing tribute exactions upon whole communities rather than upon individuals tended to preserve the pattern of holding land collectively rather than individually.[5] In any event the Spanish concepts of absolute individual ownership of property, as derived from Roman laws, were largely unintelligible to the Indians, and a compromise situation arose to meet the demands of the conflicting policies. Thus during Colonial times much of the former ayllu-owned land became the permanent property of the component extended families who held and farmed it jointly, dividing the produce among the biological families according to their needs. At the death of the head of a family, the heirs possessed the estate in common without dividing it.[6] Agriculture continued as a cooperative family enterprise, and no heir could claim a share of the harvest unless he had taken part in its sowing. There is evidence that at times the entire estate passed to the eldest son who administered it for the benefit of the family members.[7]

Early in Republican times legislation attempted to complete the dissolution of communally owned property by assigning Indian lands to individual Indians.[8] The intention of Republican government was to encourage private land ownership with the same disregard of ancient tradition that characterized the legislators of the Colonial era. Similarly, a law of 1829 abolished the *mayorazgos*, or the institution of the inheritance of an entire estate by a single heir, usually the eldest son.[9] Later legislation provided that all heirs, including women, should inherit equally, and it is this law that unwittingly dealt a deadly blow to extended family organization. For once the concept of individually owned property became generally accepted, land holdings diminished by subdivision, or *repartición*, with each succeeding generation. An heir frequently found himself unable to work the widely separated fields he had inherited from both paternal and maternal lines, and, consequently, it became necessary for a group of heirs to trade their holdings. The reduction in their size rendered the cooperation of relatives in agriculture both unnecessary and impractical. Estates not infrequently passed entirely outside the family. In some cases women possessed much land, while some men owned little or none, a situation that has had widespread effects upon family life.

Such is the confused state of affairs in present-day Chucuito. In some ayllus and, to a very limited extent, in the village proper, the extended family survives as a functioning unit where the land holdings are sufficiently large to be worked profitably on a cooperative basis, in spite of the fact that the fields are now individually owned. Where the holdings are much reduced, however, family members compete with one another for small tracts of infertile soil, and bitterness and jealousy between parents and children and between siblings run

[1] Cobo, 1892, vol. 3, book 12, chap. 28, 248–249.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] La Barre, 1948, 148–149. Even in the District of Chucuito some lands were ayllu-owned and farmed communally by ayllu members as recently as the beginning of the present century.
[4] Romero, 1928, 22.
[5] Kubler, 1946, 374. In fact communal tax or tribute assessments were not suppressed in Peru until the constitutional guarantee of 1854. *Idem.*
[6] *Idem.*
[7] Saenz, 1933, 115.
[8] Kubler, 1946, 353.
[9] Basadre, 1940, 256–257.

high. This type of unit, the monogamous biological family, competitive in its orientation, is far more characteristic of Chucuito village at the present time. Chucuito society is thus cooperative and familistic on the one hand and competitive and individualistic on the other.

So recently have these changes occurred, however, that the "ideal" patterns governing family relationships continue to be those compatible with the older extended family organization. A man is expected to exchange labor (*aini*) in the fields with his father, paternal uncles, their sons, his brothers, their sons, his own married sons, and, today, with his sisters, married daughters, and some maternal relatives as well. He cooperates to a lesser degree with his wife's father and her brothers. A woman's first obligations are to her husband; her own family comes second. There is a strong feeling that the family should present a solid front to the world at large and that amicable relations within the family should prevail. Children are expected to obey and respect their parents, and disobedience and insubordination towards them are punished. Sons and daughters should work for their fathers without compensation until marriage, at which time a son is, in theory, given land to farm and on which to build a house.

In practice, because of the reduced holdings of most families, the son is often obliged (whether married or single) to continue his status of dependence upon his father until the latter's death. If his parents are land-poor, moreover, his chances of marrying a young and attractive wife are exceedingly slender. All too frequently, therefore, a son finds himself in the position of having to spend his youth laboring for a domineering and exacting father whom he neither respects nor loves, and from whom he has learned to expect little, since the father has nothing to give.

Even though Aymara culture honors the man who makes his own way, it is considered shameful for anyone to forge ahead in his own interests at the expense of his relatives. Thus in the numerous instances where, for reasons of insufficient land and the necessity of farming on a share-cropping basis for Mestizos, any attempt to maintain the solidarity of the extended family has been abandoned in spirit, the dilemma of the would-be individualist is acute. He must maintain the pretense of cooperating with close relatives lest he incur popular disapproval, and to resolve this conflict the pattern has arisen of paying relatives a nominal sum in return for their labors. The individual who strikes out on his own is hampered at every turn, moreover, because formal competitive patterns are not well developed in Aymara culture, and overt competition is socially sanctioned in few situations.[1] Because approved competitive patterns are lacking, intrafamilial tensions are expressed through sorcery and lawsuits. In nearly every instance of sorcery recorded in Chucuito, a close relative (brother, sister, uncle) was suspected of having been the instigator; the motives nearly always appear to have been economic, usually arising out of quarrels over land. Lawsuits, which are likewise frequent, are in nearly all instances concerned with matters of property.[2] Similarly, the parties involved in litigation are, more frequently than not, close relatives.

In sum, the shortage of land, the breakdown of extended family solidarity, and the conflicts arising out of differences between actual behavior and cultural expectation in respect to the relations with one's kinsmen are sources of considerable uneasiness, anxiety, and personal insecurity in Aymara culture.

INFANCY

Although the Chucuito Aymara, generally speaking, desire children, they in no sense exhibit an abnormal abstract fondness for them. The attitude of many women towards child-bearing is frankly ambivalent, and cases of abortion, though disapproved, are recorded. Up to a point, children are considered to be economically useful, but too large a family constitutes a financial burden on the parents. These attitudes give rise to the practices of informal adoption by childless couples, and of the giving away of children when they are too numerous to be cared for properly. Families therefore tend to be small. The average number

[1] Witness the general lack of games and competitive sports. Such competitive patterns as exist are, generally speaking, proper for groups rather than for individuals.

[2] Saenz states that 98 per cent of all lawsuits filed by Indians deal with matters of land and property. Saenz, 1933, 200.

of children for 150 biological families in Chucuito is 2.5.[1]

While they are not intentionally unkind and cruel to their children, the Aymara, unlike most American Indians, are not conspicuously indulgent towards them.[2] This is in part a reflection of the modal personality of the group; the dour, insecure, suspicious Aymara are simply not indulgent, outgoing people. In the last analysis, however, many of the basic aspects of Aymara child care and child training are expressions of the total situation in which the Aymara find themselves. Life is really very hard; everyone must devote most of his time, thought, and energies to the grim, ever-present problem of wresting a bare livelihood from the hostile environment. Tenderness, indulgence, and the coddling of helpless infants are luxuries that must frequently be abandoned in favor of the stark realities of the struggle for existence. The socio-economic organization, therefore, acts directly upon techniques of child care and conditions the earliest experiences of the child with reference to his society.

Childbirth entails few restrictions upon the mother, and none, apparently, upon the father.[3] The infant is delivered by a professional midwife, *usuiri*, or at times by a female relative of the mother. The child is first put to breast from six to 12 hours after birth, and is thereafter in almost constant physical contact with its mother; in extreme instances, until it is able to walk. It sleeps in her bed and is carried about, slung in a carrying cloth on her back, to the fields, to market, and even to fiestas. Although it is laid down in the shade while the mother is working in the fields or around the house, she is usually near, and comes when the infant cries. From the first week of birth until the age of eight or nine months babies are bound round and round tightly with a stiff woven belt that wraps the infant from head to foot and pinions the arms at the sides. While such swaddling permits greater bodily activity, perhaps, than the cradleboard, it undoubtedly restricts the infant's movements.[4]

Nursing takes place at irregular intervals, depending in theory upon when the child cries, but in practice upon whether or not the mother is within earshot and how occupied she happens to be at the moment. Although the mother pats and caresses the baby in an absent fashion while it is nursing, infants, by and large, get little affectionate attention; adult Aymara do not make a fuss over babies and tend to take them more or less for granted. Until they are able to walk, infants are not usually left in charge of older siblings, but are cared for almost exclusively by their mothers. Since the biological family is the prevalent type in present-day Chucuito, female relatives are apt not to be present except as visitors.

Indifferent to personal cleanliness and to odors, the Aymara make no issue of sphincter control during infancy.[5] Old rags are wound about the infant beneath the binding belt to serve as diapers, and these are, in theory, changed when the mother notices that the child has become soiled; in practice, clean cloths are put on about two or three times daily. In good weather children are usually bathed four days a week, the other three being considered unlucky. Like nursing, sleeping is not scheduled. Infants snatch sleep when they can, and are frequently interrupted and awakened by being raised or lowered from the mother's back, and by the bedlam of fiestas and the market.[6]

Available data indicate that walking is mastered at about 16.8 months and 16.7 months by males and females, respectively, and that infants speak their first words somewhat earlier. An Aymara baby is usually not stimulated to walk, but learns by toddling unsteadily around the patio, grasping the low stone benches that flank the sides. When his parents are present and unoccupied, they may speak words of

[1] The high mortality rate is also responsible for the small size of families; of a total of 155 children born to 30 typical families in Chucuito, 14 per cent died before reaching the age of six months, 25 per cent before three years, 34 per cent before the age of 13.

[2] Cf. Pettitt, 1946, 6–14.

[3] For details of Aymara childbirth practices, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 548–550; La Barre, 1948, 119–121.

[4] Pettitt finds it quite credible that devices thus restricting the infant's free bodily activity tend to make it somewhat more patient and stoic than it would be under other conditions. Pettitt, 1946, 12.

[5] Cf. La Barre, 1948, 125.

[6] La Barre writes: "Certain it is that the Aymara baby has no easy time of it, being taken with its parents on long journeys, and kept on its mother's back even when she is dancing." *Ibid.*, 126.

encouragement, but there is little positive expression of pride or satisfaction on their part in the baby's achievement. When a child can walk, moreover, he is left more and more to himself, at the edge of the field where his parents are working or in the patio of the house.

Aymara infants are nursed for approximately two or two and a half years, and the weaning process is usually gradual. When the child is about a year and a half old, he is given mashed potatoes, and gradually is fed more solid food. Data from 35 Aymara women of Chucuito indicate a modal tendency for births to be spaced at intervals of approximately two and one half years. Weaning, therefore, is frequently coincidental with the birth of a new infant, whose arrival, of course, increases the demands on the mother's time. It is more or less at this time, also, that an older sibling assumes the role of nurse, and this irresponsible youngster, as might be expected, is no adequate substitute for the mother. Thus, although the process is gradual, for the older baby weaning means frequent periods of hunger (he must now eat on schedule, with other members of the family), considerably less maternal attention, dethronement by a rival, and, not infrequently, long periods of isolation and loneliness. It seems highly significant that weaning and the birth of a new infant should tend to coincide on the two and a half year age level, which, for babies in our own society, is a transitional stage, a period of consolidation during which the individual is particularly vulnerable.[1] Although, as Mead has correctly pointed out, we do not know to what extent such periods are internally regulated and to what extent culture can alter them, it seems not unlikely that they may constitute universal features of the human maturation process.[2]

According to the findings of Gesell and Ilg, then, two and a half is a transitional period (for our own children, at least). It is abundantly clear that this is likewise a difficult age for the Aymara child. One often sees a dejected two and a half year old crying alone, out of sight or hearing of his parents, for the parental technique for coping with temper tantrums is to ignore them altogether, or to retreat indoors.

[1] Gesell and Ilg, 1943, 177–180.

[2] Mead, 1947a, 74.

It is likewise extremely interesting that Aymara culture is one of the few cultures of the world that gives formal ceremonial recognition to the transition from infancy to childhood.[3] After the child has been weaned, *padrinos*, or ceremonial godparents, are selected and the child's hair is cut for the first time.[4] There is feasting and drinking, and the child then exchanges the garments of babyhood for the clothing considered appropriate for a little boy or girl. At this time also he or she is first called *hisk'a yoqaḷa*, "little boy," or *hisk'a imiḷa*, "little girl," instead of *wawa*, "baby," as before.

The haircutting rite coincident with weaning clearly and dramatically underlines the passage from the comparative comfort, gratification, and protection of infancy to what is, on the whole, a drab, cheerless, and insecure childhood. It is thus in part due to infantile experience, perhaps, that the Aymara tends to identify security with eating. Infancy is the period of security and oral gratification and the Aymara seems to say, in effect, "When my appetite was satisfied regularly, I was secure." As is shown below, eating tends to be associated with "power," and incorporation becomes a technique of mastery (see p. 258).

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

Literally as soon as they are able to run about steadily, Aymara children are put to work performing menial tasks. Little girls of three or four years fetch and carry for their mothers, draw water, and run errands. Little boys of the same age herd lambs and baby pigs, often at some distance from the house, and gather brush and straw for fuel.[5]

During this period the child is usually left in the care of an older sister, or, less frequently,

[3] It is difficult to know why certain *rites de passage* have been selected for emphasis in different societies. In Linton's opinion it seems likely that ritual emphasis and elaboration are most frequent at those points of the age-sex series where (a) the transfer from one category to another entails the greatest change in the individual's cultural participation and (b) where the changes are most abrupt. Linton, 1942, 600. The latter explanation seems best to fit the present case.

[4] The haircutting rite after weaning dates back to Inca times. See Garcilaso de la Vega, 1943, book 4, chap. 11, 199–200.

[5] Cf. La Barre, 1948, 126.

an older brother, who as often as not performs the role of nurse in a half-hearted, reluctant fashion.[1] Not infrequently the nurse is only three or four years older than her charge, and resents not only this curtailment of her own freedom but the responsibility as well. For although young children are told to obey and "respect" their older siblings (especially older brothers), these youngsters are punished (irrespective of the merits of the case) if the charges left in their care come to any harm. Coupled with this is the considerable rivalry between siblings, all manifestations of which are strongly disapproved and must be repressed. The child nurse, often, therefore, vents her aggressiveness on her small charge when unobserved; being hungry herself, she feeds it sparingly and grudgingly, ignores it frequently, and makes little attempt to keep the toddler amused.

All play is not, of course, denied small children, but they are encouraged to imitate useful adult activities in their games. Thus little boys play at plowing or house building, while little girls "cook" with miniature pots and stoves, and play with dolls. Children of both sexes play together, usually without adult supervision. As they grow older they play at buying, selling, and trading, imitate the dances of their elders, and play various games of their own invention that appear to be transmitted on the child level, since adults take part in few, if any, games. Children frequently gamble for their meager lunches and occasionally for their personal possessions, a fact that is especially interesting since adults apparently never gamble at all. After the age of six or seven, children are discouraged from playing too much, and they are burdened with more and more tasks and chores. They are now expected to work in the fields and drive the livestock to the pastures, and are taught true adult economic activities as soon as they are physically capable of performing them.

It is when they have reached the age of usefulness that children are given away by poor parents who are unable to care for them.[2] Occasionally, they are given to relatives who are in better economic circumstances; more commonly, however, they are placed in Mestizo households where the children grow up as servants and are virtually slaves. The threat to give the child away is also employed to promote obedience and proper behavior.

Although the father plays a relatively unimportant role in early socialization, he later becomes the principal disciplinarian of the family.[3] Generally speaking, discipline is erratic and inconsistent, although much of it appears to be of the restrictive type, as defined by Du Bois.[4] Since obedience is demanded and taken for granted, "good" behavior is largely unrewarded in any positive sense, but is accepted as only natural and fitting.

A variety of sanctions are brought to bear upon the child. Physical punishment, although infrequently employed, tends to be severe and is meted out in the heat of anger. Adults of 60 years can recall vividly isolated instances in which they were beaten by their fathers. The basic idea in punishment is not that it is inflicted reluctantly and for the good of the individual, but rather that it is the family that has suffered as a consequence of the child's shameful, willful, or careless act. Thus the threat of rejection, often explicit, is ever present. Shame is also employed to promote good behavior, and a child is repeatedly told that "people" will disapprove if he fails to conform. In addition, Aymara parents threaten, tease, and ridicule. Although they seem not, to any great extent, to refer discipline to the supernatural, the small child soon learns that supernaturals (especially the guardians and place spirits) mete out punishment to wrongdoers. The Aymara parent says in effect to the child,

I am watching you, society is watching you, and the spirits are watching you.

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[1] Aged grandparents also take care of small children.

[2] There is evidence that this practice is ancient. Cobo wrote, "... *y uno de los medios que se tenía cuando uno era muy pobre, era entregarle á alguna mujer viuda del pueblo que no tuviese hijos ni se hubiese de tornar á casar.*" Cobo, 1893, vol. 4, book 14, chap. 7, 185.

[3] Owing to the not inconsiderable number of divorces in Chucuito, and to the practice of trial marriage, many children are raised by foster fathers. See Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 543–546.

[4] "By restrictive disciplines are meant those which definitely deny the child certain types of activity by punishments ranging from physical violence to withdrawal of approval." Du Bois, 1941, 272.

The young Aymara thus grows up with a sense of both shame and guilt, but probably with a larger measure of the former.

Even in their own homes children occupy an inferior position. They are differentiated from adults by dress, age-grade terms, and mode of address. They are given menial tasks to perform and may not dispose of their own property without their parents' permission. At meals they receive less choice foods and are served last.

Above all else, children are taught to obey and respect their parents. They must also exhibit deferential and submissive behavior towards grandparents, old people, Mestizos, and even towards older siblings. At a very early age the Aymara child learns that virtually all relationships (including man's relationship with the supernatural, and the spirits' relationships with one another) are structured in terms of dominance and submission. Overt expressions of aggression on the part of the child are stamped out on all sides. Parental instructions must be obeyed to the letter; excuses for failure and pleas of extenuating circumstances are of no avail. Initiative and self-reliance are thus minimized in favor of conformity and obedience; the self-esteem of the child, accordingly, remains low.

The child soon discovers the futility of protest and becomes reticent and passive. Ingratiation and placation towards the parents (and towards others) are then adopted as appropriate tactics, for the child is never allowed to forget that the parents control the necessities of life. Food, for example, is always scarce, and, except at mealtimes, is given grudgingly. Children learn to take what is denied, thus laying the foundations of theft, although they are punished if apprehended. When the presence of adults blocks access to food, hungry children wheedle and whine, just as their parents whine to Mestizos when beseeching a favor. When parental anger is aroused, children attempt to placate their parents, and the small earnings of youngsters are not infrequently spent on presents of bread, alcohol, and coca for them. The giving of gifts as a peace-making gesture thus has early precedent in Aymara culture. It has been demonstrated, however, that the acquired tactics of ingratiation and placation are unsatisfactory personal solutions in human relationships. Kardiner has stressed the futility and inappropriateness of ingratiating techniques in a culture where the parents have little or nothing to give.[1] Regarding placation, Honigmann writes,

> Where security in childhood lies in placating a strong and harsh parent in order to keep in his good graces, security in later life may tend to be sought in submission and passivity in human relationships.[2]

Puberty receives no social or ceremonial recognition in Aymara culture. Although adolescents are now called *waina*, "young man," or *tawaqo*, "young woman," and although they adopt adult dress, they are denied adult status. In principle, Aymara culture extends and prolongs the childhood category upward until marriage.[3] Adolescent boys do not anticipate new experiences and new rewards, and, except for the rather amorphous dance groups that function only during fiestas, there are no formal organizations and no secrets that in other societies give security, prestige, and a sense of group unity. The adolescent boy is expected to do a man's work, but continues to be dominated by his father until marriage and, in some cases, until his father's death. Except for casual love affairs, moreover, his access to women is blocked by his father, who holds the purse strings and thus controls marriage.

The introduction of the girl into adulthood is, perhaps, somewhat easier. In caring for her younger siblings she has repeated her own infant care and has also learned her future role of mother. By adolescence she has become familiar with the routine of domestic life. Since she has no expectations of ever becoming other than mother and wife, she is now fitted for womanhood. Her training has been continuous and logical, without disruptions, and marriage will bring little that is new. She will never have to lead or to compete for prestige (save on behalf of her husband), and few responsibilities will fall directly upon her shoulders. Woman are, moreover, sought-after objects in the society. For these reasons women in general appear to be better adjusted individuals than men.

[1] Kardiner, 1939, 332.

[2] Honigmann, 1949, 18.

[3] Cf. Linton, 1942, 596. The Aymara verb "to marry" means literally, "to become a person."

SEX AND MARRIAGE

Aymara culture tends to minimize conflict situations centering around sex and to foster the point of view that sexual relations are normal, natural, and pleasurable. Thus, from earliest childhood onward, there is no rigid segregation of the sexes; boys and girls play together freely and uninhibitedly. There appear to be no taboos against boys playing with girls' toys, or vice versa, and in adult life there is no rigid division of labor along sexual lines.

The sex play of young children is viewed by adults with tolerant amusement, and masturbation, though ridiculed, is not actively disapproved, with the result that informants recall having practiced it with no apparent feelings of guilt or shame. Attempts at heterosexual activity on the part of children are, generally speaking, ignored, and if noted tend to evoke amusement or mild ridicule on the part of adults.

Owing to sleeping arrangements within the Aymara household, children are, moreover, aware of adult sexuality from early childhood, and it is not surprising in view of the lax attitudes towards sexual behavior that they themselves should experiment freely as soon as they are so inclined. As a consequence, both boys and girls have had first-hand experience and are thoroughly familiar with sex long before they have reached puberty. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to point out that in this society no importance whatever is attached to virginity.[1]

As adolescence approaches, girls are often admonished by their mothers not to have "too many" love affairs, but maternal advice in regard to affairs of the heart is customarily elastic and vague.[2] In few instances do illegitimate children constitute a bar to the marriageability of their unwed mothers. Boys are merely warned not to make girls pregnant, lest they become involved with some undesirable and unscrupulous woman who might have serious matrimonial intentions. Evidence furnished by life histories indicates that in not a few instances girls or women take the initiative in making sexual advances, and, indeed, it is the opinion of some Aymara that women are more ardent than men.[3]

It has been noted how Aymara childhood experiences tend to predispose the individual towards attitudes of servility and ingratiation; therefore it would not seem unreasonable to suspect that homosexuality might be common in this society.[4] Indeed Bertonio makes it quite clear that both male and female homosexuality, as well as formal transvestitism, were far from unknown among the Colonial Aymara.[5] In present-day Chucuito, however, homosexuality appears to be very rare if, indeed, it exists at all. This can be explained in part in terms of the stringent taboos against it, especially on the part of the Church and the local Mestizos. It also seems likely that the apparent absence of homosexual practices may be attributed in part to the notable laxity of Aymara mores with regard to heterosexual behavior.

In spite of the freedom afforded the individual in sexual matters, relations between the sexes are not of the best, and the Aymara, generally speaking, seem unable to form lasting and enduring attachments. In fact Aymara matrimony might best be described as "brittle monogamy." Marriages are unstable, divorce is easy and frequent, and marital infidelity on the part of both husband and wife is common. Family rows, often ending in knock-down, drag-out fights are not at all unusual, and considerable jealousy exists between husband and wife, and, indeed, between men and women generally, with respect to property. It is apparent that the Aymara themselves are in some measure aware of this overt or potential antagonism between the sexes, and at marriage young couples are urged by their parents and *padrinos* to make every effort to get along with one another and to try their best to live in peace and harmony. It seems not unlikely that the Aymara institution of trial marriage may

[1] Paredes writes: "*Ninguna importancia dan a la virginidad de la mujer. . . .* " Paredes, 1936, 123.

[2] Even in Inca times Aymara women were notorious for their free and "dissolute" ways. Garcilaso wrote: "*Demás desta bulería consentían en muchas provincias del Collao una gran infamia, y era que las mujeres, antes de casarse, podían ser cuan malas quisiessen de sus personas, y las más disolutas se casavan más aína, como que fuesse mayor callidad haver sido malíssima.*" Garcilaso de la Vega, 1723, book 2, chap. 19.

[3] It should be noted that in Chucuito rape is so rare that it is almost unknown.

[4] Kardiner, 1939, 332.

[5] Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 40 (*Ccaccha*); 154 (*Huaussa; Keussa*); also see La Barre, 1948, 133–135.

reflect this blocked relationship between the sexes and may represent, on the level of culture, an attempt to cope with it.[1] It is also possible that courtship behavior, which often takes the form of a mock battle between the man and woman involved, may be symbolic of deep-rooted and covert antagonism.[2]

Although formerly marriages tended to represent a contract between two families, today they are mainly the concern of individuals, and are usually arranged by the young people themselves.[3] The permissive range in mating is great, and even some incestuous relationships (the marriage, for example, of twins of the opposite sex) are tolerated. In spite of the fact that the Catholic marriage figures importantly in the prestige system, it entails expenditures beyond the means of the average Aymara, with the result that most marriages are now of the common law variety.

As has been stated, marriage marks the introduction of the individual into adulthood. It is not until after marriage that a youth may properly be called *haqe*, "man," or a girl *warmi*, "woman." Yet, although full adult status comes with marriage, economic independence, as outlined above, must often await the death of the parents, so that full prestige is not infrequently postponed until maturity or even middle age. Apparently for economic reasons, the Aymara marry late for American Indians. The average age at marriage in Chucuito is 20 for both sexes. It was also noted, and, again, the motives appear to be "economic," that poor men tend to marry older women, and that, occasionally, a wife may be as many as 15 years her husband's senior.

Thus, in spite of the permissiveness of Aymara culture in regard to matters of sex, marital relations are apt to be tense and strained and may be fraught with friction and anxiety.

WEALTH, STATUS, AND PRESTIGE

Just as the total social hierarchy of Chucuito may be characterized as "caste structured," so it is possible to describe each "caste" as "class structured," and to discern certain ill-defined social levels within each. In the case of both the Mestizos and the Indians, these vague "class" distinctions are based primarily and in large part upon economic considerations. Within the Aymara society of Chucuito, special terms designate the very poor and the very rich; individuals of medium circumstances, however, tend not to be singled out, and there appears to be no term to describe them. The "classes" within the Indian society are extremely fluid and mobile, lack formal internal organization, and fluctuate in time with the fortunes of families and individuals. Yet there is a tendency for rich families to intermarry in order to preserve their wealth and to maintain their prestige. The well-to-do likewise tend to despise the poor, and not infrequently insult them publicly as though to emphasize and underscore the gulf between them.

To the majority of Chucuito Aymara the life goal is merely economic security (defined as sufficient food, a good house, adequate clothing) and release from the gnawing anxieties of want. To the fortunate few who have attained this happy state, however, wealth is, with few exceptions, a necessary prerequisite to prestige and high status in the community.[4] As stated earlier, land and the produce of the land are the chief bases both of security and of wealth. Everyone—rich man, poor man, artisan, or "medical" practitioner—is also a farmer, and derives his livelihood principally from the soil. Although an individual may implement his income in a number of ways, by trading, by part-time work on roads and on the coastal haciendas, by manufacturing articles for sale or exchange, or by learning and practicing one of the "medical" or "magical" professions, none of these pursuits is sufficiently rewarding economically to serve as an adequate substitute for farming. Other means of acquiring wealth, although socially disapproved, are by no means uncommon. Several well-to-do Indians of Chucuito attained this goal by systematically robbing their Mestizo *patrones*, while the fortunes of not a few once-penniless men can

[1] For a discussion of trial marriage, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 544; Bandelier, MS; Romero, 1928, 221.

[2] See La Barre, 1948, 129–130.

[3] For a brief account of Aymara marriage practices in Chucuito, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 543–546.

[4] In Chucuito there exists a particularly close correlation between economic status and the level of individual aspiration.

be traced back to strategic marriages with old and ugly women of property. Security and wealth, therefore, ordinarily depend upon land that must normally be inherited or, very rarely, purchased at the expense of great labor and self-sacrifice.[1]

The factors involved in prestige are somewhat more complex. The successful fisherman, the skilled plowman, or the talented "master builder" acquires a measure of personal satisfaction and prestige from his accomplishments. In like manner the good artisan takes precedence over the poor artisan in the estimation of the townspeople. His prestige, however, tends to be restricted to his own particular sphere; he does not necessarily enjoy high status in the total community.

Nor does great prestige derive from leadership, for leadership patterns are poorly developed in the contemporary Aymara society of Chucuito. As stated earlier, all high and important political offices in the town and District are held by Mestizos, with the result that power and authority tend to be a special prerogative of this "caste." The principal political office available to Indians today is that of *hilaqata*, or head man of an ayllu, and the corresponding office of *Maestro Mayor* (*barrio* leader) in the town proper. It is clear from the writings of Bertonio that the office of *hilaqata* is ancient and that the holding of office was honorable and rewarding in Colonial Aymara society.[2] At the present time, however, the status of *hilaqata* has been so debased that individuals are extremely reluctant to hold office and actually do their utmost to evade this responsibility.[3] Yet other contexts suggest that the assumption of leadership and the holding of office are somehow distasteful to the Aymara. The various statuses of *guía*, or "dance leader," are filled only after considerable cajoling and persuasion by the group members, and fiestas are often uncelebrated because no one is willing to perform the role of *alférez*, or "sponsor." Leadership *per se*, therefore, appears to carry little prestige; rather, as is shown below, leadership in public affairs has become in large part dependent upon and symbolic of wealth.

The practice of one of the several medical or magical professions does, in varying degrees, carry prestige in Chucuito, and certain classes of practitioners are held in high honor and esteem. Indeed knowledge and learning not only tend to be respected as such but enhance the standing of individuals. In Colonial Aymara society the respect term *amauta* designated a person of outstanding intelligence and wisdom.[4] At the present time, however, it has been extended to include the wealthy and successful man, particularly the self-made man as opposed to one who has inherited wealth.

Thus, although some measure of prestige derives from a number of different sources, wealth is the surest avenue to high status in Chucuito. It is well to remember that wealth is, in addition, a means of acquiring a young and attractive wife, and of escaping parental despotism. In short, the method of increasing one's prestige, raising one's self-esteem, and of achieving independence is almost exclusively through property.

Since within the framework of the Indian "caste" the social hierarchy is not rigid and fixed, status must be constantly validated. The well-to-do Aymara, therefore, maintains his prestige in the community primarily through ostentation. Although the Indian standard of living is remarkably uniform in many essentials, in spite of differences in economic standing, the wealthy Aymara strives to build a larger and better house, and one more favorably situated in the town, to dress his family in fine garments, and to participate in dance groups requiring expensive costumes. He also entertains more frequently and lavishly, marries off his children with pomp and ceremony, and acts as *alférez*, or "sponsor," in certain Church fiestas. In his role of *alférez*, or as "leader" of a dance, he is often referred to as a *p'eqeña*, or "head man," and,

[1] In the populous District of Chucuito, there is no such thing as new or unclaimed land; all arable land has been owned and utilized since time immemorial.

[2] Bertonio defines *hilaqata* (*hilacata*) as "*Principal del ayllo.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 133. Elsewhere he implies that the holding of office was rewarding by defining *ina haqe* as "*Hombre plebeyo que no tiene officio. . . .*" *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 174.

[3] In Bolivia the office of *hilaqata* continues to carry considerable prestige and to be rewarding to the individual occupying the status. See Bandelier, 1910, 82; La Barre, 1948, 154–155.

[4] Bertonio defined *amauta* (*Amaotta*) as "*Muy sauio, Prudente.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 15.

because his wealth permits, he is expected to take a more active part in community affairs. His leadership in matters of public interest is thus a function of and an additional symbol of his economic standing.

In sum, among the present-day Aymara of Chucuito wealth spells security, prestige, and independence of action, but the means of acquiring wealth are extremely limited and are available to few. As in other instances where this situation prevails, the discrepancy between the goal and the means of attaining it is for some individuals a source of not inconsiderable frustration and personal insecurity.

SOCIAL CONTROL

In spite of the considerable amount of anxiety, hostility, and frustration engendered by the total situation in which the Aymara find themselves, crime, except for adultery and theft, is not especially prevalent in present-day Chucuito. Although occasional occurrences of infanticide were reported, the high incidence of child mortality serves effectively to prevent the deliberate murder of unwanted children from becoming public knowledge. The murder of adults, on the other hand, appears to be rare, and only five cases were remembered. Suicide is likewise unusual, and the three instances reported suggest that the Aymara attempts to take his life only under the severest emotional stress, and that suicide is, generally speaking, non-institutionalized and unpatterned.[1]

Adultery is not uncommon and often leads to family rows, and occasionally to lawsuits; other sexual offenses, however, are most unusual. There is some evidence that the most oppressed (i.e., the poorest) are the greatest libertines, and since sexual prowess is a point of male pride, it may be that they seek to gain prestige in this way.

Properly speaking, crimes against religion cannot be said to exist. Since the Catholicism of the Chucuito Aymara is nominal, to say the least, and since there is no resident priest, offenses against the Church are not taken seriously. It is Aymara belief, however, that a negligent attitude towards certain native supernaturals provokes immediate retaliation in the form of illness or misfortune, and that, in particular, guardians and place spirits take a keen interest in human conduct and morality (see p. 193).

Since, according to the Aymara point of view, overt aggressive behavior is highly undesirable, physical violence ordinarily evokes strong social disapproval. Fights and brawls, therefore, are uncommon, except during fiestas when drinking has been heavy; on such occasions violent behavior is expected, if not sanctioned.[2] Generally speaking, aggressive and hostile impulses receive overt expression indirectly through sorcery or, especially at the present time, through the more impersonal medium of litigation.

Theft is clearly the most common form of criminal activity in present-day Chucuito, and the fact that it is frequently of a petty nature does not mean that it can be dismissed as insignificant and inconsequential.[3] Actually, it could scarcely be otherwise, since most Aymara possess little property of any great monetary value. The theft of food, either of standing crops or of food stores, and of livestock appears to be most common. Ripening fields and grazing flocks are carefully guarded at all times, for obviously it is next to impossible to identify particular food plants, and the earmarks of domestic animals are easily altered. Bandelier writes:

> When crops are being gathered, stealing is diligently practiced. They (the Aymara) are as dishonest toward each other as toward the owners of the Island, and we knew of an instance of an old man, who had to sit up night after night in the bitterest cold and in the open field, to guard his crop.[4]

Items of clothing, especially fine garments reserved for fiesta wear, are stolen not infre-

[1] La Barre found both murder and suicide extremely rare among the Bolivian Aymara. La Barre, 1948, 158, 163. Also see Forbes, 1870, 228.

[2] Inter-community brawls, or fights between individuals of neighboring towns, are considered legitimate since the Aymara tend to dislike and distrust outsiders. Of the Bolivian Aymara, Bandelier states: "... hostilities between villages are common occurrences, and a number of persons are killed every year in fights between pueblos or haciendas, or on festive occasions." Bandelier, 1910, 88.

[3] Forbes, for example, writes of the Bolivian Aymara, "... theft, except of a very petty character, is not common." Forbes, 1870, 228. Also see La Barre, 1948, 157.

[4] Bandelier, 1910, 88.

quently, but there appear to be few thefts of silver jewelry or money, perhaps because such valuables are often buried in secret caches. Although neither rare nor unusual in Chucuito, the repeatedly expressed anxieties about theft do appear to be disproportionate to the reality. Fear and suspicion of theft remain the principal sources of anxiety in Chucuito at the present time (see p. 174 ff.).

Any tendency towards criminal behavior on the part of the Chucuito Aymara is checked on every side. In some societies the responsibilities of discipline devolve primarily upon the family group; in others, through the mechanism of shame, upon the total society. Other groups rely upon codified law and upon formal methods of law enforcement, or, again, sanctions may be placed beyond the range of human beings, to rest with the supernatural. Still other societies rely in large part upon "conscience"—internalized group norms operating from within the component individual members. With the possible exception of the latter, Aymara culture, to a greater or lesser degree, employs all of these methods of social control. It seems significant, however, that little or no use is made of positive sanctions: those motivating the individual with promise of reward.

Discipline of the growing child is centered within the family circle, with the father performing the role of chief disciplinarian and possessed of autocratic powers. Where the family owns its land the father is in a position to maintain his authority and to impose his will throughout his lifetime.

The young Aymara is also soon taught that unless he behaves properly, "people" will talk about him and laugh at him, with the result that adult Aymara have a well-developed sense of shame and are enormously sensitive to the opinions of others.[1] Ridicule is employed as a sanction from infancy and throughout life. Children are ridiculed to the amusement of adults and are often given derogatory nicknames to promote good behavior.[2] In adult life, the informal public ridicule to which the deviant or nonconformer is subjected is derisive, malicious, and brutal, and at times has been known to have driven the unfortunate victim into hiding or out of town. There is little evidence, however, that the average Aymara responds equally to internalized sanctions; the fact that many appear to operate on the premise that one may do as he likes as long as he is not caught does not suggest a strongly developed "conscience" or the existence of deep-seated guilt feelings.[3]

As members of the superior caste, as masters and *patrones*, and as official representatives of the law the Mestizos exert considerable pressure on the Indians to conform, at least in those areas of behavior in which they are interested. All crimes, if brought to public attention, are tried in the local court of Chucuito, and the penalties meted out range from fines to imprisonment. In cases of major crimes, the police are called in from Puno and the culprit is usually taken there for trial. In addition to formal legal procedure as represented by or embodied in the Mestizo, the latter not infrequently administers "justice" personally and informally, confident of the Indian's helplessness and of the support of his fellow *vecinos*. Thus a *patrón* may with impunity beat a confession from an Indian suspected of theft, or otherwise punish one of "his" Indian *peones* without recourse to courts of law.

In theory at least the ayllu head man, or *hilaqata*, like the *barrio* leader, or *Maestro Mayor*, possesses the authority to police the area under his jurisdiction; failure to perform his duty makes him liable to punishment by the governor of Chucuito. Thus the average *hilaqata*, placed in a compromising situation, tends to hide the major misdeeds of his friends and intimates and to report only minor offenses

[1] Mead has pointed out the extent to which shame is utilized in American Indian societies as a social sanction. Mead, 1948, 518.

[2] The Aymara appear to have only derogatory nicknames; none having positive social-prestige value were reported.

[3] In this regard Forbes wrote that the Bolivian Aymara " . . . still believes that on one day of the year, which is Good Friday, he may commit any crime short of murder with impunity; and on this day instances are known where they have violated their own daughters in the presence of their mothers, as I have been assured by a trustworthy Indian of Omasuyos, who explained at the same time to me that it could be no sin, as on that day God was dead, and consequently could not possibly on the next day remember anything which had happened the day before . . . . " Forbes, 1870, 232. A similar attitude towards Good Friday prevails in Chucuito.

to the authorities. The occasional *hilaqata* who takes his position seriously attempts to arbitrate grievances that might otherwise be aired before the Chucuito judge, and at times himself administers corporal punishment where he believes it justified.

Although an individual may flaunt the authority of his family and may successfully conceal a crime from the legal authorities, no Aymara escapes the critical scrutiny of the powerful supernaturals who observe his every action and do not hesitate to punish misdeeds. Thus, as is discussed in the following section, the native supernaturals exert what is, perhaps, the most effective social control. Sorcery is likewise effected through the manipulation of spirits and demons and serves both as an outlet for hostile feelings and, since black magic is available to all, as a check on the Aymara's relations with his fellows.

In Aymara culture, therefore, the family, the total society, and the supernaturals are the disciplinarians, and the individual must conform both to customary and to formal law. The many sanctions governing the behavior of individuals range from ridicule and withdrawal of approval through fines, imprisonment, and corporal punishment, to sickness and even death. Although Aymara culture engenders disruptive forces, at the same time it provides a number of mechanisms to insure that these forces will be kept in check. These rigid controls have in turn left their impress on Aymara personality; as La Barre has concluded in a recent paper:

> If the Aymara, as evidenced in their folktales (and indeed throughout the rest of their culture) are apprehensive, crafty, treacherous, violent and hostile, one reason for this may be that such a character structure is an understandable response to their having lived for perhaps as long as a millennium under rigidly hierarchic, absolutist economic, military and religious controls.[1]

SOME ASPECTS OF AYMARA PERSONALITY

In the foregoing section an attempt has been made to describe the hostile, inclement, physical environment of the *altiplano* as well as to suggest the tension-ridden socio-cultural milieu in which the contemporary Aymara lives. This section provides the physical and cultural setting for the following discussion of some aspects of the "basic" or "modal" personality of the Aymara.[2] Whether viewed from the standpoint of economics, technology, or social structure, it is evident that the lot of the Aymara is a hard one. Nor is the supernatural world more lenient and indulgent. To the Aymara it must appear that the forces of nature, the spirit world, and his fellow men are pitted against him in a willful conspiracy to frustrate his hopes and desires. Approaching the problem comparatively, Aymara culture may, with all justification, be termed a "tough" culture.[3]

In recent years it has been pointed out repeatedly that frequencies of various personality configurations differ markedly from one society to another and that a configuration that is normal for one society may be considered abnormal in the next. In the Aymara case, the multitude of determinants stemming from the combined socio-cultural and physical environments have molded a personality type so distinctive and, from the Western European point of view, so aberrant that it has been described in remarkably consistent terms by several independent observers.[4] Forbes characterized the Aymara of the mid-nineteenth century as

> naturally submissive; sad and serious, reflective, silent and uncommunicative, intensely suspicious and distrustful, never forming attachments until after long acquaintance.[5]

He added that they are capable of "intense

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[1] La Barre, 1950, 42.

[2] The "basic" or "modal" personality type for any society can be defined very generally as that personality configuration that tends to be characteristic of the bulk of the society's members as a result of the experiences that they share and have shared in common.

[3] The Arsenians have drawn a useful distinction between "tough" (tension-productive) and "easy" (tension-reductive) cultures. Arsenian, J. and J. M., 1948, 377–385.

[4] Biological or constitutional determinants cannot, of course, be ruled out; at the present time, however, these constitute an unknown quantity, and their role cannot be evaluated properly.

[5] Forbes, 1870, 198, 227.

hatred" and "horrible cruelties."[1] Somewhat later Squier termed them "sullen," "cruel," "morose," "jealous," and "vindictive."[2] At the turn of the century, Bandelier described the Aymara as "mistrustful," "submissive," "careless," "crafty," "malicious," "quarrelsome," "rancorous," "dishonest," "cruel," "pugnacious."[3] Of the contemporary Bolivian Aymara, La Barre writes that they are "truculent," "hostile," "unsmiling," "humble," "melancholy," and "submissive," and goes on to speak of their "notorious sullenness," "pugnacity," and "emotional lability."[4] More recently, on the basis of cultural analysis, he has characterized them as "apprehensive, crafty, treacherous, violent and hostile."[5] Romero has described them as "reticent," "silent," "melancholy," "distrustful," "unimaginative," and "cruel," and goes on to speak of their "lack of aspirations" and "emotional instability."[6] Perhaps the most extended and penetrating estimation of Aymara personality is that given by Paredes, who writes:

> His nature is suspicious and profoundly pessimistic; he doubts all and in everything supposes evil to be more possible than good. It seems that the eyes of the Indian have no sight save to perceive the dark side of things. . . . He comprehends sinister plans more readily than happy or beneficial ones. He travels in a world filled with deceptions, possessed by a terrible fear. At each step that he takes he fears that he may meet an enemy who will harm him or someone who may want only to frustrate his interests. In each act which he performs through his own volition, he always awaits an unfavorable outcome. Doubt and fear so inhibit his free will that it is impossible for his personality to unfold in all its fullness. Doubt and fear have consumed the roots of his volition, and have killed all creative impulse.[7]

For these reasons, he continues, the Aymara accepts orders submissively from his superiors and consults magicians and diviners in solving his private problems.[8] Elsewhere he emphasizes the self-pitying and hostile facets of the Aymara character.[9] While the above statements are, by and large, descriptively accurate, both La Barre and I have found it necessary to make qualifications, and to point out that such characterizations apply more specifically to the Aymara of the towns and haciendas than to the independent, ayllu-dwelling Indians.[10]

The personality characteristics of the Chucuito Aymara are likewise striking to the observer and must be described in equally unflattering terms. Only certain of these, however, will be the concern of the present study. The selection of certain aspects of Aymara personality for consideration here is not intended to deny that the personality has organization and that, to a greater or lesser extent, it is an integrated whole; rather, the question of personality organization is not particularly relevant to the problem at hand. The discussion will, moreover, be confined exclusively to personality characteristics of the normal members of the society.

While those aspects of Aymara personality here considered were deemed characteristic of most of the Chucuito Aymara with whom the writer was acquainted, it is well to remember that no single person is ever completely representative of all the characteristics imputed to the group as a whole.[11] Each individual is in some respects unlike every other individual; differences in constitution, group membership, cultural participation, and in situational factors combine, in the last analysis, to make each

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[1] Forbes, 1870, 198, 227.

[2] Squier, 1877, 304.

[3] Bandelier, 1910, 19, 35, 70, 77, 87–88, 114.

[4] La Barre, 1948, 39, 51.

[5] La Barre, 1950, 42.

[6] Romero, 1928, 174–175, 224.

[7] "*Su espíritu suspicaz y profundamente pesimista, de todo duda y en todo supone más posible el mal que el bién. Parce que los ojos del indio no tuvieron vista sino para percibir el lado obscuro de las cosas. . . . Comprende más presto los proyectos siniestros que los alegres o benéficos. Camina en el mundo lleno de decepciones y poseído de un teribie miedo. En cada paso que de teme encontrarse con un enemigo que la dañe o con alguien que gratuitaments le perjudique en sus intereses; y en cada acto que ejecuta por propia voluntad, espera siempre un resultado desfavorable. La duda y el miedo entraban su libre albedrío, de tal manera que imposibilitan a que se desenvuelva su ser en toda su plenitud; la duda y el miedo han carcomido las raíces de su voluntad y dado muerte a todo impulso creador.*" Paredes, 1936, 62.

[8] *Idem.*

[9] Paredes, 1936, 137–138, 151.

[10] Cf. La Barre, 1948, 156; Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 501. See also Romero, 1928, 173–174.

[11] Cf. Kluckhohn and Murray, 1948, 42.

personality unique. Not all of the aspects of Aymara personality set out below, therefore, are characteristic of each and every Indian in Chucuito, nor are they exhibited by all Aymara to the same degree and in the same measure.

The Aymara personality characteristics described in the following pages were established through informal observation and the analysis of cultural data rather than by means of projective and other tests. The ultimate confirmation of these observations must rest upon systematic psychological investigation and upon the application and analysis of projective and other tests at some future date. The degree to which these observations coincide with those of other observers, however, leads the writer to believe that the rough formulations are essentially correct. It is obvious that those facets of Aymara personality here considered range in specificity from simple overt responses to highly generalized attitudes that underlie a wide range of more specific responses. Some of the headings, clearly, could be subsumed under others; but such overlapping must be expected, since personality characteristics must be considered not as isolated entities, but as interrelated facies of a single configuration.[1]

ANXIETY

Anxiety is, of course, a fundamental, universal trait of human nature; in some degree it is experienced by all normal individuals and is, therefore, an emotional state with which all societies must deal. It is unquestionably true, however, that the general level of anxiety varies from one society to another and from one time to another within a particular society. It is likewise well known to psychologists that individuals differ markedly in their ability to tolerate and to cope with anxiety feelings. Yet among the Aymara anxiety is so general and intense, so ever-present and all-pervading, that it has left its peculiar mark on virtually every individual and has colored the entire fabric of the culture. The Aymara's generalized attitude towards life and his world is uneasy, anxious, and worried, and his total culture might be described fittingly and appropriately as apprehensive.[2]

Anxiety is, in fact, the keystone of Aymara "modal" personality, the central principle in terms of which other personality characteristics become intelligible. It is manifested directly through speech and action and obliquely through the often-transparent defense mechanisms erected against it. The Aymara worry volubly, articulately, and at length. Their fantasy life is dominated by subsistence anxieties, morbid concern over illness, the evil intentions of others, and fears of loss, theft, or deprivation. They exhibit anxiety in their confusion, doubt, and indecision, their hostility, suspicion, and secretiveness, and in their irresponsible and erratic behavior. Diffuse anxiety is revealed by their pessimistic outlook as well as by fits of depression and gloom of which they are fully conscious and for which they have a name.[3] In addition, flight from anxiety is indicated by the inordinate use of alcohol and coca.[4] On the cultural level the presence of anxiety is reflected in the elaborate pharmacopoeia, the vast number of omens, most of them boding ill, and the proliferation of divinatory techniques.

The symptoms that in our culture are indicative of anxiety neurosis (diffuse anxiety, the feeling of impending doom, feelings of inferiority and inadequacy, irritability and indecision) are all traits of Aymara personality.[5] Yet since these personality characteristics are shared by, and are common to, most Aymara of Chucuito, they should not be considered "neurotic" symptoms; so to brand them would be to fall into logical error, for, by definition, neurotic behavior is deviant. As Benedict has reminded us,

> normality . . . within a very wide range is culturally conditioned.[6]

[1] Cf. Honigmann, 1949, 249–250.

[2] Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 501–502.

[3] "Depressive states and gloomy moods probably, in most cases, represent a diffused form of anxiety." Symonds, 1946, 155. The Aymara term for these melancholy moods is *q'aiya*. Cf. La Barre, 1948, 39.

[4] Regarding the relationship of drinking to anxiety, Horton has written: "The greater the amount of alcohol consumed, other conditions being equal, the more completely anxiety is reduced; and conversely, the greater the initial anxiety, the greater the amount of alcohol required to reduce it." Horton, 1939, 541.

[5] Cf. Symonds, 1946, 160–161.

[6] Benedict, 1949, 188. Similarly, Horney designates a disturbance as "neurotic" only if it "deviates

In an attempt to discuss Aymara anxiety on something more than an impressionistic basis, the Chucuito field materials were analyzed for all references to threatening situations as these are envisaged from the Indian's point of view. The statements were then compiled into two tables, one organized according to the expressed source of the threat and the second according to the object of the threat (Figs. 2 and 3).[1] In compiling these tables, all references were excluded where there was any doubt as to whether the Indian considered the event threatening.

It is obvious that in judging whether or not a particular object or situation is dangerous we must accept the Aymara's appraisal and evaluation. Although we, for example, are aware that sorcery cannot kill livestock and that the bones of the dead are actually harmless, these dangers are very real to the Aymara, and sorcery and human remains are greatly feared. Once an object, a situation, or a supernatural being has been culturally defined as dangerous, it becomes a potential source of anxiety. Thus demons, ruins, and evil places, as well as ill omens, bad dreams, and the like, may to the Aymara call forth anxiety equal to dangers that we define as real.[2] Conversely, because the culture defines a particular phenomenon as dangerous it does not *necessarily* mean that this object or situation is actually an important source of anxiety. Thus Informant 11 stated:

> If you injure a toad and he escapes, you will be hurt in the same place;

at the same time, however, she indicated no apprehensive feeling about toads. For this reason, statements on the level of cultural theory or "ideal" pattern were not considered as necessarily evidence of the presence of anxiety and were excluded from the following tabulations.

Doubtless there exist other sources of anxiety not mentioned by the Aymara; in all likelihood there are some of which they themselves are unaware. In addition, owing to projection, displacement, and other mechanisms of this order, it is equally certain that an Indian's manifest complaints did not in all instances reflect the precise anxiety he was actually experiencing. Other sources of error are likewise apparent, for the categories employed in the tabulations in no way reflect clear-cut entities. Thus disease, from the Aymara point of view, may be due to natural causes, to sorcery, or may be sent by demons or offended spirits, and the informant, in expressing his anxiety about illness, may not specify his conception of its source with clarity. Again, rain or its absence (an environmental consideration) may be the source of anxiety, but rainfall in turn is often believed to be affected by spirits or souls of the dead (supernaturals). Similarly, in certain cases of sorcery it is difficult to know whether the victim was more concerned about his health or the effect that impaired health would have upon his subsistence activities. The following analysis of threats in terms of sources and effects, therefore, must be regarded as suggestive and indicative rather than definitive and conclusive. It is, however, a step beyond mere impressions and "snap" judgments.

In approximate terms the tabulation of threats according to effect answers the question: What does the Aymara conceive to be threatened? Statements referring to various types of threats considered from this point of view (258 in all) were accordingly grouped under the following five major headings (Fig. 2).

1. Threats to economic security (subsistence and possessions). As in our own society, threats to food, to clothing, money, and other personal property can be equated, since material possessions are readily convertible into foodstuffs. Threats of this order are reflected in the following statements. While discussing the scarcity of *totora* reed (employed in the manufacture of fishing craft), Informant 39 remarked:

> If there is no *totora*, we can't go fishing, and when that happens, we will die of hunger. It will be a bad thing for us, because we live by fishing.

Similarly, Informant 33 complained:

> Everything I have, I get by working, working every day. If I did not, I would die of hunger. . . . The last few years have been very bad years. I have had to spend all the money I earned for food.

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from the pattern common to the particular culture." Horney, 1937, 29.

[1] The present scheme of analysis has been modified and adapted from that employed by the Leightons in their discussion of Navaho anxiety. See Leighton, A. H. and D. C., 1942, 194–209.

[2] Even ritual prescriptions themselves may give rise to what Homans has called "secondary anxieties." Homans, 1941, 171–172.

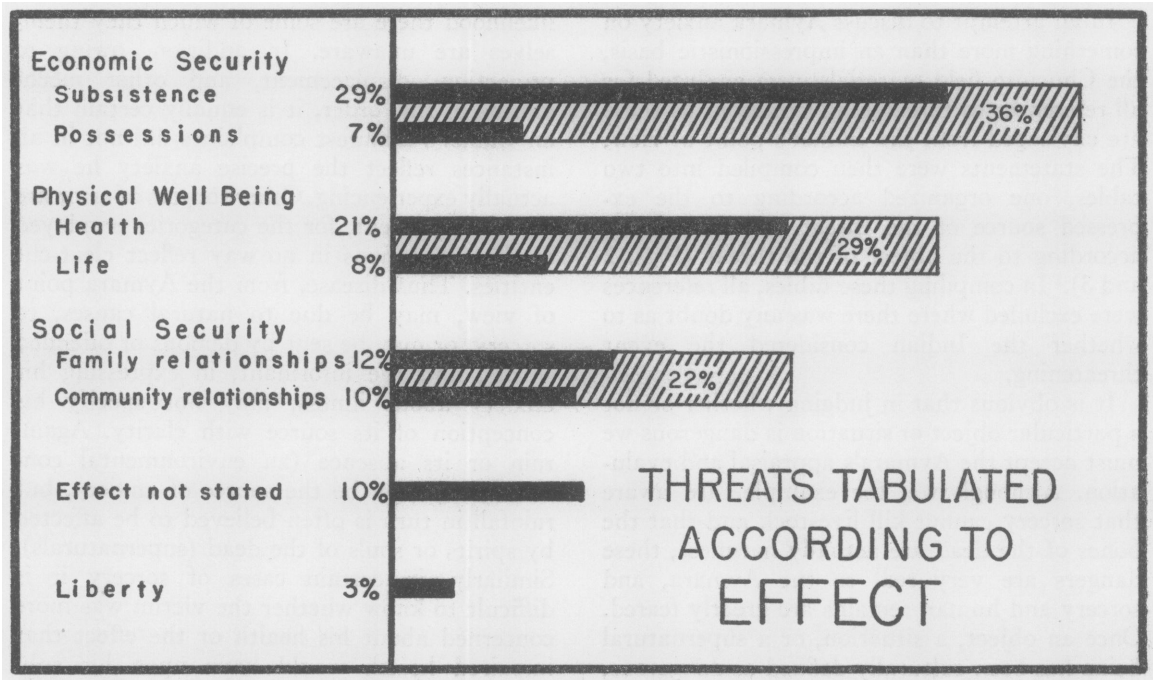

FIG. 2. Threats tabulated according to effect.

Informant 2 stated:

Yesterday the moon rose, sort of half red, like fire. I was afraid to wash my clothes because, if I had, they would have fallen apart, as though in acid.

2. Threats to physical well-being (health and life). These include the many references to disease as well as to injury or death resulting from accidents, childbirth, fights, and brawls, or from sorcery. Threats of this type seem perfectly clear and require no illustration.

3. Threats to social security (those menacing inter-personal relationships within the family or the community generally). In this category are included all references to situations considered as threatening to an individual's relations with his relatives (by blood or marriage) or with non-related members of the community. Such statements include allusions to family rows, fights, quarrels, etc., as well as to expressions of ridicule or group disapproval. Examples may serve to clarify the meaning of threats to family relationships. Speaking of her daughter-in-law, Informant 11 complained:

She doesn't like to live here with me. She always says bad things about me, and she is living with my son.

Similarly, Informant 39 stated:

My sister is a crazy woman; she just runs from one man to another. . . . Many times I have told her, "Come stay at my house," but she doesn't want to. . . . She doesn't agree to anything I say.

Examples of threats to relations with non-related members of the community can be given as follows. The niece of Informant 36 recounted tearfully:

The other day Enrique Chambi hit me when I went down to the communal lands to look at the grain. "What are you doing here, walking through the grain?" he said. Then he said, "You are stealing my grain," and he knocked me to the ground and took my hat. Then I said to him, "Search me and see what grain I have stolen."

Finally, Informant 103 stated:

We are from *kusipata*, and the people here in Chucuito look down on us. They say that I am ragged and tattered. The people say that my step-father . . . is a thief.

4. Effect not stated. In a number of instances (26) the precise effect of the threat was left unstated. In this category are placed statements to the effect that because of some event

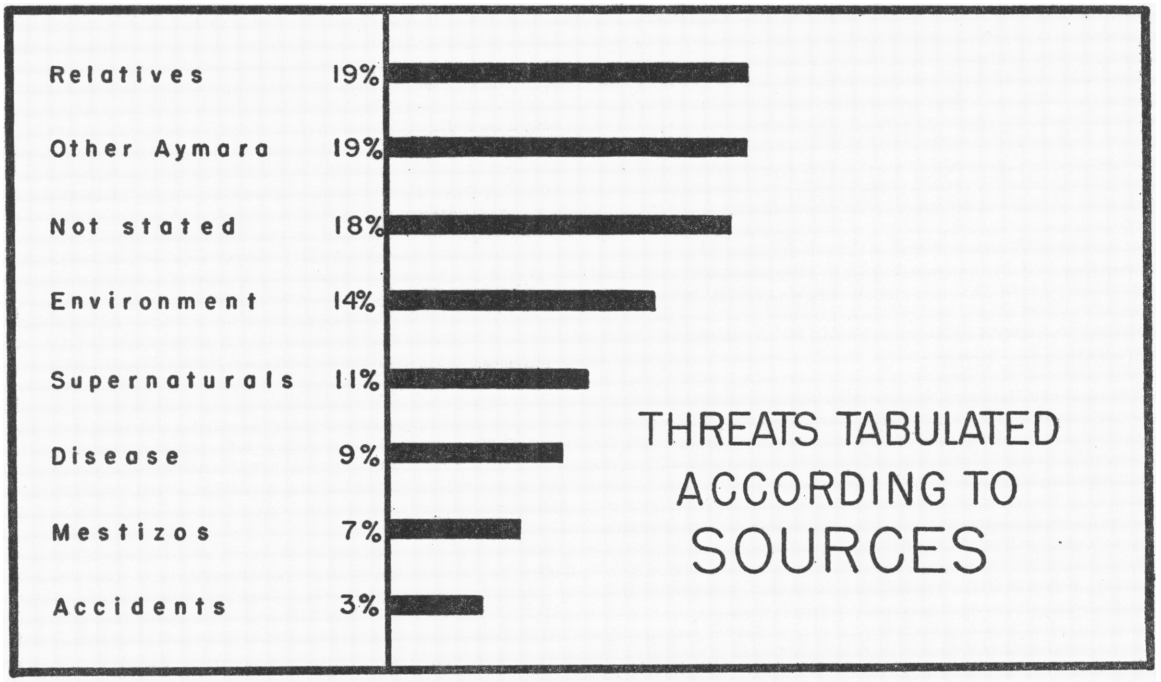

FIG. 3. Threats tabulated according to sources.

or some omen, "*something* is going to happen." For example, after having related a disturbing dream, Informant 51 added:

To dream of such a thing means that sorrow will come. Something bad is surely going to happen.

Similarly, Informant 43 remarked:

One time lightning struck in the pampa near here and killed many frogs. Surely this is an evil place. I don't like to stay here.

5. Threats to liberty. These include the relatively few references to fears of imprisonment or of being forced to perform military service, or having one's liberty curtailed in some other manner. For example, an ayllu head man remarked:

I must do what the Governor says. If I don't agree to do what he says, he will send me to Puno to jail (67).

The tabulation of threats according to sources in part answers the question, By what does the Aymara consider himself to be threatened? Statements ordered from this point of view (some 247 in all) were grouped in the following eight categories (Fig. 3)[1]:

1. Threats from relatives. These include such social situations as family quarrels and fights, and lawsuits, sorcery, theft, etc., involving near relatives. They are, of course, in every way similar to those situations illustrated above with reference to threats to family relationships; for, clearly, if a close relative is considered as a source of threat, family solidarity itself is menaced. Two additional examples may, therefore, suffice.

In regard to her sister-in law, Informant 111 complained:

She stole my food and ollas and clothes to drive me out. She knew that I couldn't accuse her of being a thief, because she is older than I am.

Similarly, Informant 64 stated:

Juan *kurasi* is my father's brother. He and my father were always fighting because half of his land should have belonged to my father. He says he bought it, but he is a liar.

2. Threats from other Aymara. Threats of this category are of the same order as the above, save that they involve individuals not

[1] The totals for the two tabulations are not identical because not all statements specified both effect and source.

related to one another by blood or marriage. In addition, they include such situations as extramarital relations and unwanted sexual advances. Thus, for example, in describing her first sex experience, Informant 68 related:

> Then I wept. "Now I'm going to tell my father," I said. "I'm not going to live with you," I said.

3. Source of threat not stated. In a large number of instances (45) the source of the threat was not specified. Informant 112, for example, described his visit to a magician in the following terms:

> I said, "*tata paqo*, make the *uiwiri* arrive for me. I want to know what is wrong with the place where my house is located. All of my children have died; not one of them is able to live . . . ."

In this category have been included statements of anxieties about health, subsistence, and so forth, where the informant has not specified his conception of the source of his anxiety.

4. Threats from environment. These include the various references to hail, frost, lightning, drought, "bad years," marauding foxes, lack of raw materials, and the like. Such threats are self-explanatory, and require no illustration.

5. Threats from supernaturals. In this category are grouped those statements that reflect anxiety about spirits, demons, ghosts, and souls. Informant 64, for example, remarked:

> The souls of the dead arrived this month (during the fiesta of All Saints) and because they came there will be no rain. The dead hurt the fields and dry up the plants.

Similarly, Informant 9 was reluctant to enter ruined chullpas because the "heathens" within might make him sick.

6. Threats from disease. In some instances disease itself was clearly the source of anxiety. This same informant (9) related:

> I do not want to leave my mother's and father's side. When I went away (to school), I took sick. I was sick for a long time. It cost me a lot of effort to cure myself.

7. Threats from Mestizos. These refer to domination, exploitation, and ill-treatment of Indians by Mestizos. Statements reflecting these situations are explicit and straightforward, presenting no difficulties. Thus, for example, Informant 37 related:

> The other day we went down to the Lake bottom lands to plant. We were all ready when Guillermo Pinazo (a Mestizo) told us to get off the land, that it was his. . . . He told me to take out the barley I had planted; now we don't know whether we have a field or not.

8. Threats from accidents. This category is self-explanatory, and threats from this source need no illustration.

As Kluckhohn has observed, every society tends, to some extent, to have a type anxiety.[1] If the present analysis has any validity, it would appear obvious from the tabulation of threats according to effect that preoccupation with economic security is the dominant, or "type," anxiety of the Chucuito Aymara. This observation is, moreover, borne out in other ways. The writer has pointed out elsewhere that the bulk of public and private ceremonials are designed to produce better crops, larger flocks, or more fish.[2] Similarly, La Barre has written that the large body of omens and divinatory techniques is directed at discovering the fate of the crops.[3] Yet it is clear from an examination of the tabulation of threats according to sources that the Indians do not believe subsistence is menaced by the inclement environment, by Mestizo encroachment, or even by malevolent spirits so much as by relatives and other Aymara. This situation in turn reflects the prevalence of family discord, of squabbles and lawsuits over land, of theft and fear of theft, and of sorcery motivated by economic strife.

After economic security, the Aymara appear to be most concerned over their physical well-being, and threats to health or life total over a quarter of all those expressed by the informants. As stated earlier, it would be tempting to describe this preponderance of Aymara health worry as "hypochondriacal" were it not that so many of their diseases appear to be real.[4] Considered from the point of view of sources recognized by the Aymara, however, it is apparent that disease is not attributed so

[1] Kluckhohn, 1942, 71.
[2] Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 502.
[3] La Barre, 1948, 174.
[4] It is quite likely, of course, that many Aymara ailments are of a psychosomatic nature. It is recognized that the incidence of certain diseases and organic disorders is related to the degree of anxiety under which the individual lives. See Mead, 1947b, 71–72.

much to natural causes and to the rigors of the *altiplano* environment as to the evil machinations of other Aymara, including relatives, and to supernaturals.

From the point of view of either tabulation it is abundantly evident that social friction within the Indian society is a source of great anxiety, and the degree to which fellow Aymara are regarded as menacing or threatening is truly surprising. Relatives and other Aymara combined comprise 38 per cent of all expressed threats tabulated according to sources. It is this intense anxiety of the Indians about the evil intentions of others, this gnawing fear of being robbed, cheated, deprived, bewitched, or otherwise put upon, that has led various independent observers to describe the Aymara as consistently "suspicious" and "mistrustful." Indeed, Bandelier states specifically that

> . . . the Aymara Indian is as mistrustful of his own people as he is of a stranger.[1]

Although there appears to be no explicit formulation on the level of culture theory to the effect that near relatives are a source of danger (indeed this would probably be denied by most Aymara), there is substantial evidence that one's own relatives by blood and marriage are suspected and mistrusted as frequently as are outsiders.

The categories not stated, prominent in both tabulations, seem to reflect the presence of a considerable amount of unnamed apprehension and "diffuse anxiety." On the one hand, because of past or present threatening events, the Aymara anticipates misfortune and worries about the future without being able to specify what he feels to be endangered. On the other hand, he is uneasy about his crops or his health, but is unable to name the source of his fear. Of all forms of mental anguish, fear of what the future may hold (this searching for reason behind inexplicable events) is, perhaps, most difficult to support. As Kluckhohn has put it,

> . . . nothing is more intolerable to human beings than being persistently disturbed without being able to say why or without being able to phrase the matter in such a way that some relief or control is potentially available.[2]

In all likelihood, it is the verbalization of this generalized gloomy outlook, this feeling of impending disaster, that has led observers to characterize the Aymara as "apprehensive," "melancholy," or "pessimistic."

A few words must be said regarding Aymara anxiety and the reality situation. When the environment of the *altiplano* and the Indian's way of life are considered, his concern about subsistence and health is entirely realistic. He lives perpetually on the verge of starvation and is ridden by diseases over which he has no effective control. Yet the inclement environment and disease *per se* figure unimportantly in his conception of sources. Instead, he tends to blame his plight upon his fellow Aymara and, indirectly through them, upon supernaturals. His poor health is actually a result of a series of complicated interacting factors (climate, endemic diseases, inadequate diet, and the like). Similarly his economic difficulties can be traced to diverse sources (altitude, poor soils, inferior food plants, inadequate technology, etc.). To the observer it is apparent that economic and physical well-being are intricately interrelated and that the latter is in large part a function of the former. This connection, however, is not comprehended by the Aymara. As the Leightons have observed,

> this sort of emphasis is probably not uncommon in any society; a set of derived and obvious threats receive the full attention of the people while the fundamental cause is not recognized.[3]

In spite of the social friction that is undoubtedly prevalent in Aymara society, it is a matter of the record that the Indians have suffered considerably more from Mestizo encroachment and exploitation than from any amount of ill will from their own kind. Before the Mestizos, however, the Aymara are in large part impotent. Nor are they able to cope effectively with the environment and existing conditions of ill health. It would seem not unreasonable to suspect that much of the anxiety directed towards relatives and other Aymara represents displaced anxiety that originates in other presses of the total environment.

HOSTILITY

Like anxiety, with which it is "inextricably interwoven," hostility is a universal aspect of

[1] Bandelier, 1910, 70.
[2] Kluckhohn, 1944, 60.
[3] Leighton, A. H. and D. C., 1942, 205.

"human nature," and the handling of hostile impulses is a problem that every society must face.[1] The very conditions of social living demand that much aggressive behavior be branded as "reprehensible" or "criminal"; every society, accordingly, tends to prohibit certain forms of hostility and to channel the expression of others along socially acceptable lines. In their efforts to control or to re-route hostility, some societies, of course, are more successful than others. Yet in each and every human group, since most hostile impulses must, to a greater or lesser extent, be suppressed or repressed, there is need for what has been termed "hate satisfaction."[2]

The culture of the Chucuito Aymara is singularly deficient in these respects, for it provides apparently highly inadequate outlets for the expression of hostile impulses. Save for outsiders on certain occasions, the Aymara have no "scapegoats" and no suitable objects on which to "vent their spleen." Such, however, has not always been the situation; their former warlike nature is attested by their history from Inca times through the nineteenth century, and occasional Indian uprisings are by no means entirely unknown on the *altiplano* in modern times.[3] Nevertheless, organized warfare as a mechanism of aggression release is now barred to the Chucuito Aymara. Although sporadic and disorganized fighting with Indians of neighboring villages occurs from time to time, serious brawls are infrequent and, especially if accompanied by bloodshed or fatalities, lead to trouble with the authorities and to endless litigation.

From the Aymara point of view it is fitting and proper, as stated earlier, to hate Mestizos as a class. Yet although they may be cursed and reviled (to other Indians) or upon occasion robbed, there are no direct means by which hostile impulses towards Mestizos can be expressed save through non-cooperation, which accomplishes little in terms of reducing hostile feelings and is, moreover, often economically impractical. From personal experiences and from the experiences of others the Indians have learned the futility and actual danger of aggressive behavior directed at members of the superior "caste." Much of the hostility aroused by Mestizos, therefore, must be suppressed or deflected towards other objects in the environment.[4] In short, although suitable hate objects may be found in the out-group (Mestizos, Aymara of other communities), the culture provides no adequate means of expressing hostility towards them. In effect this situation tends to invert hostile feelings and to focus them upon group members, including relatives.

Yet, as stated earlier, the Chucuito Aymara tend to disapprove strongly of the direct expression of intra-group hostilities. Physical violence, especially in public, is deplored, although there is some tendency to dismiss drunken brawls on the grounds that the parties involved were really not responsible. In spite of the altered structure of the family, insubordinate behavior of children towards parents is not tolerated, and the strong sentiment persists that relatives should present a solid front to the world at large. In practice almost no forms of overt intra-group aggression are actively encouraged or positively sanctioned. Even competitive patterns as expressed in games are, generally speaking, lacking. These sentiments of aversion towards overt hostility are rationalized in the generally held view that anger is a morbid state, damaging both to the individual and to the efficacy of ritual.

That much hostility is suppressed and repressed is suggested by the violence of drunken brawls, the vicious brutality of the infrequent murders, and by the fury of quarrels, which often appear to be disproportionate to the manifest situation. It seems likely, therefore, that when aggression, verbal or behavioral, is expressed directly, it tends to be accompanied by a considerable amount of displaced aggression. This situation (the presence of pent-up,

[1] Horney, 1937, 75. Since it has been clearly demonstrated that frustration, which is inherent in the socialization process, gives rise to aggression, it is not necessary to posit hostility as instinctual. Symonds, 1946, 96.

[2] Kluckhohn, 1944, 51.

[3] Cf. La Barre, 1948, 160–162.

[4] It was noted above that the Indians tended to trace their difficulties less to Mestizo pressures than to other factors. In a similar vein, with reference to the Haitian Negro, Simpson writes: "... it is interesting to note that aggression (magical or otherwise) is seldom directed against those who have been responsible for much of the peasants' plight, namely, the members of the *elite*." Simpson, 1945, 55.

free-floating hostility) goes far towards "explaining" the Aymara's intense suspicion of others; for, as Horney has written,

> the potential hostile tension between individuals results in a constant generation of fear—fear of the potential hostility of others, reinforced by a fear of retaliation for hostilities of one's own.[1]

When one considers the strained and tense relations prevailing within the Aymara family at the present time, it is not surprising that close relatives become a primary target for suspicion. For if the hostility of an individual is directed at a parent, spouse, or relative, or anyone standing in a similarly close relationship, it may be rejected by him as being incompatible with existing "ideal" patterns of authority, love, or friendship. The repression of such hostility thus leads to heightened anxiety towards this relative and, in turn, to an intensification of the hostile feelings. Logically, in other words, the person on whom one's hostile impulses will be projected is the one against whom they are directed, and the circle is complete.[2]

Hostility towards relatives and other Aymara of the community is expressed principally through sorcery and lawsuits. Through the medium of the sorcerer and his black magic the individual is able to punish his enemy in a socially recognized, if socially disapproved, manner (see p. 283). This specialist, the *laiqa*, is a disinterested professional practitioner whose services are available to all and to whom no blame is usually attached. Such an indirect and oblique attack to a degree satisfies the cultural prohibition against open hostility; at the same time, this sly, underhanded, and secret act enables the person to express his hostile impulses without letting others know its source or who is involved.[3] Lawsuits likewise satisfy the cultural requirements in that they are conducted objectively and through a disinterested professional intermediary. As in sorcery, the aggrieved person is able to vent his hostility and to see his enemy humiliated or punished even though, as not infrequently happens, he himself becomes bankrupted in the process.

The non-aggressive ways of handling hostility, touched upon in the foregoing pages, can be summarized briefly as follows: Gossip and ridicule represent responses that are widely employed, and the malice so expressed tends to be biting, direct, and sustained. Owing to the progressive breakdown of cooperative enterprises, however, the opportunities for effective public ridicule are becoming increasingly infrequent. While gossip is effective in the more closely knit society of Chucuito village, it is far less potent among the scattered Aymara of the ayllus.

Flight may also serve as a substitute for aggression and may take the form either of physical or social withdrawal or of flight from reality through the medium of alcohol. The Aymara has learned that social withdrawal is effective in dealings with Mestizos, since it gives the appearance of "proper" humility and does not provoke retaliation. However, in situations involving other Aymara, especially relatives, social withdrawal is often impossible, and physical withdrawal means severing the ties of family and friendship and seeking residence in another community, a measure to which only the most desperate are driven. Nor is taking flight in intoxication a thoroughly satisfactory response, since, as Horton has demonstrated cross-culturally, the drinking of alcohol tends to be accompanied by the release of aggressive impulses, the very response that the culture seeks to repress.[4]

It is possible, of course, to interpret much of the Aymara's concern over disease as hostility directed against the self. This is not, however, as Kluckhohn has pointed out, a very adjustive response.[5] It is interesting to note in this connection that the Aymara themselves believe that anger is the cause of certain diseases.

Conciliation as a response in the handling of hostile feelings, inadequate though it may be, is institutionalized in the rite of begging forgiveness (see p. 258). This act may be performed in a formal ceremonial context, it may occur more or less spontaneously during drinking bouts when both parties are feeling elated and expansive, or it may be suggested by some interested intermediary (parent, friend, or ayllu headman). Since the begging of forgive-

[1] Horney, 1937, 285.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 70.
[3] See Symonds, 1946, 173.
[4] Horton, 1939, 542.
[5] Kluckhohn, 1944, 52.

ness is mutual and largely simultaneous, neither party accepts or admits to the initial responsibility for the quarrel.

IRRESPONSIBILITY

The irresponsible nature of the Chucuito Aymara has many facets and is variously reflected in his ready denial of guilt, his tendency to blame the external world and others for accidents and misfortune, his proneness to alibi, his indecision, and his reluctance to lead. Although it is true that the ability and willingness to take the consequences of one's acts is rarely exhibited equally in all areas of social interaction, the Aymara as a group give every evidence of lacking a developed sense of personal responsibility, and appear loath to assume it voluntarily.

It has been said that independence, freedom, and responsibility are closely related.[1] As described earlier, the Aymara is ordinarily reared as a dependent well into adulthood and is schooled throughout early life in blind obedience towards parents, elders, and Mestizos. No emphasis is placed on responsibility, initiative, and self-reliance; instead, the child is taught to obey instructions without hesitation. He is ordered to do this, not to do that, and failure to obey is viewed as willful insubordination and as indicative of a lack of proper respect. As Young has reminded us, the "ordering and forbidding" technique of discipline has distinct limitations, if the ultimate aim is the production of self-reliant and responsible children.[2]

In like manner the alibi pattern is established at an early age. The child shepherd who has lost an animal through negligence will explain matters to his irate parents, as "it ran away" or "a big fox killed it," but never as "I lost it." Theft is frequently offered as an excuse for carelessness resulting in loss, and bad luck is a convenient court of last resort. In no recorded instance was a child punished for lying, but rather for the misdeed itself. Adult Aymara maintain an equally guiltless attitude and exhibit remarkable ingenuity in producing excuses for any and all shortcomings.

It would be well to recall in this connection that the Aymara seems to be motivated by a sense of shame rather than by a sense of guilt. Fear of discovery or punishment appears to outweigh feelings of guilt or sin, and the attitude prevails that the only serious offense is being found out. With this point of view it is thoroughly consistent to blame one's errors and misdeeds upon the external world rather than upon inadequacies of the self. This pattern is likewise consistent with the Aymara's mistrust of and hostility towards others for, in the last analysis, to blame another Aymara may be regarded as rationalization by projection.

Reluctance to lead, a point touched upon in the preceding section, is another manifestation of irresponsibility on the part of the Aymara. Here there appears to be no question of active popular disapproval of the strong and dominant personality, no element of prestige jealousy, and no suspicion of ulterior motives. Rather, it seems to be an apathetic reluctance on the part of the individual to initiate action that, in all probability, stems from inner indecision and lack of self-confidence. Leadership patterns, therefore, are but poorly developed, and any status which requires that they be brought into play is regarded with ambivalence, if not with suspicion.

SUBMISSIVENESS

Submissiveness, a prominent aspect of Aymara personality, is intended to denote several interrelated phenomena including submissiveness to authority, social docility, passivity in interpersonal relationships (especially with Mestizos), the apparent need for dependence upon others, and the frequently expressed plea of helplessness. That these in turn are closely akin to "irresponsibility" seems sufficiently obvious.

In the foregoing pages it has been stressed repeatedly that submissive behavior towards parents, elder siblings, and old people generally is considered not only proper and appropriate, but obligatory. Similarly, it has been stated that the Aymara must on all occasions exhibit deference and humility towards Mestizos as a group, and it was suggested that these passive attitudes may be interpreted in part as one way of handling aggressive feelings towards members of the superior "caste." In any event it seems clear that the Aymara, child and adult, is accustomed to bow submissively to status, rank, and authority.

[1] Young, 1940, 423.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 362.

In regard to dependency upon others, a striking correspondence is apparent between this aspect of Aymara personality and Horney's "masochistic dependency."[1] According to this psychoanalyst, the masochistic personality entails two main tendencies that, combined, constitute a defensive mechanism against anxiety: (1) trend towards personal dependency, and (2) trend towards self-minimizing (essentially an avowal of helplessness and unworthiness).[2] She continues:

> in neurosis . . . the world is considered as more or less unreliable, cold, begrudging, vindictive; and to feel helpless and dependent on such a potentially hostile world is equal to feeling defenseless in the midst of danger. The masochistic way of coping with this situation is to thrust oneself on the mercy of someone.[3]

The masochistic cry for help thus becomes a strategy directed towards attaining this end.

Dependency is, perhaps, the keynote of the parent-child relationship, especially that existing between father and son.[4] Although this observation was made repeatedly and in a number of contexts in Chucuito, two examples must here suffice. Informant 33, a man of some 32 years, was accustomed to visit his aged father several times daily, consult him in personal matters of the smallest consequence, and obey his every whim. Not only was he economically independent of his father, but he contributed heavily to the support of his parents' household. When the old man sickened and died, Informant 33 was despondent. At the funeral he lost all control and behaved like a wild man, crying:

> And now where shall I go? What shall I do? "I am going to get better; I'm not going to die," you told me. Now you are dead. Ay, *tata, tata,* who will be my father now? Who will take care of me?[5]

Similarly, the life history of Informant 11, a woman of some 60 years and the mother of three grown sons, reveals clearly how emotionally dependent she was first upon her father and later upon her husband. At the latter's funeral she wailed:

> I had become accustomed to you as though you were my father. And now you are dead and have left me alone to weep.

Two years later, when dictating her autobiography, she broke down and wailed:

> Since my husband died I have lived in sorrow. I cannot stay alone in the house—What have I now? Who will care for me? I am only waiting to die. Moreover, I am suffering from hunger. In this way I am going along now in sorrow, with everything lost—without a husband, without a father, without a mother.

In actual fact this informant was under the protection of a kindly and sympathetic *patrón,* and in addition was supported and attended in large part by her three sons and daughters-in-law.

The characteristic Aymara way of expressing a wish or a request consists in impressing upon others his great need because of his miserable condition.[6] At every turn he emphasizes his helplessness, his inability to do this or that, or even to know how to cope with a given situation. "I am poor," he complains, or "How will I make a living now that I have no balsa?" or "What will I do now that my wife has left me?" While many of these dismal assertions, especially those reflecting poverty and sickness, are unquestionably in accord with the reality, it is equally certain that others are strategies designed to elicit sympathy or some positive emotional response from the listener. It must be remembered that it is the Aymara view that the world is a hard and unfriendly place in which humility and appeal to strength by a display of weakness are frequently the most appropriate tactics. To some extent both dependency and helplessness are patterned in Aymara culture and are expected responses in certain specific interpersonal situations; the presence of what resembles "maso-

[1] Horney defines masochism as a striving towards the relinquishment of self; in her definition a seeking of sexual satisfaction through suffering is emphatically not the central consideration. Horney, 1939, 248 ff.

[2] Horney, 1939, 250. Anxiety, of course, is usually accompanied by a feeling of helplessness. Symonds, 1946, 155.

[3] Horney, 1939, 253.

[4] In turn parents characteristically express their future economic dependence upon their children, without seeming to consider the child's present dependence upon themselves.

[5] Even though lamentation is patterned in Aymara culture, such emotional extravagancies are apparently not institutionalized.

[6] Cf. Horney, 1939, 261.

chistic dependency," considering the heavy emotional charge evident in such relationships, suggests, however, that we are dealing here with more than mere uniformity to ideal pattern.

DISORDERLINESS

Disorderliness as here employed refers to a disorganized and slipshod approach to the problems of living, and to an essential lack of neatness, system, efficiency, or finish as expressed in a number of areas of Aymara behavior and thought. It is reflected on several levels, ranging in concreteness from the customarily chaotic state of Aymara habitations and the general lack of planning in various activities, to the toleration of marked conceptual inconsistencies and the apparent inability or reluctance to generalize. No personality and no culture, of course, is ever entirely logical and consistent; yet adopting a comparative point of view, it would seem not improper to characterize Aymara personality and culture as disorderly.

In the matter of personal cleanliness and attention to neatness in dress, the Aymara have long attracted notice for utter deficiency in these respects.[1] La Barre characterizes the Aymara as "spectacularly dirty," and states that they

> wash themselves only seasonally once a year, and extend this lack of personal hygiene to their clothes, beds, and houses.[2]

Indeed Nordenskiöld was prompted to write:

> I will . . . here try to give the tribes I know a certificate of cleanliness. I mark the dirtiest the Aymara. . . .[3]

As are the persons of their owners, Aymara houses are characteristically filthy and chaotic, and alive with vermin. Food, clothing, unwashed cooking utensils, farm implements, and the like are customarily heaped indiscriminately in dark corners of the living quarters. Other personal possessions are treated in the same disorderly manner (see Pl. 26a). Bandelier wrote:

> This carelessness is exhibited toward everything. The Indian puts on a new shirt and wears it day and night until it is a disgusting rag; then he tries to get another one. Every article of clothing he serves in the same way. He likes animals, but does not give them any care. With very few exceptions, perhaps not a single one, the Indian houses are dilapidated. Sweeping with a very unhandy whisp of ichhu-grass is done mostly on the day previous to a fiesta, that is, only a few times each year.[4]

Disorderliness in the routine of daily living is also apparent in such a cooperative activity as house building. Although supervision of the actual masonry construction may at times be intrusted to a *maestro*, or "master builder," there is no over-all work plan. Various groups of men work independently, laboring haphazardly at carrying stones, hauling water, twisting grass cordage, and the like, usually with considerable duplication of effort. No one takes the initiative in directing the project as a whole, and there is much discussion and argument. Frequent loafing and intervals of time out for coca, as well as the quantities of alcohol consumed and the degree of intoxication achieved, do not make for heightened efficiency.

Lack of organization and order is particularly conspicuous in fiestas, where, in spite of the fact that certain individuals have been chosen as "leaders," confusion reigns supreme, and the activities of one unit are in no way coordinated with those of any other. Even within a particular component group or unit it is often difficult to perceive any but the most general and amorphous plan. With regard to the fiesta as a whole, there is virtually no organization, no pattern, no climax. With magnificent understatement, Bandelier wrote:

> None of these dances can compare with those of the New Mexico Pueblos for symmetry. Everything seems to be carried on in a much looser way.[5]

A similar lack of order could be demonstrated with respect to the few sports and games, to the use of kinship terms, which are employed loosely and often inconsistently, and to folk tales, in which motifs are arbitrarily dis-

[1] See Forbes, 1870, 242–243.
[2] La Barre, 1948, 125–126.
[3] Nordenskiöld, 1920, 79.
[4] Bandelier, 1910, 77–78.
[5] Bandelier, 1910, 112. Elsewhere he states in regard to Bolivian Aymara fiestas: "The wonted disregard for symmetry and harmony prevailed, showing that discordant noise and irregular motions are inherent to most aboriginal dances of Bolivia." *Op. cit.*, 117.

membered and reassembled in a different sequence and combination with utter disregard for the plot. During interviews in the field, informants related events and presented material in a confused and jumbled fashion, tending to enumerate facts rather than to organize them.

Conceptual inconsistencies are most apparent in the realm of religious belief, but are by no means limited to this area of the culture. According to a given informant the seat of human intelligence is at one time located in the heart, at another time in the lungs, and at still another in the head. The same individual will first avow that the period of human gestation is nine months and that infants are born with fully developed senses and, later, assert that pregnancy lasts a year and that babies are unable to see or hear until they are several months old. Concepts of time and space are vague and confused; instances similar to the above could be multiplied almost indefinitely.

Inability or reluctance to generalize suggests another indication of lack of interest in order or system. Thus to the query, "Should a man marry a woman of his own or the other moiety (*barrio*)?" the answer invariably was, "It doesn't make any difference." In actual practice inter-*barrio* marriages were disapproved somewhat strongly. A census of Chucuito revealed that marriages in the town tended to be almost 90 per cent endogamous within the *barrio*.[1] Regardless of how a question was framed, the informant responded in terms of concrete examples, drawn either from his own experience or from some known event. When pressed for a generalization his almost invariable reply was, "Who knows?" or "I can't say." On the infrequent occasions when generalizations were offered voluntarily, they proved to be of little value and to bear almost no correspondence to the reality.

To the Aymara, however, inconsistencies and the lack of system are of no importance, and when brought to his attention they are dismissed with a shrug. Each item of experience tends to be taken by him as separate, with the result that it remains an isolated event, an item in itself.

[1] See Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 544.

UTILITARIANISM

In its present usage "utilitarianism" refers to an approach to living that stresses and places value upon the useful and the practical as opposed to the non-essential or the purely ornamental. Inherent in such a point of view is the need to be concrete. As here employed, the term is an expression of practical and realistic thinking as opposed to abstract, rarefied speculation. With respect to the contemporary Aymara, however, utilitarianism does not necessarily imply resourcefulness and ingenuity in meeting the problems of everyday living. Aymara culture, to be sure, contains a number of ingenious and astute technical solutions, among which are the freezing and thawing method of preserving potatoes for storage and the surprisingly effective system of crop rotation.[2] Yet these techniques are traditional solutions that have been handed down from the remote past. Although they are a part of the cultural equipment of the Chucuito Aymara, the modern Indians give little evidence of such originality and resourcefulness.

Aymara utilitarianism, as might be expected, is particularly conspicuous in the fields of technology and economics.[3] In craftsmanship, for example, little attention is paid to such non-essential features as decoration and finish so long as the structure of the article is adequate to serve its intended purpose. To the Aymara, perfectionism and beauty are irrelevant considerations, and there is little or no interest in such aesthetic qualities of the objects as form, line, and design. Aymara dress in Chucuito is notoriously drab; the decoration on textiles, when present, is limited almost entirely to simple stripes. Even the fiesta costume, although somewhat more colorful, is singularly lacking in ornament and attention to detail. It seems significant that textiles are judged by the Aymara in terms of weight, warmth, tightness of weave, and

[2] See Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 514–515, 527–528.

[3] Cf. Bandelier, 1910, 19–20. In this connection it seems worthy of note that a general bias in favor of the utilitarian, the practical, and the functional is apparent in the late pre-Hispanic cultures throughout Peru, and is especially marked in Inca. Cf. Bennett and Bird, 1949, 201–239; Kroeber, 1948, 831–832.

wearing quality of the wool rather than in terms of appearance.

In respect to ceramics, most vessels manufactured today are utilitarian, and the few decorated pieces exhibit cursive, slipshod treatment in the delineation of designs.[1] Pottery vessels, like textiles, are judged almost exclusively on a technical rather than an artistic basis.

A house is likewise valued in terms of utility and is regarded primarily as a protection against the elements. Almost no attempt is made to make it attractive, and the interior is characteristically left unfinished. Repairs to plaster and thatch are made only under the stress of necessity, or the compulsion of law.[2]

Interest in the world of nature appears to be determined in large part by practical considerations, an observation well illustrated by the specialized terminology of the Aymara. For example, the vocabulary relating to useful plants (foods, medicines, dyes, etc.) is very extensive and is in general use, while the names of species of no recognized utility are often entirely unknown if, indeed, they even exist. This same principle applies to birds, animals, insects, and minerals. The point of view is well summed up in the reply of Informant 39, who was asked to identify a particular mineral:

> It is only called *q'ala* (stone). Why should it have another name? It isn't used for anything.

To the Aymara the crops and the flocks are all-absorbing interests, and it is an observed fact that he appears more animated when engaged in these serviceable pursuits than when participating in the most riotous fiesta. Indeed any fiesta, no matter how important, may be abandoned at a moment's notice in the interest of pressing practical affairs. Even in the realm of magic it may be noted that, except in emergencies, the Aymara does not rely heavily upon supernaturalism to grow crops, to produce livestock, or to catch fish. By and large, the problems of daily living are solved by realistic means. Social sanctions likewise support utilitarianism, for the ideal man or woman is hard-working and diligent, while the lazy person is roundly condemned. Even when resting, the Aymara is usually engaged in some useful activity, such as spinning yarn, knitting, or twisting cordage. With the exception of fiestas, which have an obvious entertainment value, formal recreational activities are largely absent.

The utilitarian point of view is also reflected in attitudes towards waste. Under no circumstances is food wasted.[3] Dogs, for example, when fed at all, are given only those few portions considered unfit for human consumption, while pigs eat inedible slop, or else are allowed to forage for themselves. Even the food offerings to the dead are later consumed by the living. Similarly, no property is today disposed of with the deceased at burial, but is purified and used again.

It would seem to be consistent with the Aymara emphasis on things practical and utilitarian that they appear to have little interest in abstract speculation.[4] The general absence of abstract formulations is well illustrated by concepts of time, since it is at once apparent that the methods of designating the passage of time currently employed in Chucuito are almost invariably couched in concrete terms. The single near-exact temporal unit with which the Aymara are concerned is based on the observable alternation of day and night. Other intervals are calculated, with great disregard for precision, but with considerable concreteness, in terms of commonplace activities: the length of time required to plow a field, to journey from a given place to another, or to chew a quid of coca. Similarly the seasons are designated in terms of appropriate agricultural activities, or by vague but apt descriptive phrases. On the other hand, few individuals have a clear idea of the length of a year or even of a lunation; such abstract concepts of time are meaningless to the Aymara.

There is likewise virtually no interest in abstract concepts of space. Aymara measurements are either highly concrete, such as the width of the hand, the span of the outstretched

[1] See Tschopik, H., Jr., 1950, 205–216.

[2] In 1941 the Governor of Chucuito ruled that all houses in the town be plastered and whitewashed in honor of Peruvian Independence Day (July 28).

[3] As pointed out elsewhere, eating may be considered a ritual act (see p. 257).

[4] Romero, also, has pointed out the interest of the Aymara in the concrete as opposed to the abstract. Romero, 1928, 224.

arms or, such as the *topu*, or "Inca league," so approximate as to be meaningless. With the exception of east and west, marked by the rising and setting sun, cardinal directions as such are of little consequence. Instead, directions are customarily given in concrete terms: "towards Puno," or "in the direction of Atoja Mountain." Like concepts of time, ideas of space are significant and meaningful in proportion to the degree that they are concrete and therefore useful.

When one considers the hardships of life on the *altiplano* and the endless toil required to make a living in so inhospitable a region, it seems almost inevitable that the Aymara should be preoccupied with the useful aspects of his culture and environment. Yet however hard his lot, the mere lack of leisure time, while undoubtedly an important factor, is not alone and in itself adequate to explain the Aymara's supreme indifference to perfectionism and beauty and his lack of interest in larger concepts of spatial and temporal orientation. Instead it would seem preferable to view the utilitarian bias as yet another aspect of Aymara personality, and one expressed in several discrete areas of behavior and thought. Utilitarianism, in turn, serves to channel the individual's interests and to concentrate the attention of the society's members on the very real problems of survival in a difficult environment.

THE PATTERN ASSEMBLAGE MAGIC

THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

IN KEEPING WITH other contemporary Indian cultures from Mexico to Bolivia, the religion of the Aymara is neither wholly native nor entirely orthodox Catholic, but rather an intricate blending of these two traditions. In the words of Forbes, who lived among the Aymara during the latter half of the nineteenth century:

> What the religion of the Aymara Indians at the present time is, is a question difficult if not impossible for even one of themselves to answer definitely; it seems to be a curious and confused jumble of their ancient belief with some slight admixture of Christian doctrines.[1]

Speaking of the efforts of Spanish Colonial missionaries, Paredes writes:

> Ecclesiastical censure was intended to extirpate the ancient religious practices in order that the religious tenets of Catholicism which they were trying to implant in the country might be substituted more easily; but since it did not succeed completely in this objective, the indigenous superstitions became mixed and confused with those of the Spaniards, it being impossible in many cases to distinguish their origins. . . .[2]

It is not the purpose of the present study to attempt to explain, in historical terms, the processes by which modern Aymara religion assumed its present form. Suffice it to say that while the formal aboriginal temple cults, the accompanying priesthoods, and most public ceremonials were eliminated early in post-Conquest times, a considerable body of "private" religious practices survived the energetic activities of Spanish priests and missionaries.[3] During this early period the Indians were nominally converted to Catholicism and, in the course of four centuries, elements of Catholic doctrine and practice became grafted onto the substructure of native belief. The contemporary Indians, of course, do not dissect their religion into its Aymara and Spanish components; to them it is a unified, if somewhat inconsistent, whole. For this reason, therefore, it is as important to describe their beliefs about God as their conceptualization of the mountain spirits. While it would be inaccurate to say that all supernaturals are equally important, it is valid to state that there is no feeling that some are "true" and therefore all-powerful while others are "pagan" and therefore false; rather, each supernatural tends to have his proper place in the scheme and must be considered within the proper context of situation.

It is likewise unprofitable to attempt to draw inflexible distinctions between "religion," "magic," "divination," "sorcery," and "curing," since all of these arbitrary categories are merely aspects of one central problem: the ways in which the Aymara conceptualize and deal with supernatural beings. The title of the present paper merely indicates that one particular aspect of this central problem has been singled out for special emphasis; the category "magic" is not recognized by the Aymara themselves. It follows, as is discussed in more detail in a later section (pp. 219–225), that it is equally futile to attempt to formulate rigid distinctions between the several specialized manipulators of the supernatural. Just as the roles of the supernaturals themselves overlap, so the abilities to cure disease, to divine the future, and to employ magical techniques are shared by several classes of practitioners.

The present section attempts to describe only those supernaturals who are important to the Aymara of Chucuito. No systematic attempt is made to compare and contrast the pantheon of this town with that encountered among Aymara elsewhere. Not only is the comparative literature inadequate, but the spirits and demons of the far-flung Aymara communities are legion. In general, however, the structure of Chucuito belief appears to be basically similar to that of other Aymara groups throughout the

[1] Forbes, 1870, 230.

[2] "*Las censuras eclesiásticas tendían a extirpar las prácticas antiguas, para sustituirlas más fácilmente con las religiosas profesadas por el catolicismo, que trataban de implantar en el país, pero como no lograron su objeto por completo, las supersticiones indígenas llegaron a mezclarse y confundirse con las de los españoles, sin poderse distinguir, en muchas de ellas, su origen. . . .*" Paredes, 1936, 13.

[3] For an excellent discussion of historical changes in Quechua religion, see Kubler, 1946, 395–406; for a brief sketch of historical changes in Aymara religion, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 257–258.

altiplano.[1] It is necessary to preface a detailed description of the various supernatural inhabitants of Chucuito with a few statements regarding the nature of the supernatural world in general as it is conceived in this town.

The District of Chucuito is so densely populated with supernatural beings that it is literally impossible to enumerate all of them. They inhabit every mountain peak, every lake, every stream. They live under houses, churches, and fields, and lurk in caves, ruins, and in irregularly shaped rock formations. It is in the vicinity of human habitations that they are most important, however, and every man will make a point of knowing those that dwell near his fields and house compound. If he has recently moved to the village from an outlying ayllu, and the names of his spirit neighbors are unknown to him, a magician can discover them. As will be shown later, it is of vital importance that he establish good rapport with these beings.

Although they range in concreteness from inconsequential shadowy spirits to powerful and clearly personified supernatural beings, most of them are vaguely conceptualized place spirits. Of the latter, some are localized beyond dispute, and their abodes—be they cairns, mountain peaks, or bubbling hot springs—are known to everyone; others merely live "in the air" or "under the earth," while still others roam aimlessly over the trails and punas, but tend to be identified with certain fixed localities. In addition to the place spirits that exist almost everywhere in nature, there are the ghosts and souls of the dead, a variety of demons, and, finally, the many saints whose images stand in the churches for all to see. Since animals and plants are thought to be owned by a higher order of supernatural being, there is a general dearth of plant and animal spirits.

The Aymara of Chucuito draw a not too definite distinction between spirits (good and bad) which they call *ačačila*, "grandfather," and demons (always malevolent) which, with the Devil of Christian belief, are classed together under the general term *supaya*.[2] Other supernaturals, especially ghosts and souls, fall outside this simple two-fold classification. Although, as is demonstrated below, a striving for consistency has led some Indians to class the Christian-derived deities in accordance with this dual system, the attempt has not met with unanimous acceptance. In view of these discrepancies, therefore, it seems best to classify the supernaturals of Chucuito under the following general headings: (1) spirits; (2) demons; (3) Christian-derived deities; and (4) souls and ghosts.

Within the District of Chucuito, the importance of particular spirits varies according to locality. Although the lofty snow mountains of Illampu (Sorata) and Illimani are occasionally visible from the village on a clear day, they are of less importance here than on the eastern shore of Chucuito Peninsula, where these and other Bolivian peaks are visible as a jagged chain of gigantic proportions. While wind spirits are important in the open Estancia country and in the flat pampa ayllus of *paḷaḷa* and *qota*, they receive little attention in Chucuito proper, sheltered as it is by encircling hills.

Although no spirits are believed to be the property or patrons of particular ayllus, the outstanding natural features of each region are of primary interest to the local inhabitants.[3] Generally speaking, the higher the mountain and the larger the river, the more importance it assumes in the thought and behavior of the people.[4] In the last analysis, however, as stated

[1] For important comparative sources, see Forbes, 1870; Bandelier, 1910, MS; Paredes, 1936; La Barre, 1948. An excellent summary of Inca religion is contained in Rowe, 1946, 293–314. For a description of contemporary Quechua religion, see Mishkin, 1940; 1946, 462–470.

[2] Occasionally the spirits are familiarly called *tata* or *auki*, "father." The contemporary Quechua likewise call mountain spirits "father" (*auki*). The early Colonial Aymara designated idols and sacred places as *tata*, or "father"; Bertonio translates *tatanaca* (plural form) as "*Las Guacas, o Idolos*," Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 339.

The extension of kinship terms to non-humans is a common practice in Aymara culture; several kinds of animals, especially the fox, are called "uncle."

Wherever in the following pages the word "spirit" is used, it should be understood as a translation of the Aymara term, *ačačila*. "Demon" is employed to translate *supaya*.

[3] Thus the most important *ačačila* in *qota* ayllu, for example, is *qota qoḳu ačačila*, while that of *potoxani* ayllu is *t'axkina ačačila*; both of these are mountain peaks.

[4] Regarding Inca practice, Rowe writes, "In

above, it is one of the innumerable local place spirits that is the chief concern of each and every Aymara.

Not only do spirits vary in importance according to locality, but to a considerable degree their significance for individuals depends upon occupational considerations. Thus it is the fishermen who depend upon the Lake spirit and San Pedro; travelers and traders who sacrifice to cairns; and herders who propitiate the "owners" of the livestock and who regard San Juan with special reverence. Again, and in ever-increasing degree, the influence of education is making itself felt. While the *ačačila* still have meaning for most Aymara, some young men of Chucuito (perhaps 15 or so in all), who have been educated in a Catholic school near Puno, have forsaken the spirits for God and the saints.

The supernatural beings of Chucuito are ranked in a hierarchy depending upon their powers for good or evil and upon their intelligence.[1] Of least importance, in the opinions of informants, are the *uiwiri*, "guardians," one of whom inhabits every dwelling. Next rank the place spirits, ghosts and souls, and the numerous demons and devils. Superior to these are the mountain, lake, and river spirits, and the saints. The peak of the hierarchy is occupied by God (often confused with Christ and/or the sun) and by the Virgin. While this schematic ranking probably represents the general consensus among the Indians who have given thought to such matters, there are, as will become evident, numerous exceptions, confusions, and inconsistencies.

With the exception of God (or Christ), the various supernaturals take an active interest in Aymara affairs and control both natural phenomena and the destinies of men. It is, perhaps, consistent with Aymara personality that the great majority of supernatural beings are at best ambivalent towards mortals, if indeed they are not actively malevolent. The "guardians" stand alone as a class of benevolent (i.e., never naturally malevolent) spirits, and it seems significant that they are considered to be the most helpless and least intelligent of all supernaturals. While the Virgin is favorably disposed towards man in a listless sort of way, she is remote and unapproachable and is, after all, a woman in what is both humanly and supernaturally a man's world. Although the intentions of the demons and devils are always malevolent, they can be pacified or their action nullified through offerings or other magical techniques. Ordinarily they remain inactive unless disturbed or invoked for evil purposes. The place spirits act in accordance with their dispositions and exert constant influence upon mankind. They must be propitiated more or less regularly; their good will is necessary to success, health, wealth, and happiness; for when possessed of temporary (or occasionally natural) malevolence or when persuaded by offerings, they are just as capable of evil as any demon in the Aymara pantheon.

Thus it is that, since nearly all supernaturals have no genuine, deep-seated interest in human welfare, and since none acts spontaneously for the benefit of mankind, they can be manipulated for good by the magician and for evil by the sorcerer.

SPIRITS

The spirits recognized by the Aymara of Chucuito can be classed roughly as place spirits (those inhabiting fixed localities) or nature spirits (those of, or controlling, natural phenomena). For descriptive purposes, however, the writer proposes to assign the Chucuito spirits to the following categories: (1) guardians; (2) place spirits; (3) physiographical spirits; (4) meteorological spirits; and (5) owners. Although the guardians, *uiwiri*, are thought of as a class and while the place spirits are, on occasion, designated collectively by the term *lugarani ačačila* (from Spanish *lugar*, "place"), the Indians tend to envisage the other spirits as individual beings and are not accustomed to fit them into any classification.

Guardians

The guardian, *uiwiri*, is a household spirit and one inhabits every dwelling.[2] At times this

general, the supernatural power of a hill or mountain varied in direct proportion to its height. . . ." Rowe, 1946, 296.

[1] The contemporary Quechua also hold the view that mountain spirits are ranked in a hierarchal structure based on power. Mishkin, 1940, 237.

[2] Although this supernatural is not mentioned by name, it is clear from La Barre's statement regarding house magic that the concept of house guardian spirit is also shared by the Bolivian Aymara. La Barre, 1948, 186. The Inca also had the concept of house guardian. Rowe, 1946, 297.

being is called *uta ačačila*, "house spirit" (45, 66). Occasionally, in order to distinguish the guardian of a particular house, the spirit is given a name descriptive of the house location. Thus the house guardian of Informant 66, whose dwelling is near the lower church of the village, was called Santo Domingo *uiwiri*, while that of Informant 8, whose house adjoins the ruin of *inka uyu*, was known as *inka uyu uiwiri*.

Informants agreed that the guardians were "like old people" (45, 66), and Informant 109 added that they were very small, "smaller than a cat." None had ever seen one, however, though they had frequently heard them speak.

People are afraid to see the guardians; if they did, it would hurt their eyes. They are afraid to see any spirits, for that matter (66).

There is disagreement, however, as to precisely where in the house the guardian lives. Informant 45 was of the opinion that the guardian lived all over and around anything connected with the house compound; Informant 66 believed that they lived under the earth, "like the place spirits." Informant 109, however was convinced that they dwelt in the rafters:

During a séance, *uiwiri puriyaña*, first you hear the guardian scrambling and scratching around inside the roof; I think that is where they live.[1]

As stated previously, the guardian is never malevolent by nature.

The guardian is like a father; he watches over the people in the house and guards them. He is always good. Sometimes the place spirit is evil and then you can't build your house there; but the guardian is always good. But if you don't live properly in the house, the guardian may punish you with sickness (66).

For example, this informant continues:

Feliciano Cruz always fought with and beat his wife. He never bought her any clothes and they lived very badly. For this reason the guardian made him sick and he finally died because he was so weak.

A similar incident was related by Informant 45, also a magician:

One time after the fiesta of Rosario, Martin *čoqe* called me. His foot was swollen and he couldn't walk. I read the coca and found out that the house spirit that had punished him was *igles lado ačačila* (beside-the-church spirit). [Question.] Yes, that is where his house is located. I made an offering for this spirit in his house at night, and now his foot is well again.

The guardian may also undertake to punish theft:

If a man is a thief, the guardian will make him poor and make his crops and animals poor. Alberto Estrada was a thief. The guardian punished him and made him so poor that finally he lost his house (66).

In collaboration with more powerful spirits, the guardian may also assist in the apprehension of thieves:

Once I made the guardian arrive for Raimundo *č'aľč'a*, one of the *Maestro Mayores* of Chucuito. Martín *čoqe* had accused him of being a thief [accused him of stealing a bolt of homespun]. The guardian said clearly that Raimundo was not the thief; that Raimundo only lived in the house. Another spirit [Question: Yes, it was the place spirit] said that the thief was José Carpio [a Mestizo resident of Chucuito] (89).

At times the advice of the guardian is sought as a guide for behavior, but this practice is said to be infrequent (45, 66). Informant 109, however, related the following instance:

Pablo *mamani* summoned me to the Peninsula to make the guardian arrive. His daughter had spoken to a young man, and it was to know about this that he summoned me. The father wanted to know whether the young man was good or not. Then I made the guardian arrive and asked him questions. The guardian said that it was all right. After this he (the father) married them off.

In spite of the interest he takes in human affairs, however, the guardian is a rather ignorant and helpless supernatural:

The guardian is not very intelligent and doesn't know as much as the other spirits. During a séance he never speaks very clearly. If anything has been stolen, he will know, for example, where the object was, but he can't name the thief. Then you have to call in the place spirit or other spirits who know more. The place spirit is more powerful because he is older; the place was there before the house was built on it (45).

Informant 66 was willing to grant the

[1] Since the guardian arrives first in every séance, the whole rite takes its name from this spirit; "séance," usually rendered *uiwiri puriyaña*, means "to make the guardian arrive." (See p. 262.)

guardian somewhat more intelligence, but agreed that he was not as helpful as other supernaturals:

> The guardian can sometimes tell you who has stolen a thing or where it is, but usually he doesn't know much and just says in what direction it is. Then you have to ask the place spirit or other spirits.

When properly persuaded by offerings, however, the guardian has the ability to prevent the loss or theft of articles left in the house (109). Informants are unanimously agreed that, because of his naturally benevolent disposition, the guardian cannot be bribed by a sorcerer to send disease to his human charges (45, 66, 109).

Place Spirits

In theory, every locality in the District of Chucuito is inhabited by a place spirit.[1] In practice, however, the place spirit only assumes importance once a house or corral has been constructed, or a field cleared.

Place spirits are named with descriptive place names, many of which are now untranslatable. The name of such a supernatural is not guarded as a secret, but may be told to anyone, even though it may be employed by an enemy for purposes of sorcery:

> You couldn't keep the name of the place spirit from a sorcerer; he could always find out if he wanted to (45).
>
> The place spirits live under the earth, but not very deep; that is how they can drink the wine, chicha, alcohol, and blood when you pour libations to them (66).
>
> All of the place spirits are like old men; they are never like animals. No one can see them; you can only hear their voices (45).

In every way, except that they possess supernatural power, the place spirits resemble humans. The libations are their drink, the offerings their food; in addition, they chew coca.

Since place spirits are sometimes good (or, rather, ambivalent) and sometimes naturally evil, there are good and bad sites for human occupation, and it is important to discover the disposition of a particular spirit before constructing a house.

> Sometimes a man builds a house and then later has to move it because the place spirit there was bad and he didn't trouble to find out (45).

Informant 66 relates the following case in point:

> After I had become a magician, I held a séance for Mariano Laura. This man said to me: "Sr. Magician, hold a séance for me. I want to find out what is wrong with the place where my house is built. All of my children have died. Not even one has been able to live." Then I held a séance for this man and he asked questions of the mountain spirits. The spirits told him, "This place is an evil place; that is why your children die. This place is eating them. Go somewhere else and then you will be all right." I said this to Mariano: "Now you know why," I said. Then this man built a house on another piece of land. Then his children did not die.

Benevolent place spirits receive sacrifices on numerous occasions, and for many purposes. Offerings are regularly placed beneath the foundation of a new house and a llama is sacrificed before the roofing operation begins. Additional offerings are frequently made to place spirits to promote health and prosperity; to assure the success of a trading, or other, venture; to avoid family rows; to prevent the food supply from becoming exhausted; to increase the crop yields of the cultivated fields; and to promote the fertility of the livestock.

Although cultivated plants are thought to be controlled by *pačamama*, an ancient earth-fertility spirit (today confused with the Virgin), and while domesticated animals are believed to be owned by other supernatural beings, the place spirits nevertheless exert some influence on the growth and well-being of plants and animals alike.[2] Informant 87, a sorcerer, recounts how he destroyed a victim's livestock by making sacrifices to the spirit of the corral in which the animals lived. In the month of May, libations are poured and sacrifices made in the fields in order to insure large crops. While Informant 66 maintained that these offerings were made to the perfect vegetables, Informants 45 and 109 stated that they were also intended for the place spirits of the fields.

It is within the sphere of human affairs,

[1] Place spirits were also important in Inca religion. Rowe, 1946, 295.

[2] During the mating season of llamas and at shearing time, sacrifices are made in the corrals and are intended for both the place spirits and the llama owner.

however, that the place spirit functions most importantly; in his constant attempts to direct and control the behavior of men, he is a very real force, continually to be reckoned with.

Over and above all else, the place spirit demands respect, attention, and unquestioned obedience, and, when angered by disrespect, negligence, or slights, he does not hesitate to mete out punishment. The following cases illustrate the autocratic side of his disposition:

In October I went to the Estancia to see Paulino *kurasi*, who was sick. He was paralyzed (*q'eq'ota*) and couldn't move his arms or legs. I called the place spirit and he told me what was wrong. This man used to be a magician, but he had not practiced for three years. At that time he made an offering to his place spirit when he was drunk, and he did everything wrong. It made the spirit very angry; for this reason the spirit punished him (45).

Similarly, Informant 109 relates:

Not long ago Isidro *čoqe* came to see me. "I have lost a good sheep," he said, "can you tell me where it is?" And so that night I held a séance and we questioned the place spirit. Then this spirit said: "Manuel *anawa* has taken the sheep. The man who owns this house is very stingy; for this reason I allowed the sheep to be taken away." Then I told him (Isidro), "You should not forget the place spirit; now you should make him a good offering. If you do not do it, all of your animals will get lost." Then I made an offering to the spirit and he found the sheep.

The place spirit is also a staunch supporter of current morals and mores. He chastises and punishes socially disapproved behavior, discloses theft, marital infidelity, and the like, and condemns laziness, carelessness, and greed. No misdeed, minor or major, escapes his vigilant eye. Informant 45 states:

If a house has been robbed, I ask the place spirit of that house who did it; he will always know. The place spirit gets the man's soul and brings it to the house (where the séance is held). Then I ask it questions. Everyone who is there can ask it questions. Sometimes the soul of the thief will lie and say: "I am not a thief," but the place spirit always knows who has stolen and who has not.

In addition, the place spirit promotes proper conduct and smoothes over family feuds through helpful advice and suggestions. Informant 66 relates:

One time a man named Miguel *pauro* came to see me. He said to me, "Antonio *pauro* is my brother; we are fighting over land. Now I would like to know about this." Then I held a séance and I asked the place spirit to question the soul of this Antonio *pauro*. "Why do you want to take your brother's land?" the spirit asked (the soul). Then the soul replied, "He is lying. What have I taken away from him? I only have my own fields. It is he who wants to take all of our father's property. He doesn't want to give me any. That is why we are fighting." Then the place spirit said to Miguel *pauro*, "You should divide the land; you should work it in two halves. Then there will be nothing to fight about." When this was said, this man divided the land with his brother, and then they got along well together.

All things considered, the attitude of the place spirits towards man can be summed up as demanding, austere, and patronizingly tolerant. They treat the Aymara like children, and it is perhaps no coincidence that at times place spirits are addressed "father"; that they bear a striking resemblance to the stereotype of the Aymara patriarch is undeniable (see p. 160).[1] It must also be remembered that many of the Aymara patrilineal extended family groups are dominated by autocratic old grandfathers who demand respect, obedience, and services from their children and grandchildren alike. It is, therefore, in no way inappropriate that the place spirit should be designated "grandfather." As Kardiner has observed, there is a marked tendency for the religious system of a given culture to appear as a replica of the experiences of the child with parental disciplines, and a strong case can be made out that this aspect of Aymara religion, at least, is just such a "projective system" as he has postulated for other cultures.[2] This configuration, established in infancy and consistently followed throughout life, is rooted in the Aymara family situation and appears to cluster around the interrelationship of the autocratic father and the obedient child.[3]

[1] The writer wishes to point out here merely the "goodness of fit" between the father-child relationship and that which exists between the place spirits and man; this is not intended to suggest that one "produced" or "caused" the other.

[2] Kardiner, 1945a, 111.

[3] With special reference to his analysis of the Tanala data, Kardiner has written: "The external reality can be manipulated in a limited number of ways if perceived in accordance with the analogy of an all powerful father and an obedient child." Kardiner, 1945b, 42–43.

There remains to discuss briefly two classes of place spirits that differ from those described above in that their abodes are well marked and clearly visible. Of these the *apačeta*, or cairns, appear to be the more numerous.[1]

Cairns are situated at points where roads cross sandy desert wastes and on the summits of high mountain passes. Many of these rock piles, which often attain gigantic proportions and contain thousands of tons of stones, must have been begun centuries ago, and some probably date from pre-Columbian times. At the present time, each is usually topped by a crude wooden crucifix.[2]

The spirits that inhabit these places are the special patrons of traders and travelers. Relates Informant 45:

He carries a rock to clean his feet with. He will be tired, and when he throws the rock on the pile, it will give him new strength. Often travelers make offerings at these places so that they and their animals won't get tired, and so that the trip will be good. They also do this so that no one will rob them on the lonely pampas, and so that they won't get sick with *soroči* (mountain sickness). When there are many people in the party, they have a ceremony at the *apačeta*.

Ordinarily the traveler merely halts at the cairn for a chew of coca and, after resting, he removes the quid from his mouth and plasters it on the stones.[3]

If a man did not leave a stone and some of his coca on the *apačeta*, he would be very tired and might die. It would be dangerous (45).

Place spirits of the second type inhabit certain large boulders. These supernaturals are thought to be most effective in promoting fertility in women. One such stone in the District of Chucuito is situated on the thickly inhabited pampa below the outlying community of Chinchera.

These stones are always located where there are many people living (43).

The Chinchera boulder, which is said to have no special form, is called *hank'o qoḷu*, "white hill"; on one side of it is a shallow cave or depression where offerings to the spirit within are deposited (66). A woman who wishes a child purchases a small stone amulet representing a baby of the desired sex. Then she wraps the amulet and offerings together and deposits them in the depression in the stone, imploring the place spirit to send her a child (66).

Physiographical Spirits

While it is convenient to think of the nature spirits of Chucuito in terms of descriptive categories (physiographical spirits, meteorological spirits, owners) that serve to "highlight" certain of their attributes, it is necessary to bear in mind that, as do those of the specialized practitioners of magic, the roles and functions of these supernaturals merge and overlap. Certain of the "physiographical spirits," for example, also control meteorological phenomena or are "owners" of the natural resources.

In contrast to the general agreement among informants with respect to the nature and conceptualization of the guardians and place spirits the attitudes towards, and beliefs about, the nature spirits are confused, contradictory, and vague. The reason for this essential lack of agreement, however, appears to be clear. Although the powerful nature spirits occupy the upper rungs of the supernatural hierarchy of Chucuito, they tend to remain aloof from mundane affairs. Their lofty rank emphasizes the gulf that separates them from humanity. By the same token, these supernaturals, except in certain special situations or crucial emergencies, are of only slight concern to man. Rivers, for example, are placated only when in flood or when it is necessary to ford them, and volcanoes receive sacrifices only when in eruption.[4]

[1] Cf. Bandelier, 1910, 99, 153–154; Forbes, 1870, 237–238; La Barre, 1948, 42, 70, 96, 122, 166; Paredes, 1936, 109.

Regarding the cairns of the seventeenth century Aymara, Bertonio wrote: "*Apachita: Monton de piedras, que por supersticion van haziendo los caminantes, y los adoran.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 23. Cairns also figured importantly in the religion of the Incas. Rowe, 1946, 297.

[2] For an illustration of an Aymara cairn, see Hosmann, 1945 72

[3] This practice is undoubtedly ancient; Bertonio wrote: "*Hacchucatatha: Pegar coca masticada con las manos enlas apachitas y mochaderos. Es grandisiam supersticion.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 108. Informant 45 denied that sandals, grass, food, eyelashes, and other such offerings were ever left at cairns. Cf. La Barre, 1948, 166.

[4] There are no active volcanoes in the District of Chucuito. Those, however, in the Department of Arequipa, particularly Ubinas and El Misti, are known to many Aymara of Chucuito.

While human destinies are intimately bound up with the place spirits and guardians, the nature spirits intervene infrequently and punish but rarely. In their power and remoteness, the nature spirits resemble true "gods" more nearly than "spirits."[1]

The situation is further complicated at the present time because the various nature spirits have become confused with, or have been identified with, the various saints of Catholic belief. Thus Chucuito's sacred mountain is usually designated in ritual as San Francisco Atoja, while another peak to the west of the village is named San Pedro Pichupichuni. Similarly, all rivers are somehow associated with San José, and the Lake spirit is at times identified with Santiago (66) and at others with San Lorenzo (52).

Under the term physiographical spirits have been classed those supernaturals that inhabit mountains, rivers, lakes (particularly Lake Titicaca), volcanoes, islands, and other outstanding features of the physical environment. In the village of Chucuito proper, the most powerful spirits are believed to be Atoja Mountain (a high, rolling eminence to the west that dominates the town), the Lake spirit, the Calvario of San Bartolomé (a domed rock outcrop behind the village), and the streams of *inkulaya* and *murinlaya* (45, 66, 86, 109). The most powerful spirits within the entire District of Chucuito, according to Informant 45, are the high mountains of *wenqasa* in the Estancia country west of the village, and *tisani*, near Caruma. None of these supernaturals is conceptualized with clarity. Some mountain spirits, it is true, are thought to resemble old men, and indeed are so represented by masked performers in the *čoqela* rite in Chucuito (Pl. 31ab), but most informants were vague as to their appearance or as to precisely where they live (45, 66, 109).[2] Their voices, however, are frequently

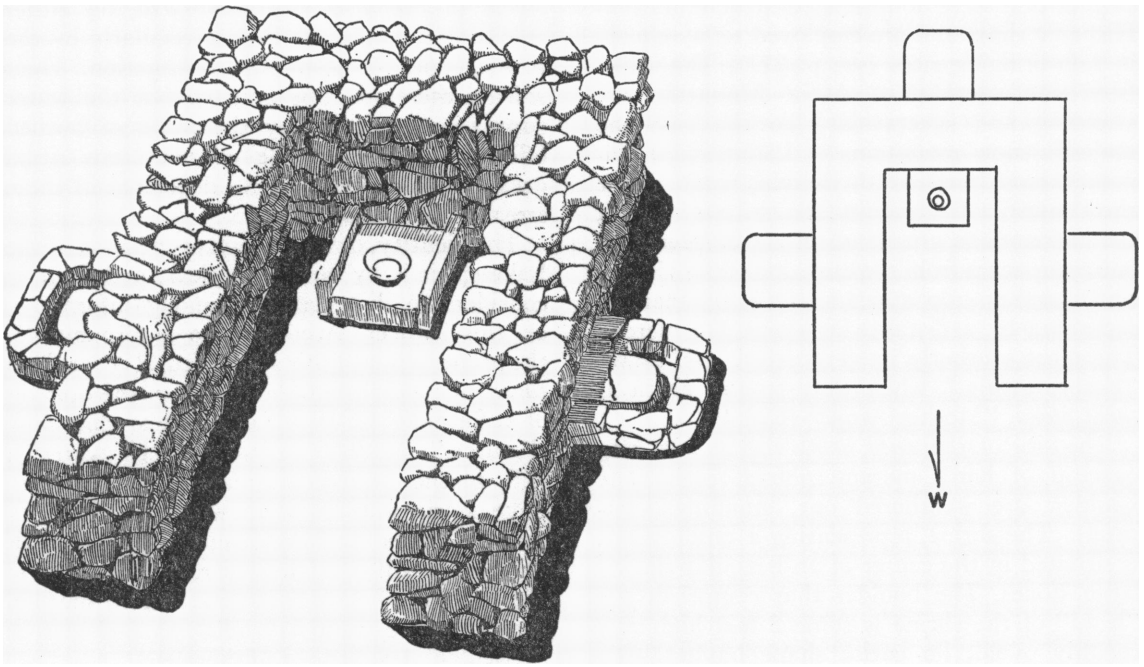

FIG. 4. Shrine of "Mother Atoja," near Chucuito.

[1] With regard to the high gods of the contemporary Quechua, Mishkin has written: "They are truly detached deities having little to do with man and his problems, nor are they concerned with his daily struggles and his relations to the lesser divinities. . . . The chief difference between the higher and lower divinities is that the latter can be manipulated by those with the special power to do so." Mishkin, 1946, 463.

[2] For a brief description of the *čoqela* rite, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 566–567.

heard in séances, and they are on occasion manipulated by the magicians. By employing what amount to Gestapo techniques, the nature spirits can force lesser supernaturals to speak, and are able to wring confessions from the souls of thieves when all the more gentle methods have failed. (See Séance, p. 262.)

Atoja Mountain spirit is mentioned in virtually every ritual incantation. The summit of the peak itself is occupied by two altars or shrines that were doubtless constructed in pre-Hispanic times and are employed today chiefly in rain-bringing rites (see p. 277). The views from the summit of Atoja Mountain are sweeping and spectacular. To the east the majestic snow mountains of Illampu and Illimani, across the lake in Bolivia, tower above the Peninsula of Chucuito. To the west extend the barren puna grasslands of the *altiplano*. As one approaches from the direction of the village, the mountain top appears as two eminences, separated by a distance of about 300 meters. The most southerly knoll is called *auki atoxa*, "Father Atoja," while that to the north is *taika atoxa*, "Mother Atoja" (Fig. 4).

The site of the *auki atoxa* shrine is a long outcrop of hard, metamorphosed rock. The boulders are weathered out, standing separately. The shrine, representing a crude head, is situated in the center of an irregular ring of large stones. The boulder that comprises the "head" of the shrine is some 8 feet high and roughly ovoid, its entire shape having been modified by stone cutting. Against the front, facing approximately east, a crude, vertical, dry stone masonry platform has been erected, and contains a niche that represents the "mouth" (Pl. 27a). Above, two basins, each about 1 foot in diameter and some 8 inches deep, have been gouged out of the boulder, and these represent the "eyes." The niche was blackened by smoke and covered with melted candle wax as well as small pottery bowls containing the burned remains of incense. The earth around the shrine was littered with the blackened sherds of other pottery bowls, the remains of past offerings.

The shrine of *taika atoxa* on the opposite knoll consists of a U-shaped structure of dry stone masonry, roughly rectangular, with the arms extending due west (Fig. 4).[1] The principal altar, situated against the rear wall between the arms, consists of a squarish flat slab flanked by up-ended stones. Three lesser altars, one built against the center of each outside wall, consist of flat slabs surrounded on three sides by a low, dry masonry wall. All the altars were burned black, and the entire structure was covered with burned potsherds.

The Calvario of San Bartolomé is important principally as the site of the *čoqela* rite, an annual ceremonial designed to benefit the entire community for the forthcoming year. The rivers of *inkulaya* and *murinlaya*, on either side of the village, are tapped regularly by the townspeople for purposes of irrigation. Their spirits, therefore, not only govern the water supply but carry away the ashes of burned offerings that are made on numerous ritual occasions and subsequently deposited in these streams (see p. 260).

The identity, or even the proper name, of the Lake spirit is by no means clear, and there is considerable disagreement among informants on this subject. According to Informant 45, the proper name of this supernatural is Santiago *čaraxani* (untranslatable), while in the opinion of Informant 52, it is San Lorenzo *č'uwalaka* ("source," literally, "mouth of pure water"); still another individual maintained that the Lake spirit was identical with the *katari*, a dreaded water monster, usually classed with the demons (39). All, however, agreed that the Lake spirit, whoever and whatever it may be, controlled the supply of lake fish and was of particular importance to fishermen.

A vaguely conceptualized sky spirit called *ap'aḷani* speaks not infrequently at séances. The proper identity and function of this supernatural, however, is not clear. While Informant 45 maintained that it was merely a voice, Informant 66 stated:

> This spirit lives in the sky; it is God. This spirit knows more than any other spirit.

In view of the supernatural importance attributed to nearly all natural phenomena on earth, it is rather curious that the sun, *lupi*, the moon, *paxsi*, and other heavenly bodies play so slight a role in Aymara religious beliefs.[2]

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[1] The arms of the U measure approximately 12 feet in length, while the width of the U is some 9 feet. The walls are almost 4 feet high, and 2½ feet wide.

[2] Today, and especially in ritual contexts, the sun is also designated by the Quechua term *inti*. Both

The attitudes of the Chucuito Aymara towards the sun and the moon are, in fact, most puzzling. East figures importantly as a ceremonial direction (see p. 253), and the sun and the moon are addressed as "Father Sun" and "Mother Moon" in some ritual contexts. In other situations the sun is clearly personified and is equated and identified with God (see p. 206).[1] Again, some informants maintained that the sun was powerful in its own right.

The sun is the father of the world. The moon, who is weaker, is his wife, and the stars are their children. When there is an eclipse of the sun, everyone says that the end of the world is near and Judgment is near. They say that the sun is burning and that it will fall (11).

Informant 30 similarly believed:

The sun is the supreme being; it is God. This is why when Inca Manco Capac went with his wife from Tiahuanaco to found the city of Cuzco, he told the Quechua that he was the son of the sun.[2]

On the other hand, there is some evidence that the sun is regarded as a malevolent being. In a tale that explains the birth of the sun (and the origin of the chullpa tombs), this planet is depicted as an evil old man who destroyed the people inhabiting the earth before the coming of the Aymara.[3] The sun is also considered to be the source of some diseases and is thought particularly to aggravate healing wounds (64).

In all events, however, the sun is a remote and unapproachable deity who takes no interest in human affairs.[4] Although the sun is occasionally mentioned in prayer, there is no attempt on the part either of the magician or the sorcerer to manipulate this supernatural.[5] All traces of the sun cult, introduced into Aymara territory during the late Inca era, have now disappeared. Although the sun is addressed during the blood sacrifices associated with house dedicatory ceremonies (p. 267), informants stated that the offerings were intended rather for place spirits (45, 66, 85).

The moon, on the other hand, plays an important role in divination, and its phases, which are carefully noted, govern many human activities, particularly agriculture.

There appear to be no further beliefs regarding heavenly bodies, with the exception of comets, *uič'inqani warawara*, "star with tail." Regarding these, Informant 43 stated:

Long ago, when I had only one child, a comet appeared. You would see it after midnight, and its tail would get longer until it disappeared over Atoja Mountain. We saw it for many nights and everyone said that it was a bad thing and that the crops would be poor. Everyone was afraid, but nothing happened. Everyone thought that the end of the world was near.

Meteorological Spirits

Although there is no rain spirit as such, rain, *haḷu*, is thought to be controlled by the spirit of Atoja Mountain, and, in times of drought, a magician may be called upon to perform a rain-bringing ceremonial at the shrine of Father Atoja (see p. 277). This rite involves the placing of frogs, water, and water plants from Lake Titicaca in the eyes of the altar on the theory that, as the water evaporates, Father Atoja will take pity on the croaking frogs and send rain.[6]

The frogs are not the special animals of this spirit; but frogs are animals that need water, and Father Atoja does not like to see animals suffer (45).[7]

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the sun and the moon, of course, as well as other planets, figured importantly in Inca religion. See Rowe, 1946, 294–295.

[1] This identification is also made by the modern Quechua. See Mishkin, 1946, 463.

[2] This is, of course, a fragment of the familiar version of the Manco Capac story preferred by Garcilaso. Garcilaso de la Vega, 1723, pt. 1, book 1, chaps. 15–17.

[3] Tschopik, H., Jr., 1948, 113–114.

[4] It is very likely this fact that led Forbes to observe: "The worship of the Sun does not seem at any epoch to have played a prominent part amongst the Aymaras . . . " Forbes, 1870, 230.

[5] The attitudes of the contemporary Quechua towards the sun are in every way similar in these regards. See Mishkin, 1946, 463.

[6] The Bolivian Aymara sacrifice to a Lake spirit called *q'otawič'a*, "Lake-Grandmother," believing that somehow rain is associated with the waters of Lake Titicaca. La Barre, 1948, 183.

Chucuito practice suggests the same association of ideas.

[7] It is, perhaps, in accord with Aymara world view that they see Father Atoja as soft-hearted towards frogs and animals generally, rather than towards man. The Inca employed similar techniques to evoke sympathetic responses from supernatural

The Aymara believe that rain is prevented by the presence of the souls of the dead, and drought is always anticipated at the time of All Souls fiesta in November:

The souls of the dead come back at this time, and because they come, there will be no rain (2).

Perhaps no manifestation of nature, other than lightning, arouses such anxiety in the Aymara as hail, *čixči;* the violent hailstorms of the *altiplano* frequently wipe out the ripening grain crops of entire communities. The spirit who sends hail (as well as ice), therefore, is viewed as particularly malevolent, though not as a demon. This supernatural is thought to reside on Amantani Island in Lake Titicaca and is occasionally referred to as *hank'o q'awani ačačila,* "spirit clothed in white"; he is believed to travel in storm clouds, surrounded by sheets of hail and by souls of unbaptized children who accompany him to see their parents and to take revenge on them for their negligence (2).

Informant 45 states:

He is a bad and lazy spirit who doesn't want to plant his own fields, and doesn't want anyone else to farm either. That is why he sends the hail to ruin our crops.

In a folk tale, hail, wind, and ice are represented as three lazy sons who bring misery and ruin to their parents.

Fortunately for the Aymara, however, the delicate sensitivity of this spirit permits him to be frightened away by several techniques. He becomes very embarrassed when a woman's skirt is waved in his direction and is scared by the blasts blown on cow-horn trumpets (*pututu*). Bowls of glowing coals sprinkled with *ají* pepper or fish (*suč'i*) bones are brandished in the direction of hail clouds, and the pungent smoke causes them to retreat. Hail stones are thrown on the kitchen stove while the Indians shout: "Pass by, pass by, Hail Spirit!" If all else fails, the children and dogs are taken out into the streets and beaten in the hope that the supernatural will take pity at their howling and go away.

Winds, *t'aya,* are sent by spirits who inhabit volcanoes. Such supernaturals are important only in the more flat and windy regions of the District of Chucuito (45). While some diseases are, in the opinion of Informant 64, caused by winds (it is thought that broken bones do not set well when the wind is blowing), wind spirits are irritating and capricious rather than malevolent.

They are bad spirits mainly because they don't do anything useful, and they bother you when you work. But here in Chucuito no one pays much attention to them because there are no strong winds (45).[1]

Nevertheless, winds are of some concern to fishermen because they may spoil their luck by causing rough weather, and the small balsas are always in danger of being blown out into mid-lake. Whirlwinds, *tutuka,* are not feared:

The whirlwind is a blind person, and that is the reason it goes the way it does. It can't see where it is going (39).

In view of the terrifying and violent electrical storms which sweep the *altiplano* during the rainy season, it is small wonder that the Aymara regard lightning (*kaxya*) with a fear that borders on panic.[2] Nor is this dread entirely without foundation, for lightning not infrequently kills humans and livestock alike, and nearly every church tower or other sizable structure in the entire Lake Titicaca region has been struck at least once within the memory of living man.

Although among the ancient Aymara lightning (and thunder) was elevated to the status of a god (*t'unupa*), who continues to figure importantly among the Bolivian Aymara, the Indians of Chucuito do not associate lightning with any aboriginal supernatural.[3] Instead,

powers. In event of drought, the Inca held rain rites designed to appeal to the sympathies of the Thunder God. "Black llamas or dogs were tied to stakes in open places and left to cry from hunger until the Thunder God took pity on them and on the people and sent rain." Rowe, 1946, 212.

[1] This statement is another manifestation of the strong Aymara bias in favor of the utilitarian; that which is not useful is bad or undesirable.

[2] The generic term for lightning in Chucuito appears to be *kaxya;* the common Bolivian Aymara term, *illapu,* which may be of Quechua origin, appears to be used infrequently in Peru. For other terms for lightning, see p. 226.

[3] See Paredes, 1936, 36–40. Thunder, God of Weather, ranked next to the Sun in the Inca pantheon. Rowe, 1946, 294–295. La Barre writes: "If the Aymara ever had anything resembling a chief god, this was undoubtedly *t'unupa,* god of thunder

a series of complex syncretistic
:s, lightning has today become associ-
th with God (particularly in Chucuito)
:h Santiago.[1] For reasons that remain
, although they are in all probability a
f Spanish tutelage, the identification of
:er, the patron saint of Spain, with
g is so complete that Santiago is today
ıown to the Bolivian Aymara as *apu* Señor Lightning."[2]

ngs are made at places that have been
by lightning. Domestic animals so
:e either buried on the spot with offer-
are abandoned to the scavengers, for
ıara can be induced to eat lightning-
neat (39, 45). In addition, wooden or
:rosses, often highly decorated, are
ɔn the roofs of new houses in order to
f lightning bolts (66, 109).[3] While it is
eared, and on occasion propitiated,
g is never invoked ceremonially, nor
pon to speak in séances (45, 66, 109).
ɔresent time, as is shown in the follow-
ion, lightning is important primarily as
·ce of supernatural power.

Owners

spirits of this class control both the
pply and some vital natural resources,
e as important to the Aymara as the
ɔirits and guardians. Certain of them
ʼsiographical spirits and thus occupy
ations in the supernatural hierarchy.
:w exceptions, however, they are not
conceptualized, and informants dis-
ıs to the precise identity of the owners.

Like the physiographical spirits, all tend to be remote and impersonal, although they may grant favors to mankind when persuaded by offerings and when treated with proper respect. If offended, they become non-cooperative, withdraw their support, and refuse to allow men to share the resources they control. Apart from these limited, though important, functions, however, the owners have no further influence in human affairs. They are indifferent to ethical or moral problems, and they are not consulted at séances. Hence, propitiatory rites for the owners tend to be cyclical or seasonal in character, although special sacrifices may be made in cases of emergency.

The owner of all llamas, alpacas, and vicuñas, in the opinions of Informants 45 and 109, is a mountain spirit named San Francisco *ipoqʻapaqa*.[4]

> This is a large mountain in the *suni* [high *puna* country] near Pichacani. Whenever you kill a llama or a vicuña for food, you must throw blood in his [the mountain spirit's] direction and say: "I have killed your animal. Do not take them away, but send me more." Then you always have animals (45).

These informants maintained, however, that other domesticated animals, particularly sheep, were not owned by any spirit, but by San Juan.[5]

On the other hand, Informant 66 stated:

> The spirit who owns the llamas and all other animals [vicuñas, alpacas, cattle, and sheep] is *hatukaťi aťaťila*; this spirit lives in a mountain near Ilave.[6]

During the mating season of llamas, increase rites are held in the corrals during which sacrifices are offered to the owner and the place

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ıtning, who is still much feared in the ɔ." La Barre, 1948, 170.

ısly enough, Bertonio equated the thunder *unnupa*) with *eqʻeqʻo* (*Ecaco*), a good luck ertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 99. While the latter ıural continues to be of importance to the Aymara, *eʻeqʻo* seems to have disappeared e pantheon of Chucuito. La Barre, 1948, –196; Paredes, 1936, 32–36, 170–173.

ally this association dates from early times, as shown by the following entry ɔnio: "*Pusicakha, Illapu, Santiaco: Trueno,* ' Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 278.

des, 1936, 3. The Inca, as well as the ɔorary Quechua, associated Santiago with ʒ. Rowe, 1946, 295; Mishkin, 1940, 237–239. Bandelier, 1910, 106–108.

[4] The vicuña, of course, is not a domesticated animal, but is occasionally hunted in the southwestern region of the District of Chucuito.

[5] Owls, night hawks, toads, and foxes, all of which figure in sorcery, are thought to be the special animals of the devil (87); in this sense, therefore, Satan is also an owner.

[6] According to Bolivian Aymara belief, all animals of the *altiplano* belong to Huasa Mallcu, a benevolent pampa spirit of gigantic stature; the vicuña is his beast of burden and the fox his dog. Paredes, 1936, 40. Bandelier, on the other hand, states that in the Bolivian version of the *čoqela* rite, an old man and an old woman personify "the owners of the game." Bandelier, MS.

spirits. Similar offerings are made at shearing time to prevent the llamas and alpacas from becoming sick.

The identity of the owner of the fish in Lake Titicaca is even more confused, although all informants believed that the fish supply was controlled by some supernatural being. On one occasion, while discussing the *katari*, or water monster that is thought to inhabit Lake Titicaca, Informant 39 stated:

> He is the owner and *jefe* (chief) of all the fish in the Lake. We call him "grandfather" because he is very old.

On a later occasion, however, this informant reported that the fish were owned by the Lake spirit, with which proposition Informants 45 and 66 were in complete agreement. In addition, fish are associated with San Pedro, who is looked upon as the special patron of fishermen (45, 66).[1]

Out of each catch the largest and most perfect fish, as well as those having unusual markings or deformations, are reserved by the fisherman.[2] After they have been cooked and eaten by him and his family, the bones are saved and burned in the stove together with coca leaves.

> The fisherman and his family tell the bones that they have eaten the fish, that they were good, and that they were hungry. Then they say: "Go and tell San Lorenzo *č'uwalaka;* go and tell San Vicente *ačačila.*" They tell the wind to carry the fumes back to the fish in the Lake so that the other fish will know that they have been well treated. Then they thank the fish. If you don't do this for the fish bones, you will never catch any more fish and all of your nets will tear apart (39).

Although the above quotation does not clarify the matter entirely, the primary objective of this ritual is to convince the owner that the fish have been treated with respect. In a folk tale from Chucuito, a fisherman's son is punished by the Lake spirit because of disrespectful behavior towards fish.[3] There is no idea, apparently, that the fish that have been eaten are subsequently resurrected. To some extent the Lake spirit interests himself in moral and ethical problems. In one recorded instance this supernatural punished a fisherman with ill luck because he cheated his companions in the division of a catch. During the fiesta of Santiago (and, at times, on the saint day of San Pedro) a fisherman will summon a magician to make offerings to the Lake spirit in order to assure fishing luck for the forthcoming year (45).

Owing to the attention paid to the many individual place spirits of fields, the owner of cultivated plants is far less important than those who control other natural resources. In regard to the identity of this supernatural there is almost no agreement among informants, and the owner of cultivated plants is variously designated as *pačamama, Santa Tierra* ("Sacred Earth"), or as the Virgin.[4] Although libations are poured in the fields at planting and harvest, and more elaborate offerings are occasionally made, no major rites are performed for this owner.

Veins and deposits of gold and silver, as well as objects made of these metals, are believed to be owned by a supernatural named *ančančo.* He is conceptualized as an evil old dwarf who wears a steel helmet, armor, and the trappings of a Spanish soldier, and dwells under the ground, surrounded by his treasures (23). On dark nights, when there is no moon, the earth in the vicinity of the *ančančo* burns and glows with a white light, giving off clouds of steam and poisonous vapors. If one braves these noxious fumes and plants a knife in the ground to mark the spot, he is entitled to the treasure hidden there, but the risk is said to be greater than the reward (39).[5] For one who stumbles upon the site by accident, thereby avoiding the fumes, there is no treasure, only an earthen bowl filled with crawling toads.[6]

[1] During the fiesta of San Pedro in the neighboring village of Ichu, an image of the saint is carried about on a litter piled high with Lake fish.

[2] Fish with split tails are called *k'uti č'auła*, while *q'epi č'auła* designates those whose backs are humped "as though they were carrying bundles" (52).

[3] In a variant of this tale, the Lake monster rather than the Lake spirit punishes the boy.

[4] Regarding *pačamama* (*Pachamama*), Bertonio wrote: "... *cerca de los antiguos era nombre de reuerencia, por ver que la tierra las daua de comer....*" He adds that offerings of food were made to the earth. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 242.

[5] The Bolivian Aymara believe that the *ančančo* causes sickness and death. Paredes, 1936, 44–45. According to La Barre, the Bolivian Aymara conceptualize this supernatural not as a human, but as an animal. La Barre, 1948, 167.

[6] In view of the grief that precious metals have caused the Aymara from the time of the Spanish

Salt deposits, *hayu k'oya* (salt pools), are owned by the place spirits of the several localities where they occur. The spirit of one such deposit near the town of Ilave is called *hatukači ačačila*, the name being derived from a near-by hill.

Anyone can collect salt at this pool, but he must take a magician along with him to make an offering there. The offering is for the spirit who owns the salt. After you have given this to the spirit, you can collect the salt. It is like paying him for it (66).

Other place spirits control the supply of edible clay, *č'ako*, and of *q'oa*, a plant (*Mentha pulegium*) that is employed as a condiment and is also a necessary feature of most offerings (see p. 246). Sacrifices are made to these place spirits when the commodities are collected. Informants were uncertain as to whether or not any supernatural owned coca plants.

Coca does not grow around here. Maybe some spirit in the Montaña owns the coca plants (45).

DEMONS

Although the demons of Chucuito are outnumbered by the spirits, there are, nevertheless, scores of them, and they compensate for their numerical inferiority by their malignancy. Their malevolence is natural and permanent, and when disturbed, even accidentally, they are apt to retaliate by sending disease or death, by stealing their victim's soul or by possessing his body. Children, because their souls are not well developed and are thought not to be so firmly attached to their bodies as is true of adults, are particularly susceptible to attack by demons; from the time of birth to adolescence they must be carefully guarded and protected. Related Informant 71:

When a child does not sleep well, this means that he is being bothered by demons. So the mother makes a small bag and puts in it a small knife, salt, *ají* peppers, and *q'oḷpa* [see p. 247]. Then this is put inside the belt in which the baby is wrapped until he is about a year and a half old. This protects the baby from demons. They bother children more than adults.

Because of their evil dispositions, the demons of various classes are easily manipulated by sorcerers, who make offerings at night at the places inhabited by evil supernaturals.[1] Magicians, on the other hand, are able to discover those misfortunes or diseases that have been sent by demons, either by consulting them directly during a séance, or by summoning various spirits. Armed with this knowledge, they may then persuade the demon, by offering suitable sacrifices, to take back the disease or to cease causing bad luck, as the case may be.

Although most demons occupy fixed localities, some wander from place to place and are especially active after dark. The Aymara, therefore, is as careful as possible to avoid the known abodes of demons and becomes apprehensive at nightfall unless he is in the company of others.

supaya

The most common of the demons are the ill-conceptualized *supaya*. Informant 66 stated:

I don't know what they look like, but some say that they are like evil old men.

These supernaturals dwell in some springs and caves, in all ruins, and in many unusual rock formations.[2] As long as the specific spot where the demon lives is not molested or actually touched, no danger is incurred. Rocks and ruins that are thought to be inhabited by evil supernaturals occasionally stand in the midst of cultivated fields.

In the District of Chucuito, the majority of demons appear to prefer to inhabit unusually shaped rocks, *wak'a q'ala*.[3] These rock formations are described as having shapes suggestive

Conquest to the present day, it is not surprising that gold and silver should be associated with evil and danger.

[1] The Devil of Christian belief, also called *supaya*, is thought to be the special patron of sorcerers.

[2] Demons are also thought to inhabit places where evil or violent events have occurred (45, 66).

[3] Although in Bolivia the word *wak'a*, which La Barre translates as "sacred," is employed to designate almost every unusual occurrence in nature from high mountain peaks to children born feet first, its use in Chucuito is restricted almost exclusively to the unusual rock formations, especially those inhabited by demons. La Barre, 1948, 165–166.

A more exact translation of *wak'a* would appear to the writer to be "that for which there is fear or reverence."

Regarding *wak'a* (*Huaka*), Bertonio wrote: "*Idolo en forma de hombre, carnero, et cet., y los cerros que adorauan en su gentilidad.*" He adds that animals or men of monstrous birth were also called by this term. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 143.

of women (39). Informant 31 added that, since they are often somewhat constricted around the middle, they were also called *pič'at q'ala*, "belted rock." Informant 43 stated:

These are women made of stone and they are very evil. If anyone goes near one, he will go crazy or die. They are the gods of the *hentiles* [from Spanish *gentil*, "heathen"].

In his autobiography, Informant 39 related that his father died as a result of accidentally disturbing a *wak'a q'ala:*

My father went insane and died. He carried a *wak'a q'ala* to the house (not knowing what it was) and tied the cow to it. Then the cow that was tied to this *wak'a q'ala* became sick and my father let it loose. Then he became insane and died. After he died, everyone said, "This is a *wak'a q'ala;* it probably seized him." We took it back to the place he had brought it from, and left it there with *q'oa* and *ɬamp'u.*

Informant 11 described how a *wak'a q'ala* was used to bewitch her brother-in-law. The sorcerer killed a toad by piercing it with cactus thorns, wrapped it together with her brother-in-law's hair cuttings in some of his old clothing and rewrapped these objects together with incense, *q'oa*, *ɬamp'u*, and coca.

Then he put the bundle in a bad place called *k'usa haq'e* [divided rock]. This place was a *wak'a q'ala*, and the things that the witch put into the bundle were for the demon who lived there.

In two other instances, the victims were bewitched after the sorcerers had made offerings to demons inhabiting springs (11, 87).

Of the various diseases inflicted upon man by the demons, the most common is *kat'a*, or fright, which may be sent by any evil supernatural, but most frequently by the *wak'a q'ala* (31, 39, 43, 66).[1] The symptoms of *kat'a* are so clearly and generally recognized that they can be said (in Chucuito) to constitute a syndrome. All agreed that it attacked the extremities, produced granules, particularly on the hands, and finally resulted in partial paralysis of the limbs (31, 39, 43, 66). Informants 39 and 43 claimed that, in addition, the victim went out of his mind.[2]

Springs, *puxu*, in addition to sending *kat'a*, may kidnap the victim's soul, and Informant 45 related the following case in point:

One time Antonio Ascensio of Chucuito sent for me. His son fell into a spring when he was playing and took sick. A demon lived in that spring and this demon had taken the boy's soul so that he was sick. I knew this because I looked at the coca. Then I made an offering near the spring at night. In return for the offering, the demon returned the boy's soul and now he is all right. It is like paying the evil one for the child's soul.

On occasion the demon actually possesses the victim's body, and in such an event it must be driven out by a special smoking treatment before the soul can be induced to return (45, 66).

Ruins

It is difficult to decide whether or not ruins should be included with the *supaya*, since informants were in considerable disagreement in regard to this point. The generic word for ruin in Aymara as spoken in Chucuito appears to be *čuɬpa*, a term that designates specifically the numerous ancient burial towers that dot the hills and pampas of almost the entire Lake Titicaca Basin.[3] At times these ruins are also called *hentil uta*, "house of the heathen," since they are thought to be the remains of the dwellings of the ancient inhabitants of the region before the coming of the Aymara; in like manner, the human skeletons contained within them are believed to be the bones of this earlier people.[4]

Informant 43 and 64 maintained that the present-day inhabitants of the chullpas are the ghosts of the ancients, while Informants 109 and 87 both stated that the supernatural occupants of these ruined structures are demons who are consulted not infrequently at séances, particularly those held by sorcerers. On the other hand, Informants 45 and 66 believed that

[1] An alternative name for this disease may be *kat'u usu.*

[2] The Mestizo inhabitants of coastal Moche also appear to suffer from "fright" or "*susto*," but here both the symptoms and the etiology of the disease are totally different. Gillin, 1947, 130–133. Elsewhere Gillin has discussed "magical fright" as manifested in several regions of Latin America. Gillin, 1948, 387–400.

[3] The Anglicized version of this term, "chullpa," is now in common use in the archaeological literature. For a discussion of these structures in Puno Department, see Tschopik, M. H., 1946.

[4] Tschopik, H., Jr., 1948, 113–114.

inka uyu, a large ruined temple structure in the lower *barrio* of Chucuito proper, was the abode of an *ačačila*, or spirit.

Regardless of the identity of such supernaturals, however, all of the above informants agreed on the nature and symptoms of *čuḷpa usu*, the disease contracted by those who disturb ruins or the objects found within them. This sickness is thought to be caused by one or more splinters of human bone that have intruded into the patient's body (usually the extremities) and that can be cured by the removal of the foreign object.[1]

In regard to this disease, Informant 64 cited the following cases:

Once a man named Mariano Roscado went into a chullpa to look for silver.[2] He is dead now. He got the bones of the heathens in his hand and in his foot. The piece of bone came out of his finger all by itself from the swollen place, but the piece in his foot killed him. No one could cure him.

Again:

There is a man in Chinchera named Andrés *kispe*. One time he picked up some old bones near a chullpa and his knee became injured. One of those bones entered it. Then his knee swelled up and he couldn't walk.

In addition, Informant 43 believed that hunchbacks suffered from what might be termed a chronic form of chullpa sickness. Informant 11 added that if a pregnant woman were to approach a chullpa or to handle bones of the dead, she would bear a deformed baby.

Sorcerers are reputed to make offerings to the demons (or ghosts) inhabiting chullpas or other ruins in order to bewitch their victims (87). Although no occurrences were recorded in Chucuito, such practices appear to be not uncommon among the Bolivian Aymara, and there seems to be no reason to doubt their existence in Peru. Forbes wrote of certain ancient ruins in Bolivia:

In one or two of the houses little rude effigies of men, made of clay, hung up by a string round the neck, or pierced through the body with a thorn were met with—evidently remnants of witchcraft.[3]

More recently, La Barre has written:

Any of the bodily exuviae, if introduced into a chullpa, will cause the original owner to get the dread disease of *čuḷpa-usu*. . . .[4]

katari

Informants were unanimous in asserting that the *katari*, or Lake monster, was a demon and not an *ačačila* (2, 39, 45, 52); here, however, all agreement ended.[5] Some maintained that there are numerous *katari* or malevolent water monsters, the sworn enemies of mankind and the bane of all who must venture out onto the waters of Lake Titicaca (2, 52).[6] Another informant claimed that there is only one *katari* who, though a demon, is simultaneously the owner of the lake fish (39). Still another agreed that there was only one Lake monster, but denied that he was an owner (45).

Nor did the informants have any clear-cut conception of the nature and appearance of this supernatural. Informant 2 stated:

There are fish called *katari*. Some say that they have three heads.[7] Sometimes they leave the water and go up into the hills. They are bad demons; when they come upon a person, they bite him and the man dies. They have crosses on their heads—they are demons. But when it rains hard and there is lightning, the lightning may kill them.

Informant 39 agreed that the *katari* were fish, but added that:

They are fish who have lived too long; they are evil.

Informant 52, however, stated that the *katari* began life either as a fish or as a frog:

It is like a demon and it makes people sick. If you touch one, you will get very sick and have to

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[1] Paredes, 1936, 202–204; La Barre, 1948, 225.

[2] The ancient chullpa burials often contained ornaments and offerings of silver, and not infrequently of gold.

[3] Forbes, 1870, 260. Similarly, Bandelier describes having found in an ancient rock-shelter a skull in which pieces of a calico dress had been stuffed for purposes of sorcery. Bandelier, MS.

[4] La Barre, 1948, 220.

[5] Although this supernatural seems not to have been described in the literature, Bandelier makes brief mention of an aquatic monster, belief in which, however, he considers to be of recent origin. Bandelier, 1910, 102. Elsewhere he identifies the *katari* (*Catari*) as a "rattlesnake." Bandelier, field notes, 1894.

[6] Bertonio defined *katari* (*Catari*) as "*Biuora grande*," or large viper. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 38.

[7] In a folk tale of obvious European origin, related by Informant 19, the *katari* is depicted as a seven-headed dragon with forked tongue and a lashing tail.

call a magician. One time last year I went fishing when it was raining, and the Lake seemed to be afire. The water glowed, and there seemed to be smoke. This was because the *katari* and the big frogs were about. When any fish or frog lives for a long time, it turns into a *katari*.

Propitiatory offerings are occasionally made to the *katari* by fishermen, or by magicians acting on their behalf (39, 66). Although magicians denied that they had ever conversed with the *katari* during a séance, they saw no reason why this evil supernatural could not be summoned should the occasion ever arise (45, 66, 109). Informant 87 related how he caused a victim to be bewitched, and ultimately to drown in Lake Titicaca, by making appropriate sacrifices to both the *katari* and the Lake spirit.

As mentioned previously, the Lake monster figures as the subject of several folk tales. In one, undoubtedly of European origin, the *katari* occupies the role usually played by the dragon of European belief.

qateqate

Certain of the demons of the Aymara pantheon are conceptualized in terms so macabre that they resemble the creatures of a nightmare. Such a being is the *qateqate*, a severed human head that flies through the air emitting insane and guttural cries.[1] Paredes writes:

> They tell that when it encounters the pursued individual, it binds his hands and feet with hair that grew in a grave, and which is tough and resistent. It throws him to the ground and rests on the chest of its quarry. It sinks its sharp and corroded teeth into him and sucks his blood. . . .[2]

As it sucks, the head increases in size, swollen with the victim's blood.

As can well be imagined, the Aymara of Chucuito live in dread of this nocturnal demon. When they hear it flying over a house chattering "*qate qate*," the frightened occupants cross themselves and cry:

> Spare us, spare us! Come back tomorrow and we will give you salt and *ají* peppers! (27)

If this demon flies over a dwelling, it presages death and disaster; the first person to enter the house thereafter will soon die.

Some say that the *qateqate* is only the head of a person who has gone to bed thirsty; that when such a person dreams of rivers and lakes, his head separates from his body and flies through the air looking for water. But I think it is an evil demon—a part of satan (27).

karikari

These are the spirits of deceased Catholic priests who wander the roads at night, knifing their victims.

> They take away all of a man's fat and make soap out of it. They look like Franciscan Fathers (43).[3]

This belief, as well as certain folk tales representing priests as evil or immoral individuals, indicates the suppressed hatred underlying the attitude of the Aymara towards the clergy, a point of view that is well documented in other situations and from other sources.[4] As La Barre has observed:

> Although they are all accounted Christian, many of the Aymara, however, hate the religion with the same vehemence that they hate its representatives.[5]

CHRISTIAN-DERIVED DEITIES

In common with other contemporary Indian groups throughout the area of aboriginal American high culture, the Aymara do not conceive the Christian deities along orthodox lines. Indeed, some of these supernaturals, especially the Holy Ghost, have failed altogether to become incorporated into the body of Aymara belief, while others, like Christ, have lost their individual identities or, like the Virgin, have gained multiple personalities. The Devil of Christian belief has forfeited most claim to distinction, being, as he is, merely another evil spirit among a host of indigenous demons.[6]

[1] Perhaps it is to this demon that Bertonio referred under the term *caca: "Fantasma como calauera que segun cuentan indio anda denoche, y habla."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 1, 240. The Inca, also, believed in a flying-head demon. Rowe, 1946, 297.

[2] Paredes, 1936, 47. Also see La Barre, 1948, 168.

[3] Cf. Paredes, 1936, 13–17.

[4] Forbes wrote that the hold of the clergy on the Aymara appeared to stem from fear rather than from love or respect. Forbes, 1870, 232.

[5] La Barre, 1948, 171.

[6] Although in some dances the Devil is represented as a horned demon and is impersonated by masked performers, these are usually thought of as clowns rather than as objects of fear. The writer is inclined to agree with Paredes when he states that the Aymara are not particularly afraid of the Christian Devil. Paredes, 1936, 44. In actual practice, the Devil is rarely mentioned in Chucuito.

The attributes and functions of still other supernaturals, particularly the saints, have been altered or become fused with one or several of the native deities. Thus, despite four centuries of intensive and sustained indoctrination in Catholic belief and ritual, the divinities of Christianity remain, in general, less clearly and consistently conceptualized than many of the aboriginal spirits. In like manner, their relations with man are defined with far less precision.

It would be a long and painstaking task to trace the many changes that occurred in Spanish Catholicism subsequent to its incorporation into the content of Aymara culture and to describe how it was warped and modified in accordance with the preëxisting indigenous configuration of religious belief and practice.[1] The main outlines of these processes of mutual adjustment, nevertheless, appear evident. In view of the elastic nature of the Aymara pantheon, with its innumerable nature spirits and demons and its hierarchal structure, it was a relatively simple matter for the sixteenth century Aymara to acknowledge the existence of additional foreign deities and to incorporate them in their supernatural world. At least once before in their history, when the Inca conquered the Titicaca Basin, the Aymara were obliged to accommodate such alien deities as Viracocha and the Sun God.[2]

Yet the Aymara did not, as did the highland Maya of Santa Eulalia under similar circumstances, simply accept God and the saints and then proceed to convert them to the older religion.[3] Rather, they elevated God and the Virgin to such high places in the supernatural hierarchy that they ceased to be of any great practical importance. While acknowledged supreme, God is all but forgotten, so far has He been removed from the sphere of human affairs, and the Virgin is almost equally remote. As has been shown, it is the more mundane, albeit less powerful, supernaturals who are of the greatest concern to mankind. To the saints the Aymara have conceded a rank equal to that of the mountain spirits; to both classes of beings, however, they attribute an essential disinterest in the activities of men. Owing, therefore, to their lofty stations and to their unapproachable and indifferent natures, the Christian-derived supernaturals as a class are rarely supplicated. Although they may be summoned to speak at séances, little serious attempt is made to manipulate them, either for good or for evil.[4]

Parsons has written that the cult of the "Saints and Souls" *is* Catholicism among the Hispanicized Quechua-speaking Indians of Ecuador[5]; by and large, this generalization also applies to the Aymara. Yet unlike other present-day Indian groups of Latin America, the Aymara possess neither household shrines containing carved images of the saints, nor household crosses.[6] Such religious pictures as are seen occasionally in Aymara dwellings appear to have primarily a decorative function and are often surrounded by other pictures and colored advertisements clipped from magazines. The saints, then, receive such homage as is rendered them chiefly on public feast days, and, even then, secular activities are stressed at the expense of the sacred ones. The cult of the souls, which is discussed below, is likewise confined almost entirely to All Souls fiesta. The anniversary observances in connection with the recent dead, moreover, appear to be primarily aboriginal, rather than Catholic, in origin.

All this suggests that even the portion of Catholicism that has become incorporated

[1] For an excellent historical account of the Christianization of the Quechua, see Kubler, 1946, 395–406.

[2] Rowe, 1946, 272–273, 293–295. At the present time Viracocha survives only as a respect term, *weraxoča*, employed in addressing Mestizos and Whites. Such usage was established as early as the seventeenth century. Bertonio translates *Virakhochati, micha haquecha?* as *"Es Español, o Indio?"* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 221.

[3] Cf. La Farge, 1947, 69.

[4] Speaking of the trinity of the contemporary Quechua (God, Christ, and the Sun) Mishkin writes: "They are truly detached deities having little to do with man and his daily struggles and his relations to the lesser divinities. . . . The chief difference between the higher and lower divinities is that the latter can be manipulated by those with the special power to do so." Mishkin, 1946, 463.

[5] Parsons, 1940, 219.

[6] Such shrines are a feature of every house in Mitla, and household crosses are general in the Maya villages of Chan Kom, Tusik, and Santa Eulalia, and among the Chorti of Guatemala. Parsons, 1936, 204–205; Redfield and Villa, 1934, 110–111; Villa, 1945, 97–100; La Farge, 1947, 114–116; Wisdom, 1940, 420–424.

into the body of Aymara religion has been relegated to a subordinate place in the total system. The trappings of Christianity are present, but there is little belief in, or devotion to, the Christian deities as such.[1] One might almost say, with special reference to the saints, that their importance is proportionate to the degree to which they have become identified with their conceptual counterparts in the older religion. The images, altars, processions, and the colorful rituals and pageantry of the Church merely serve to disguise the fact that the core of Aymara religion has, in fact, survived in large part as a coherent body of belief and practice. On the other hand, the Aymara have not given sufficient thought to the Christian-derived supernaturals to have made any attempt to resolve the various conceptual conflicts and inconsistencies that are evident in the native point of view towards these beings.[2]

It is convenient to discuss the Christian-derived supernaturals under the following headings: (1) God; (2) the Virgin; and (3) the saints.

God

God is known to the Aymara of Chucuito by a variety of names, the more common of which are *tatito* (Hispanicized diminutive form of *tata*, the familiar term for "father"), *yus* (from Spanish, *dios*), *tata yus*, and, less frequently, *señor*.[3] In addition, He is called *aukixa alaxpača* (literally "my father above"; i.e., "my father in Heaven"), and by some is designated, somewhat obscurely, *qoḷani aukixa*, "my father with medicines," which may be taken to mean, "my powerful father".[4]

It was unanimously agreed that God lives in the sky. Informant 66 asserted further that He was to be identified with *ap'aḷani ačačila*, a sky spirit who was considered by this individual to be all-powerful.[5] God is usually mentioned in ritual incantations along with the mountain spirits, although all informants conceded that He was more powerful than any of them (45, 66, 86, 109). In practice, however, after an initial reference to God on ritual occasions, He is promptly forgotten and is often not mentioned again for the duration of the ceremony.

God is also regularly identified with Christ, *kristo* or *hesukristo*, in Aymara belief, and no rigid separation of the two is possible.[6] Rather, Christ is thought of as God on earth and is conceptualized, in accordance with the iconography of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain, as an emaciated, dark, bearded white man, with a tragic air of sorrow and suffering. God, on the other hand, is envisaged along conventional European lines as a robust, elderly white man with a long, flowing beard and flashing eyes. When questioned in regard to these divinities, Informant 66 stated:

> I do not think that Christ is the son of God; I think that they are the same.

Informants 45 and 109 admitted that they did not understand, and neither showed any interest in discussing the matter. That God and Christ are thought of as one, however, is indicated clearly by the belief that on Good Friday any crime may be committed with impunity because, at this time, God is dead and hence unable to observe mortal sins:

> You have to watch your crops and animals on Good Friday because God is dead then and cannot see what the people are doing (39).[7]

In actual practice, Christ is mentioned in Chucuito even less frequently than God, and appears in not a single folk tale.[8] Christ is

[1] Paredes has observed: "The Aymara has very little faith in the divinities of Christianity. . . ." Paredes, 1936, 44.

[2] Mishkin has demonstrated that this is equally true of the contemporary Quechua of the Cuzco region. Mishkin, 1940, 240–241.

[3] The word *tata* is used in formal address towards all Mestizos, as well as elderly and respected Indians. The interpreter regularly translated it in this context as "*señor*"; it does not, when addressed to unrelated superiors, in any sense mean "father."

Bertonio makes it evident that *tata* as a term for God was in use early in the seventeenth century. He defines *tatssa*: "*Dios, Nuestro Señor. y tambien el Padre o Sacerdote.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 339.

[4] The practice of calling God "father" is clearly in accordance with customary Spanish usage.

[5] The identification of God with some former sky spirit is also a belief of the Bolivian Aymara. La Barre, 1948, 169.

[6] On occasion, Christ is designated *apu kristo*, "superior Christ" (45); the term *apu* appears to be an ancient Aymara respect title which is also employed with reference to the mountain spirits.

[7] See Forbes, 1870, 231–232; La Barre, 1948, 171–172.

[8] In two Chucuito folk tales, God is credited with the creation of the world and with the arrangement

never summoned to speak at a séance, although informants believed that He might be called if needed (45, 66, 109). As pointed out earlier, God is at times also identified with the sun. God, Christ, and the sun, therefore, may be thought of as constituting one in a trinity.[1]

Since the essential nature of the Holy Ghost is a matter of dispute even among theologians, it is not altogether surprising that this divinity figures not at all in Aymara thought, and not a single informant was even able to hazard a guess as to the meaning of *Espiritu Santo:*

> A padre once told me that the *esperitu santo* was a dove; I don't understand what he meant (2).

It would seem, then, that the Aymara reduced the Trinity of Catholicism to a single divinity who, when mentioned at all, is usually designated by one of the several terms for God.

In general, Christian belief regarding the Creation appears to prevail, and most Aymara would probably concede that God and/or Christ created not only the world in its present form, but animal and plant life, and man as well. Informants were not, however, at all clear as to the time, place, and circumstances of the Creation. It was denied, for example, that God had created the *hentiles*, the people who inhabited the chullpas and occupied the earth before the birth of the sun (43, 110). At the same time, fragments of the pre-Hispanic creation myths survive in Chucuito. Informant 7 traced the origin of the Aymara to Tiahuanaco, where their ancestors are said to have "emerged"; according to him, First Man was *manqo qapak* (Manco Capac) while First Woman was *mama oxla* (Mama Ocllo).[2] Similarly, Informant 45 relates:

> Very long ago there was a flood all over the world. Three men and three women escaped to the top of *alto ʃaveʃa* [a high peak near the city of Moquegua], and their children repopulated the world.

The names of these individuals, however, or other relevant details, have long since been forgotten.[3]

Subsequent to His creation of the world, however, God appears to have lost virtually all interest in mankind. Generally speaking, He is viewed by the Indians as potentially threatening rather than as positively rewarding. Yet the Aymara seems to feel that it is advisable to stay in His good graces in order to avoid His wrath and that if one strives to remain in His favor, God *may* be moved, in a moment of unpredictable generosity, to act on his behalf. Thus the vague feeling of uneasiness towards God, in all likelihood, serves in some measure to promote "proper behavior," to deter the non-conformer from committing socially disapproved acts, and, in addition, prompts some Aymara to pray for forgiveness of their sins. Children are admonished, for example:

> Do not be lazy; do not be a thief. God becomes angry with such people (11).

Again, Informant 33 stated that a boy should help his parents by working in the fields and by herding the livestock:

> If he behaves in this way, God will give him His blessing so that he may get along well in this life.

One frequently hears individuals, especially the aged, say: "God will protect me" or "God will not let me starve," but these hopes are expressed mechanically and seemingly without deep conviction.

Yet in spite of such precautionary or ingratiating manoeuvers as may stem from these beliefs and sentiments, only once during the course of the Chucuito study did an informant attribute misfortune to punishment by God, and in no case was outstanding success or good fortune attributed to God's benevolence.[4] Although, as is shown below, God is thought to

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of things generally (i.e., that women, but not men, suffer at childbirth). In a third, He figures in an animal tale that explains the coloration and hopping locomotion of the Andean sparrow. By and large, however, God is unimportant in the folklore of Chucuito.

[1] Cf. Mishkin, 1946, 463.

[2] This fragment probably refers to the Garcilaso version of the Inca origin legend. See Means, 1936, 260 ff.; Rowe, 1946, 316–318.

[3] This may be a fragment of the Incaic Viracocha myth. See Rowe, 1946, 315–316; Bandelier, 1910, 309–310, 316–317.

[4] An Aymara of outlying *kusipata* attributed the destruction of his grain crop (by hail) to the wrath of God. He retaliated by refusing to hold his customary fiesta of the Ascención del Señor.

The Bolivian belief that some diseases, particularly "*pacha-ayre*," are sent by God seems not to be shared by the Aymara of Chucuito. Bandelier, MS.

be the source of supernatural power (through lightning), He confers this power in an extremely arbitrary fashion. It is never purposefully sought or invoked by anyone. Nor can it be maintained that the Aymara fear Judgment or retribution after death, for they have almost no interest in the Hereafter, and no very clear conception of either Heaven or Hell. In short, God has little or nothing to do with reward and punishment.

The Aymara attitude towards God is well illustrated in an anecdote related by Bandelier regarding an incident that occurred during his stay on the Peninsula of Huata (Bolivia). A small Indian girl was chided by a white missionary for some mischief she had done and was reminded that God observes all human actions. The child replied:

> God is in Heaven. He cannot have seen me. He is too far off; only those who are between heaven and earth can see me.

When questioned as to the identity of these beings "between heaven and earth," she replied that they were the *ačačila*, or place spirits.[1] Thus, when he prays to God, the Aymara supplicates a remote, unpredictable deity upon whom he has little claim and from whom he has learned to expect few rewards. For immediate and concrete returns, he makes offerings to the spirits.

The Virgin

Although the Virgin is allotted a high place in the supernatural hierarchy, her relationship with God and Christ is, at best, ambiguous. Some informants agreed that she was the mother of Christ and cited Church images and paintings of the Nativity to prove their point (2, 11, 39, 43); others, however, believed that she was, at the same time, God's wife (45, 109). In any event, it is certain that the Virgin is a major deity, "more powerful even than the mountain spirits" (66).

In practice, however, the Aymara of Chucuito refer to the Virgin by name even less frequently than to Christ and far less often than they speak of God. On the other hand, on ritual occasions they do refer to *santa tiera*, "sacred earth," and there is evidence that the Virgin has, in some measure, become identified with this deity. While pouring out a libation of alcohol during a ceremonial in a potato field, Informant 66 chanted: "*santa tiera maria santisima*," "sacred earth, Holy Mary." Yet the identification of the Virgin with some earth or fertility spirit is by no means simple and clear-cut, since "sacred earth" is also associated in the minds of the Indians with the place spirits. Shortly after the ritual act described above, Informant 66 poured a second libation and chanted: "*santa tiera inka uyu ačačila*," "sacred earth, *inka uyu* spirit."[2] Since, however, the identification of the Virgin with *pačamama*, the ancient earth-fertility spirit, appears to be widespread among the Bolivian Aymara, it seems safe to assume that in Chucuito we are dealing with an essentially similar association of ideas.[3] In many other parts of Spanish America it is San Isidro Labrador who has become associated with agriculture and who is regarded as the special patron of farmers.[4] Among the Aymara, however (and in all probability owing to the previous association of the female earth spirit, *pačamama*, with agriculture), it was the Virgin, rather than San Isidro, who in the minds of the Indians became linked with farming and with fertility.[5]

In a very different guise, the Virgin is thought of as the patroness of the village and as the "owner" of the two churches.[6] Properly speaking, the Indians conceive the Virgin in her role of patroness as two individuals—María

[1] Bandelier, MS.

[2] As is mentioned above, *inka uyu* is the name of a ruined Inca building in Chucuito, as well as of the large field in which this structure is situated (see Pl. 26b).

[3] Cf. Paredes, 1936, 29; La Barre, 1948, 169.

[4] Cf. Wilder and Breitenbach, 1943, Pl. 53; Beals, 1946, 138–139; Foster, 1948, 215; Parsons, 1936, 205; Villa R., 1945, 100.

In the event of drought in the north coast Mestizo community of Virú, the image of San Isidro is carried in a procession to the river bank and left there until rain falls. Personal communication from Dr. Allan Holmberg. This practice is also common to the Mestizos of Cochabamba in Bolivia. Paredes, 1936, 88–89.

[5] A female earth spirit was an important deity in the Inca pantheon. Rowe, 1946, 295.

[6] The identity of the original patron saint of Chucuito is obscure; Cuentas indicates that it may have been San Vicente, although this saint is today of no particular importance in the village. Cuentas, 1929, (no page numbers).

Asunción, who "owns" the church of Asunción on the upper plaza of the town, and the Virgen del Rosario, whose image stands above the main altar of Santo Domingo church in the lower *barrio*.[1] At present, since her feast day is the major fiesta of Chucuito, the latter is considered the more powerful of the two despite the fact that the church of Asunción is larger and was formerly of greater importance. Although a number of other Virgins (who are also thought of as separate individuals) are known to the Aymara of Chucuito, especially Nuestra Señora de Copacabana, the Virgen de los Dolores, and the Virgen del Carmen, these play relatively unimportant roles, and their feast days are not celebrated locally.

Both María Asunción and the Virgen del Rosario are represented in the churches by carved and painted images of eighteenth century manufacture, and are conceptualized as elegant ladies, dressed in rich silks and brocades and adorned with crowns and jewels of gold, silver, and precious stones. Generally speaking, the style of their costume is suggestive of that worn by the nineteenth century highland Chola, a fashion of dress still extant among conservative Mestizas of Chucuito, as well as in more remote towns. In like manner, in a miraculous tale that explains the origin of one of the major fiestas of Chucuito, María Asunción is represented as a "wealthy and fortunate lady (*dama*)" who lives in a large house on the principal plaza of the town.

The attitude of the Virgin towards mankind is one of casual and patronizing benevolence. In the above-mentioned folk tale she speaks of the Indians as "her children" and, when they are beset by severe famine, she pities them and gives them food. By implication, however, the tale makes it quite clear that such acts of spontaneous compassion on her part were so rare as to be considered miraculous. Thus, although kindly disposed towards man, the Virgin is as remote as God and, possibly because she is a woman, appears to have little actual influence and rarely intervenes in human affairs.

All things considered, the impression is inescapable that while the spirits are, so to speak, part of the Aymara family, God and the Virgin are members of the superior caste. As we have seen, it is possible to view the spirits as modeled in the image of the Aymara father. God, on the other hand, clearly conceptualized as a white man, is addressed by the same respect term regularly used for Whites and Mestizos. Again, the same stylized, whining voice is employed when praying to God as when requesting a favor of a Mestizo superior. Similarly, the Virgin is not an Indian peasant woman, but a great lady who lives on the plaza (where only Mestizo houses are situated) and who dresses like a Mestiza.

The relations between the Aymara and the Christian-derived supernaturals, moreover, duplicate with remarkable exactitude those that exist between Indians and Mestizos. The attitude of the Aymara towards these superiors (human and supernatural) is at once apprehensive, cynical, and ingratiating; that adopted towards the Indian by the members of the dominant caste (as well as by God and the Virgin) is indifferent, patronizing, and, on rare occasions, condescendingly generous. Both the Mestizo *patrón* and the Christian-derived deities demand child-like deference and humility and humble gratitude for all favors granted on the part of the Aymara. Indeed, one frequently hears statements by Mestizos to the effect that Indians are "like children." It must be pointed out here that many Indians of Chucuito have Mestizo godparents and that the patterns of behavior of *ahijado*, or godson, towards *padrino*, or godfather, resemble in some ways those that exist between parent and child. It is also true, moreover, that not a few Aymara children of illegitimate birth actually have Mestizo fathers. It seems plausible, therefore, like the comparable attitude of some southern whites towards Negroes, that these assertions may be viewed as one form of defensive belief of the Mestizo "aristocratic" caste with reference to the Indian peasantry.[2] Thus it need not be taken literally that the Virgin considers the Aymara as "her children," for in no sense does she resemble the Aymara mother. Rather, the relations between the Indian and these Christian-derived deities appear to be patterned on Aymara-Mestizo caste relationships. It seems possible to the writer that the attitudes and beliefs centering around these supernaturals

[1] To some extent María Asunción is considered the patroness of the upper *barrio*, while the Virgen del Rosario is the patroness of the lower town.

[2] See Dollard, 1937, 433–439.

may be regarded as comprising still another projective system symbolic of the caste-structured nature of the total society.

The Saints

The Aymara are most uncertain as to where the saints fit into the supernatural hierarchy. In general they have been assigned a rank equal to that of the physiographical and meteorological spirits with whom, indeed, they are often confused. As stated above, Santiago, the patron saint of Spain, is identified with lightning, while San Vicente and San Lorenzo have, in some inexplicable manner, become associated with Lake Titicaca and are regularly named when the Lake spirit is invoked. Important mountain peaks and rivers usually bear saints' names as well as their own; thus Chucuito's sacred mountain is known as "*San Francisco atoxa,*" while the famous Bolivian peak is called "*San Carlos potosi.*" Still other saints are connected, in Aymara thought, with food resources and have thereby become confused with the owners. San Pedro, the fisherman, is, logically enough, associated with fish, while San Juan Bautista, who is usually represented in Spanish-American iconography as holding or leading a lamb, is often identified with the owner of the livestock.[1]

It is most difficult, therefore, to separate the saint from the spirit or phenomenon with which he has become associated, for no such distinction is made in Aymara thought. In the context of their feast days, however, the saints are conceptualized as personified beings, and both churches of Chucuito contain several wood and plaster painted images of eighteenth and nineteenth century manufacture. These figures portray the saints as long-haired, glassy-eyed men, arrayed in long, flowing robes.

In actual fact, the saints as such are rarely prayed to and receive no offerings other than occasional candles; rather, their fiestas function in connection with the wealth-prestige system, since each fiesta is the occasion for an *alferado*, or sponsorship, which, though an expensive undertaking, enhances the standing of the sponsor in the community.[2] In like manner, no strong bond ties an individual to the saint for whom he has been named. For though to some extent the practice exists of naming a child for the patron saint of the day of his birth, birthdays in Chucuito are not remembered (by Indians) and receive no social recognition whatever.[3]

It has been stated that images of the saints are not kept in Aymara dwellings. Indeed, Bandelier wrote:

> We were assured, at Tiahuanaco, that the Aymará would not tolerate images of the saints in their houses, from fear of the "santo ayre" or ill-wind from the saints, a species of disease.[4]

No Chucuito informants, however, reported that any diseases were sent by the saints. The saints, therefore, appear to be important only in proportion to the degree to which they have become identified with other supernaturals.

Souls and Ghosts

In the matter of the nature and identity of the soul and ghost, confusion reigns supreme. Not only did informants differ in their opinions on this subject, but specific informants were contradictory and inconsistent. One day Informant 43 claimed:

> A person's soul is called *qamasa*. The *qamasa* is like the shadow, *č'iwu*, and it is with you when you are living.[5] It is not in any one place, but all through your body. It is not the same as the breath, *samana*. It is all over and it leaves when you die.

Several days later, however, this same informant stated:

> The soul is called *axayu*.[6] I do not know where it is located in a person's body; it is all over, I think. [Question.] No, the *axayu* and *qamasa* are different. Each person has both. When you are frightened, it is really your *qamasa* that is frightened.[7]

[1] Wilder and Breitenbach, 1943, Pl. 22.

[2] To some extent Santiago is prayed to for protection against lightning (39, 66).

[3] Saint days are, however, remembered and celebrated by the Mestizos of Chucuito.

[4] Bandelier, 1910, 141, Note 36.

[5] The term *qamasa* appears not to have been in use in Bertonio's day; regarding *č'iwu* (*Cchiuu*), however, he wrote: "*Sombra de las cosas.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 88.

[6] Bertonio defined these two terms as follows: *samana*, "*El aliento, huelgo, hanelito, o respiracion*"; *hahayu*, "*La sombra de todas las cosas.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 108, 306.

[7] The latter portion of this statement refers to the belief that the soul may be "dislocated" through shock or fright.

She was, moreover, unable to identify either of these soul concepts precisely with such Spanish equivalents as *alma*, *animo*, or *espiritu*. In the final analysis, four informants (39, 45, 66, 109) asserted that the soul was *axayu*, while three (2, 11, 86) stated that it was *qamasa*. La Barre writes that the "true soul" is *hañayu* (a term which appears to be unknown in Chucuito), but that a man has three "shades" in all, including the *axayu* and *anima*.[1]

The terminology for ghost, while somewhat less confusing, is by no means clear-cut. Informant 43 at first stated that the ghost was called *amaya* (the usual word for "corpse"), but later contradicted herself by relating that she once saw her grandmother's ghost (*qamasa*), and that it appeared just as this individual had looked when alive.[2] When these inconsistencies were pointed out, the informant compromised by declaring that the ghost should properly be called *amaya qamasa*, "corpse soul."[3] Other informants referred to the ghost by the Spanish term *fantasma*, "phantom" (21, 39).[4]

The crux of the problem appears to be that the Aymara themselves do not differentiate to any great extent between "soul" and "ghost." At least two essences, it seems, survive death, and while one goes to the hereafter, the other remains on earth. As long as he is not plagued by either, the Aymara is not concerned with debating which goes to heaven (or hell) and which remains earthbound. La Barre is probably quite correct, therefore, in writing that humans have multiple souls and that "... when a man dies, any soul may live on, becoming an apparition."[5]

Once one has ceased attempting to define "soul" and "ghost" in terms of their native equivalents, most practical difficulties disappear, since the Spanish words for these concepts are actually generally employed in Chucuito at the present time. It should be understood in what follows, therefore, that "soul" translates *alma* or *anima* while "ghost" is equivalent to *fantasma* or *aparecido*.[6] For convenience in presentation, the material relating to the soul concepts is divided into two categories: (1) souls of the living, and (2) souls and ghosts of the dead.

Souls of the Living

The soul in every way resembles the body and duplicates the actions of the living. Indeed, so great is the resemblance that Informant 39 was led to observe:

> Unless you know that a man is dead, it is sometimes difficult to say whether you have seen him or whether it was his soul you saw.

Although the Aymara appear to have given little thought to the matter of the genesis of the soul, several informants believed that unborn children possessed souls (2, 11, 43, 64). Informant 2 pointed out that foetuses must have souls, since the souls of stillborn infants return to earth in hailstorms. Informant 11 maintained that the souls of stillborn and unbaptized children did not go to heaven, but remained in limbo, *limpu*, until the Judgment.

Whatever the genesis of the soul, this spiritual essence is very weak at birth, and increases in strength gradually, paralleling the physiological growth process until it declines progressively in old age. The souls of children, therefore, are not so firmly attached as are those of adults. Any sudden fright, a fall, or an accident may jolt the soul, or a portion of it, loose from the small body; this disembodied essence lingers at the site of the fright or accident.[7] It is then necessary that the soul be called and enticed back into the body as quickly as possible lest the child sicken or die for, as stated earlier, a soulless body may be possessed by demons. Thus when a child has had a sudden fall, the mother calls out his name and waves her skirt or the child's cap in an effort to coax the soul back. In addition, to prevent the repetition of such a mishap, the

[1] In turn, La Barre does not mention *qamasa*. La Barre, 1948, 168. Paredes states that the soul is *ajayu* (*axayu*). Paredes, 1936, 211.

[2] Bertonio recorded two terms (one of which is *amaya*) meaning "ghost": *Hahuari*, *Amaya: "El muerto, o como sombra del."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 108.

[3] Informants 45 and 66 agreed that "ghost" was either *amaya* or *amaya qamasa*.

[4] Bertonio gives an additional term to mean "phantom" or "*fantasma*": *Ipi haqe*. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 177.

[5] La Barre, 1948, 168.

[6] The term *alma*, "soul," was already in use by the Aymara of the early seventeenth century. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 39.

[7] See Paredes, 1936, 116–118.

child is made to eat a little earth from the spot where the accident occurred. When these simple measures fail to restore the child's soul, specialized treatment is required (see p. 282). If it is necessary to move a child from one dwelling to another, the soul must be summoned lest it remain behind and the child take sick. In like manner, when a mother crosses a river with her child, she tosses a stone to the farther bank in order that the child's soul may cross with it.

This stone is called *čaka*, "bridge"; without it the child's soul would stay on the other side of the river (71).

The soul, therefore, is not firmly lodged within the living human body and may leave it temporarily on a number of occasions: (1) when an individual has had a bad fright or an accident; (2) during sleep and while dreaming; (3) when a person is photographed; (4) when the soul has been kidnapped by a demon, or by either a spirit or a demon at the behest of a sorcerer.

Like children, adults, although apparently to a lesser extent, are susceptible to soul loss induced by sudden fright or shock. The resulting infirmity is called *anim saraqata*, "soul lost or fallen."[1]

When this happens, the man is like he is crazy; he is out of his head, and can't help himself (66).

Informant 64 relates:

There was a man named Merijildo *aski*. One time he fell into a deep spring when he was a little drunk. Then he lost his soul and now he is crazy. They did everything for him, but nothing did any good.

On occasion the soul roams of its own free will. In these wanderings, it is not hampered by the limitations of time or space; it can participate either in the future or in the past, and can travel anywhere, even to the land of the dead. Since these soul-journey fantasies are regarded as events that either have actually occurred or will occur at some future date, they are important in explaining current situations and are of the utmost value for divinatory purposes.

The soul wanders most frequently while a person is dreaming.[2] In the words of Informant 43:

When you dream that you go to a place, it is really your soul (*qamasa*) that goes there while you are asleep. Your knees and elbows go along with the soul at these times, and that is why they are harder than other parts of the body.

At other times the soul may return, in dreams, to the world in which it lived during a previous existence in order to visit its ancestors and friends (43, 45, 66).[3] Thus, because the soul departs from the body and may visit the dead during dreams, sleep is regarded as a state akin to death.

Sleeping is like dying, but smaller. That is why we call it *hisk'a hiwa*, "little death." In sleep the soul leaves, just as in death (43).

Similarly, Informant 64 states:

When a man is dreaming, he is like he is dead, and his soul leaves and does all the things he dreams about.

There is some evidence that daydream fantasies, like dreams, are regarded as revealing these excursions of the soul. In any event, as a precautionary measure against excessive wandering, the soul is customarily summoned each day at sunrise and again at sunset (39, 66).

Dreams and daydreams, it seems, do not "cause" anything; they are merely prophetic in that they are records of the soul's independent activities. Even dreams of death and disaster are not believed to produce these misfortunes. Nevertheless, excessive wandering of the soul in dreams does appear to some extent to be regarded both as an omen and as a cause of death.

When a person is very restless and when his soul wanders frequently, he will die soon. He wants to go somewhere, and maybe this is why he dies (72).

The proximity of roaming souls and of death is readily detected by animals.

When dogs howl at night, they are howling at the wandering souls of living persons who are going to die soon. Dogs can tell these things (72).

The souls of old people are particularly prone to wander, and it may be, as La Barre suggests, that the aged are feared in part because they

[1] This disease, although designated by a different term, would appear to be closely related to *kat'a*, described above (see p. 202).

[2] "Dream" is *samqa*; "to dream," *samqasiña*.

[3] See Paredes, 1936, 18–19; La Barre, 1948, 168.

are soon to become the much-dreaded ghosts.[1] Shortly before death, the soul embarks on a round of leave-taking.

Before a man dies, his soul (*qamasa*) visits all the places he has been in his life to say goodbye to all his friends. Sometimes when you are asleep you feel as though someone were holding you down or you feel someone touching you. That is the soul of some friend who is going to die. He has come to take his leave (11).

The present-day Aymara also hold the view that a person's photographic image is somehow connected with his soul. When permission was asked to photograph Informant 102 and her children, she declined firmly, exclaiming:

That picture would go to all parts of the world, and our souls would go with it. Then they would suffer.

A similar experience in Bolivia is recorded by La Barre.[2] Informants were doubtful, however, whether photographs ever could or would be employed for purposes of sorcery (45, 66).

How an individual's soul may be seized by a demon who has been accidentally disturbed or angered is described above. Such demons, as well as evil or indifferent spirits, may also be persuaded by sorcerers to kidnap the souls of living persons (45, 64, 87). Another technique commonly employed by sorcerers, according to Informant 87, is to send an owl or a night hawk to spirit away the soul of the victim.

Informant 16 recounts in detail how his soul was kidnapped by a sorcerer, how he subsequently sickened, and how he then consulted a diviner to discover the whereabouts of the bundle the sorcerer had buried. He goes on to describe how he discovered the bundle in his corral:

There I found the *t'exa*, "bundle," where it had been put in a post hole. The bundle wasn't wrapped in anything—in the ground it was covered with cotton so that it wouldn't get broken. Inside a square lump of *ɻamp'u* was an old, dry cow horn, and my soul was imprisoned inside this with some of my hair. The bundle was put in the hole on top of ashes of coca, sugar, and *q'oɻpa* [see p. 247].

Similarly, Informant 87, a sorcerer, describes how his teacher once bewitched Miguél *ɻanu* of Ichu by kidnapping his soul:

That time this (my teacher) put his soul in a gray horn used for sorcery. [Question.] A night hawk brought the soul to my teacher's house. Then he put his [the victim's] old clothes, his hair, and his excrement in the bundle. Later, at midnight he carried this bundle to the house of the one he was bewitching, and then he buried it in the left-hand corner of the cattle corral. After this man was sick for two years, he died. All of his family hated him, saying that he had gone crazy.

By virtue of his ability to manipulate the spirits, the magician also may summon both the souls of the living and the souls and ghosts of the dead to his séances (45, 66, 109). The interviewing of living souls, as mentioned above, is one of the principal techniques employed to discover a thief (see p. 193). On these occasions the souls make valiant attempts to defend their bodily counterparts, but force may be employed to wring confessions from them (45, 66, 109).

Ghosts and Souls of the Dead

It is unquestionably true that the Aymara deeply fear the dead and the circumstances surrounding death. Paredes' belief that these attitudes result from missionary teaching is almost certainly incorrect.[3] Far from being so uncomplicated, the explanation of this fear of the dead is complex, and several component beliefs must be considered independently. First, the corpse itself, as well as associated objects, is thought to be a potential source of a certain disease, *orixa*, to which children are particularly susceptible. Second, all ghosts of adults, irrespective of the dispositions of their former earthly counterparts, are naturally malevolent, and may send disease or, according to folk tales, cause death in other ways.[4] Finally, the souls of the dead, either out of sheer

[1] La Barre, 1948, 135. Any such explanation of this fear of the aged, however, is over simple. It can also be explained in terms of the anxiety problem, since it can be shown that there is considerable repressed hostility towards the aged that stems from early child training, the autocratic authority of parents and grandparents during later years, and because the aged constitute a considerable burden to the able-bodied population in this hard-pressed, underfed society.

[2] La Barre, 1948, 168.

[3] Paredes, 1936, 228–229.

[4] Informants were undecided as to whether or not children produced ghosts; at any rate, the ghosts of children (if they exist) are not feared (11, 43).

jealousy of the living, or because of loneliness, frequently attempt to drag relatives and friends along with them to the hereafter.[1] This is especially true of the souls of children, and many omens are interpreted to mean that the deceased child desires the death of a sibling.[2] There is, on the contrary, no evidence whatever from Chucuito to indicate that the dead ever seek to benefit the living (except to warn them of impending disaster) or that souls are regarded as guardians or protectors.[3] Indeed, the return of the souls during All Saints fiesta in November is believed to prevent rain when it is most needed and the exposed bones of the dead are thought to cause drought (2). It is also desirable to slaughter livestock for meat before All Souls day, since the returning souls are said to steal the fat of these animals (43).

A consideration of funeral practices, some aspects of which must be discussed briefly, indicates clearly that the Aymara—practical here, as always—are concerned primarily with the living, and secondarily with the dead.[4] In order of seeming importance, their funeral behavior appears to be designed to achieve the following aims: (1) to prevent additional deaths; (2) to protect the living against dangers incurred through contact with the dead; (3) to discourage the ghost from lingering about the premises; and (4) to speed the departed soul on its journey to the hereafter.

As soon as a death has occurred, the anxious relatives are careful to note any sign or omen presaging more deaths to come.[5] For one death, it appears, presages others, and the soul of the recently deceased, not yet departed, is a constant threat to his living kinsmen. If a child has died with his eyes open, this means that another child in the family will die (71). When a child is buried and there is not enough earth to fill the grave, it is certain that another child will soon die (11). Bandelier writes that after a death, ashes are scattered inside the door sill and inspected the following morning. If human footprints are discovered, these predict additional deaths in the family.[6] Eight days after a funeral, when the house receives a ritual cleaning, the rubbish is burned and all present look into the fire:

> If they see the face of a person, they know that he will be the next one to die (24).[7]

The surviving relatives take great care lest they, too, be summoned to the hereafter. When a corpse has been lowered into the grave, all present must toss in a handful of earth.

> They all do this because they were friends and relatives of the dead person and they have come to bury him. If they didn't, the dead person would be angry and he might call them and they would die (43).

In Bolivia, stones are hurled from slings in order to prevent the souls of the living from accompanying that of the dead man.[8]

Eight days after the death of a married person, the house must be examined carefully to discover any traps left by the deceased to ensnare the surviving spouse.

> When a man died, his soul (*qamasa*) digs a little grave under the floor of the house. He is calling for his wife so that she will die too (11). The person who cleans the house discovers these "graves" with a needle or awl and fills them with earth to prevent other deaths.

So persistent, indeed, is a man's recently departed soul that for the year following death he is apt to return in dreams to his wife, urging

[1] As is shown below, it is close relatives who are most apt to be harmed by the dead. Similarly, it should be noted, in cases of sorcery the first suspicion of guilt falls upon close relatives. Indeed, as has been demonstrated, the Aymara today is forced to compete for his very livelihood with his close relatives. It seems possible, therefore, to regard this fear of corpses, ghosts, and souls in part as a projection of repressed hostility towards parents and near relatives into the realm of the dead.

[2] Perhaps this belief is to be understood as a projection of sibling rivalry, a phenomenon of which the Aymara themselves are well aware.

[3] Paredes writes that the souls of the dead are believed to watch over and protect their relatives and the community as a whole; while they never abandon their kinsmen, these souls may punish the living if they deserve it. Paredes, 1946, 211–212.

[4] The central emphasis in an Aymara funeral is placed on the proposition that, by dying, the deceased has increased the hardships of his family because he has deprived it of a useful member. See Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 501–502.

[5] La Barre describes a number of instances of the reading of omens at funerals in order to discover who will die next. La Barre, 1948, 137–138.

[6] Bandelier, 1910, 85.

[7] See La Barre, 1948, 138.

[8] *Ibid.*, 137.

her to join him in the afterworld. Informant 11 relates:

Last night I dreamed of my husband, just as he was before [he died]. To dream of souls is not a good thing. Sometimes they come to advise us of some misfortune. Sometimes they come to take us away so that we, too, will die.

It is also necessary to protect the living against sickness and other possible misfortunes. From the moment that a death occurs every effort is made to prevent the young children of the household from touching or even viewing the corpse, or anything that has been in contact with it, lest they take sick with *orixa*.[1] While the corpse is prepared for burial and during the wake that follows, the children are kept out of sight, often shut up in the kitchen. So liable are children to injury by the dead, that a pregnant woman who has seen a corpse, handled human bones, or been near a cemetery or ruin, will almost certainly bear a child who is either sick with *orixa* or who is deformed (11, 64).

The nature and etiology of *orixa*, however, is not clear. Children under five years of age appear to be especially susceptible, and the specific cause of the disease, like *kat'a*, is said to be fright.

Young children get sick because corpses frighten them. [Question.] No, they do not lose their souls. After a child is older than five, he isn't afraid of corpses, so he doesn't get sick (64).

Informant 32 stated that the symptoms of *orixa* were violent convulsions and a general debility which, if protracted, led to anemia.[2] The specific remedy for this ailment consists of bits of desiccated human flesh which the child is made to eat (11, 40, 64). Such "corpse medicine," *amaya qoła*, is kept on hand in virtually every Aymara household and is usually obtained from old graves in the cemeteries that have been opened accidentally while digging a new one. Informant 71 stated that a child suffering from *orixa* might be cured by making him drink water in which a corpse, or the clothing of a deceased person, has been washed. In the event that a child does glimpse a corpse at a funeral, he is made to step or jump over the grave after it has been filled, while babies in arms are carried across by their mothers (23, 33, 64).[3] Sick persons are likewise made to pass over the grave on the theory that their illness will depart with the dead (23).

Because close relatives are most liable to be harmed by the dead, corpses must be washed and dressed in their shrouds by unrelated, and preferably aged, persons (23, 43). Even though the corpses of children are, on the whole, less feared, a mother may not prepare her own child for burial.

This is bad and would hurt her. She might get sick (71).

Immediately after a funeral, the *hač'ira* (those who wear the special insignia of bereavement) shake out their outer garments and put them back on wrong side out (23, 37, 43).[4] If a widower is present, he should assist the men in this operation, while a widow helps the women to reverse their clothing (43).

They do this because their clothes are filled with sorrow and dust from the grave. If they did not shake them out, the sorrow would follow them back to their houses and the dust would make them sick. A widow or widower should help because they have already had bad luck (37).

Then the *hač'ira* rinse out their mouths and wash their hands lest the dust from the grave cause them illness or misfortune (23, 37, 43).

Eight days after a death the house is cleaned, often by a widow or widower of the opposite sex from the deceased, and the rubbish deposited on a miniature stretcher, *kałapu*, of the type employed to transport the corpse during a funeral (11, 24, 66). Occasionally, the dead man's worn clothes, his comb, or other articles that have been in intimate contact with him, are also disposed of at this time (66). The stretcher piled with rubbish is then carried to some remote, uninhabited spot, *wasara*, and

[1] See Kuczynski-Godard, 1945b, 26. Bandelier also mentions a disease, *larpata*, contracted by a child who has seen a corpse. Bandelier, 1910, 125, 342.

[2] With respect to the Bolivian Aymara, La Barre writes that a disease called *larpa* (which he translates as "anemia") is believed to be caused by one's mother having looked at a corpse during pregnancy. La Barre, 1948, 212.

[3] *katatkipaña*, "to pass over (the grave)."

[4] Men wear black ponchos and hats, while women don black headcloths and shawls. Customarily the *hač'ira* are the siblings, spouse, and children of the deceased.

there either burned or abandoned, often with offerings of coca, llama fat, and *q'oa* (24, 66).

Unless they did this, more people in the house might get sick or die (66).

After the house has been ritually cleaned of the presence of the dead, the surviving spouse washes his or her hair for the first time since the funeral, and all who have participated in the post-funeral observances fumigate themselves in the smoke of burning salvia herbs and *ají* peppers.

They do this to get rid of the dead person and to keep away more bad luck (43).

At the subsequent feast a sheep or llama is butchered, and all of the meat, including the eyes, brains, and edible portions of the entrails, must be consumed on the spot.

If any meat is left over, it will bring more misfortune to the house (43).[1]

The Aymara are terrified of ghosts, and these supernatural beings, as described in folk tales, are dreadful creatures indeed. Their faces resemble skulls, their eyes glitter, and their gaunt bodies are clothed in black shrouds; they live in graveyards, their candles are flaming human bones, and they feed upon human flesh, especially the bodies of children (21, 23). According to other informants, ghosts may appear as shadowy cats and dogs:

When you think you are near them at night and then you find they aren't there, then you have seen ghosts. If you see a ghost, you will get sick and your nose will bleed (43).

The mere sight of a ghost at night (which is the only time, it seems, when they are visible) is sufficient to cause children and adults alike to sicken with *orixa* (23, 32).[2] In addition, a ghost may cause death simply by willing it (32).

In view of the terrifying nature of ghosts, then, it is not surprising that the Aymara are afraid to venture out at night, particularly in the neighborhood of cemeteries or crossroad graveyards. They do everything possible to prevent the ghost from returning to the house of the deceased. There is some evidence that they even resort to murdering their dying kinsmen in an effort to ward off ghosts. Forbes wrote:

It is known that the Indians of the Puna put an end to the sufferings of their relatives, when about to die, by strangling them with a rope, under the impression that by so doing they can prevent the ghost of the deceased returning to this world to haunt and trouble them.[3]

That this practice once existed is corroborated by Paredes, who states that formerly a dying man was strangled to prevent the soul from decomposing with the body.[4] At the present time in Chucuito, according to informants, the corpse is strangled with a rope as soon as a person has died (23, 24). The rationale of this behavior is that the "breath" of a corpse is foul smelling:

They do this so that he won't throw out bad smells (23).

Although no informant stated specifically that the strangling was to prevent the return of the ghost, Informant 43 admitted that, unless this was done, the ghost *might* linger about the house. For obvious reasons it was impossible to ascertain from interviews whether or not an individual was actually dead before he was strangled by his kinsmen; my interpreter, however, had heard repeatedly that the frightened relatives did not always wait until death had been established beyond all doubt.[5]

As soon as a death occurs, a diviner may be summoned to discover whether or not the ghost is lingering about the premises (11). During the wake that follows, ghost stories are related to prevent the participants from becoming sleepy. The listeners huddle together, glancing anxiously into the dark corners, and leave the house as seldom as possible, and rarely alone.[6]

[1] Meat, not unnaturally, is commonly associated with death in dreams. See Paredes, 1936, 18; La Barre, 1948, 180.

[2] As in the case of "infantile *orixa*," caused by the sight of a corpse, the remedy for ghost sickness is desiccated human flesh (32). One informant (64) denied that ghosts caused *orixa*. Bertonio equated dreaming of a ghost with seeing one: *Iphitha: "Aparecer la fantasme, o soñar que vee algo."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 177.

[3] Forbes, 1870, 231.

[4] Paredes, 1936, 217.

[5] During my entire stay in Chucuito, I never actually witnessed a death.

[6] Most of these tales are clearly of European origin. In them, small children who wear rosaries, crucifixes, and medals of the saints are represented as effective in warding off ghosts. Such a theory

After the interment, the funeral procession returns to the house of the deceased by a route other than that taken to the cemetery to prevent the ghost from following (23, 43). All are on the alert to note omens, particularly the excessive barking of dogs, that announce the presence of the ghost (43).

Although there appears to be no specific rite to dispel ghosts, in practice, old ghosts tend to be forgotten as new ones appear. The fate of these supernaturals is a matter of no interest. They are assigned to no particular hereafter and presumably remain earthbound forever.

With the advent of death, the soul escapes from the mouth of the corpse, and remains around the house compound of the deceased throughout the funeral proceedings until formally despatched during a rite, *alma despačeña*, which occurs eight days later (24, 71). On this day the bereaved relatives shed their special mourning insignia. At sundown that evening at hourly intervals until after midnight, an individual familiar with Catholic ritual recites responses in Latin for the soul of the deceased.[1]

They do this so that the soul (*alma*) will not stay around the house and will go to heaven (24).

Holy water is sprinkled about the house and a special carrying cloth is filled with the dead man's favorite food, coca, and a container of alcohol. Although these provisions are given to the *cantor* who has recited the responses, they are intended symbolically for the soul (24). Ordinarily this rite is terminated by a feast for the participants.[2] A similar, but less elaborate, rite takes place eight days after the death of a child. These observances center around the washing of the child's clothing and everything that was in contact with him.

If you don't do this, the child's soul will come back to the house. The washing is like sending his soul to heaven. It won't come back again (71).

The current beliefs about the afterworld are Christian-derived. By and large, however, the Aymara appear to be little interested in the question of life after death.[3] There is a "heaven" *cielo*, located in the sky, and a "hell," *infierno*, situated under the earth (24, 66).[4] Yet there appears to be no deep conviction regarding ultimate retribution (either reward or punishment) nor, for that matter, any very clear notions of the mode of life in the hereafter. One old woman, indeed, did not believe that those buried in church cemeteries shared in the after life:

The dead should be buried where roads cross, *t'aki haktapi*. There will be a time when they will all live again, and it is better to bury them by the roads. I don't think that those in the cemeteries ever live again (43).

Others believe that life in heaven, at least, is very much like that on earth. In describing funeral practices on the Peninsula of Chucuito, Informant 23 related:

When a man dies, he will need all the things that are necessary in this life. That is why they give the dead an olla. They give them provisions so that they may eat and money to pay their debts. They give them brooms so that they may sweep their houses, and water to drink. When they have prepared the body for burial, they take a llama or sheep, and tie it by the neck and feet with a rope. Then they make the dead person hold the rope by the other end. Then they kill the animal. This they call *hisk'ata*, because the dead person needs a companion to go with him to the other life.

Although in the village proper no burial offerings are now placed with adults, animals are still sacrificed to accompany their souls, and a child is interred with a broom, a pottery jug, but no food (43).[5]

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seems inconsistent with the belief that children are highly susceptible to *orixa*.

[1] For an account of similar practices among the Bolivian Aymara, see Paredes, 1936, 221–222.

[2] Paredes states that the eight-day commemoration is a happy occasion, accompanied by feasting, dancing, and drinking. The participants behave, he writes, as though the deceased were actually present. Paredes, 1936, 222. In Chucuito the feeling tone of this rite is as somber as the funeral itself.

[3] "*Poco efecto produce en el indio la prédica cristiana sobre el más allá. Predomina en su espíritu la creencia negativa: todo queda aquí. No les atrae la promesa del ciela ni les intimida la del infierno. La del purgatoria sencillamente no la entienden.*" Valcárcel, 1945, 180.

[4] In Bertonio's day, "heaven" was designated *Alakh pacha*, "*cielo*" (literally "above"); "hell" was called *Mancca pacha*, "*infierno*" (literally "below"). An alternative term for *infierno* was *Manqhue pacha*. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 215, 242.

[5] The contents of accidentally opened graves in Chucuito cemeteries indicate that the practice of burying offerings with adults survived until recent times. Food, coca, and liquor are still buried with the dead in parts of Bolivia. La Barre, 1948, 137.

The souls of children, because of their innocence, go directly to heaven, and for this reason the funeral of a child is considered a joyous occasion (23, 24).[1] In fact, it is imperative that the parents of a dead child do not weep for it, for this prevents its soul from going to heaven (71). The ultimate fate of the souls of adults, however, appears to depend more upon the manner of death than upon their behavior when alive. Sorcerers, suicides, and women who die in childbirth are buried face down, and their souls go to hell (11, 26, 66).[2] The soul of a person who has drowned in a river cannot escape until it reaches a point where the river flows into another body of water (72). Souls of those who die by violence remain earthbound until avenged.[3]

It appears, however, that the souls of ordinary individuals who die naturally spend the first year after death in hell, and take their final leave for "heaven" only after the lapse of three years (43).[4] For three successive years after death the soul revisits Chucuito at noon on All Saints Day (November 1) and departs at the same time on All Souls Day (November 2).[5] The day on which the souls arrive is called *hiwirinakna urupa*, "day of the dead," while the day of departure is known as *alma despač uru*, "day when the soul leaves." The principal aim of these mourning anniversaries, it would seem, is to assure the soul that it is remembered, to speed its journey to heaven, and to make certain that it does not return to molest the living.

For the first anniversary, the close relatives again don the mourning costume and erect a temporary altar to the soul in one of the two churches of the village, the choice depending upon the cemetery in which the deceased is buried. This altar consists of a small table or box, draped in black cloth, and bearing a crucifix and candles. Paper cut-outs representing skulls and skeletons, night hawks and owls are pinned to another black cloth hung above the altar. At noon on the first day the candles are lighted. Anyone who so wishes kneels successively before each altar, recites a brief response for the soul at each, and then in return receives coca and a drink of alcohol.

> They all say the same thing; they ask God to save the man's soul and they ask His blessings, and then say an *Ave María* (9).

The poorer Aymara erect these altars in their houses, rather than in the churches, to avoid the expense of purchasing alcohol and coca. Under these circumstances, food may be offered to the dead and given to visitors in payment for their prayers. Each day of the mourning anniversary should terminate in a feast for the relatives and friends of the deceased.

On the second day, the responses continue. Drinking is heavy, and in the churches there is much weeping and lamentation, and not a few fights and brawls. At noon, the year of mourning is officially terminated, and the insignia of bereavement are changed for ordinary garments, since the soul is now en route to heaven. The candles are extinguished, and the altars dismantled and carried home.

The secondary anniversary is often known as *alma manq'añapa mara*, "the year of food for the souls." This year, whether or not altars are set up in the churches, others erected at home are laden with favorite dishes of the deceased, as well as with coca and alcohol. Such offerings are called *alma manq'a*, "spirit food." Mourning dress is not worn, since the soul is now well established in heaven and, presumably, contented there.

The observances of the third year are merely perfunctory. Mourning is absent, food is seldom offered, and the anniversary, if celebrated at all, is more social than serious. At noon on All Souls Day of this year, the soul has been permanently despatched; it never returns, and the living are free from it forever.

To sum up, it appears that Aymara soul concepts are thoroughly consistent with their pessimistic view of life. Not only is the ghost a malevolent phantom, wandering earthbound among the dwellings of the living, spreading sickness and death, but the soul itself is at best indifferent to the fate of its surviving relatives, if indeed it does not seek to do them harm. It

[1] As mentioned earlier, the souls of unbaptized children remain in limbo, at times returning to earth in hailstorms.

[2] "A woman who dies when she is having a child more or less kills herself; she is like a person who commits suicide. That is why they bury her face down" (11).

[3] Paredes, 1936, 213.

[4] A second informant (11) believed that souls spent the first year after death in limbo.

[5] See Paredes, 1936, 223ff.

is of no benefit to the community, a constant source of danger, and a financial burden for three years. Not unrealistically, then, the Aymara funeral dramatizes death as the abandonment of the living, not merely in a physical sense, but in spirit as well.

MAGIC AND THE MAGICIAN

PRACTITIONERS OF MAGIC

The ability to employ magical techniques, to manipulate supernatural forces, and to apply or direct either or both towards the solution of man's many pressing problems is not the exclusive prerogative of a particular class of specialist. Rather, the powers to divine the unknown, to cure disease, and to induce the spirits to act are shared by several categories of individuals who possess a greater or lesser degree of specialized training. For the village of Chucuito, these "professional" statuses can be listed as follows: (1) *paqo*, "magician"[1]; (2) *laiqa*, "sorcerer"; (3) *qoɬasiri*, "doctor"; (4) *yatiri*, "diviner"; (5) *t'aliri*, "chiropractor"; (6) *usuiri*, "midwife."[2] Although in the present study we are concerned primarily with the status of the *paqo*, or magician, it is necessary to discuss the other specialists at some length in order that the role of the magician can be understood and evaluated in proper perspective.

Of the six classes of specialists, all, whatever else they may do, employ one or more divinatory techniques, and all cure some diseases or are consulted professionally in connection with illness.[3] Again, both the *laiqa* and the *paqo* are in direct contact with the supernatural beings and may manipulate them for their own professional ends, while the *paqo* and *yatiri* alike have the ability to discover the whereabouts of lost property and to identify thieves.

From the point of view of the observer, then, there appears to be considerable overlapping in the spheres of activity and in the techniques employed by the several categories of practitioners of magic currently recognized by the Aymara. Bandelier described a complicated hierarchy of doctors, "witches," and diviners whose roles and functions he defined and delimited in very vague terms, while Paredes pointed to what he considered to be a fundamental and basic confusion of religion, medicine, and "witchcraft."[4]

The real source of confusion, however, lies not in the Aymara categories, but in the attempt of the observer to equate them precisely and literally with those prevailing in recent Western European culture. It is futile and highly misleading to discuss the "religion," "magic," and "sorcery" of the Aymara as discrete entities, since these arbitrary categories have no separate and independent existence in native thought.[5] Instead, they are all

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[1] The origin of the word "*paqo*" is obscure. Bertonio lists the term *Phako*, which he defines as "*rubio, roxo*," referring, perhaps, to the magician's practice of wearing a red poncho and cap. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 254. This term is apparently not widely employed in Bolivia, although Bandelier states that a "wizard," *pako*, exercises the highest arts of magic and is feared and respected. Bandelier, MS.

Among the Peruvian Aymara the word *paqo* is used in the community of Ichu and in the San Antonio de Esquilache region as well as in the village of Chucuito. Cf. "*paco*," Kuczynski-Godard, 1945a, 15, 28.

[2] Although the terms by which they are designated differ somewhat, roughly equivalent statuses are recognized by the Bolivian Aymara. La Barre, 1948, 217.

[3] A similar situation apparently prevailed among the Inca. Rowe writes: "A curer was usually a diviner as well, and might practice black magic in secret; there were no rigid divisions between such functions." Rowe, 1946, 312. It appears, therefore, that we are dealing here with an ancient Andean pattern, not a recent breakdown and confusion of traditional statuses.

Of the contemporary Quechua, Mishkin states: "Quechua sorcerers are capable of performing good magic and black magic; they are at the same time diviners and practical physicians." Mishkin, 1946, 469.

[4] Bandelier, MS. In this same work he equates the *yatiri* and the *laiqa* as synonymous merely on the ground that both divine by scattering coca leaves.

"*En la mente de niño de aqellos, la religión y la medicina se confunden aún con la brujería; el hechicero con el médico . . .* " Paredes, 1936, 2.

[5] Rather than words delimiting any such abstract categories, there are a series of terms designating concrete acts: *qoɬaña*, "to cure" (literally, "to apply medicine"); *hakayaña*, "to cure" (literally, "to make to live"); *laiqaña*, "to perform sorcery"; *yatiña*, "to divine" (literally, "to know"); *loqaña*, "to offer a sacrifice."

merely closely related aspects of one central subject: the Aymara's conceptualization of, and ways of dealing with, the supernatural world as it is conceived *in toto*. It must also be clearly understood that while such approximate translations of Aymara status terms as doctor, magician, and so forth, serve as convenient labels for a descriptive designation of the various classes of specialists, these Aymara categories do not in any way coincide with our own, and actually delimit very different areas of experience. Any attempt to treat *paqo* and magician, *qoḷasiri* and doctor, as precise conceptual equivalents may lead, and, in fact, has led, to tremendous terminological confusion and to a gross misrepresentation of Aymara specialization in the realm of supernaturalism.

The categories of experience encompassed by the special status designations *paqo*, *yatiri*, *qoḷasiri*, and the like may best be understood in terms of certain central preoccupations of the Aymara that are cited in an earlier section: (1) concern about disease; (2) concern about the future and the explanation of misfortune; (3) concern about the evil intentions of other human beings. These apprehensions, it was pointed out, are not entirely independent, but instead are intimately linked.

The preoccupation of the Aymara with disease is very striking. Nearly all laymen have considerable specialized medical knowledge and are constantly doctoring themselves for real or imagined ills.[1] In addition, the variety of professional doctors is so considerable that La Barre was led to observe:

> . . . no other primitive group known to modern ethnology has such a rich specialization among practitioners of native medicine.[2]

But while this elaboration of specialization has been generally recognized (indeed, it is inescapable), it would appear that etiology of disease according to Aymara theory has been highly over-simplified. Paredes states flatly that "witches" directly, or demons acting at the behest of "witches," are responsible for all diseases.[3] Taking a similar position, La Barre writes that disease is inevitably caused either by "witchcraft" or by evil spirits.[4] Either these views are over-simple, or the disease theory of the Bolivian Aymara is considerably less complex than is true of the Aymara of Peru. In Chucuito, as has been shown, some diseases are clearly due to sorcery, either directly or indirectly. Others, however, are sent by spirits *of their own volition* (because they have been angered or slighted), or by permanent and naturally malevolent demons. Still others are contracted from souls and ghosts. Some ailments stem from accidental soul loss, while in others soul kidnapping is the cause. Still others, chullpa sickness, for example, result from the intrusion of a foreign object, either through carelessness or through the evil machinations of humans or demons. In addition, some diseases are unquestionably attributed by the Aymara of Chucuito to natural causes.[5] Among these are various ailments that are (or are thought to be) attendant upon childbirth; fractures, sprains, and dislocations (including the "dislocation" of internal organs); and such common and frequent complaints as *p'eqe usu*, "headache," *t'uku usu*, "common cold," and *č'aka usu*, "rheumatism."

Thus the Aymara believe that diseases are attributable to a number of distinct causes, and it is their theory that specialized knowledge and techniques are required to deal effectively with each. When, therefore, disease is approached from the point of view of etiology, it becomes clear that the specialization of Aymara medical practitioners is based primarily upon the nature and "cause" of the illness (real or imaginary) with which they cope, and that the techniques of diagnosis and therapeutics which any particular class of "doctor" employs are, in large part, secondary to this consideration.[6] It is the *paqo* who cures diseases sent by spirits and demons, or by either at the instigation of a sorcerer. The *qoḷasiri* cures

[1] La Barre, 1948, 211.
[2] *Ibid.*, 217.
[3] Paredes, 1936, 180–181.
[4] La Barre, 1948, 219–220.

[5] At least, they are blamed neither upon malevolent supernaturals nor upon the evil intentions of other humans.

[6] While it is quite true that the various classes of medical practitioners tend to some extent to employ different techniques in diagnosis and curing, we cannot entirely agree with La Barre's statement: "The difference between the various practitioners . . . is not only in the means which they employ, but also in the character of their magic, and in the mode of curing." La Barre, 1948, 220. The real difference lies in *what*, not *how*, they cure.

diseases due to natural causes, as well as superficial injuries, broken bones, sprains, extracts intruded objects, and treats ghost sickness. The *t'aliri* specializes in treating dislocations, particularly the "dislocation" of the heart, uterus, or other internal organs. The *usuiri* administers medicines designed to speed delivery, is a "practical" obstetrician, and treats those diseases, especially *aire*, to which postparturient women are thought to be particularly susceptible.[1] Although conclusive data from Chucuito are lacking, the evidence indicates that the *laiqa* cures, as well as "causes," some diseases, and practitioners of this class are believed to have the power to cure certain types of paralysis and insanity.[2] Although the *yatiri* apparently performs no cures and has no special knowledge of remedies, he is consulted frequently in cases of illness in order to ascertain the cause (whether sorcery or otherwise), and is able to divine whether a patient will die or recover.

Viewed from the standpoint of etiology, Aymara medical specialization is rigid; apparently no practitioner feels qualified to step out of his special province to cure diseases due to factors over which he has no control. Thus when Informant 45, himself a *paqo*, was seized with a stomach ailment ascribed to "natural" causes, he summoned a *qoḻasiri* to diagnose his illness and to prescribe the proper remedies. Similarly, Informant 64, a *qoḻasiri*, sent a patient who was suffering from a stubborn illness to Informant 109, a *paqo*, because of his conviction that the disease had been sent by a supernatural being. Informant 66, on the other hand, practiced both as a *qoḻasiri* and as a *paqo*. Further, albeit less formal, specialization within particular branches of native Aymara medicine may be noted. Although both Informants 64 and 65 are classed as *qoḻasiri*, the former is noted as a "bone specialist" and for his treatment of sprains and dislocations, while the latter specializes in a particular technique of diagnosis, and in "internal medicine."

Although each class of medical practitioner deals with a distinct set of "causal factors" and tends to employ certain distinctive methods, some techniques are shared by two or more classes of specialists. To cite only a few examples: the massage and jerking treatment (*pisktapi* or *t'altapi*) employed to restore "dislocated" organs to their proper positions, is performed by *qoḻasiri*, *t'aliri*, and *usuiri* alike (although for different purposes), while the *qoḻasiri* as well as the *paqo* and *laiqa* may prepare and offer sacrifices, the former to the disease itself in an effort to banish it, and the latter to spirits, demons, and other supernaturals.[3] The latter three classes of specialists also share the "scapegoat" technique of diagnosis and therapeutics known as *q'oḻpaña*, by means of which the disease is transferred magically from the patient to a piece of metal, *q'oḻpa*, which is then burned to destroy the illness.[4] It should be noted in this connection that it is impossible here to draw any valid distinction between those classes of medical practitioners who cure "real" diseases by "practical" means and those who treat "imaginary" (i.e., attributed to supernatural causes) diseases through "magical" techniques. Since the Aymara make no such distinction either in their theory of disease or in its treatment, we must agree wholeheartedly with Ackerknecht's observation that the widespread division between medicinemen and herbalists in primitive tribes has given rise to the premature conclusion that only the former are guided by supernatural ideas, while the latter are rationalists.[5]

Attention must now be focused on the Aymara's concern with the future and his preoccupation with the explanation of misfortune and catastrophe, as reflected on the cultural level by the great proliferation of divinatory techniques. Divination is considered necessary to every conceivable act. It is quite likely that every adult Aymara, just as he seeks to read omens in nearly all nature, also indulges in private divination of one type or

[1] It is interesting to note that the Aymara have classified obstetrics as a branch of medicine.

[2] Since, as is shown below, the statuses of *paqo* and *laiqa* may at times be occupied simultaneously by the same individual, it is difficult to know whether cures are ever performed *in the role* of *laiqa*.

[3] Since they share this therapeutic technique and since, according to Aymara belief, the uterus is an organ common to both sexes, it is not surprising that four out of five individuals in Chucuito who were classed as midwives also practiced as *t'aliri*.

[4] For a discussion of *q'oḻpa*, see p. 247.

[5] Ackerknecht, 1945, 30.

another. In addition, as stated above, all classes of specialists in magic are familiar with at least one or more formal divinatory techniques. In short, as La Barre has observed, the Aymara

> . . . pay extraordinary attention to the "aleatory" elements in life.[1]

To individuals of our culture, divination denotes merely a class of magical activity designed to reveal the unknowable, and in such a view, the connotation of "superstition" is implicit. For an understanding of natural phenomena, we rely upon "rational" explanation so that while we judge the prognostications of the fortune-teller or medium to be "magical," those of the medical diagnostician are considered "scientific." Lacking science, the Aymara draws no such distinction. Any operation that foretells the future, reveals the cause of disease, or explains the reason for present or past events, is classed by them as "divination." The generic word "to divine" (literally, "to know"), by whatever means and for whatever purpose, is *yatiña*, and any individual who divines may be designated a *yatiri* ("one who knows").[2]

Yet in spite of the fact that "knowing the unknown" or "discovering hidden knowledge" is a category recognized by the Aymara (at least on the linguistic level), it is both confusing and misleading to discuss divination as an entity, and out of context. Except for one divinatory technique (coca divination), which is employed in a number of situations for a variety of purposes and is shared by practitioners of several types, most tend to be associated with particular activities and to be employed by certain classes of specialists for specific objectives.

The technique of divination by means of coca leaves is now more generally employed than any other in Chucuito, and is utilized alike by the *yatiri*, *qoḻasiri*, *t'aliri*, *paqo*, and *laiqa*.[3] But although coca divination is the stock-in-trade of the *yatiri* and is regularly employed by him to foretell the future and discover the whereabouts of lost property, it is rarely used by the *t'aliri* to divine the position of a "dislocated" organ, and with lesser frequency by the *qoḻasiri* to determine whether sorcery is the cause of a particular illness.[4]

Other divinatory techniques used more commonly by the *qoḻasiri* are associated exclusively and directly with the diagnosis of those diseases that lie within his special professional province. These methods include guinea pig diagnosis, by which means the disease symptoms are transferred magically from the patient to the animal, the previously mentioned technique *q'oḻpaña*, in which the disease is transferred to a piece of mineral, later destroyed (see p. 247), and lastly urine diagnosis, according to which method the illness is diagnosed by inspecting the color and general appearance of the patient's urine.[5] The *paqo* likewise diagnoses illness (those diseases that have been caused by spirits, demons, or sorcerers), but his technique is to question the supernaturals directly during a séance. Very exceptionally, and only if he has troubled to learn these techniques in addition to his own direct-communication method, the *paqo* may diagnose sickness by means of *q'oḻpa* or urine.

The ability to foretell the future is shared to a limited extent by several classes of specialists, but tends to be the special prerogative of the *yatiri*. Occasionally the *paqo* is consulted regarding the outcome of a contemplated marriage, and the *laiqa* may be requested now and then to interpret the significance of dreams.[6] Likewise the *usuiri* has the ability

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[1] La Barre, 1948, 182.

[2] In addition, there are a number of specific terms that designate particular divinatory techniques and the individuals who employ them.

[3] Coca divination is called *kokampi p'uit'aña*, "to throw coca." According to this technique, coca leaves are shaken out onto a cloth, and their positions, shapes, and color are noted by the diviner in order that he may obtain "answers" to specific questions. Since, as is shown below, every magician as well as some sorcerers began his professional career as a *yatiri*, it is quite natural that the *paqo* and *laiqa* should employ coca divination in addition to other more specialized techniques. Informants 84 and 86, moreover, have continued to practice in the professional capacity of *yatiri*, as well as that of *paqo*, and are commonly designated by either term, depending upon which status is being considered.

[4] Informant 7 was unique in Chucuito in that he practiced both as a *yatiri* and as a *qoḻasiri*.

[5] Guinea pig diagnosis is *wank'u uñxataña*, literally "to look at guinea pig"; urine diagnosis is *čoxo uñxataña*, "to look at urine."

[6] Bandelier also states that the *laiqa* divines by

to predict the future of the infant she has delivered, and divines his fate by observing the movements of the placenta as it floats in a bowl of water. By and large, however, it is the *yatiri* who discloses future events by means of coca divination. The questions he may be called upon to answer are almost as numerous as the crises that the average Aymara may be expected to face. They include such diverse queries as whether or not lost property will be recovered, whether or not one should marry a certain girl, whether or not a trading venture will prove successful, or whether or not one will have a long life.

Where the information is pertinent, the *paqo* may explain, through consultations with the supernatural, the reason for misfortune other than disease—why the livestock all died, or why one has always had bad luck. It seems more profitable, however, to discuss these and the related questions of sorcery and theft in connection with the Aymara's apprehension over the evil intentions of others.

Other aspects of the Aymara's concern about the future and his preoccupation with the explanation of misfortune, namely, the propitiation of supernaturals in order to assure future welfare and to prevent future disaster, as well as expiation for adversity in the present or recent past, are discussed at length in the pages that follow; for these functions all fall within the special sphere of activity of the *paqo*.

It is pointed out in a previous section that the Aymara are intensely suspicious, not only of Mestizos and whites, but also of fellow Aymara, fellow townsmen, and especially (one might say with some truth), of members of their own extended families. One frequently glimpses an undercurrent of uneasiness or anxiety about being deprived, imposed upon, or cheated. The core of the Aymara's concern about the evil intentions of others, however, lies in his obvious and expressed fears of theft, and of harm to his person or possessions through sorcery. If property disappears, theft tends to be accepted as an explanation as readily as loss, and even loss, which, after all, can be interpreted as another manifestation of deprivation, depending upon one's personality structure, may be caused by the evil machinations of fellow humans. Fears of sorcery are general and acute, and there is abundant evidence that "black magic" exists not only as cultural theory, but that it is actually and frequently practiced. It is invoked to explain everything from mere bad luck in fishing, or the failure of one's crop, to sickness, insanity, and death.

As in the case of the Aymara's preoccupation with disease and with fathoming the unknown, several classes of specialists function in connection with the problems of theft and sorcery. If property has been lost or stolen, a *yatiri* may divine with coca to discover where (i.e., in which direction) it is, but he is powerless to go beyond this point to explain why this particular misfortune took place. He may hint at theft (since, of course, he is familiar with both the local people and situations), but is unable to divine the name of the thief unless his client furnishes a list of suspects. The *paqo*, on the other hand, by holding direct consultations with supernatural beings during a séance, not only can unhesitatingly name the thief, but he may, if necessary, summon his soul and wring a confession from it.[1] In the event of either theft or loss, moreover, the *paqo* has the ability to explain why misfortune befell his client. Because of the latter's misconduct, for example, the place spirit may have allowed the house to be robbed; or the guardian, in a fit of rage over neglect, may have permitted the llama to wander away. Or the loss or theft may have been the consequence of sorcery.

As stated above, sorcery as a cause of disease may be determined by either the *qoḷasiri* or the *yatiri* by means of coca divination. Usually one or more leaves will be found to resemble the bundle, *q'epe*, that the *laiqa* has buried on the victim's premises or secreted in an evil place. But of all practitioners, the *paqo* alone is not only able to detect sorcery but is empowered to deal with it after the presence of "black magic" has been detected.

On the level of culture theory, the Aymara distinguish clearly and explicitly between the practices of "white" and "black" magic and between the statuses of magician and sorcerer. In this respect they differ from the Inca or the

interpreting dreams and adds that he also employs playing cards for divinatory purposes. Bandelier, Field Notes, 1894.

[1] There is some evidence that the *laiqa* has the ability to detect thieves and to punish them through sorcery.

contemporary Quechua, who draw no such distinctions.[1] Yet the evidence from Chucuito is conclusive in indicating that occasionally (and, perhaps, usually) the statuses of *paqo* and *laiqa* are occupied simultaneously by the same individual.[2] Thus Informant 87, by his own admission, was known both as a sorcerer and as a magician, and practiced both black and white magic. Similarly, a second individual who was not a resident of Chucuito proper, was widely known as a *paqo*, but was also suspected of being a *laiqa* after he was observed to employ black magic in order to spoil a rival's luck in fishing. All magicians, moreover, are regarded with an awe bordering on fear that would not be warranted if they engaged in only benevolent magic. But since black magic is both socially disapproved and feared, it is usually next to impossible to obtain accurate information on the identities of sorcerers.

It is, however, convenient, and in fact necessary, to preserve the fiction that the *laiqa* and the *paqo* are entirely distinct, since the Aymara themselves insist upon it, and operate in general as though this were the situation. Of all specialists, the *laiqa* alone is said to practice black magic. He is represented as almost thoroughly evil in intent. His chief functions are believed to be to kill people with black magic, to send disease, insanity, or paralysis, to cause accidents and misfortune, to wreck love affairs, and to destroy his victim's property through sorcery. Because he is not acting in his own personal interests, however, and since his professional services (at a price) are available to all, in Chucuito the blame tends to devolve in general upon his clients rather than upon the sorcerer. The *paqo*, in direct contrast, is depicted as one who seeks to promote health and prosperity through benevolent magic. He cures diseases caused by black magic and combats sorcery on all fronts with counter-sorcery.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of the status and role of the magician, however, we should mention briefly still another source of confusion in regard to the nature of Aymara specialization, and one closely related to the foregoing discussion. Although, as is shown above, the Aymara possesses a number of specialized status terms that are regularly reserved to designate certain well-recognized classes of practitioners, these same terms may, at other times, be loosely employed to stress a particular function, or to call attention to a specific activity of specialists in general.[3] Just as anyone who divines may be designated *yatiri*, so anyone who cures any disease may, when considered in this particular context, be designated *qoḷasiri*, which in its most general sense means "he who knows medicine." Thus when Informant 43 referred to a certain midwife (*usuiri*) in her role of curer, she called her *qoḷasiri*. Similarly, any individual who has some medical knowledge or who actually possesses medicines may be designated, quite literally (and somewhat to the exasperation of the observer), *qoḷampi*, "with medicines."

Other terms may refer to definite techniques or practices; thus any specialist who offers a sacrifice—*paqo*, *laiqa*, or *qoḷasiri*—may, when considered in this specific context, be termed *loq'tiri*, "he who offers a sacrifice."[4]

Finally, since the *laiqa* as well as the *paqo* conducts his séance in a darkened room, either or both may (as in Chucuito) be designated *č'amakani*, literally "with darkness," but often rendered in translation, "he who works in the dark." Although I hesitate to add further confusion to an already complex and involved terminological discussion, there is some evidence to indicate that the status designated as *paqo* (i.e., practitioner of "white" magic) in Chucuito is called *laiqa* among the Bolivian

[1] See Rowe, 1946, 312; Mishkin, 1946, 469. Elsewhere in Peru, however, as in the coastal Mestizo town of Moche, these statuses are kept separate. Gillin, 1947, 117–129. The Bolivian Aymara also distinguish on the terminological level, at least, between white and black magic and between those specialists who practice magic for good or for evil. See Paredes, 1936, 4; La Barre, 1948, 220.

[2] La Barre has written of the Bolivian Aymara: "... the witches such as the *laiq'a* or the *tala* pass over easily into the counter-witches like the *č'amakani* and the *č'amakiri*, both of whom work in the dark of night." La Barre, 1948, 220.

[3] In respect to the priest of the Inca, Rowe writes: "... his title varied according to his function; there was probably no general word summing up all his priestly functions.... There were undoubtedly specialists, but the variety of titles does not mean that methods of dealing with the supernatural world were rigidly departmentalized among the *Inca*." Rowe, 1946, 299.

[4] See La Barre, 1948, 222.

Aymara; and the status designated as *laiqa* (i.e., practitioner of "black" magic) in Chucuito is called *č'amakani* in Bolivia. In respect to the Bolivian Aymara of the La Paz region, Paredes states specifically that the *laiqa* (*Laikha*) is a counter-sorcerer, while the *č'amakani* (*Cchamacani*) is the sorcerer.[1] La Barre, on the other hand, writes in direct opposition that in Bolivia the "witch" is the *laiqa* (or *tala*) while the "counter-witch" is *č'amaqani* (or *č'amakiri*).[2] Writing of Bolivia, Bandelier has at times stated that *laiqa* and *č'amakani* are synonymous.[3] Elsewhere, Radin, following other Bolivian manuscript material of Bandelier, maintains that the *č'amakani* are more powerful than the *laiqa*, which would seem to imply that the two statuses are quite separate.[4] Finally, if one accepts some of the statements of both Bandelier and La Barre, a case could be made out that the Bolivian Aymara equivalent of the *paqo* in Peru is the *loq'tiri*.[5] Except that some distinction is drawn regularly between the practice of white magic and black magic, as well as between those specialists who deal in benevolent as opposed to evil magic, the Bolivian picture is extraordinarily contradictory, and this point in particular requires further clarification.

It should be quite apparent from the above discussion that it is most unlikely that La Barre's fantastically long list of some 24 terms for practitioners of magic and medicine for the Bolivian Aymara represents that many independent specialized statuses.[6] Some terms designate special statuses generally recognized by the Aymara themselves, while others are mere synonyms; some denote particular rites or techniques, and others refer to concrete functions or activities.

To sum up, the overlapping in the area of magical specialization is more apparent than real. The Aymara classification of experience is very different from our own; each specialized status term defines a specific sphere of activities involving a particular set of abilities, rites, and techniques. Several types of practitioners cure, but each cures different diseases. All reveal the unknown, but each class of specialist tends to disclose a different facet of the unknown and, by and large, employs distinctive techniques in so doing. Several deal with the Aymara's anxiety about others, but each is concerned with an essentially different aspect of this general problem. The functions of the various classes of specialists, therefore, do not overlap and duplicate one another; they are rather interlocked and geared in an intricate manner. As is demonstrated below, this unique integration is peculiarly well suited to Aymara culture and personality.

BECOMING A MAGICIAN

Supernatural Power

Informants were unanimously agreed that, in order to become a magician, a man must be struck by two successive bolts of lightning, the first of which is thought to kill him and the second to restore him to life (39, 65, 66, 96).[7] In the words of Informant 2:

> A man can only be a magician after he has been struck by lightning. God is in the lightning bolt. If it were not for God in the lightning, it would kill him for good; he would never come back to life. That is why we say that a magician is a man chosen by God.

Such is also the belief of the Bolivian Aymara, as La Barre makes clear:

> If a person is struck by lightning and still lives, he is regarded as particularly favored by the god. . . .[8]

The antiquity of this belief in the Andean region is clearly attested by the writing of the early Spanish chroniclers.[9]

[1] Paredes, 1936, 4.
[2] La Barre, 1948, 220.
[3] Bandelier, Field Notes, 1894, MS.
[4] Radin, 1942, 284–293.
[5] Bandelier, Field Notes, 1893, MS; La Barre, 1948, 217, 222.
[6] La Barre, 1948, 217.

[7] It is not remarkable that the Aymara should regard being knocked unconscious by lightning as death and subsequent rebirth; as stated earlier, normal sleep is commonly designated "little death."
[8] La Barre, 1948, 201. Among the contemporary Quechua also, lightning is thought to be the source of supernatural power. Mishkin, 1940, 237–239.
[9] Molina (sixteenth century) stated that a certain class of herb-doctor maintained that they had learned their art while they had been knocked unconscious by lightning. Molina, 1873, 21. Arriaga (late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries) wrote that persons struck by lightning were considered as having been elected by the divinity to the service of the sacred shrines. Arriaga, 1920, 20.

Of the five Chucuito magicians, all admitted having been struck.[1] A sixth magician, Pío Serrano, claimed to have been struck by lightning while yet within his mother's womb. All of the apprentices save Alejandro Laura claimed to have been lightning struck and exhibited various small scars as proof.[2] The exception, who is a rather sophisticated school boy, stated:

Lightning has struck near me, and I think that is enough. Now I am learning how to do all the things.

The following concrete cases will serve to elucidate the nature of the "power-conferring" experience as related by individual magicians and will assist us in disentangling that which is truly personal and idiosyncratic from the web of cultural expectation.

Silverio Sosa was struck by lightning when he was approximately 24 years of age. He had gone to his potato field on the lake-shore pampa below the village. The crop was mature and he had erected a small guard house, *musiña*, at the edge of his land where he might keep watch in order to prevent possible theft. While alone in the field, a thunderstorm blew up from across the Lake, and he crawled into the hut for protection against the driving rain. He relates:

I have been taken hold of by God. The lightning (*kaxya*) has entered my body; for this reason I am not afraid of anything. Not even the lightning was able to kill me. It struck me one night when I was alone in my *musiña*. I was watching the fields, and it had begun to rain very hard. Then suddenly the lightning struck—*k'on k'on* [he gestures with his hand to indicate two flashes and makes hissing noises]. Suddenly everything lighted up. A round ball of fire flashed toward me. It left me stupefied; my eyes were not able to see anything, I was so stupefied. It was as though I were dead. At that time God came. When it passed, my head was as though it were broken, as though it were burned with fire [he shows me a scar on his scalp]. I felt very sick. That is how God struck me and burned my head. Then I came to again. If God does not kill us when he comes, that is a good sign. I am loved by God because he did not kill me. For this reason I began to become a magician. But first I learned to read the coca.

Manuel Barrientos relates that when he was 20 years of age, he was returning to Chucuito after a trading trip to the outlying ayllu of *potoxani*. There were several fellow travelers, including a magician from *potoxani* named Mariano Gomez. The party had stopped to make an offering at the cairn on the high pass of Atoja Mountain. Low clouds hung in the sky, but no rain had yet fallen. The rite at the cairn was performed so that neither the travelers nor the llamas would become sick, and the supply of dried meat that they were bringing to Chucuito would not be exhausted rapidly. Manuel continues:

At the time when I was struck by God, I was with several people who were preparing a *mesa* on top of a hill near the trail. Mariano Gomez was performing the rite; I was just traveling with him. He had finished with the offering and we had gone on down the mountain. But he had forgotten his bundle and asked me to go back to that place to get it. I went way back up there. Just as I was picking up the bundle, lightning flashed twice near me and I saw the fire. For a minute I was like I was drunk, and then I fell down. When I came to, I was like I was crazy, but little by little I recovered again and could walk, but my head hurt and burned. Five years later I became a diviner, but to be a magician I had to be trained by Mariano Gomez. [Question.] No, I have no mark because that lightning was *waña kaxya*, "dry lightning" [sheet lightning]; the kind that leaves a mark is *warawarani kaxya*, "star lightning" [lightning bolt].

Alejandro *sairitupa* was approximately 25 years of age when he claims that he was struck by lightning. He had just returned from the pastures on Atoja Mountain, driven the sheep into the corral behind the house, and was about to go to bed when the bolt struck. He states:

At that time I was a young man and I was alone in my house. It was a dark, rainy night and the lightning [*q'exoq'exo*, "jagged lightning"; literally "zigzag"] struck me. I heard the lightning—*p'on p'on*. [Question.] Yes, there were two bolts—and a ball of fire hit my head [he shows me a scar on his forehead]. I was struck by God and afterwards I became a magician. When this bolt of lightning

[1] Although both informants denied that it was necessary to be struck by lightning merely to practice as a *yatiri*, Informant 39, a diviner, claimed to have been struck while still in his mother's womb, and Informant 64 related that his father, a *yatiri*, had been struck, but had never practiced as a *paqo*.

[2] With reference to the Bolivian Aymara, Paredes writes: "*. . . y la fractura o cicatriz producida por el rayo, la considera, el que la tiene, como comprobante del papel sobrenatural que debe desempeñar entre sus semejantes.*" Paredes, 1936, 3.

struck me, it left me senseless, as though I were dead. But it did not kill me for good. That night the lightning entered one gable of the house and went out by the other gable. It almost set the roof on fire. Two sheep in the corral were killed. After that time I began to become a magician; but first I learned how to read the coca.

Anselmo *čeqani* maintains that he was struck by lightning when approximately seven years of age. At the time he had been herding his father's llamas and sheep on the hillside several kilometers above his home. He relates:

God struck me when I was almost seven years old. At that time we lived on the hill top at *laiqo uma*. It was almost the hour of sunset and it began to rain very hard. I lay down in a windbreak, *qamana*, and pulled my poncho over my head. I was all alone. Then God struck me—*k'on k'on*. A ball of fire rolled across the windbreak; it hit my head, but made no mark because the poncho covered me. Then I passed out. When I came to, I could hardly walk. I was not at all well. The lightning killed one of the llamas, but we did not eat the meat. My father came and put coca and alcohol on the place. Because of this I am a person beloved by God. I know how to read coca and now, recently, I am practicing as a magician for everyone.

From these accounts, as well as from two others obtained from apprentices (8, 107), several uniformities are apparent. It is clear that the anecdotes are remarkably formal and set, a situation which is not altogether surprising in a culture where ritual, and ceremonial generally, is highly stereotyped. Indeed these narratives smack so completely of culturally expected behavior that they almost give the impression of having been memorized. Save for such details of setting as the time, the place, and other general, and largely irrelevant, circumstances, there is little to suggest that here we are dealing with actual personal experiences. In each account the narrator is struck by two bolts of lightning, is hit on the head, sees a ball of fire, loses consciousness, and, as a consequence, considers himself to have been chosen by God. Often he exhibits a scar to substantiate his claim. He does not, however, maintain that he has had a vision in which he has *seen* God, nor even that he has been *spoken to* by God; rather he is "struck," or "taken hold of," by God.

In every case when the bolt was reported to have struck him the individual was alone, usually on a remote hillside or off in the lonely pampa country. Yet in no instance is there a suggestion that the experience was purposefully sought. There is no question of keeping one's mind fixed on an expected visitation, no quest for visual or auditory hallucinations, nor for a power-giving dream.[1] There are no fasting, no self-torture, and no use of drugs and narcotics to induce fantasy experiences, even though both alcohol and coca were available within the cultural content and could, potentially, have been employed to such an end. Although drinking is believed to be fitting, and indeed necessary, on all ritual occasions, alcohol is employed chiefly to heighten the gaiety of fiestas and celebrations, and as a means of escape from the monotony and drudgery of daily routine. Although coca figures in all ceremonials and is a necessary ingredient of all offerings, it is chewed more commonly to alleviate fatigue and to deaden the pangs of hunger. Neither alcohol nor coca is exploited to induce "power-giving" experiences. Likewise, although dreams are regularly interpreted as portents of good or evil, and hallucinations and visions are believed to foretell coming events (usually misfortune), these fantasies are unsought and are not thought of as sources of supernatural power. In short, the Aymara have telescoped the more customary American Indian "power-conferring" vision into a brief interval of unconsciousness, a fearful, although essentially passive and emotionless, experience.

While the Aymara magicians in Chucuito do not attempt to seek or induce "power-giving" experiences, there is evidence, nevertheless, that certain individual magicians were predisposed to some degree in the direction of their calling even before having been struck by lightning. Alejandro *sairitupa* states:

From the time I was small I used to go to the house

[1] Bogoras has emphasized that in America as opposed to northeastern Asia: " . . . a shamanistic initiation is produced by the aspirant by his own free will." Bogoras, 1930, 443.

Discussing the North American vision quest, Benedict states: " . . . the vision, in fact, in common interpretation for the greater part of the continent, was regularly in itself that which gave control of supernatural power." Benedict, 1923, 29. Also see Benedict's discussion of the vision quest and the seeking of personal supernatural power generally in North America. Benedict, 1934, 80 ff.

of a magician. Then I saw what they did as magicians. I used to watch one called Damaseno. [Question.] Yes, I learned to be a magician from him. But what I am telling you now happened long before I was struck by lightning.

Similarly, Silverio Sosa relates:

Even before I was struck by lightning I knew a little about this [being a magician]. My mother always used to call in magicians and I watched them and learned from them.

In like manner, Anselmo *čeqani* states:

I have known this business of being a magician, of making *aita*, and of offering a *mesa* since I was small. Often there were magicians around the house, and I used to watch them. I talked to them. Then God struck me [with a lightning bolt] when I was almost seven years old.

Since the Aymara have chosen to forego the vision experience so characteristic of most North American and some South American Indian cultures, it is important that we examine supernatural "power" as it is conceptualized in this culture and the degree to which it is imparted to, and thereby empowers, the individual magician.

Manuel Barrientos summarized the situation as follows:

The magician doesn't know anything himself; all he can do is to talk to the spirits (*ataťila*). He is like a servant of the spirits, and they know everything. He is their servant because he has been chosen by God; if he hadn't been, the lightning would have killed him.

Similarly, Silverio Sosa states:

It isn't really the magician who does anything—it is the spirits. All he can do is to talk to them. He is able to do this because he was struck by God. [Question.] Yes, the magician knows how to make offerings to the spirits and they like him because he has been chosen by God. But he can't make them do a thing if they do not want to do it.

Informant 64 agreed with this point of view:

A magician can talk to the spirits, but that is all he can do. He is like a priest (*tata kura*) who can talk to God, Christ, and the saints.[1]

It is clear, then, that the magician does not claim power, or godliness, on the basis of his personal experience. Indeed the experience confers upon him no power other than the ability to mediate between his people and the supernatural world; even here it is necessary for him to learn the numerous details of ritual and prayer. The lightning bolt is merely the supernatural summons to his calling. The chosen one has no familiar spirit and receives neither song nor memento of the event other than, at times, a small scar on his head.

In his approach to the supernatural, then, the Aymara magician represents a "priestly," rather than a "shamanistic" tradition. He exercises no personal power; instead he appeals to powers. Supplication through ritual and prayer, not direct intervention and intercourse with the supernatural world, are his stock-in-trade. It is true that elements that are usually considered "shamanistic" are present in the pattern assemblage: the séance, ventriloquism, the concept of disease as due to intrusion or to soul loss, and the use of sleight-of-hand. It is likewise true that several functions of the magician are characteristically those of shamans in other American Indian cultures: curing the sick, finding lost property, controlling weather, discovering theft, and counter-witchcraft. Nevertheless, in Aymara culture, these practices and beliefs have been reworked and reinterpreted, with the result that a unique emphasis has been achieved.

The Apprenticeship

There appears to be considerable range in the length of time allowed to elapse between the lightning experience and the subsequent initiation of the apprenticeship, a situation that informants were at a loss to explain. Alejandro *sairitupa* began his formal training as an apprentice only two years after having been struck by lightning, while Pío Serrano, who claims to have been struck while *in utero*, did not enter into his apprenticeship until after 27 years had passed.[2] Anselmo *čeqani*, who is exceptional in that he maintains that he had no formal training, did not begin to practice

[1] *tata kura:* from *tata* (Aymara) "Señor" and *cura* (Spanish) "parish priest."

[2] Time elapsed between lightning experience and apprenticeship:

Alejandro *sairitupa*	2 years
Silverio Sosa	3 years
Martín *čoqe*	4 years
Vicente *sairitupa*	5 years
Manuel Barrientos	8 years
Pío Serrano	27 years

as a magician until some 29 years after being lightning-struck.

All informants stated that, prior to becoming full-fledged magicians, they had "learned" to divine through the medium of coca and had practiced for a time as professional diviners, *yatiri*.[1] Further questioning, however, revealed in every instance that this divinatory technique required no special training, and each magician related that he had learned merely by watching the performances of other *yatiri*.[2]

The young man who wishes to become a magician, however, requires specialized training. He takes the initiative by paying a formal call on the practitioner from whom he desires instruction. Such calls are customarily made after the evening meal, and the prospective apprentice takes with him gifts of coca, alcohol, and, occasionally, several pieces of bread (45, 109).[3] Silverio Sosa describes the call paid him by his apprentice, Pascual *kutipa*, as follows:

> When my helper (*yanapiri*) came to me for the first time to ask me to teach him, he brought coca and a bottle of alcohol.[4] This was so that we would agree on everything, and everything would be all right.[5] "*tata* Silverio," he said, "I want to become a magician. I have been chosen by God." Then he told me about it [being struck by lightning]. "To be a magician, one must learn many things," I told him. We drank alcohol and chewed coca together, and I agreed to do it. "You will be my helper, and you will assist me in everything and I will teach you," I told him. "When you know how to do all the things, you will be a magician." Now I am teaching him how to do everything.

The duration of the apprenticeship is not fixed. It depends upon such variable factors as the ability of the assistant to learn rapidly, the professional obligations of the teacher, and the amount of time that both must devote to more pressing economic duties. Usually, informants stated, the apprenticeship lasts from two to three years (45, 66, 109). During this time the apprentice, in addition to making certain formal gifts to his teacher, is obliged to serve him in a number of capacities. The formal nature of the relationship is made quite clear by Informant 45:

> With the magician and his helper it is almost like the relationship between *compadres*, between a *padrino* and his *ahijado*, or between *lasi* (relatives-in-law).[6]

As in these formal, artificial relationships, and particularly in others involving various classes of consanguineous and affinal relatives, the apprentice and magician are obliged to exchange labor willingly (*aini*) on a number of occasions.[7] If the apprentice spends a day working in the magician's fields, the latter must cancel this obligation with a day's labor for the former at some future date, or send a suitable substitute.[8] It should be noted that the relationship is symmetrical and that *aini* obligation is equally incumbent upon both parties. In like manner, *aini* is exchanged reciprocally on such occasions as house-roofing

[1] It is probably this fact that led Bandelier to write: "Some become 'yatiri' because they have been struck by lightning and survived . . ." Bandelier, 1910, 120. As stated above, informants denied that it was necessary to have been struck by lightning in order to practice as a *yatiri*.

[2] There are in Chucuito, as previously noted, several *yatiri* who are merely diviners, and who have no intentions of becoming magicians.

[3] The formal call, invariably accompanied by a gift of alcohol and coca, is considered a necessary overture to the initiation of any formal interpersonal relationship. It occurs in a wide variety of contexts, including betrothals, the naming of the next ayllu head man, the initiation of a *padrino-ahijado* (ceremonial kinship) relationship, and so forth.

[4] *yanapiri:* "one who helps," "apprentice." In Chucuito at the present time, the Spanish term *ayudante*, "assistant" or "helper," is more commonly employed.

[5] The notion that dissension or disagreement is not only undesirable, but, in some ill-defined way, is actively "dangerous," appears to be related to the belief that ill-feeling destroys the efficacy of ritual

[6] *Compadres:* Unrelated persons who are bound together in a formal relationship of mutual respect and intimacy through a baptism, a hair-cutting rite, or a wedding. *Padrino*, godfather; *ahijado*, godson. For a general discussion of these Spanish-introduced patterns of ceremonial kinship, see Redfield and Villa R., 1934, 98–100. Also see *Compadre* Rite (p. 280).

[7] For a brief discussion of *aini*, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 543. This practice of formal labor exchange dates from pre-Hispanic times. See Rowe, 1946, 212.

[8] Today in Chucuito, each party pays the other a nominal, fixed fee of 10 *centavos* in return for a day's work in the fields. The principal object of *aini* exchange would seem to be to guarantee that labor will be available when needed rather than to secure the assistance gratis.

bees and weddings, and in the event that either party becomes a sponsor, *alferez*, of a Church fiesta.

In addition, the apprentice accompanies his teacher on professional calls and assists in the preparation of offerings and the paraphernalia of the magical rites. It is his duty to lay out the *mesa* preparatory to a séance, for which service the magician pays him 20 *centavos* of the total fee for the rite (45, 66). He also selects the most perfect coca leaves for offerings, shaves llama fat, fills the libation vessels, kindles a fire if one is required, sprinkles incense, and makes himself generally useful. Once the rite begins, however, he sits quietly at one side until he is needed.

Although the apprentice has no special costume or insignia, he is apt, like the magician, to wear a red poncho and cap when present during a rite (32, 45). Likewise, there appear to be no ritual restrictions or special behavior patterns that distinguish the prospective magician from other members of his age-sex group and informants unanimously denied that there are any food or sex taboos that must be observed during the apprenticeship (45, 66, 86, 109).

The apprenticeship is formally terminated during a séance when the magician consecrates his assistant by directing him to take over the performing of the rite. Usually the magician prefaces the consecration with a few words to his clients and others present, saying that the apprentice is now an accomplished magician in his own right and fully capable of practicing in this capacity. At times, as in the case of Silverio Sosa, it is the apprentice who takes the initiative by stating his confidence in his own abilities and asking to be consecrated there and then. In other instances, as with Alejandro *sairitupa*, it is the teacher who terminates the apprenticeship if he feels that his assistant is now sufficiently prepared and if the occasion seems auspicious.

In describing his consecration, Silverio Sosa stated:

> I learned [to become a magician] from Juan *aski*. This man is old and lives in *kusipata*. I used to go to his house to learn. I paid him money; I used to go everywhere with this magician when he was making the *uiwiri* arrive. Then I learned how to do it. One time Segundo Cruz sent for us. He is a rich man. I went there with *aski* to make the *uiwiri* arrive. Then I said to the magician, Juan, "Now consecrate me.[1] Let me do it. Now I, like you, know how to do it," I said. "Now I would like to do it alone," I told him. Then he said [to those present], "This magician is a good one." Then he performed half of the rite with the *uiwiri*, and then he said to me, "Now you do it." Then he pushed me over to where the cloth was spread out. Then I asked questions of the people, of the spirits—everything. Since that time I have been a magician.

Similarly, Alejandro *sairitupa* related:

> This is how I learned to be a magician. I went to the house of Paco Damaseno during rites when he was offering a *mesa* or making a *p'awaqa;* I learned very well how to do all these things and I also learned to make the spirits speak. In order to be a magician, one must learn a little; but it is not much work. Being a magician, one must know the names of all the mountains and of the spirits in order to call them. Later on I knew this and I also learned how to offer the *mesa* and *p'awaqa* by myself. When I knew all of this well, this *paqo* Damaseno consecrated me. He made the *uiwiri* arrive and I was there as his assistant, and then he consecrated me. "This man is a magician now," he said (to those present). "Now you do it," he told me. I was very much afraid then. After this I was a true magician.

Except where special circumstances intervene, the fees paid to their magician-teachers by the apprentices appear to be fairly standardized, but vary in regard to the time of payment.[2] Manuel Barrientos paid his teacher a bottle of alcohol and 20 *centavos* worth of coca when the relationship was initiated and later gave him a sheep, two *soles* in cash, a bottle of alcohol, and 40 *centavos* worth of coca after the consecration. Silverio Sosa first paid his teacher a bottle of alcohol and 20 *centavos* worth of coca, then gave him two sacks of barley during the apprenticeship, and finally, after the consecration, paid him S/2.50 in cash, a bottle of alcohol, 40 *centavos* worth of coca, and 50 *centavos* worth of bread.[3] On the other hand, Alejandro *sairitupa* is teaching his brother (107) gratis:

[1] *hič'a haq'at'ita sasa*
Now consecrate me saying.
The interpreter regularly translated "consecrate" by the Spanish *titular*, "to title or name."

[2] More properly these should be considered as gifts rather than fees; the actual amount is not set by the magician, but appears to be simply a matter of custom (66, 109).

[3] In Chucuito in 1941, a sheep cost S/8.00, while farm produce, sold in sacks of roughly standardized

He is my brother. He doesn't have to pay me anything (109).[1]

Atypical Cases

While the foregoing probably represents customary procedure in becoming a magician, exceptions were noted. Thus Informant 86, as mentioned above, claimed that he had never experienced formal training.

In addition, the following atypical case was related by Informant A:

I know a young man named Palazo who lives in *wat'a* [Peninsula of Chucuito], and who is now a *paqo*. This young Aymara knew an old *paqo* who lived and boarded with him. At first he had faith in the old man's work as he saw it practiced now and then, but finally he began to be doubtful. One time when he was going to Moquegua with some other young men to work, they stopped in a cave for the night. In fun the young man said that he could call the spirits, but the others didn't believe him. Then he called the *uiwiri* and the other spirits and their voices could be heard. Through their aid he forecast the weather until the return of the party to *wat'a*. He was lucky; it turned out as he predicted. Now he is recognized as a *paqo* and has a good following. But he never had any real training. [Question.] No, I don't know whether he was ever struck by lightning.

TECHNIQUES AND RITES OF THE MAGICIAN

General Considerations

Aymara ritual is extremely set and stereotyped. By and large, offerings vary little with respect either to form or to content. A few types serve many purposes and propitiate several classes of supernaturals. With slight modifications, the identical offerings may be employed in sorcery as in benevolent magic.[2] Thus, for example, the *laiqa*, as well as the *paqo*, offers coca leaves in groups of three, except that the dull side of each leaf is placed uppermost. Again, since the left side is associated with evil and the right with good, the *laiqa* (as opposed to the *paqo*) makes offerings with his left hand.

Among the more important offerings are coca, libations of intoxicants and sweetened water, smoke (incense, tobacco), flowers, *q'oa* (*Mentha pulegium*), blood sacrifices, llama foetuses, *ɻamp'u* (llama or vicuña fat), *q'oɻpa* (an unidentified mineral), silver and gold (today represented by gold and silver leaf, or by galena ore and iron pyrites), *čiuči* (little metal figurines), and food (*ají* peppers, salt, bread, and a miscellaneous array of candies, cookies, and other sweetmeats).[3] In Chucuito and in neighboring communities of the Puno area, coca, alcoholic beverages, *ɻamp'u*, and *q'oa* invariably form a part of all major offerings. While, generally speaking, the more elaborate of these tend to be restricted to rites performed by the magician or sorcerer (and occasionally by the *qoɻasiri*), simpler offerings may be made by laymen. Thus anyone may deposit a quid of coca on a cairn or bury coca leaves in the foundation trenches of a house. Likewise every Aymara pours out a libation of alcohol before taking a drink and scatters a few drops of blood for the place spirit when he slaughters a llama or sheep.

Similarly, the range of Aymara ritual acts is limited, and the same procedures are encountered repeatedly in various contexts and situations. The idiosyncratic variations that distinguish the ritual behavior of magicians appear to be of slight significance but receive some attention below in this section.

In short, Aymara ceremonies consist of a relatively limited number of ceremonial acts and procedures, involving a limited range of ritual materials and paraphernalia. Yet, in spite of the stereotyped nature of offerings and ritual acts, the structure of Aymara ceremonies is not highly formalized. Certain materials must be employed, certain actions performed, and certain prayers and dedicatory phrases must be uttered, but the sequence in which

size, cost per sack: potatoes, S/10.00; barley, S/7.50; quinoa, S/17.50. At this time alcohol sold for S/2.00 a bottle. The exchange rate at this time was 6.48 *soles* to the dollar.

[1] Other fees paid to magicians by their apprentices: Informant 8 (apprentice) to 66: one bottle of alcohol, 30 *centavos* worth of coca (initially); one sack of potatoes, one half sack of barley (during apprenticeship); final payment yet to be made. Informant 109 to Paco Damaseno: one bottle of alcohol, 20 *centavos* worth of coca (initially); one sack of barley, one half sack of quinoa (during apprenticeship); 3 *soles* in cash, one bottle of alcohol, 50 *centavos* worth of coca, 80 *centavos* worth of bread (after consecration).

[2] In like manner, the ritual paraphernalia of the sorcerer is quite similar to that of the magician.

[3] Bolivian Aymara offerings are in every way similar. See Bandelier, 1910, 95–99; La Barre, 1948, 172–173.

these events should take place is not specified with rigidity. So great, indeed, is the variation in order and timing that Aymara ceremonies almost appear to have been conceived spontaneously, and it is at times difficult to perceive the formal structure into which the component behaviors have been fitted.

It must also be pointed out that, with a few exceptions, magical ritual tends to be indefinitely fixed in time and that, generally speaking, most ceremonies are not rigidly scheduled in the annual cycle. It is surprising, for example, when one considers the Aymara concern with economic security, that more major rituals are not associated systematically and cyclically with economic pursuits.[1] Although the *altiplano* climate is highly unpredictable, rain making rites are held only in event of extreme drought. Few elaborate rites of a fixed and recurrent nature accompany the round of agricultural activity. Animal increase ceremonies, in theory held annually, are often celebrated after misfortune has already befallen the flocks and herds.[2] In short, although much Aymara magic is explicitly of a preventive nature, there is little recourse to specialized magic in the sphere of economic activity when conditions are normal; rather than being scheduled, Aymara ceremonies are held when anxiety is running high, or even after disaster has already occurred.[3]

The great bulk of Aymara specialized magic is of a private nature and is performed for individuals, for biological or extended families, or for small occupational groups (for fishermen, traders, or travelers). No information from Chucuito indicates that magical ceremonies are, or ever were, held by and for the members of an ayllu as a whole. In the village itself there are few magical rites of a public character that aim to benefit the entire community. The *čoqela* ceremonial is the only one performed today in Chucuito that is regularly scheduled in the annual cycle and is designed to produce general welfare and prosperity.[4] The rain making rites, to be sure, are thought to have this effect, but they are held infrequently and are organized spontaneously by small groups of public-spirited men (see p. 278).

Thus, by and large, each biological or extended family operates independently, without cognizance of the actions of others, and holds its magical rites with a minimum of publicity. Nearly all magic, therefore, whether good or bad, is in effect practiced in secret. Not only are most rites performed at night, but the very nature of the Aymara settlement pattern prevents the rites and ceremonies from becoming public unless either the magician or his client so wishes. There is, in addition, some feeling that seclusion and privacy in these circumstances are desirable; indeed, during some rites, particularly the burning of the offerings, only the magician and his assistants may be present.

There remains to discuss briefly the relation of Aymara ritual to mythology. Although he cites contradictory examples, Kluckhohn has observed:

> Generally speaking, we do seem to find rich ritualism and a rich mythology together.[5]

To this generalization the Aymara form a conspicuous exception. For if we reserve the connotation of "the sacred" for "mythology," the Aymara have "folk tales," but almost no "myths." A single recorded Chucuito tale retains any flavor of "the sacred," and is also associated with ritual. This myth (a miracle tale, unquestionably of Spanish derivation) explains the origin of a minor rite that is a part

[1] To be sure, simple rites of a propitiatory nature precede virtually any important activity; yet these ordinarily do not require the services of a magician, and there is nothing remotely resembling the formal ceremonial cycle of, say, the Pueblo Indians. Such agricultural ritual as exists is associated almost exclusively with the cultivation of the potato. See Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 518.

[2] Apparently somewhat more elaborate ceremonials are associated with economic activities among the Bolivian Aymara. See La Barre, 1948, 182–186; Paredes, 1936, 82–100.

[3] Although the months of the ancient Aymara calendar were designated in terms of appropriate economic activities, there is little to suggest that important ceremonials were associated with them at the time of first white contact, as among the Inca. See Bertonio, 1879a, 181–182; Rowe, 1946, 308–312.

[4] The Church fiestas must, in so far as participation by Indians is concerned, be regarded almost entirely as secular and social events that function primarily in affording opportunities for wealth-prestige play.

[5] Kluckhohn, 1942, 48.

of the fiesta of Asunción, during which food is tossed to the villagers from the tower of the church. A second tale, concerned with a primeval flood and the origin of the Aymara, retains a suggestion of the sacred, but apparently is not associated with any ritual.[1] The numerous folk tales, on the other hand, contain almost no reference to ritual. Most of them deal with the exploits of the fox and other local animals and birds, are purely "secular" in character, and are narrated for entertainment and for their moral value.

Thus, although it seems improper to describe any body of ritual practice so stereotyped and colorless as that of the Aymara as rich, the fact remains that no "myths," or even bare explanatory statements, are associated with the great bulk of Aymara ceremonial behavior. Aymara ritual appears to contain little conscious symbolism as such, and the Indians seem entirely disinterested in symbolic explanation.[2] To the query, "Why do you do this or that?" the reply is almost invariably, "We just do it this way; I don't know why." Perhaps, as Merton has suggested, ritual may be said to have proceeded farthest when rationalization (myth) is not even called forth.[3]

Personnel and Locus

In most ceremonies at which the magician officiates the small number of participants is ordinarily limited to the members of the client's biological and/or extended family. Women regularly attend, children are admitted provided that they remain quiet, and infants, slung in cloths, usually are carried by their mothers.

Ceremonies are ordinarily held for single individuals. In remote regions, however, where resident magicians are few or lacking, or where visiting magicians are rare, two individuals or two families may pool their resources to hold a ceremony jointly.[4] On most of these occasions, according to informants, the individuals or families involved are either related by marriage, or have a common *tunu* (remote ancestor) (45, 66).

Usually a ceremony is performed by a single *paqo* and his assistant-apprentice, although in at least two instances in Chucuito, two magicians and two apprentices officiated jointly.[5] In the annual *čoqela* ceremonial, two magicians are required to play the roles of "Big-Eared Grandfather" and "Small-Eared Grandfather," respectively; on this occasion, the number of apprentices is variable, but two or more are customarily present.

Occasionally, close friends, in addition to blood and affinal relatives, are invited to attend ceremonies. In the isolated households of the Estancia, where the population is thin and scattered and where all ceremonies, and particularly séances, have considerable entertainment value, anyone living near by is welcomed.

Certain qualifications must be added to the above generalizations regarding personnel. The rain bringing rite and the *čoqela* ceremonial are of a public nature and may be attended by anyone, including Mestizos and Indians from other villages. The wives and female relatives (mothers, sisters, daughters) of the musicians, the magicians, and the "clowns" (*čoqela*) participate in the latter ceremonial either as dancers or as "attendants," *paxe*.

The fishermen's rite, which theoretically is held annually to insure good luck and to increase the supply of fish, is attended primarily by those men of *barkopampa* who fish regularly, but may be witnessed by occasional fishermen or, indeed, by anyone interested.[6] Similarly, those who attend the ceremonies held at cairns are not necessarily individuals who stand in any special relationships to one another; they are merely travelers and traders who have temporarily joined forces for purposes of companionship and safety while crossing the

[1] Although this tale was collected in Chucuito in fragmentary form, I was assured that more lengthy and complete versions of it were related on the Peninsula of Chucuito, in the Estancia country, and also elsewhere.

[2] It is not unlikely that the essential lack of esoteric meaning associated with rites at the present time is a result of the repressive measures and the intensive missionary efforts of Catholic priests during Colonial times. See Kubler, 1946, 400–403.

[3] Merton, 1938, 673.

[4] This is particularly true of such ceremonies as the séance, animal increase rites, and those held for "general welfare."

[5] In ceremonies that are felt to be especially crucial, two magicians are thought to be more effective than one.

[6] The fishing settlement of *barkopampa* is situated at Chucuito's balsa landing, approximately a kilometer to the northwest of the village proper.

barren hills and mountains of the lonely pampa country.[1]

At the rite (*wilanča*) held for the roofing of a new house the participants may include not only the *paqo*, his assistant, the owner, and members of the owner's extended family, but also his and his wife's *compadres*, members of his wife's extended family, and all those individuals to whom the owner and his wife are bound by *aini* obligations.[2] In addition, any personal friend of either the man or his wife may be present.

On the second Thursday before Carnival, a magician may be engaged to perform a ceremony known as *Compadre* (see p. 280). The personnel on this occasion may, and frequently does, include members of the client's extended family, but his *compadres* and their children are invariably present.[3] A second ceremony, called *Comadre*, is sometimes held a week later on the first Thursday before Carnival, and is attended especially by the *compadres* and children of the client's wife. Family members and invited friends may be present as for other ceremonies.

In theory, most ceremonies performed by the magician may take place either in his own house or in the homes of his clients (45, 66, 109).[4] In practice, it is almost invariably more convenient for the *paqo* and his assistant to go to his client than for the latter to transport his entire family to Chucuito.[5] The majority of ceremonies performed by the magician are held in the "big house," *hač'a uta*. Where the client and his family sleep in a small kitchen structure and possess in addition only a storehouse, the latter may be temporarily cleared out to accommodate the magician and the spectators. Other ceremonies, depending upon their purpose, take place at shrines, cairns, on the lake shore, or in the corrals.

Most rites and ceremonies, and always the séance, are held between sundown and midnight, the time when, with few exceptions, offerings are burned.[6] Blood sacrifices, particularly in house-roofing ceremonies, are made at dawn, while other rites (animal increase and rain bringing ceremonies, sacrifices to cairns, etc.) take place, at least in part, during the day. Save for the few recurrent ceremonies that are scheduled in accordance with the calendar, no special time or season is devoted to ceremonial practice.[7]

The Genesis of a Ceremony

The genesis of a representative ceremony can be described in general terms as follows: When misfortune has occurred or when someone falls ill, the family members discuss the probable causes of the disaster or disease and frequently consult a diviner. If the causes are still not obvious, recourse to a magician is indicated. In happier circumstances, a *paqo* is required merely to dedicate a new house or to perform a ceremony for general welfare.

In the overwhelming majority of rites recorded (26 cases), the prospective client, acting in his own interests, makes the overture by paying a formal call on the magician, bringing with him the usual gifts of alcohol, coca, and, occasionally, bread. The role of mediator has not been highly institutionalized in this context. On other occasions where the services of a magician are required, a parent, sibling, son, or spouse may act as messenger.

After a drink and a chew of coca, the prospective client describes his problem and asks the magician to perform a ceremony on his behalf. The urgency of the matter at hand and

[1] Even today trading parties in the *puna* country are occasionally subjected to raids by bands of thieves.

[2] At some animal increase ceremonies, particularly where the host owns extensive flocks and herds, the assemblage may be equally large and heterogeneous.

[3] In two cases recorded in Chucuito the host stood in the relationship of *padrino de bautizo* (i.e., godfather) to the children of his *compadres*. In a third case, he was the *padrino de matrimonio* (i.e., marriage sponsor) of these children.

[4] It makes no difference where a *paqo* works. He can discover a thief in his own house by calling the *uiwiri* of the house where the theft took place (66).

[5] Only two examples (both séances) were recorded in which the magician performed a ceremony in his own house rather than in that of his client; on each occasion the clients were fellow villagers whose houses were too small to accommodate all of the participants.

[6] Spirits and demons are believed to partake of the offerings and sacrifices at the stroke of midnight (45, 66). It seems not unlikely, however, that this belief is of Spanish introduction.

[7] It is an induction from the writer's experience, however, that ceremonial activity tends to be heightened during the slack season between harvest (about May) and planting (about September).

the previous commitments of the magician are discussed; eventually a date agreeable to both parties is set. Tuesdays and Fridays, being considered unlucky days, are automatically ruled out, and occasionally the magician divines with coca to discover the most auspicious date for the ceremony. Often a week or more elapses between the preliminary negotiations and the performance of the ceremony. The *paqo* asks the client how much money he is prepared to spend, on which basis the nature of the offering is sometimes decided. If the former feels that the offering is inadequate and therefore unacceptable to the supernaturals, he does not hesitate to say so. The funds for the requisite ingredients are then either turned over to the magician, or he instructs the client as to the purchases to be made and where the materials may be obtained. Following this, the *paqo* names his fee (unless the ceremony is to be a séance, then the spirits specify the fee). Since the amount is roughly standardized, the client usually agrees, without argument. I know of no instance in which a magician was accused of exacting excessive fees, or who refused to perform a ceremony because of insufficient remuneration. Sometimes the charge is adjusted to the means of the very poor; it is almost always lowered for relatives (by blood or marriage) and for close friends. There prevails, nonetheless, the feeling that the larger the fee, the more efficacious the ceremony, and that a rite performed without some payment, however small, would be of little value.

After the arrangements have been made, the *paqo* and client again drink together and exchange coca; then the latter departs for home to attend to the preparations and to invite the guests. He will say: So-and-so is making the *uiwiri* arrive on such-and-such a date, or So-and-so is going to make an offering for the sheep and the llamas. Meanwhile members of the client's household clear out the house superficially, cook food, kill a sheep (or, if the person is wealthy, a llama), purchase a quantity of alcohol and coca, and make other necessary preparations such as gathering fuel, hauling water, and collecting blankets and pelts for the spectators to sit on.

On or about the day set for the ceremony the *paqo* and his assistant arrive, bringing with them the magician's bundle which contains the ceremonial paraphernalia, and another bundle filled with their clothes for the rite. All along the way they have been careful to note all omens foretelling the failure or success of the undertaking. The bundle is placed inside the house, opposite the door (which faces east), and no one is allowed to handle it.

The magician and his assistant are, of course, fed and housed at the expense of the client throughout the ceremony. Before they set out for home, they are given a lunch, *qoqo*, to eat en route, as well as a supply of coca and alcohol for the return journey.

For other ceremonies the initiation is even less rigidly institutionalized. The rain making rite, for example, is performed infrequently; the preliminary procedures are, therefore, far less formalized than for the séance or other more common ceremonies. There is no general agreement with respect to who should take the initiative and negotiate with the magician, how much he should be paid, or how the money should be raised. In practice a group of public-spirited men, *p'eqeña*, who are generally acknowledged to be the community leaders, discuss matters privately in the event of acute drought, and collect the money by wheedling and shaming their more apathetic fellows. They then go in a body to the magician of their choice and confront him with the cash and the problem. Since the magician, being a farmer as well, is obviously in the same dilemma as the rest of the villagers, he is eager to profit from the "benefits" of the ceremony and at the same time to be paid for it.

In respect to the semi-public fishermen's rite, negotiations with the magician are customarily carried on by the "head man," *p'eqeña*, of the fishermen. In 1940 this individual, Francisco *wilka*, was an able and elderly man who, by virtue of his knowledge and skill in fishing, was generally respected and acknowledged as the natural leader of the group. After informal discussions with the other fishermen, he collected a small sum from each to cover the expenses of the ceremony and himself made the necessary arrangements with a magician well known to his companions.

Behavior During Ceremonies

The general atmosphere of a ceremony is sober and serious. Although the house in which the rite is held does not, even temporarily, become a sacred structure, the participants

enter and leave it in a ritual mood, awed by the presence of the supernatural. As they pass through the door, the men remove their sandals and hats, but continue to wear their *č'uɻu*, or knitted caps. Women likewise remove their hats, but retain their headcloths, *čuku*. The spectators greet the magician, the client, and his family in hushed undertones, and then lapse into silence.

The magician, with his assistant on his right, sits against the rear wall of the house, facing the doorway. He and his helper squat in a kneeling position, resting on their heels, and must maintain this posture throughout the ceremony (Pl. 30a). The client sits to the right of the assistant or, if the former is a woman, to the left of the magician. The spectators then group themselves along the gable ends of the house, characteristically with women on the left and men on the right, facing the doorway. No special posture is required either of the client or of the spectators.

While the offerings are being prepared and during a rite, the spectators are not addressed unless it is absolutely imperative. Should they find it necessary to communicate with one another, they must speak in lowered voices or whispers. They, as well as the client, are free to leave the house if necessary, but must come and go silently. This serious mien is maintained throughout the ceremony, even during the stated intermissions for drinking and coca chewing. Secular matters may not be discussed until after the rite has been terminated.

There appear to be no special ceremonial restrictions incumbent upon either the magician, the client, or the spectators.[1] To a limited extent, on the other hand, certain foods are culturally prescribed for particular ceremonies. Thus *chicharrones*, pork cracklings, must be consumed in the *čoqela* rite, while during animal increase ceremonies, *kañawa aku*, ground and toasted *kañawa* grain, must be served.[2] While performing a ceremony, the magician and his assistant should wear distinctive costumes that consist of a red poncho, red knitted cap, red coca bag, and red *inkuña*, or carrying cloth (45, 109).[3] The client or patient, however, is apparently not distinguished in any way by specific dress or, it seems, by restricted or special patterns of behavior.

Ritual Equipment

Bundles (*esta q'epe*, "complete bundle")

By preference, according to Informants 45 and 66, the contents of each separate bundle should be wrapped in the skin of a jaguar, *uturunku* (*Felis pardalis*).[4] Since this animal is not native to the *altiplano*, the skins must be obtained by trade with the Quechua of the east Andean slopes, or, more frequently, purchased in the markets and fairs of Puno or Copacabana, in Bolivia. Informant 45 owned two such bundles, each wrapped in a short, shoulder-length dance poncho of jaguar skin.[5] One, which contained the paraphernalia for the *čoqela* rite, had been converted into an envelope-shaped bag by stitching together the sides as well as the opening for the head; it was bound, when not in use, with a short length of llama hair rope. In the second, which contained the equipment for the animal increase ceremony, the various articles were wrapped first in a small carrying cloth, *inkuña*, and then in a larger carrying cloth of the same type. This bundle was placed between the folds of an unstitched jaguar skin poncho that was rolled up and tied with llama hair cordage (see p. 276). The paraphernalia in a third bundle belonging to this informant, and employed in séances, were simply wrapped in a new red carrying cloth (see p. 263).

[1] Informants 45, 66, and 109 denied that there were any food or sex taboos in connection with ceremonial practice. Indeed, taboos generally have not been elaborated to any great degree in Aymara culture.

[2] *kañawa* is a domesticated species of *Chenopodium* that grows in the high, pampa country away from the lake shore. The prescription of certain specified foods for particular occasions is institutionalized in several contexts in Aymara culture.

[3] In the opinion of Informant 66, clothing of other colors is permissible, provided that it is neither the gray nor brown of everyday attire, nor the black of mourning or sorcery. This informant also stated that the clothing worn by a magician during a ceremony should be woven of thread twisted to the left.

[4] Bertonio, in his *Vocabulario*, lists this word as *uturuncca*, "*Tigre*." Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 383. As Bandelier has noted, the word is probably of Quechua origin. Bandelier, 1910, 156, footnote 125.

[5] Bandelier mentions the use of such skin ponchos in dances for the Bolivian Aymara. Bandelier, 1910, 103, 110, 113.

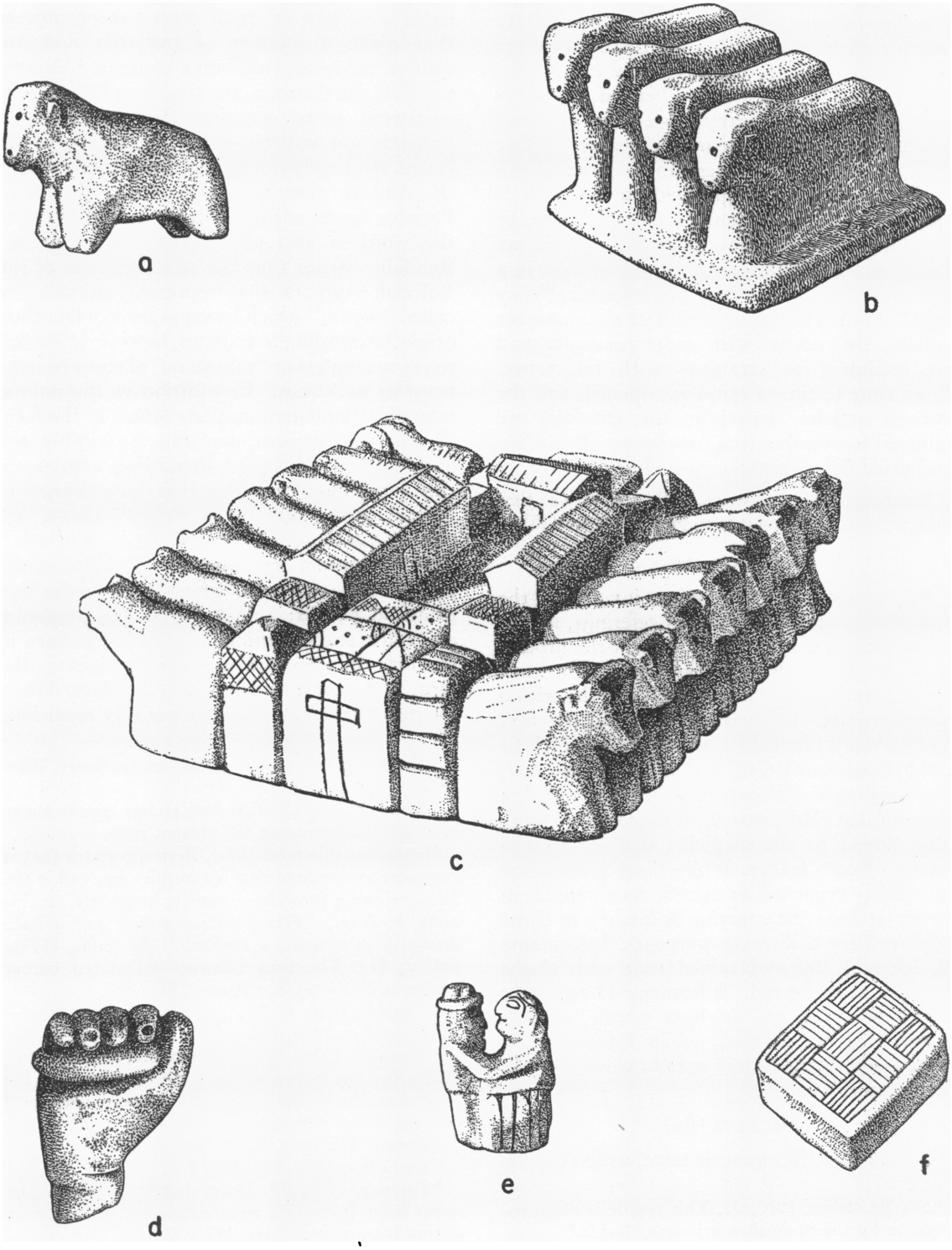

FIG. 5. Amulets. a, b. Animal amulets. c. *esta iļa*. d. Weaving amulet. e. Love charm. f. Spirit seat.

Each magician owns his own bundle, or bundles (ideally, there should be a separate one for each ceremony), and these are never lent to anyone (45, 66, 109). The component objects may be purchased, inherited, or manufactured, but, generally speaking, old and unusual articles give the owner greater prestige than recent or new ones. In the magician's house, the bundle is guarded carefully; it is stored in a leather trunk, a storage niche, or suspended in a bag from a rafter. If there are two or more bundles, each should be kept in a separate place, for if they are together, "they fight" (45). The bundles and the component objects are treated with great reverence and are exhibited to strangers with reluctance. From time to time a bundle is opened, and the various articles, especially the amulets, are smeared with pulverized coca leaves, llama fat, and dried flower petals.

You have to keep these things in this way so that they will not be alone; it is to preserve them (45).

GROUND CLOTHS

In nearly all ceremonies involving the preparation and dedication of offerings, and in every séance, a textile is spread on the ground or on the house floor to serve both as a work surface and as a background for the ritual paraphernalia.[1] Ordinarily, the magician first spreads out a blanket or poncho upon which he and his assistant sit. On top of this, to the east, they arrange a small carrying cloth, *inkuña*, or a large burden cloth, *awayo*, often placed with the edge closest to the magician doubled over a supply of coca leaves. While these textiles are apparently regarded as sacred, they should, in theory at least, be superior in quality to those employed for utilitarian purposes. Informants 32, 85, and 109 maintained that such cloths should always be red.[2] Informant 45 regularly used a finely woven, heirloom textile, *waiɬasa awayo*, for this purpose, while Informant 66 usually employed a large *inkuña* woven of soft vicuña hair.

AMULETS (*iɬa*)

In Chucuito, this generic term, which can be translated approximately as "amulet," designates a variety of small carved stone objects that serve a number of purposes and are utilized in several different contexts.[3] Among the Bolivian Aymara, the terms for amulets are somewhat more complex, and their precise usage is not entirely clear. According to La Barre, *iɬa* merely designates the bezoar stone of the Andean deer, *taraku* (*Cervus antisiensis*).[4] Paredes agrees with this usage and states that the word is also applied to ancient coins.[5] Bandelier writes that the stone amulets of the Bolivian Aymara that represent animals are called "*mullu*," which he suggests is of Quechua origin.[6] According to Paredes, however, "*mullu*" refers to amulets or "talismans" of stone or bone worn as necklaces.[7] In addition to the animal amulets, Bandelier mentions others in the form of men and women, but fails to supply the native term for these.[8] Regarding amulets of this type, Paredes writes that love charms in human form, as well as "tiger" claws, are called "*huakhanqui*."[9]

Of the amulets employed in Chucuito at the present time, all are of stone.[10] There are five principal classes: amulets used in ceremonies as "spirit seats"; animal amulets; figurines in the form of men and women; figurines in the form of infants; and weaving amulets. While amulets of the first class are used by magicians

[1] See Bandelier, 1910, 95. This textile is often referred to by the Spanish word *mesa*, "table."

[2] Everyday carrying cloths are usually of natural colored wools, either brown, gray, or black.

[3] For a discussion of Inca amulets, see Rowe, 1946, 297.

[4] La Barre, 1948, 182. Bezoar stones appear not to be used in Chucuito at the present time.

Regarding this term (*illa*), Bertonio states that it designates something that is carefully guarded in the house—jewels, provisions, money, heirlooms, etc. He adds, however, "*Piedra bazaar grande que se halle dentro delas vicuñas, o carneros.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 173. The Inca likewise designated bezoar stones as *iɬa* (*ilya*). See Rowe, 1946, 297.

[5] Paredes, 1936, 72–73.

[6] Bandelier, 1910, 105.

[7] Paredes, 1936, 72. Bertonio corroborates this usage by the seventeenth century Aymara. He writes: *mullo: "Piedra, o huesso colorado como coral con que hazen gargantillas. Y tambien usan del los hechizeros."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 227.

[8] Bandelier, 1910, 105–106.

[9] Paredes, 1936, 72. Love charms called by the same term (*waqañki*) were employed by sorcerers during Inca times. Rowe, 1946, 314.

[10] Some amulets used by the Bolivian Aymara are of bone or metal. Paredes, 1936, 27, 72.

alone, those of the last four categories may be owned by anyone.

The spirit seat amulets are of two main types. The simplest (Fig. 5f) are small square or rectangular blocks of stone, the upper surfaces of which are marked off in a checker pattern. A second, more elaborate in form (Fig. 5c), combines the simple checkerboard spirit seat with two rows of crudely represented houses and outbuildings, flanked on either side by files of rudely carved domesticated animals (typically bullocks, cattle, rams, sheep, and llamas). Although spirit seats of the latter type tend to be confined to animal increase rites, the simpler form is used in several ceremonies, particularly in the séance. In both classes, the checkerboard portion is intended to serve as a seat for supernaturals summoned or invoked during the rite. Spirit seats of the simple type are today generally designated *mesa*, from the Spanish word for "table" (45, 66).[1] Those of the more elaborate form are called either *mesa* (109), or, because they are believed to represent an entire household and its worldly possessions, *esta iɬa*, "complete amulet" (45), or *uta iɬa*, "house amulet" (66).

The animal amulets are employed by magicians almost exclusively in animal increase ceremonies.[2] Although there is no careful attempt at realism, each is thought of as portraying a particular species of domestic animal, or pair of domestic animals (Fig. 5ab). Features are crudely executed; while it is sometimes impossible to recognize the species intended, rams can usually be identified by their twisted horns, bullocks by their yokes, and alpacas by their long hair. According to the animal represented, amulets are designated *qaura iɬa*, "llama amulet"; *iwix iɬa*, "sheep amulet" (from Spanish, *oveja*); *aɬpač iɬa*, "alpaca amulet"; or *waka iɬa*, "cow amulet" (from Spanish *vaca*). In a given animal increase ceremony, however, any and all animal amulets may be used regardless of whether or not they represent the particular species for which the rite is being held (45, 66). In addition to animal amulets used in ceremonies by magicians, anyone who owns livestock may possess one or more of them.

If you have one of these, your animals will not die and you will have a lot of them (54).

Amulets fashioned in varying degrees of elaboration to represent men and women are called *haqe iɬa*, "human amulet," and are employed for a variety of purposes (Fig. 5e). They may be used by magicians and sorcerers, or by laymen for love magic.[3] Any individual may keep such an amulet around in order (in a manner which is not clear) to prevent illness (54). This informant also stated:

If you have one of these, many people will come to visit you and you will have a lot of friends.

Still other amulets in human form are carried by people who sell in the markets; these are believed to give luck in trading (45). The *khonopas*, or tutelary amulets of the Bolivian Aymara, are unknown in Chucuito (45, 66, 109).[4]

Amulets representing infants, *wawa iɬa*, "baby amulet," are employed either by laymen or occasionally by magicians in rites designed to produce fertility in women. These are crude and extremely simplified effigies of infants; since features other than the body and head are ordinarily not represented, the amulet is wrapped in blue yarn to indicate that a boy is desired, or in white yarn to produce a girl (66).

Weaving amulets take the form of a human hand holding a bone weaving tool, *wič'uña*, and are designated either *kapač'eqa* (untranslatable), or *ampar iɬa*, "hand amulet" (Fig. 5d).[5]

If you have one of these it helps you to weave and keeps your hand from getting sore. You rub it on the back of your hand before you start weaving, and then you do it again when your hand gets tired (54).

The Chucuito Aymara have additional

[1] Informant 54 insisted that "spirit seats" of both types should be called *iɬa*.

[2] That the use of animal amulets is ancient among the Aymara is made clear by Bertonio. He defines *Llaullacasu, vel Ccuchicaña: "Es vna piedrecita como carnero, muy estimada delos hechizeros."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 202.

[3] See La Barre, 1948, 133; Paredes, 1936, 72, 74.

[4] According to Paredes, these have human, fish, or phallic form, and are kept in the houses where they function as family guardians. Paredes, 1936, 27.

[5] It should be noted that, although the magician apparently does not use weaving amulets in any rituals, these objects are classed as *iɬa*, and consequently are included here.

amulets and charms of a personal nature for other purposes, but these are not designated *iɬa* nor are they used by magicians in ceremonial contexts. To mention a few: talismans are worn for protection against sorcery and evil eye, for purposes of love magic, to "attract money," and to protect young children against the attacks of demons.[1]

According to informants, no stone amulets are produced locally or, indeed, on the southwestern shore of Lake Titicaca (45, 66). Most *iɬa*, therefore, are purchased either in the Puno market or from the *qoɬawayu*, or traveling medicinemen, of the Provinces of Caupolicán and Muñecas (Department of La Paz) in Bolivia.[2] Although amulets may be manufactured of any stone, most of them are carved from a soft alabaster ranging in color from white to orange-pink, and occurring in abundance in the Charassani region of Bolivia, the homeland of the traveling medicinemen. That the choice of this particular stone for amulets is not governed merely by its pleasing color and easily worked quality is indicated by its association with lightning, the source of supernatural power. Paredes writes that in Bolivian Aymara belief, alabaster was brought to earth on a bolt of lightning, while La Barre reports that an alabaster-like stone found in Bolivia is highly prized as a protector against lightning.[3] Amulets are occasionally manufactured of white quartz or of a hard, compact black stone, possibly basalt. In this connection Bandelier states that while white amulets are employed in benevolent magic, black ones are used in sorcery.[4]

Amulets are clearly regarded as sacred objects. A layman who owns one keeps it tucked away safely with his supply of coca, either in the coca bag, *č'uspa*, or between the folds of the coca carrying cloth, *inkuña*.

You always have to keep it with the coca; if you don't, it is no good (54).

As stated above, the magician always keeps his amulets, together with other ritual paraphernalia, inside his ceremonial bundle.

The amount of power attributed to amulets varies from one individual to the next. Informant 45 took the extreme view that they had no power *per se;* speaking of the animal amulets, he asserted:

They haven't any power of their own; they are just like photographs of the animals.

This magician, nevertheless, treated his amulets with great reverence and handled them with extreme care. Informant 66, on the other hand, stated:

The *iɬa* are powerful (*munañani*, "with power"); they are alive and can speak if they want to. They have to eat too. That is why you have to wrap them up with *ɬamp'u*, *q'oa*, *coca*, and flowers. The *iɬa* give the *paqo* power because he owns and feeds them.[5]

In addition to being "fed" or smeared periodically with ritual materials, amulets are offered incense and libations during the ceremonies in which they are employed.

SEA SHELLS

That the use of sea shells in a ceremonial context is an ancient pattern in the Andean region is attested not only by various archaeological finds but by documentary material relating to the Inca. During Inca times sea shells served as offerings, especially to springs, and were also used in curing and in sorcery.[6] It is equally clear that the ancient Aymara regarded sea shells as objects of magical value. Bertonio states that sea shells were hung about the necks of children "like a cross or religious medal."[7]

At the present time in Chucuito, shells are used by magicians and sorcerers in virtually all ceremonials, including those that have curing functions; they do not, however, appear to be articles of sacrifice. The type most commonly used is a scallop shell, *waxe* (*Pecten* sp.). In nearly all ceremonies these shells in pairs, or,

[1] See La Barre, 1948, 182.

Those amulets not classed as *iɬa* will be discussed in future publications relating to the Aymara of Chucuito.

[2] Much has been written concerning these traveling doctors and herbalists. See Bandelier, 1910, 103–106; La Barre, 1948, 217–220; Paredes, 1936, 185–195.

[3] Paredes, 1936, 72; La Barre, 1948, 170.

[4] Bandelier, 1910, 106.

[5] The practice of smearing amulets with llama tallow ("*untu*") is also reported for the Bolivian Aymara. Bandelier, 1910, 105.

[6] Rowe, 1946, 307, 312–314.

[7] *Lloque piña: "La concha del mexillon que cuelgan a los niños, como nosotros colgamos vna Cruz o medalla."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 205.

less frequently, in groups of three, serve as libation vessels. In many rites a pair of them is placed on the ground cloth, one on either side, to serve as supports for the bottles of wine and *č'uwa*. At times larger scallop shells support the smaller shells from which the libations are actually poured (Fig. 8). In the First Fruits ceremonial, according to Informant 45, scallop shells receive the blood of the sacrificed llama, and are also employed for blood libations. In addition, the incense burned in ceremonials should, by preference, be ground in a scallop shell, a second shell serving as a pestle (45, 66). When the spirits are invoked during a ceremony, and especially in a séance, two scallop shells may be scraped together to call the attention of the supernaturals.

Other sea shells are also employed to a lesser extent for other purposes. In séances a heavy bivalve, *kuti ɭoxe* (*Arca* sp.), is always available should any of the spectators contract headaches caused by the proximity of the supernatural beings. This shell rests on the ground cloth with the two halves closed. Between them are placed a large red tropical seed, *saxsa kuti* (see p. 263), and the shell of a small, unidentified sea snail, *kuti č'uru*. When a spectator complains of a headache, the magician removes the seed and the snail from the shell container and passes them over the person's face to make the pain disappear.

That is why all of these things are called *kuti*. This word means "*calmante*," "quieting," "a sedative" (Informant A).

A large conch shell, *kuti waxe* (*Strombus* sp.), frequently used in séances and when offering a *mesa* (p. 270), is placed in the center of the ground cloth and serves the same purpose as the objects described above. In addition, Informant 66 stated:

This shell changes the mind of the spirits so that if anyone is sick, he will get well again.

Like the amulets, sea shells are sacred objects.

They are like *iɭa*, and they are powerful because they come from the sea (*hač'a qota*, "big lake"). There is a spirit of the sea called *č'uwaɭakani ačačila*, "spirit of limpid water" (66).

During some ceremonies sea shells are sprinkled with incense and occasionally they are smeared

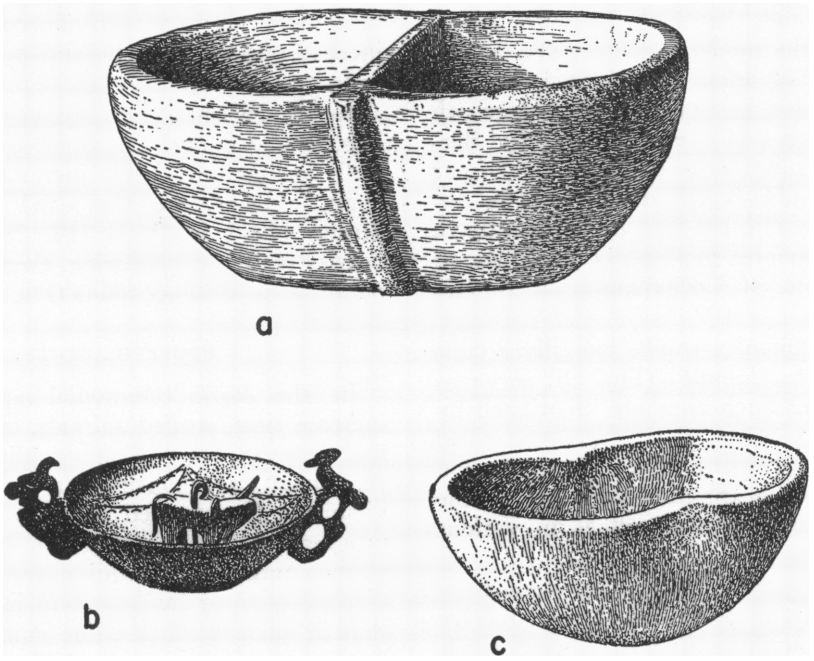

Fig. 6. Libation vessels. a. Wooden double bowl. b. Silver bowl. c. Gourd.

with llama fat (45). They are stored with the amulets in ceremonial bundles. At the present time, the Chucuito Aymara purchase sea shells from the *qoḷawayu*, in the Puno market, or obtain them on occasional trips to Ilo, on the southern Peruvian coast.

LIBATION BOWLS

Wooden double-bowls (Fig. 6a), usually in pairs, are used for libations of chicha in a number of ceremonies. These vessels are called *keru* and, although they are now undecorated, appear to be the modern counterparts of the wooden keros of Inca times.[1] Such wooden vessels were also known to the seventeenth century Aymara and are mentioned by Bertonio.[2] Since suitable wood does not occur locally, the double-bowls are said to be obtained by trade with the Quechua of Carabaya and Sandia provinces in Puno Department, or from the region of Cochabamba in Bolivia (45, 109).

In some ceremonies small, low silver cups with animal-form handles (Fig. 6b) serve as libation vessels.[3] Such cups are mentioned by La Barre who states that they are called *tilinki*.[4] At the present time, silver libation bowls of this type are manufactured by the Aymara of Huancané, as well as in various parts of Bolivia.

In animal increase and house dedication ceremonies, pairs of gourd cups, *pulu*, receive the blood of sacrificed llamas. These vessels are undecorated and are manufactured simply by cutting gourds, *mati* (*Cucurbita* sp.), in half (Fig. 6c). Gourds are not grown locally on the *altiplano*, but are traded in either from the south coast of Peru or from the east Andean slopes.

[1] See Rowe, 1946, 245, Pl. 80.

[2] *Quero: "Vaso para beuer de madera, o plata, de qualquiera hechura que sea."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 290.

[3] These may be the modern counterparts of silver vessels mentioned by Bertonio: *"Aquilla—Vaso de plata para beuer, que tambien llaman Quero, y si es a manera de taca, Vichu."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 24.

[4] La Barre, 1948, 100, 172. He writes elsewhere: "In more sacred contexts, a small flat silver cup, sometimes elaborately ornamented with cast-silver viscachas and llamas, is used in turn by all communicants" (p. 242).

OTHER CONTAINERS

Incense burners, *braseru* (from Spanish, *"brasero"*) of several types are used ceremonially. The simplest form, and the one most commonly employed, is the pottery food bowl, *čuwa*, which is filled with glowing coals topped by a sprinkling of powdered incense. Occasionally more elaborate pottery braziers (Pl. 28a), manufactured in the ceramic-producing towns of Pucará and Santiago de Pupuja, are purchased in the Puno market.[5] In the *čoqela* ceremonial, any flat slab of stone serves as an incense burner for coals and pulverized copal resin.

In ritual washing, the ordinary pottery basin, *ḷata*, is a common container. Such basins, as well as commercially manufactured white enamel basins, are also used as receptacles during blood sacrifices (Pl. 28a), and glass bottles regularly hold wine, *č'uwa*, and alcohol on all ceremonial occasions (Pls. 27b, 28a).

STUFFED ANIMALS

In the *čoqela* ceremonial and in animal increase rites, stuffed animals, or parts of animals, are necessary paraphernalia.[6] The former ceremonial, symbolizing the hunting of the vicuña and performed annually to insure the prosperity of the entire community for the forthcoming year, requires a stuffed baby vicuña, *wari* or *wik'uña*.[7] It is not unlikely that in ancient times a live animal was sacrificed; now, however, the killing of vicuña is prohibited by Peruvian law. The skin of the baby vicuña is cured, but not tanned, sticks are placed in the legs, and the head and limbs are stuffed with wool. Other sticks are bound crosswise to its legs in order that it may stand upright during the ceremony. Bladders of sheep blood, and occasionally entrails, are placed in the body cavity, and the slit on the ventral side is roughly basted together with thread.

During the ceremony one of the performers dances with the vicuña, imitating the gait and

[5] Cf. Tschopik, H., Jr., 1950, 208, 215.

[6] While the vicuña (*Lama vicuña*), puma (*Felis concolor*), and wildcat (*Felis pajaros*) are utilized in benevolent magic, the fox (*Pseudolopex inca*) is associated exclusively with evil and sorcery.

[7] For a summary description of the *čoqela* ceremony, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 566–567, Pl. 112.

antics of the live animal.[1] After the baby vicuña has been "captured," it is "sacrificed" by a masked magician, the blood and entrails are removed, and the animal is then magically "revived." Only one stuffed vicuña was owned in Chucuito proper during the course of the study. It was the property of a layman (52) who, nevertheless, figured prominently in the organization and performance of the ceremonial. Such vicuñas are, strictly speaking, not considered to be sacred objects, but are regarded rather in the nature of stage props. They receive ceremonial treatment only during the performance of the rite and are not "fed," as are the amulets. When on one occasion Informant 52 refused (for reasons that are not pertinent here) to allow his vicuña to be used in the *čoqela* ceremony, a stuffed wildcat was substituted. This irregularity provoked considerable public disapproval and upon it devolved much of the blame for the lack of rain during the subsequent year.

In animal increase rites a stuffed wildcat, *titi* or *titi p'isi*, is placed on either side of the ground cloth (Pl. 30b, Fig. 11). These objects are called *qolqe hausiri*, "money callers."

> They are put there for good luck, and so that the owner of the livestock will have lots of money (45).[2]

In the same ceremonial a pair of puma paws, *puma ampara*, are also placed on the ground cloth (Fig. 7), and these have functions identical with those of the wildcats (45, 66). Both the puma paws and the stuffed wildcats are regarded with veneration; they are rubbed with llama fat, receive libations, and are sprinkled with coca and flowers.

CHRISTIAN-DERIVED PARAPHERNALIA

Throughout Aymara territory, elements of Christian belief and practice have become integrated with native religious patterns; it is not surprising, therefore, that some Roman Catholic ritual objects should have been incorporated in what are essentially native Aymara ceremonies.[3]

Small crucifixes, *krus*, are prominent in ritual layouts for all ceremonies (Figs. 8–9, 11) and are encountered in all ceremonial bundles (45, 66, 109). They are manufactured locally (by anyone) of wood or, less commonly, of bone; some are simple crosses, while others bear crudely carved effigies of Christ. Informants, however, were unanimously unable to assign the crucifixes any specific ceremonial function (45, 66, 109). As Informant 66 remarked: "The priest has his crucifixes. We have ours."

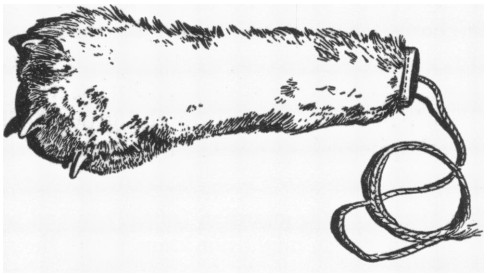

FIG. 7. Puma paw.

Essentially the same negative attitudes apply to rosaries, *rosario*, and to religious medals (Fig. 8), both of which form a part of the paraphernalia of the séance (45, 66). Like crucifixes, these objects have no special functions and are apparently effective merely by being present. Occasionally, the rosary is held by the magician while he invokes the supernaturals (native and Christian); most of the time, however, it simply rests upon the ground cloth.

In some folk tales, crucifixes, rosaries, and religious medals are efficacious in warding off ghosts and phantoms. Although it is not necessary that these objects be blessed by a priest, those that have been so blessed are valued more highly (66). The Christian-derived articles of equipment are regularly stored in ceremonial bundles; they are not, however, "fed," nor are they offered libations (45, 66, 109).

An object required in every séance, as well as when offering a *mesa*, is a small brass bell, *kampana* (from Spanish, *campana*); occasionally two are employed (Figs. 8, 10). Before invoking the spirits or dedicating offerings, the

[1] In the Bolivian Aymara version of this ceremony, some of the performers "wear the skin of a young vicuña, head included, hanging down their backs." Bandelier, 1910, 103.

[2] The skin of this animal is also required in some Bolivian Aymara rites. Bandelier, 1910, 97.

[3] Crucifixes, rosaries, etc., are also part of the "religious" equipment of the Bolivian Aymara. See Bandelier, 1910, 70; La Barre, 1948, 182.

bell is rung to alert the supernaturals, an act repeated later to signify the terminal rite (45, 66). It seems clear that this practice has been derived from the Roman Catholic Mass. A bell is also rung by the magician to cure disease attributed to soul loss; as he rings it, he calls the soul by name and coaxes it to return to the patient's body.

MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

If a séance designed to disclose the whereabouts of lost property is to be held in the magician's house rather than in that of the client, some earth, *laq'a*, from the latter's house compound is required. During the rite the earth is either placed on the ground cloth in a little pile or is deposited in a small pottery bowl.

This is to help the guardian (*uiwiri*) to find what has been stolen. He might not know where the man lived (66).

For the séance, and occasionally for other ceremonies involving questions of money or property, "gold," *qori*, and "silver," *qolqe*, are required. The former is symbolized by crystals of iron pyrites, while the latter is usually represented by a chunk of galena ore. These are placed on either side of the ground cloth, often resting upon small, square alabaster amulets, or upon scallop shells.

These things mean money; that is why they are there (45).

In the séance, but apparently not in other ceremonials, Lake Titicaca is represented by a small piece of glass, topped by an old silver coin. Informants were unable to explain the significance or function of this feature which is called *qota*, "lake" (45, 66).

A pair of brass spheres, ranging in diameter from an inch to an inch and a half, which are occasionally perforated like beads, represent lightning in séances and in other rites when necessary. These are called *kaxya*, "lightning"; while their precise function is not clear, it seems not improbable that they may symbolize the magician's "power," and his own personal "power conferring" experience.

As stated above, the red seeds of a tropical plant, *saxsa kuti* (*wairuru*, *Batesia floribunda*)[1] are employed in séances to cure those spectators who have headaches caused by the presence of the supernatural. These seeds, which are reported to come from the *montaña* region of eastern Peru, are purchased in Puno, or from the traveling *qoḷawayu*.

[1] Macbride, 1943, 206–207.

OFFERINGS

COCA, *koka*

So much has been written of coca (*Erythroxylon coca*), the *sine qua non* of all Aymara offerings, that it is unnecessary to discuss it here in any great detail.[2] The antiquity of the use of this narcotic plant is abundantly attested by archaeological evidence, but in Inca times, at least, it was restricted to the nobility and to the demands of ritual and religion.[3] During the early Colonial period, the Spaniards enlarged the coca plantations, and coca chewing soon spread to all classes of Indian society.[4] Today coca is chewed with lime by men and women alike to stave off hunger, to alleviate fatigue, and for the pleasurable boost provided by its narcotic properties. But while the use of this formerly sacred plant has become completely secularized, it is still important in its earlier ritual context.

In one form or another, coca is part of the ritual paraphernalia of every Aymara practitioner. Divination with coca leaves is the stock-in-trade of the *yatiri*, while the *qoḷasiri* uses coca in diagnosis, as a medicine, and, occasionally, as an anaesthetic. The midwife compounds it into childbirth remedies, and the *t'aliri* employs it for massages. Sorcerers offer coca to demons and to evil places; in the practice of benevolent magic it is an integral and necessary part of all offerings: to spirits, cairns, and shrines, to perfect vegetables and fish, to amulets and sacred objects, and occasionally to disease itself. In addition, during All Souls fiesta, coca is offered to the dead.[5]

[2] Although the bibliography relating to coca is vast, the following references cover most aspects of the use of this narcotic by the Aymara: Bandelier, 1910, 87, 90, 95–97, 148; Forbes, 1870, 251–253; La Barre, 1948, "coca," 244; Mortimer, 1901; Paredes, 1936, 57–62. For a discussion of the role of coca in Bolivian economy, see Morales, 1938.

[3] Rowe, 1946, 291.

[4] Kubler, 1946, 394.

[5] The Bolivian Aymara in addition offer coca on the altars of the Virgin and the Catholic saints. La Barre, 1948, 70.

Coca chewing is itself a ritual act on all ceremonial occasions, and serves, in addition, to solemnize those of an essentially social or sociopolitical nature (p. 256).

The forms in which coca is offered range considerably in degree of complexity. Any traveler or herdsman, on the one hand, may deposit a coca leaf, or plaster a quid, upon a cairn while mumbling a prayer to the place spirit; the offerings of the sorcerers and magicians, on the other hand, require special preparation and knowledge. The three most common forms in which coca is offered (the *aita*, the *p'awaqa*, and the *mesa*) are discussed elsewhere (p. 251). It should be noted here that while coca is regularly chewed with lime, *ɻuxt'a*, to release the alkaloid cocaine, lime is not offered with coca in ceremonial practice (45, 66, 109).[1]

INTOXICANTS

After coca, the most common Aymara offering consists of alcoholic beverages in the form of libations (p. 242). Until commercially distilled liquors became generally available in quantity about the turn of the last century, the intoxicant *par excellence* of the Aymara was fermented chicha, *k'usa*, a beverage that was also important on social and ceremonial occasions in Inca times.[2] Since maize is scarce on the *altiplano*, most Aymara chicha at present is prepared from quinoa or, less frequently, from barley.[3]

In recent years, however, red wine, *wino* (from Spanish, "*vino*"), a low-grade cane alcohol, *alkola*, and to a lesser extent *pisco* (a grape brandy), have tended to replace the chichas both as beverages and as offerings.[4]

Intoxicants are produced on a commercial scale both on the coast and in the *montaña* region of eastern Peru, and cheap grades of wine and cane alcohol can be purchased virtually anywhere in the sierra of Peru. In Chucuito, a poor grade of red wine, bought exclusively by the Indian population, retailed for 50 *centavos* a bottle, while cane alcohol sold for two *soles* a quart. Since white wine is, for some unexplained reason, unacceptable to the supernaturals, it is never used as an offering (39, 45). Intoxicants serve not only as offerings but medicinally and in rituals to moisten llama fat when the latter is being molded into the form in which it is offered (see *mesa*, p. 251).[5]

While properly speaking not an intoxicant, *č'uwa*, or sweetened water, may be discussed here.[6] This beverage is offered with wine or alcohol in almost all formal rites. It consists of water in which candies, and occasionally *chancaca* (molasses sugar), have been dissolved. The origin of this offering is obscure, and it is not clear whether or not its use extends to the Bolivian Aymara.[7]

LLAMA FAT, *ɻamp'u*

Llama fat has been a common offering since Inca times, and nowadays is offered both in "black" and "white" magic,[8] to all supernaturals, to amulets and other ritual paraphernalia and objects, and in addition has medicinal uses.[9] Llama fat may be simply offered in lumps, or shaved, moistened with alcohol or *pisco* brandy, and molded into square cakes (see *mesa*, p. 251) or round balls.[10] Paredes

[1] In Chucuito coca lime is prepared by burning the stalks of *kañawa* (*Chenopodium* sp.), the bark of the *qenua* tree (*Polylepis racemosa*), or the woody fibers of a cactus, *nina sanku* (*Utica flabellata*).

[2] See Rowe, 1946, 292–293. Bertonio gives an impressive list of types of chicha brewed by the Aymara during the late sixteenth century. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 66.

[3] See La Barre, 1948, 65–66. For details of chicha preparation in the Cochabamba region of Bolivia, see Cutler and Cardenas, 1947, 33–60.

[4] *Pisco* and red wine are also offered by the Bolivian Aymara at the present time. Bandelier, 1910, 97–98.

[5] See Bandelier, 1910, 98.

[6] Bertonio gives the following definition for *č'uwa* (*Cchua*): "*Claro, Dizese del agua y de otros licores.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 95.

[7] La Barre mentions a "native wine" designated *č'ua* that is sometimes offered as a libation. La Barre, 1948, 186.

[8] Regarding the use of this substance in Inca ritual Arriaga wrote: "... *sebo de los Carneros de la tierra es tambien ofrenda.*" Arriaga, 1621, chap. 4. Also see Rowe, 1946, 307. The use of llama fat as an offering by the Bolivian Aymara is well documented; cf. Bandelier, 1910, 95–99; La Barre, 1948, 173; Paredes, 1936, 77. The term *ɻamp'u* apparently refers to the fact that the fat is grated or shaved. Bertonio gives the following definition: *Llamppo:* "*Blando. Dizese dela ropa, y de cosas molidas.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 201.

[9] For a discussion of the use of llama fat in curing, see La Barre, 1948, 222–223.

[10] The latter form is employed by the Bolivian Aymara. Bandelier, 1910, 97–98.

writes that, for purposes of sorcery, *ɬamp'u* (sometimes designated *hunto* in Bolivia) is also modeled into an effigy of the intended victim.[1]

The llama fat when used as an offering should come from the breast of a sacrificial llama (45, 66, 109).

After the llama is cleaned and skinned, the breast is always given to the *paqo*. This fat is called *lamp'u;* the rest is called *lik'i* (45).

As offerings and for medicinal purposes, the Bolivian Aymara also use the fat of other animals, including the vicuña, alpaca, jaguar, and puma.[2] These substances may be purchased from the traveling *qoɬawayu*. Chucuito informants admitted that vicuña or alpaca tallow, when available, might serve as offerings, but denied the use of other fats (45, 109).

MINT (*Mentha pulegium*), *q'oa*

Dried leaves of this wild mint form an essential part of all formal offerings in Chucuito, and the plant, either fresh or dried, is frequently used as a condiment as well.[3] Although the antiquity of the use of this herb as an offering is uncertain (for the writer has been unable to discover any reference to its use in this context by the Inca) *q'oa* is widely employed in ritual by the Bolivian Aymara. Leaves of a plant called *uira-ko-ua* were used in all the offerings observed and described by Bandelier.[4] La Barre writes that the "leaves and stems of *q'oa* . . . are burned in the fields 'to make a good harvest'. . . ."[5] Métraux mentions the use of *khoa* as an offering among the neighboring Uro-Chipaya, but fails to describe or identify it.[6]

The plant is gathered on the high *punas* to the southwest of Chucuito.

When the men go there to get it, they have to leave an offering for the place; it is like an exchange (45).[7]

FIGURINES, *čiuči*

These minute figures, ranging from a quarter to a half an inch in height, are cast in lead, *maɬa*, and occasionally are painted. They are now manufactured in Europe, in Japan, or in La Paz, Bolivia, especially for the Indian trade, and can be purchased in nearly any large native market. Their antiquity is undetermined, but it is clear at least that metal effigies in human and animal form did serve as offerings in Inca times, and such votive offerings have been excavated at sacred sites on the islands of Lake Titicaca.[8] That their use extends to the contemporary Bolivian Aymara is made clear by La Barre:

A variety of figurines, less than an inch long and cast in lead, go under the collective name of *čiuči*.[9]

In Chucuito such figurines are said not to be offered separately, but always in pairs as a part of the special sacrifice known as *mesa* (p. 251). The items represented include:

Marriage (man and woman holding hands)
Fish
Dove
Star
Llama
Eagle
Rainbow
Sling
Cow
Table
Chair
Stove
Olla
Horse
Charango (mandolin)

[1] Paredes, 1936, 77–78.

[2] La Barre, 1948, 173; Paredes, 1936, 77, 196–197. La Barre states that condor fat is used as a remedy for rheumatism. *Ibid.*, 226.

[3] Bertonio defines *q'oa* (*Koa*) as "*oregano de aca desta tierra.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 56; elsewhere he states that this herb has medicinal uses. *Ibid.*, 154. Nowhere, however, does he specifically mention the use of *q'oa* as an offering.

[4] Bandelier, 1910, 95–97. The prefix *uira* (*wira*) is an Aymara respect term.

[5] La Barre, 1948, 184. Elsewhere (205, 220) he states that this plant is used in divination and (222) in curing.

[6] Métraux, 1935, 30, 54. Also see La Barre, 1946, 584.

[7] Offerings to place spirits are also made on salt-gathering expeditions.

[8] Discussing Inca practice, Rowe states: "Gold and silver were offered in small lumps or in the form of human or animal figurines, and were usually buried or hung on the walls of the shrines." Rowe, 1946, 307. For illustrations of silver figurines from the islands of Titicaca and Koati, see Bandelier, 1910, Pls. 57, 58.

[9] La Barre, 1948, 180. Elsewhere (222) he states that these figurines form a part of special offerings.

Moon
Knife
Fork
Palm tree
Dog
Viscacha (an Andean rodent)
Cock
Flute
Gold
Silver
Golden thread
Silver thread
Sun
Key

Informants were unable to explain the special significance of these figurines (45, 66):

They are just things we like and want, and the spirits like them too (45).

MINERALS

As stated above, "gold," *qori*, and "silver," *qolqe*, are necessary paraphernalia in certain rites, and are represented today by iron pyrites and galena ore, respectively (p. 231). Although these precious metals served as important offerings in Inca times, they are, of course, beyond the means of the contemporary Aymara.[1] Even today, however, gold and silver leaf (or gold and silver paper) are employed to cover such offerings as the tallow *mesa* and llama foetuses, and are also used in the preparation of "banners." Informant 85 stated that gold and silver leaf alone might serve as offerings.[2]

In spite of the fact that booklets of gold and silver leaf may now be purchased in the Puno market, there is evidence that this type of offering is ancient. Calancha states specifically that silver leaf served as an offering in Inca times, and Bandelier encountered silver and gold leaf in a pre-Columbian ceremonial cache on the island of Koati.[3] The degree to which gold and silver are rooted in Aymara ceremonialism is clarified further by ritual incantations in which frequent reference is made to "golden star," "silver star," "golden staff," "silver staff," "golden libation," "silver libation," and the like. In such ritual utterances, the metals are always paired, and gold always precedes silver in order of reference.

A mineral called *q'oḷpa* is employed in Chucuito both in disease diagnosis and as an offering. Although it was not possible to identify this substance, it appears likely that it is sodium nitrate.[4] It may be offered alone, or in conjunction with *coca*, *ḷamp'u*, *q'oa*, and the like. Occasionally pieces of *q'oḷpa*, wrapped in cotton, are included as a portion of the offering called *p'awaqa* (p. 251). Since this substance is believed to have the power to reverse the state of things, it is frequently used in counter-sorcery. In disease diagnosis, a piece of *q'oḷpa* is placed in contact with the patient in order that the mineral may absorb the illness. It is then burned to destroy the disease and at the same time to reveal, through the form of the "ashes," the original cause of the ailment.

Although it is known to the Bolivian Aymara, *q'oḷpa* apparently is not used by them as an offering.[5]

BANNERS, *wip'ala*

Miniature flags or banners, an inch or so in height, are made by sticking leaves of gold or silver leaf, or small pieces of gold or silver paper, to splinters of wood. Their ends are greased with warm llama fat in order to make the squares of paper or leaf adhere to them. Such banners appear to be offered only in conjunction with other offerings in the form of the *mesa*, and may be employed either in "black" or in "white" magic (45, 66, 109). Banners are also employed as part of the paraphernalia of Bolivian Aymara ceremonialism. Bandelier writes:

[1] See Rowe, 1946, 307.

[2] Gold and silver tinsel are offered by the modern Quechua. Mishkin, 1946, 464.

[3] Calancha states: "*I cada año ofrecian oja de plata, chicha i espinco.*" Calancha, 1638, vol. 1, 413; Bandelier, 1910, 271–272.

[4] Bertonio defines *q'oḷpa* (*Collpa*) as "*salitre*," but fails to state for what purpose it was used. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 50.

[5] La Barre states that "a salitrous white mineral called *q'oḷpa* is given to cattle to lick, as it is thought to fatten them." La Barre, 1948, 75. The Bolivian Aymara make ritual use of another mineral, *miḷu* (identified as aluminum sulphate), both in curing and in divination. In addition it is worn as an amulet by children to ward off demons. See La Barre, 1948, 182, 221–222; Paredes, 1936, 198–199. This mineral appears not to be employed in Chucuito.

Bertonio defines *miḷu* (*Millu*) as: "*Vn genero de salitre bueno para teñir colorado, o azul o de otras colores. . . .*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 222.

When a house is being built they make a number of packages containing objects of all sorts of provisions; they plant in the courtyard small paper flags and, after carousing to their hearts' content, burn the packages together with the flags.[1]

Since the term *wip'ala* is not listed by Bertonio, the antiquity of this offering is uncertain.

LLAMA FOETUS, *sulu*

The practice of sacrificing foetuses to supernaturals is reported from the Aymara of the early seventeenth century, and is, in all likelihood, aboriginal. Bertonio gives the term *sullana churasitha: "Ofreces a las guacas el abortino de carneros."*[2] The aborted foetus of a llama is an especially important offering, since it is thought to compel the spirits to act where other offerings have failed.[3] Such offerings, therefore, are made in cases of stubborn illness or in other particularly grave and crucial situations. Among the Bolivian Aymara, llama foetuses are sacrificed during house dedication rites and other important occasions.[4] In addition to serving as an offering, Paredes states that a llama foetus is believed to attract wealth to its owner.[5]

Because Bertonio defined *sulu* (*sullu*) as "*abortiuo, mal parido,*" Bandelier was led to believe that the Aymara resorted to mechanical abortion in order to obtain llama foetuses.[6] Such a practice, however, was denied by Chucuito informants (45, 66). At the present time, llama foetuses are usually purchased in the Puno market, or from the *qolawayu*.[7]

Although *sulu* is the generic Aymara word for "foetus," those used as offerings are commonly referred to as *kayuni*, "gift." Before being offered to the supernaturals, llama foetuses are brushed with wine and *č'uwa*, or greased with llama fat:

The *ačačila* eat them, and they like them to taste good. It is just like when we use *ají* peppers in our food (8).

Frequently llama foetuses are covered with gold or silver leaf, or with gold or silver paper.

BLOOD SACRIFICES, *wilanča*

The tradition of blood sacrifice is ancient in the Andean area, and the practice is well documented both for the Inca and for the sixteenth century Aymara.[8] At the present time, since the killing of a domestic animal represents a considerable expenditure to the average Aymara, blood sacrifices are reserved for the most solemn and momentous occasions.[9] While the Bolivian Aymara, like the Inca, also sacrifice guinea pigs, this practice was denied by Chucuito informants (11, 45, 66).[10] The sacrificial animal *par excellence* is the llama, although sheep are also acceptable offerings.[11] Pigs and other species of domestic animals, however, are not sacrificed (45, 109). As stated earlier, although a stuffed baby vicuña represents the sacrifice of this animal in the *čoqela* rite, the killing of vicuña is at present prohibited by law.

By preference, a sacrificial llama should be a white male lamb, *kaču*. The animal should be in perfect condition, without blemishes, and should not have worked as a pack animal.

If there are no white llamas, a brown spotted one

[1] Bandelier, MS.

[2] Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 327.

[3] The llama foetus is also important in counter-sorcery since it is thought to have the property to make the evil "boomerang" upon the one who wished it (45).

[4] La Barre, 1948, 186. Also see *ibid.*, 172, 222. Bandelier writes that the foetus of a pig may also be offered when dedicating a new house. Bandelier, 1910, 95.

[5] Paredes, 1936, 69.

[6] Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 327; Bandelier, 1910, 152.

[7] In 1941, a llama foetus cost five *soles*, or approximately 75 cents.

[8] Rowe writes that the Inca sacrificed llamas and guinea pigs in large numbers to the *huacas* and shrines. Rowe, 1946, 306. Bertonio gives "*sacrificar matando carneros (llamas)*" as *Calluna arphatha.* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 1, 421.

[9] This is equally true of the Bolivian Aymara; La Barre writes: ". . . the Aymara love their llamas very much, and are loath to sacrifice them unless for a very serious purpose." La Barre, 1948, 185.

[10] *Ibid.*, 173. That the Lupaca, however, formerly sacrificed guinea pigs is made clear by Bertonio. *Huankona: "Offrecerle a los idolos [Huanko,* or guinea pig]. *Pecado de idolatria."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 147.

[11] Alpacas are not raised in the District of Chucuito. Informants stated, however, that in neighboring regions where they are bred for wool, alpacas are never killed either for food or as offerings (39, 66). Cf. La Barre, 1948, 73–74. For a brief description of blood sacrifice in the neighboring town of Ilave, see Kuczynski-Godard, 1944, 10.

may be used as long as there are no black spots. But you can't use a black llama. Of these they say, *č'iaraxa lakiwa*, "black is for sorrow." Black is used for the dead; you can't use a black llama for the spirits (45).[1]

Informant 39 added:

If you use a black llama for sacrifice, it will bring trouble.

In their simplest form, blood sacrifices are made to the supernatural owner of the llamas whenever an animal is slaughtered for food (see p. 199),[2] and the libation is accompanied by a brief prayer. Special sacrifices of llamas or sheep, however, are occasioned only by important ceremonials such as the dedication of a new house, the First Fruit rite, and counter-sorcery. In addition, an animal (usually a sheep in present-day Chucuito) is sacrificed at a funeral in order that its spirit may accompany the soul of the deceased to the hereafter.[3]

The sacrifice of a llama ordinarily occurs at sunrise. The animal, tied in a kneeling position facing due east, is sprinkled with libations and flower petals. Its head is bent backward and, as the first rays of the sun appear, its throat is slit with a knife.[4] Poma de Ayala reports and illustrates a second method of killing sacrificial llamas that was in vogue during Inca times.[5] The person killing the animal made an incision behind the rib case, inserted his hand, and tore out the still-beating heart. This method is still followed by the Chucuito Aymara but, curiously, is more usual when slaughtering a llama for meat. Before removing the heart, the aorta, *sirk'u*, is pinched until the animal dies.[6]

If you kill a llama in this way, it doesn't suffer as much and won't punish the person who kills it (45).[7]

When the llama's throat is cut, the blood should spurt due east; "otherwise the ceremony will be ineffectual" (66). The blood collected in wooden keros, gourd cups, pottery basins, or in sea shells, is splashed or poured out as libations. After the termination of the rite, the knife and all utensils used in the ceremony, as well as the hands of the participants, are washed, and the bloody water is poured into one or several holes dug into the ground.

All of the blood should stay on the place; it is for the place spirit (109).

The heart of an animal killed for sacrifice is burned with other offerings. The spleen, *č'akara*, of a llama is, at times, removed and inspected for divinatory purposes.[8]

From the way it looks you can tell whether a person [the client in a ceremony] will live or die, or whether he will get sick or have good luck. If he is going to die, the *č'akara* will look like a corpse. If it is flat and perfect, everything will be all right (45).

After the sacrifice, the llama is skinned and butchered. The breast, containing the fat or *ɬamp'u*, is given to the *paqo;* the hide becomes the property of the person who actually cut its throat.[9] The carcass is then roasted and eaten by the participants in the ceremonial. Although special cuts are said not to be reserved for particular individuals, the *paqo* often receives the head. The entire roasted llama must be consumed on the day of the sacrifice.

Like the Inca, the ancient Aymara, in times of grave emergency, occasionally sacrificed children, a practice that has, however, long since disappeared.[10]

INCENSE

Although incense is widely used by several contemporary Andean peoples, including the Quechua and the Uro-Chipaya as well as all Aymara, the question of its antiquity as an

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[1] In regard to Inca practice, Rowe writes: "Brown llamas were usually sacrificed to Viracocha, white llamas and alpacas to the Sun, and parti-colored llamas to Thunder." Rowe, 1946, 306.

[2] This practice has also been reported for the neighboring Uro-Chipaya. Métraux, 1935, 56.

[3] Llamas are sacrificed at funerals in the Ulloma region of Bolivia. La Barre, 1948, 138.

[4] This method of killing sacrificial llamas is also reported for the Inca period. Rowe, 1946, 306.

[5] Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1944, 890, Folio 880.

[6] Properly speaking, *sirk'u* is the generic word for "vein" or "artery."

[7] The Aymara believe that if an animal is injured and made to suffer, the person who caused the injury will suffer in the same way. Paredes, 1936, 71.

[8] It was Inca practice to inspect the lungs of a sacrificed llama for divinatory purposes. Garcilaso de la Vega, 1943, vol. 2, pt. 1, book 6, chap. 21–22, 48–53.

[9] Informants stated that it made no difference who actually killed the sacrificial animal (9, 11, 45).

[10] Rowe, 1946, 305–306; Bandelier, MS.

offering in this region is puzzling.[1] Rowe writes that the Inca burned "scented wood" in a stone brazier near the Temple of the Sun, but fails to mention incense specifically.[2] Vessels identified as incense burners have, however, been encountered archaeologically at Tiahuanaco in Bolivia.[3] Yet Bertonio, in his sixteenth century Aymara dictionary, lists no native term for "incense," and the modern Indians refer to it by the modified Spanish terms, *insensio* or *kopala* (from "copal"). Similarly, the incense burners in use today are called *braseru* (from Spanish, "*brasero*").

Incense is, nevertheless, an important offering at the present time in all ceremonials, Christian and native alike. It is offered to all supernaturals, to ritual paraphernalia, and is used both in curing and as a fumigant to drive away demons.[4]

Occasionally the dry powder or lumps of resin are offered without burning, and in at least one instance, incense was included as an ingredient in the preparation of *č'uwa* (see p. 267). More commonly, however, it is offered in the form of smoke. In all rites where offerings are burned, incense is also thrown on the blazing fire.

At the present time the Aymara use two types of incense. The first, *insensio*, a commercial preparation, is sold for use in churches and in private shrines. The second, *kopala*, is a resin obtained in the jungle regions of eastern Peru and Bolivia. Although the latter product may be secured by trade with the Quechua of Carabaya and Sandia provinces, either can also be purchased in the Puno market, or from the *qoḷawayu*.

TOBACCO, *sairi*[5]

Like that for incense, the evidence regarding the ancient use of tobacco as offerings by Andean peoples is inconclusive and conflicting.[6] Although the Inca did not cultivate it, they used powdered wild tobacco leaves as snuff and medicinally.[7] Bertonio confirms snuff-taking and smoking as ancient Aymara practices, but does not mention the use of tobacco in a ritual context.[8] Haënke, on the other hand, explicitly denies the use of tobacco in any form by Peruvian Indians of the late eighteenth century.[9]

The contemporary Aymara employ tobacco, *sairi*, for a variety of purposes, but smoke it rarely.[10] Although they do not grow tobacco, they gather and dry the leaves of one of several wild varieties native to the *altiplano*, or purchase cheap brands of commercial cigarettes in the local stores. The smoke of tobacco, as well as of a number of other plants, is used medicinally. Paredes writes that tobacco is much used by Aymara *brujos* of Bolivia for inhalations, as a fumigant, and to induce "trance"; it is generally employed, he states, by *laiqa* and *t'aliri* alike.[11]

At the present time the Chucuito Aymara also offer tobacco smoke to supernaturals. When several Indians, one of whom was a magician (66), were moving a large boulder from a field, all in turn blew cigarette smoke on the stone after the completion of the operation. When asked to explain this behavior, Informant 66 replied:

> We are thankful because we didn't get hurt by the stone when we moved it.

On another occasion during the offering of a *mesa* a second magician (45) blew puffs of cigarette smoke towards Atoja Mountain and to the east. "The smoke is for the *ačačila*," he explained. La Barre reports that in the event of

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[1] Mishkin, 1946, 464; Métraux, 1935, 22.

[2] Rowe, 1946, 307.

[3] Bennett, 1934, 416.

[4] Incense is used similarly by the Bolivian Aymara. La Barre, 1948, 186, 222.

[5] According to Forbes, tobacco is also called "*sayri*" by the Bolivian Aymara. Forbes, 1870, 295. Bertonio lists "tobacco" as *Thusa thusa*, a term which is still used in the Tiahuanaco region of Bolivia. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 318; La Barre, 1948, 66–67.

[6] For a general review of the problem of the use of tobacco in pre-Hispanic Peru, see Spinden, 1950, 97–106.

[7] Rowe, 1946, 292. It is not stated, however, whether or not the Inca offered tobacco smoke.

[8] *Sincantatha: "Tomar tobaco por las narizes."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 318. *Laccathà sayri muqhuitha: "Tomar tobaco en humo." Tom cit.*, 184.

[9] *"Ningún indio gasta el tobaco, ni de hoja ni de polvo; y esta particularidad se advierte aún en los que viven en Lima, que hemos dicho son casi tan civilizados como los españoles."* Haënke, 1901, 107.

[10] Wild tobacco is smoked in the Tiahuanaco region of Bolivia. La Barre, 1948, 66–67.

[11] Paredes, 1936, 80.

excessive rain, the Bolivian Aymara blow tobacco smoke in the direction from which the wind is blowing to make it go away.[1]

FLOWERS, *panqara*

Flowers are so deeply embedded in Andean ceremonialism that there is no reason to doubt that their use in a ritual context is aboriginal. Flowers, especially the cantuta (*Cantuta buxifolia*), are frequent motifs in Inca art, and with other offerings were sacrificed on important ceremonial occasions.[2]

The contemporary Aymara are very fond of flowers; the surroundings of the meanest hut are often planted with one or more flowering shrubs or small plants. Flowers are important in present-day ceremonialism; a great variety of native wild flowers are utilized as well as such introduced species as roses, carnations, chrysanthemums, and so forth.[3] During public fiestas and other festive occasions, such as the last banking of potatoes before the harvest, flowers are worn in the hat band by either sex, while women fasten them behind their ears or tie them into their braids.[4] Flowers are also offered to the dead and are regularly used to decorate wedding gifts. In animal increase rites, a flower is used as an aspergillum, while in other ceremonies small bunches of flowers are stuffed into the necks of bottles containing the intoxicants for offerings. Flower petals are offered to amulets, strewn over sacrificial animals, and scattered over burning sacrifices. The Bolivian Aymara offer flower petals to the earth in agricultural rites.[5]

FOOD, *manq'a*[6]

In Inca times, food was offered in quantity, and instead of being eaten at the conclusion of the ceremonial, the sacrifice was burned.[7] To the hungry, undernourished Aymara, however, food is deemed too valuable and sacred to offer even to the supernaturals. In any event, sacrifices of food are sparse and infrequent. Generally speaking, the tendency is to offer condiments, candies, and sweetmeats (all of which are of no particular importance in Aymara diet) rather than such basic foodstuffs as vegetables, cereals, and meat. Bandelier mentions offerings of sugar, salt, and *ají* peppers among the Aymara of Bolivia, while La Barre lists candies, fruit, and bread for the same region.[8]

In Chucuito food sacrifices to supernaturals are exceptional, although occasionally cheap candies or molasses sugar are offered, both in benevolent magic and in sorcery. Informants disagreed as to whether the perfect vegetables that figure in the First Fruit rite were offerings to place spirits, or were sacred objects in their own right. Similar disagreement prevailed with respect to the fish offered to the Lake spirit. In any event, the perfect vegetables and fish, as well as the sacrificial animals, are eaten by the participants in the respective rites, and the supernaturals receive only the spiritual essences of these foods. In like manner, the *alma manq'a*, or food offered to the soul of a deceased person on the second anniversary of his death (see p. 218), is later consumed by his living relatives.

COMPOSITE OFFERINGS

The three all-purpose offerings, any one of which may be sacrificed to any supernatural and may be employed (the choice depending in the main upon the urgency of the situation) to obtain any objective, are, in order of simple to complex, the *aita*, the *p'awaqa*, and the *mesa*. Although the antiquity of the precise forms in which these offerings are made now is uncertain, there is reason to believe, as has been demonstrated, that the ingredients are aboriginal. Bertonio does not appear to list either *aita* or *mesa*, but in regard to the term *p'awaqa* he states:

Phahuacasitha: Derramar coca los hechizeros en honra de sus Idolos.[9]

[1] La Barre, 1948, 85.

[2] Rowe, 1946, 287, 309.

[3] Flowers are also associated with Uro-Chipaya ceremonial practice. Métraux, 1935, 20, 26.

[4] See Forbes, 1870, 233; Bandelier, 1910, 96; Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, Pl. 102. That this practice is ancient is indicated by the following statement in Bertonio's *Vocabulario:* "*Flor qualquiera que se pone en el sombrero, Huayta Pancara.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 1, 243.

[5] La Barre, 1948, 183.

[6] In a ritual context, food is sometimes designated *pačamanq'a*, which may be translated approximately as "sacred food." La Barre, 1948, 185–186.

[7] Rowe, 1946, 306–308.

[8] Bandelier, 1910, 95; La Barre, 1948, 183.

[9] Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 254.

The simplest of the three offerings, the *aita*, consists of three perfect leaves of coca, *k'intu*, placed green side up, one over the other.[1] Shavings of llama fat and particles of the crushed dry leaves and stems of wild mint are sprinkled on top. Upon occasion, bits of pulverized *q'oḷpa* (see p. 247) are added, but this ingredient (save in sorcery and counter-sorcery) appears to be exceptional. It should be noted in this context that three is the ceremonial number of the Aymara (see p. 253). Informants 45 and 66 agreed that an *aita* usually contained only three perfect coca leaves, but maintained that, on certain important occasions, 12 leaves might be included in each. The practice of offering coca leaves in groups of three is also a Bolivian Aymara pattern.[2]

The *aita*, as well as the individual coca leaves, are offered in three's, as well as in groups of six or 12. Such simple sacrifices may be made by laymen and do not necessarily require the services of a magician.[3] The numerous occasions on which *aita* are offered include foundation sacrifices in the construction of small houses, offerings at cairns, sacrifices to the perfect vegetables or fish (when the farmer or fisherman officiates without professional assistance), and offerings to certain boulders that are thought to promote human fertility.

In Aymara theory, the *p'awaqa* consists of *aita* laid out (on a ground cloth) in rows of 12 by 12, or 144 *aita* in all. In practice, the magician, either because of boredom or intoxication, usually stops somewhat short of this figure. It is in the offering of the *p'awaqa* that the individual *aita* are frequently composed of 12, rather than of three, perfect coca leaves.

Since the preparation of the *p'awaqa* is time-consuming, this offering tends to be confined to the magician, although in theory anyone who wishes to undertake it may make such a sacrifice. The *p'awaqa* may be, and frequently is, offered separately; it may also be sacrificed in conjunction with the *mesa*. Generally speaking, it is most widely used to cure those diseases sent by supernaturals. The *p'awaqa* may also be offered to place spirits, to guardians (to prevent theft), to cairns and shrines, to food (so that it will not be consumed rapidly), and to places struck by lightning.

The *mesa*, the most important and elaborate of the standard offerings, consists of a square or rectangular modeled lump of shaved llama fat adorned with other offerings.[4] Gold paper is stuck to the right side of the tallow block and silver to the left, or, less frequently, the top is covered with gold paper while the sides are lined with silver. Following this, the *mesa* is divided in halves by scratching a line down the center, and pairs of small lead figurines, *čiuči*, are arranged down the sides, opposite one another.

Each *paqo* has his own way of arranging them (45).

In actual practice, the figurines are so minute that it is almost impossible to distinguish any special order, save that the paired objects are placed on opposite sides. Finally, the miniature banners, *wip'ala* (three of gold paper and three of silver), are stuck around the edges of the *mesa*, often haphazardly. When the ceremonial is of crucial importance, the *mesa* are prepared and offered in pairs.

The preparation of a *mesa* is a special prerogative of magicians and sorcerers (45, 66, 109). Although on some occasions it is offered alone, by and large the *mesa* tends to be sacrificed in conjunction with the *p'awaqa*, and often llama foetuses are also included. By preference, the *paqo* works alone and in private, assisted only by his apprentice-helper. There appears to be no strong feeling regarding privacy in this context, however, and the client's family and friends may watch, provided they remain quiet. Usually such offerings are prepared at night, although when sacrificing at cairns or on salt-gathering expeditions, it is sometimes necessary to make them during the day. While the *mesa* may be offered for any

[1] In sorcery, the dull, under side of the leaves is placed uppermost. Bertonio defines *k'intu* (*Kintu*) as: "*Yeruas, o arboles muy verdes, o coca muy verde como esas.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 303.

[2] Bandelier, 1910, 97. La Barre is alone in stating that Aymara offer coca leaves in groups of five. La Barre, 1948, 222.

[3] The *aita* (*aitu*) is also a standard offering in Ilave, to the southeast of Chucuito. Kuczynski-Godard, 1944, 9–10.

[4] *mesa loqaña*, "to offer *mesa*." It seems not unlikely that the term *mesa* may be a corruption of the Spanish word *misa*, "Mass." The average measurements of three *mesa* seen in Chucuito were 4 by 2.5 by 1 inch.

purpose, benevolent or malevolent, its use by the magician tends to be restricted, for reasons of expense, to the coercion of powerful spirits, the appeasing of demons, the prevention of sorcery, and, as a last resort, the curing of serious and lingering ailments.[1] On rare occasions, a *mesa* is offered in order to prevent inter-village fights:

A *mesa* is a good thing; it makes the people calm down (66).

Ritual Acts and Procedures

Ceremonial Direction and Order

As among the Inca the only directions specifically recognized by the Aymara of Chucuito are east and west.[2] East, clearly the more important of the two, is designated *intixalso toqe*, "where the sun rises-side," while west is called *intixalanta toqe*, "where the sun sets-side." Assuming that one is facing east, north is designated *čeqa toqe*, "left side," while south becomes *kupi toqe*, "right side." Informant 2 stated that a fifth direction might be counted: *alax toqe* or "above-side," but in no observed instance was this direction recognized in ceremonial practice.

That east is the most important ceremonial direction is made quite clear in numerous contexts of Aymara culture. Houses are normally constructed with their doors facing east, a practice that has mythological precedent.[3] In blood sacrifices, the ritual animal is faced east so that the blood will spurt towards the rising sun. During rites the magician always sits facing east, and libations and incense are most frequently offered in that direction. Even Christian altars constructed on the sites of former Aymara shrines normally are oriented towards the east. When an offering to a spirit is dedicated, however, or when a demon is placated, the actual physiographical location of the spot on which the supernatural is thought to reside is a more important consideration than any cardinal direction.

Three is clearly the ceremonial number of the Aymara, as it may have been of the Inca.[4] To achieve its maximum efficiency, a rite should (in theory, at least) be performed three times. As stated above, coca leaves are customarily offered in groups or multiples of three (p. 252).

Apparently the Aymara do not connect direction with sex and there is little evidence of any conscious color-direction symbolism. There are some indications, however, that gold may be associated with the south and silver with the north:

When a *paqo* arranges the things on the carrying cloth [in a rite], silver is always for the north and gold for the south (2).

Informant 66, however, explained this "association" in other terms:

When a *paqo* is making a *mesa*, he always puts gold on his right because it is the best and silver on his left because it is next best.[5]

But since the magician always works facing east, this apparent association of color and direction may be in large part secondary and coincidental.

Any rigid order of procedure appears to be relatively unimportant in Aymara ceremonialism. Whereas in the dedicating of offerings (in benevolent magic) the right always takes precedence over the left, there seems to be no fixed ceremonial order on a larger scale. During the public fiestas that involve music and dancing, troups of performers proceed around the plaza in either direction, the choice depending principally, it would seem, upon the general traffic and the distribution of the crowd. Whether they move clockwise or counterclockwise, however, each troup usually stops to play and dance in each corner as well as in the center of each side of the square. Although the writer noted some tendency to bury offerings in the corners of house foundations for sacrifices in a counterclockwise direction, informants denied that such procedure was obligatory.

Prayers

In many respects the prayers of the modern Aymara echo Inca practices. As did the Inca, the Aymara pray both silently and aloud;

[1] In Chucuito in 1942, the offering of a *mesa* cost five *soles*, or approximately 75 cents.

[2] "The Inca recognized only two ceremonial directions, east and west, which were important because of the rising and setting sun." Rowe, 1946, 300.

[3] Tschopik, H., Jr., 1948, 113–114.

[4] Rowe, 1946, 300.

[5] Similarly, and for the same reason, wine is always placed to the magician's right and *č'uwa* to his left.

usually their prayers are composed spontaneously to fit the occasion.[1] Similarly, prayers are usually followed by an offering, and when the objective is sufficiently important, the assistance of a professional is sought—among the Aymara, the magician.

Aymara prayers, therefore, are not set formulas; the supplicant, magician or layman, chooses his own phrasing as he goes along. It follows that there is considerable individual variation, both in length and content. Most of the magician's prayers are hesitant and disjointed, interrupted by the requisite acts of the rite as well as by asides to the assistant or, occasionally, to the spectators. Sometimes his prayers also take the form of instructions to the participants.[2] Thus at the beginning of a house dedication rite, Informant 85 prayed:

May everything be well. May God, the Sun, receive us very well. Now let us all kneel and kiss the sacred earth.

In no sense can prayers be considered mere formulas, and there appears to be no notion that power is inherent in the utterances themselves. Instead, prayers are entreaties directed to supernaturals. Yet, although they are usually delivered in a high, whining, supplicating voice (which is culturally prescribed and not spontaneous), a feeling tone of deep emotion is usually absent. Although the magician is actually beseeching a supernatural being, he manages in most instances to convey the impression that he is uttering a spell. When a crisis has arisen, however, or at times of urgent need, prayers may assume a more emotional character and become impassioned. During the placating rite at *inca uyu* (p. 269), Informants 45 and 66 spoke with unusual intensity since they were both involved personally and were not merely acting professionally on behalf of clients.

Prayers tend to be diffuse, non-specific, and indirect. As in ordinary social intercourse, the core of the request is vague, understated, and is usually approached obliquely. The avowed purpose of an animal increase rite, for example, is to assure the fertility of the livestock and to cause the animals to multiply. At the beginning of such a ceremony, Informant 45 prayed:

Now spirits, well will I begin to prepare this *mesa* for the animals. Receive it so that no misfortune will occur. May all be well.

On terminating the rite, he concluded:

Spirits, now it is finished. Receive this *mesa* so that there will continue to be livestock.

The nearest direct approach to a request that the flocks be allowed to increase and multiply is contained in the following prayer of Informant 109:

Golden table, silver table, golden chair, silver chair. Corral spirit, do not will it that these, your animals, shall disappear. Accept this *mesa*.

Similarly, although counter-sorcery was one purpose of the propitiatory rite at *inca uyu*, this subject was not broached explicitly in prayer. Before dedicating the offerings, Informant 66 prayed:

May no sorrow or misfortune follow us, golden street, silver street, sacred earth, *inca uyu* spirit. Now may all the laborers be well. May no disease attack them. Do not send us any misfortune.[3]

On the termination of the ceremony, although good health and prosperity were repeatedly solicited in prayer on behalf of all participants (and, indeed, the whole village of Chucuito), sorcery was not once mentioned.

Prayers ordinarily begin and end every ceremony, although, if the magician so desires, they may be interjected at any point. During formal rites prayers are usually uttered while the magician kneels or squats, sitting on his heels, with his hands clasped together before his chest (Pl. 28a). The head is inclined forward and the eyes are frequently closed. At such times spectators and other participants remove their hats and maintain a ritual attitude.

Prayers are addressed only to supernaturals and never, according to informants, to animals, amulets, or to articles of ritual paraphernalia.

DEDICATION OF OFFERINGS

At the beginning of a rite, and again at the end, the magician summons the spirits by waving his coca bag or a brazier of burning incense in the air and calling out:

wipa wipa, salute, salute, such-and-such spirit (or spirits).

[1] Rowe, 1946, 301.

[2] Bandelier, 1910, 95.

[3] By laborers he refers to the workmen who excavated the ruins of *inca uyu*. See p. 269.

According to Aymara belief the various supernaturals assemble while the offerings are being prepared.

While all of the spirits thus summoned to a rite are believed to partake of the *mesa*, this offering is designed primarily for the supernatural being (the corral spirit, the cairn spirit, the place spirit, etc.) believed to be especially influential in a particular activity. The dedication of the *mesa*, therefore, is ordinarily embodied in the prayers that precede and follow the ceremony.

In the case of the *p'awaqa*, each *aita* is dedicated specifically to one of 144 different supernaturals. Even after the coca leaves have been laid out in 12 rows of 12 each, the dedication of so large a number of individual offerings requires nearly two hours. When the coca leaves have been arranged, bells are rung and sea shells scraped together to attract the attention of the supernaturals, and the rite of dedicating the *aita* begins. Beginning in the lower right-hand corner of the ground cloth, the apprentice-assistant picks up one stack of coca leaves at a time and hands it to the magician. Dipping the leaves first into a shell of wine and then into another containing *č'uwa*, the magician breathes on the *aita*, and holds it before his lips while he mumbles a dedicatory phrase. Then he flourishes it in the air in the direction of the abode of a particular spirit and returns it to its proper place on the ground cloth. While the magician proceeds with the dedication of the next *aita*, his assistant sprinkles the last stack of leaves with shaved *ļamp'u* and *q'oa*. The pace of the dedicatory rite is leisurely; the magician drones on in a quiet, subdued voice. When two magicians collaborate in such a ceremony, each in turn dedicates three successive *aita* and then sits back while his colleague takes over.

There appears to be no special order of dedication except that important spirits receive their offerings before lesser ones. It seems clear that considerable concentration on the magician's part is required even to remember obscure or remote spirits and on such occasions duplications of spirit names are not uncommon.

During the *inca uyu* ceremony (p. 269) minor individual variations were noted in the performances of the two magicians, 45 and 66. The former breathed carefully on each *aita*, intoning the dedicatory phrases in a low falsetto whine, cocking his head from side to side, and glancing about the room as though it were crowded with spirits. When naming a particular supernatural, he gazed in the direction of the mountain or river in which this being is thought to reside. He then returned the *aita* to the ground cloth with a flourish. As time went on his manner became more hesitant and he stopped frequently to think, half reclining with his eyes closed or his hand held over his face. Informant 66 silently whispered the words of dedication, occasionally only moving his lips. Throughout his performance he gazed absently into space, glancing neither to the right nor to the left, almost as though he were in a trance. After dedicating an *aita*, he waved it upward with a slight, sweeping motion, blew at it in a casual manner, and returned it to the ground cloth without further ado. He lapsed into periods of complete silence while trying to recall the name of another spirit and was occasionally prompted by the other magician.

It was observed that during the offering of the *aita* the dedicatory phrases became progressively shorter, and as the end of the rite approached they were condensed to a minimum. Thus, early in the evening the supernaturals were addressed as follows:

> Now for the spirit of the mountain at La Punta, for San Carlos *waina potosi*, I give this (*aita*) or, *ay tata hisk'a kutimpu, tata hač'a kutimpu*, somehow, in some way, you will watch over me.[1]

Towards the end of the rite the dedicatory phrases were reduced to "Señor *q'ani kausiluni*," or "Golden cairn, *pičurata waina t'axkina*."[2]

Libations, *t'inka*, are intended primarily for the east (or sun), the "sacred earth" (*pačamama* or the Virgin), or for place spirits. They are also, however, offered to sacrificial animals, perfect vegetables and fish, and in a number of other ritual contexts. In short, libations in some form accompany virtually all ritual, and some secular, acts. The liquids offered include chicha, alcohol, wine, sweetened water, and blood. They are commonly poured from sea shells,

[1] The mountain referred to in the first phrase is the famous Bolivian peak; that in the second phrase is a saddle-like hill with two crests (designated, respectively, "small" and "large" *kutimpu*) situated to the southwest of Chucuito.

[2] The first is a mountain and the second a cairn, both situated to the southwest of Chucuito in the high Estancia country.

silver bowls, gourds, wooden keros, or earthenware containers. In some instances the liquid is dispensed with a flower employed as an aspergillum.

The simplest forms of libations occur during social drinking or when an animal is slaughtered for food. In the former case, the host or the first individual to take a drink pours a glassful of liquor onto the ground and usually accompanies this act with the set phrase, *č'alt'asiñani*, or, (approximately), "I pour it out."[1] Under these circumstances, the person who butchers an animal spatters a few drops of blood on the ground and prays to the owner of the livestock to send him more animals (see p. 199).

In formal rites libations are characteristically offered in pairs and repeated in groups of three. The first pair of a series is always thrown towards the east. On such occasions the libation vessels, held in either hand by the magician, are filled by the apprentice-assistant. Ordinarily both vessels contain the same liquor, or the right hand one is filled with red wine while the other contains *č'uwa*. At times, before pouring out the liquids, the two containers (usually sea shells) are crossed over one another as the magician faces east. After the libation has been poured, the *paqo* intones the dedication while scraping the vessels together to attract the supernaturals' attention. More commonly, the vessels are simply emptied simultaneously, while the magician murmurs a dedicatory phrase to a particular spirit. The customary wording is:

Here is your drink (*č'inka*), sacred earth (66).

Libations may be offered from a sitting, standing, or kneeling position. In the most elaborate form, employed in the *čoqela* rite, the magician kneels first on his left knee, advances a step, kneels on his right knee, advances a step, and kneels again on his left knee; in this position he breathes on the libations and throws the liquid to the east.

Incense is offered in much the same way as libations, although usually only at the beginning and end of a rite. Characteristically, it is offered first to the east, then to the right and to the left. Usually the magician kneels while holding the brazier and a prayer or dedicatory phrase accompanies the act. Thus while offering incense at the begining of a house dedication rite, Informant 85 prayed:

May all of the mighty and powerful spirits of the mountains receive us well—this place spirit, San Sebastian-on-the-edge-of-the-road, *iļimani* spirit, *asogini* spirit, *autuxa* spirit, *atoxa* spirit—Mother and Father—and all of the places.[2]

COCA CHEWING

Coca chewing is a ritual act on all ceremonial occasions and, in addition, serves to solemnize events of an essentially social nature.[3] It is a necessary adjunct to the initiation of any formal or semi-formal relationship, be it the seeking of a godparent or the negotiations for a wife. Other important occasions demand it: the assumption of the office of *hilaqata*, or ayllu head man, the sponsorship of a religious fiesta, or the inauguration of an *irpa*, or dance group leader. In addition coca chewing serves to seal a bargain or to solemnize an agreement. Coca is deemed a suitable gift on all occasions, and grown children are expected to make their aged parents frequent gifts of it. Indeed the chewing of coca in the bosom of the family is somehow felt to strengthen the bond between parent and child. Coca chewing, in short, is the core of all Aymara ceremonialism, sacred and secular.

Coca is always chewed with reverence, and the quid, *hanč'u*, is never spit out, but is always removed from the mouth with the fingers and then thrown away.[4] On everyday occasions, however, and even during weddings, funerals, and fiestas, little formal ritual is associated with coca chewing. The host simply passes the coca and lime, contained either in a woven pouch or in a carrying cloth, to the various guests who then take a handful of leaves. Under these circumstances, there is no fixed order, although the tendency is for men to be served before women and old people before youngsters. Friends may exchange coca bags, but ordinarily without ceremony.

During a formal ceremony, the magician, as well as all those present, men and women, is

[1] La Barre, 1948, 172; Bandelier, 1910, 99.

[2] The first-mentioned spirit is the place spirit of the site on which the house was constructed; the others are mountain spirits.

[3] In all instances, "sacred" and "secular" coca is chewed with lime, *luxt'a*.

[4] Spitting is a sign of contempt. La Barre, 1948, 164.

obliged to chew coca at stated intervals. Even young children are given a leaf or two, although toddlers and infants receive none on the grounds that "they don't know what is happening" (66). In a representative rite, coca was chewed at the following intervals:

Before preparing offerings
While shaping the llama tallow for the *mesa*
While applying gold leaf to the *mesa*
When the *mesa* is completed
Before preparing the *aita* of coca
When half finished with the *aita*
When the *aita* are completed
Before dedicating the first *aita*
When half of the *aita* have been dedicated
When all of the *aita* have been dedicated
When the offerings have been wrapped
Before burning the offerings

If more than one magician officiates at a ceremony, each has his own supply of coca placed beside him in a carrying cloth, *inkuña*. Each is, in addition, supplied with a woven coca bag, *č'uspa*, which either rests on the ground before him or is kept tucked under his belt. Before taking a chew of coca the magician waves his coca bag over the ritual paraphernalia and then kisses it. Each chew represents roughly a scant handful of leaves or approximately 2 ounces. When the quid is removed from the mouth during a rite, it is deposited carefully on a cloth in a corner of the room until the ceremony has been completed.

> You have to save the quids that you chew when you are making a *mesa*. They must be buried in the shade, not just thrown away like the coca you chew every day (45).

When two magicians collaborate in a rite they must exchange coca bags in a ceremonial fashion on three occasions: before preparing the offerings, when they are half completed, and again before burning or otherwise disposing of the sacrifice. The two coca bags are passed simultaneously with the right hand. Each holds his own pouch between the thumb and index finger and receives his colleague's coca bag between his middle and fourth finger. After taking a few leaves, each magician kisses the pouch and returns it to its owner in the same manner. Then the two magicians beg one another's forgiveness (see p. 258) and each in turn takes the two coca bags, crosses them over his chest, and then holds one on either side of his colleague's head while murmuring, "May all be well."

DRINKING AND EATING

Virtually all that is said above of coca applies equally well to alcoholic beverages; the act of drinking on all occasions has overtones of sacred behavior.[1] Even water is at times drunk "in a ritual mood." Similarly, since food is scarce and an ever-present concern of the underfed Aymara, it is regarded with reverence and, at times, eating clearly constitutes a ritual act.

Like coca chewing, drinking is obligatory in all ceremonial situations and on all social occasions of any consequence. Indeed, in a sense drinking and coca chewing can be regarded as inseparable acts, since it was observed that in formal rites one invariably accompanied the other. Thus in the representative ceremony described above, the intervals at which coca was chewed also marked the occasions for drinking cane alcohol.

As mentioned above, even social drinking is accompanied by libations.[2] At the present time, however, the ritual of drinking is not elaborate. During a fiesta or a secular rite, such as a wedding or a baptism, alcohol is dispensed by the host or by someone designated by him. The liquor is poured from a bottle into a shot-glass and served in turn to each guest, who says "*salud*," "your health," drains the glass, and empties the dregs on the ground. As in dispensing coca, there is no fixed order, although there is a tendency to give precedence to men and old people. In formal rites alcohol may be dispensed either by the magician or his assistant, but more commonly by the latter. As with coca, all present, even young children, must imbibe if the ceremony is to be effective.

Although ritual eating is not a feature of all ceremonies, *chicharrones*, or pork cracklings, which are supposed to represent the flesh of the "sacrificed" vicuña, are served during the *čoqela* rite, and must be consumed by all present.[3] During house dedication rites and at

[1] For a reference to ceremonial drinking among the sixteenth century Aymara, see Métraux, 1935, 25, footnote.

[2] This was also an Inca practice. Rowe, 1946, 301.

[3] Bertonio almost certainly refers to ritual eating when he writes: *Polochatha: "Comer el combidado especialmente en algun sacrificio de idolos."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 273.

funerals, all participants must partake of the sacrificial animal, and the entire carcass must be consumed on the day of the ceremony.

Ritual drinking and eating occur frequently in other less formalized contexts. In recent Bolivian uprisings Aymara killed and then ate portions of Whites and Mestizos, both in vengeance and to acquire the valor of their victims.[1] A child is protected against a corpse by eating dried human flesh (see p. 215). One may nullify the power of a sorcerer by drinking his blood.[2] The repetition of an injury caused by a falling boulder may be prevented by swallowing a bit of the powdered stone. When one has almost drowned in a river, he drinks some of the water to prevent the recurrence of such an accident.[3] A man gains the power and strength of a puma or human enemy by drinking his blood or even by eating a portion of his flesh.[4] Paredes writes that condor flesh is eaten to give long life, while the blood of an ox is drunk for vigor and strength.[5] Other examples could be cited. From these instances, however, it seems possible to postulate a configuration of Aymara belief that might be termed "power through incorporation."[6]

BEGGING FORGIVENESS

As noted above, it is an Aymara conviction that ill-feeling, expressed or covert, is highly undesirable and is particularly dangerous in important or crucial situations. Ill-feeling is believed to be potentially threatening to the success of such occasions as weddings, baptisms, and the like, and is believed to destroy the very efficacy of a ceremonial.

On formal ceremonial occasions, therefore, all present, including the magician and his assistant, beg one another's forgiveness at three separate stages in the proceedings: prior to the rite, when it is half finished, and again after it has been completed.[7] The various participants kneel in pairs and embrace one another, whining simultaneously in falsetto, "Forgive me, *tata* (or *mama*)." This procedure is explained as follows:

> They do this so that they will all be friendly for the ceremony (2). If they didn't do this they might be angry at one another. Then it (the ceremony) would not be any good (39).

At the present time this practice is called *perdón mayisiña*, "to beg or seek forgiveness."[8] That this act may be ancient is, perhaps, indicated by the following entry in Bertonio's sixteenth century *Vocabulario: Pampachasitha: Alcanar perdon de sus culpas.*[9] La Barre apparently feels that this ritual act is somehow related to the Inca pattern of confession, and he is possibly quite correct.[10]

The begging of forgiveness occurs in contexts other than formal ceremonials. A prospective bride and groom beg forgiveness of the bride's parents; children beg forgiveness of their parents after a family row; individuals related by bonds of ceremonial kinship beg one another's forgiveness on all important occasions. Numerous other examples could be cited.

KISSING

The question of whether or not kissing as a ritual act is an ancient Aymara pattern cannot be answered with certainty. It seems not unlikely, however, if one may judge from the following entry in Bertonio: *hamppattitha: "Adorar, reuenciar, rogar, y besar."*[11]

[1] Saavedra, 1903, 171–209. Aymara "revenge cannibalism" has also been described in La Barre, 1948, 162–163.

[2] Cf. La Barre, 1948, 217.

[3] It was Inca practice to take a drink of water before crossing a river in order to assure a safe crossing. Rowe, 1946, 301.

[4] Cf. Forbes, 1870, 70.

La Barre states that ". . . an Indian who gets a nosebleed in a fight will collect the blood in his own hand and drink it, lest he lose years of his life; and enemies' blood is sometimes drunk out of hatred and to incorporate their strength." La Barre, 1948, 46.

[5] Paredes, 1936, 78.

[6] This configuration, as well as such traits of Aymara adult personality as the eternal complaint of helplessness, the pessimistic view of life, and others, appears to correspond to the "oral-neurotic" personality of some Western Europeans as described by the psychoanalysts.

[7] The practice of begging forgiveness on ritual occasions has been reported for the Bolivian Aymara. Bandelier, 1910, 94.

[8] From the Spanish, *perdón*, "pardon," "forgiveness."

[9] Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 247.

[10] La Barre, 1947, 302, Footnote 16. For a discussion of confession among the Inca, see Rowe, 1946, 304–305.

[11] Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 116. Elsewhere (vol. 1,

At the present time in Chucuito the earth is kissed in rites designed to propitiate place spirits, a practice also reported for the Bolivian Aymara and for the neighboring Uro-Chipaya.[1] In formal rites magicians frequently kiss their coca bags, especially when they are exchanged ceremonially. The practice of kissing altar cloths and the garments of religious images in church was also noted; there is little doubt that this practice is of Catholic origin. Kissing the hand of a White or Mestizo persists among the contemporary Aymara as a gesture of respect.

PURIFICATION

Although the concept of purification was well developed in Inca ceremonialism, it is relatively unimportant in the ritual practice of the contemporary Aymara.[2] The Inca method of purification by washing in running water does, however, survive in certain limited contexts. Thus the mourners, *hač'ira*, after a funeral wash their hands and rinse out their mouths with the water from a stream to rid themselves of sadness and contact with the deceased, as well as to clean away the dust of the grave. They likewise shake out and reverse their outer clothing, a practice also reported for the Inca.[3]

In some formal rites washing constitutes a ritual act. A magician regularly washes his hands before preparing an offering, as well as after a blood sacrifice; in the latter instance there is the added notion that all of the blood should remain "for the place" (85). Washing is also employed in the curing of some diseases, especially those stemming from sorcery; at times the patient is bathed in water or, if obtainable, the sorcerer's urine, which is then poured out at the latter's door both to effect a cure and to cause the evil to boomerang.[4]

A less common technique of purification is by means of smoke. After a funeral the close relatives of the deceased purify themselves and their clothing in the smoke of burning *ají* peppers; the house in which a death has occurred is fumigated with the smoke of smouldering herbs.

FASTING

It is clear that the sixteenth century Aymara fasted in certain limited situations. Thus Bertonio lists the following entry:

Sasitha: Hazer abstinencia al modo antiguo, comiendo carne, y qualiquiera otra cosa, sin sal ni axi, enla muerte de sus parientes.[5]

Fasting was also an Inca practice, regarding which Rowe states:

> The lightest fast consisted in abstaining from salt and chili pepper; a more serious form prohibited taking meat and chicha, and indulging in sex relations. In another fast, only cooked maize, herbs, and cloudy chicha were consumed.[6]

At the present time, although post-parturient women are forbidden salt and *ají* peppers during their period of confinement, fasting appears to be entirely absent in Aymara ceremonial practice. It should also be noted that few Aymara in Chucuito follow the Catholic custom of abstaining from meat during Holy Week.[7]

MUSIC AND DANCING

Music and dancing accompany nearly all of the public church fiestas in Chucuito save All Saints and All Souls. These fiestas, however, as stated earlier, are primarily social and secular. Of the important Aymara ceremonials that have "religious" significance, only three are now associated with music and dancing: the *čoqela* ceremony, the rain making rite, and the First Fruit ceremony. It seems certain, however, that in ancient Aymara ceremonialism singing was associated with ritual and worship. Bertonio defines *Haccutha*, *Sumaatha* as:

Cantas alabancas, o hymnos a los santos como hazian antiquumente a los idolos.[8]

By far the most elaborate contemporary

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91) he discusses kissing in several contexts, including kissing as a salutation, as an expression of thanks, as a token of love and affection, etc. Kissing one's own finger tips as a gesture of reverence is also mentioned for the Inca. Rowe, 1946, 301.

[1] Bandelier, 1910, 94; Métraux, 1935, 24.

[2] See Rowe, 1946, 304–305. The extent to which this concept figured in ancient Aymara ceremonialism is not known. Bertonio merely lists the word for purification, *Llumpacachasiña*, without further explanation. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 208.

[3] Rowe states that the Inca shook out their clothing to get rid of evil. Rowe, 1946, 310.

[4] La Barre, 1948, 221.

[5] Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 311.

[6] Rowe, 1946, 301.

[7] La Barre, 1948, 60.

[8] Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 105.

ceremony is the *čoqela*, which is performed on the third of May and which has a special orchestra of men playing end flutes and drums, as well as a chorus of women who sing and perform a posture dance (Pl. 31a). Both the type of flute and the music are associated exclusively with this ceremonial, and the song, called the *haima*, is sung only on this occasion, and in theory must be rendered letter perfect to assure the prosperity of the community during the subsequent year.

The rain making rite, performed irregularly and only in periods of severe drought, likewise has its special orchestra of musicians supplied with side-blown flutes and a drum, and its own music, the Frog Song.[1] The musicians accompany the magician in balsas out onto Lake Titicaca where he makes offerings and collects the frogs. They continue to play while the participants and spectators climb the mountain road to the shrine of Father Atoja (see p. 196). While the frogs are being deposited in the eyes of the shrine, all present sing the Frog Song and pray for rain (see p. 277).

The First Fruit rite, held at harvest time, requires an orchestra of men with panpipes and drums, but has no special music and no song.[2] Since the occasion is a happy one, cheerful tunes, especially the *waiñu* and the *marinera*, are usually played. The guests and family of the man for whom the rite is held dance around the house and in the fields with the perfect vegetables slung in carrying cloths on their backs.

CHRISTIAN-DERIVED ACTS

Surprisingly few ritual acts that derive from Catholicism have been incorporated systematically into the body of Aymara ceremonial practice. Magicians occasionally cross themselves during rites, and in the *čoqela* ceremonial, powdered incense is sprinkled on the ground cloth in the form of a cross. In one rite Informant 66 held a rosary during the recitation of a prayer; ordinarily, however, rosaries are merely placed on the ground cloth with other items of ritual paraphernalia.

At the termination of the *inca uyu* rite (p. 274), Informant 45 placed his hand, while holding the carrying cloth of offerings, on the forehead of each participant in turn in obvious imitation of the familiar Catholic blessing. Although the Aymara kneel on either both knees or only one knee, the former posture tends to be more frequent in Catholic rites, while the latter is confined almost exclusively to ceremonies of native origin.[3] Finally, certain individuals in Chucuito, especially the *mayor-domos* of the two churches, who are familiar with fragments of Catholic ritual, are called upon frequently to make responses in Latin at funerals or during the fiestas of All Saints and All Souls. Informant 66, however, was the only magician of Chucuito who knew any such responses.

DISPOSING OF OFFERINGS

The Inca disposed of their ritual offerings by burning or burying them, or by throwing them into running water.[4] All three techniques survive among the present-day Aymara, and not infrequently two or more of these methods are followed in different combinations.

In Chucuito, at the present time, offerings are most commonly burned, and a number of variations were noted.[5] Generally speaking, offerings are burned in a ring, a rectangle, or a crater of dry manure, or in a shallow pit filled with dried dung (Pl. 29b). On all occasions the manner in which the offering burns is noted and interpreted for divinatory purposes. If the *mesa* does not burn well, the efficacy of the rite is destroyed and presages misfortune or death. In some animal increase ceremonies, offerings are burned in a small, dome-shaped stone and adobe oven, *karpa*, specially constructed for the rite and later demolished.

In nearly all instances the ashes are dumped immediately into a stream or river, although in the *Compadre* rite (see p. 280) they are buried in the patio of the house where the ceremony

[1] Singing figured in rain making magic among the seventeenth century Aymara. Bertonio states: *Huaccalitha: "Dar bozes los del Pueblo como en procession, para que llueua, y diziendo, Huaccali huaccali, es rito Gētilico."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 141.

[2] Bandelier describes a Bolivian Aymara harvest rite accompanied by the music of a flute and drum. Bandelier, 1910, 96.

[3] Both kneeling postures were current among the sixteenth century Aymara. Bertonio states: *Quillpittatha: "Hincar vna sola rodilla; Purapa: Hincar ambas rodillas."* Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 297.

[4] Rowe, 1946, 305–312.

[5] Offerings are also burned by the Bolivian Aymara. See Bandelier, 1910, 96, 98.

takes place.[1] On the next occasion when the rite is performed, the ashes are disinterred and thrown into running water. The spot where the offerings have been burned is nearly always marked by a flat rock, since all future offerings must be burned in precisely the same place.[2] In the fisherman's rite (see p. 280), the offerings are burned in an old balsa that is then set adrift on Lake Titicaca.

Prayers and libations usually accompany the burning of offerings, and incense, coca, and flowers may be scattered over the blazing manure. There is a strong feeling that no one save the magician and his assistant should witness the burning of offerings, and when ceremonials are conducted at night, even these flee the spot for fear that they may see the supernaturals eating the sacrifices, and die (66).[3] As Informant 45 stated:

> These [the offerings] are presents for the spirits, and they should be burned in private and in quiet. The place doesn't like it when there are a lot of people. It is dangerous.

The second most usual method of disposing of sacrifices is to bury them. Offerings made to place spirits or demons for purposes of black magic are usually buried on the victim's property or at the abode of the evil supernatural. For rites held when a new house is being constructed, the offerings are commonly buried in the corners of the foundation trenches.[4] After the sacrifice of a llama during a house dedication ceremony, some of the blood is buried in the four corners of the room.

On a few occasions, offerings are neither burned nor buried, but simply abandoned. Thus chullpa sickness is sometimes treated merely by placing offerings inside these ruined structures and leaving them there. In this connection, several other instances of disposal by abandonment, associated more specifically with funeral practices and curing, may here be enumerated profitably. When a house where a death has occurred is cleaned, the rubbish is carried to some remote and uninhabited spot and abandoned with offerings. Disease is often transferred magically from the patient to a guinea pig for purposes of diagnosis and curing. Again, disease may be transferred from a patient to his clothing, money, or other valuables, which are then left at some distant cross-roads to be carried off by anyone who desires them and is willing to incur the risk. Frazier describes how, during an epidemic, the clothing of plague-stricken people was sprinkled with brandy, loaded on a llama, and the animal then turned loose in the mountains to carry away the disease.[5] It would seem not inappropriate to label this particular pattern assemblage of Aymara beliefs and practices, all designed to dispose of unwanted states or objects, the "scapegoat configuration."

CEREMONIES OF THE MAGICIAN

With reference to their avowed objectives, one might, following Evans-Pritchard, classify the various ceremonies performed by the magician under the following headings: (1) protective rites; (2) productive rites; and (3) punitive rites.[6] It is noted below that protective rites far outnumber those of the other two categories, and that only two rites are, either explicitly or implicitly, of a punitive nature. In addition, though most ceremonies have highly specific objectives (which are, of course, clearly recognized by the Aymara themselves), others are of a general protective nature and are so listed below. While it is convenient, for descriptive purposes, to classify Aymara magical rites under the above-mentioned headings, it should be made clear that these categories are not always discrete and wholly independent of one another. Thus in the animal increase rite, for example, though the productive aspect is stressed, a protective element is also present, since it is Aymara belief that this ceremony also assures the welfare of existing flocks and herds. Again, while at times the primary objective of counter-sorcery is to protect the victim by means of the propitiation of spirits, at other times its principal aim is to make the evil backfire upon the responsible person. With these factors taken into account, the avowed objectives of Aymara magical rites can be classified as follows:

[1] Bandelier describes an agricultural rite of the Bolivian Aymara in which the ashes of the burned offering are buried. Bandelier, 1910, 96.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 98.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 98.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 95.

[5] Frazer, 1930, 565.

[6] Evans-Pritchard, 1937, 438.

Protective rites:
- To prevent disease
- To cure disease
- To prevent livestock from becoming sick
- To prevent deaths
- To purify a house where a death has occurred
- To prevent sorcery
- To combat sorcery
- To assure safe travel
- To dedicate a house (i.e., to propitiate the place spirit)
- To prevent loss or theft
- To prevent livestock or house from being struck by lightning
- To prevent hail, frost, or floods
- To assure the success of a marriage
- To prevent fights or ill-feeling

Productive rites:
- To assure a good harvest (First Fruit rite)
- To increase the flocks and herds
- To assure luck in fishing
- To promote human fertility
- To assure the supply of such natural resources as salt, *q'oa*, etc. (by propitiating owners)
- To create wealth
- To bring rain
- To recover lost property

Punitive rites:
- Counter-sorcery
- To identify a thief

General:
- To assure the general welfare of an individual or family[1]
- To assure the general welfare of the entire community (*ẗoqela* rite)
- To prevent misfortune (in any form)

As stated in the introduction to this section, most Aymara ceremonies are extremely stereotyped. Whatever their objectives, they are composed of a relatively limited number of acts and procedures and involve a circumscribed range of ritual equipment as well as only few types of offerings. The paraphernalia, the offerings, and the component acts and procedures have been analyzed and itemized above; there remains the description of some representative ceremonies in their totality as observed in the field or reported by informants. The rigid and formal nature of Aymara ceremonialism makes it possible to summarize these in abbreviated form through the medium of a few representative examples.[2]

[1] In addition to promoting general health, wealth, and prosperity, the *Compadre* (and *Comadre*) rite has as its objective the reaffirming of relationships based on ceremonial kinship, an objective explicitly recognized by the Aymara themselves.

Séance, *uiwiri puriyaña*, "To Make the Guardian Arrive"

In essence, the séance is unquestionably an ancient Andean pattern. Rowe writes that the Inca believed in the necessity of consulting supernatural beings before taking any important action:

> The sorcerers (*omo*) claimed to speak directly with the spirits. . . . They were usually consulted to find lost or stolen articles or to learn what was happening at a distance. They talked to the spirits in the dark, and theirs and the spirits' voices could be heard but not understood.[3]

At the present time the séance is widespread in the southern Andes, and plays an important part not only in the cultures of the contemporary Aymara and Quechua, but also in the life of some Mestizo communities, such as Moche on the north coast.[4]

In present-day Chucuito the séance is deemed the most satisfactory and reliable technique of divination and is regarded as a court of last resort when all other methods of revealing the unknown have failed. It is employed in seeking answers to a wide variety of questions, including whether a particular illness results from sorcery or the anger of a supernatural, to discover the reason for the failure of an enterprise or the cause of the death of one's llamas, or to ascertain the whereabouts of lost or stolen property. The supernaturals are also consulted directly in this manner on questions of marital fidelity, the proper choice of a spouse for one's child, the probable outcome of a trading venture, the proper way in which to resolve a family row, and a variety of others.

Although the séance is the stock-in-trade of the magician, the *laiqa* also relies on this tech-

[2] The complex *ẗoqela* ceremonial, which in many ways is exceptional and warrants detailed treatment, will be described in full in a later report.

[3] Rowe, 1946, 302.

[4] For an account of the Bolivian Aymara séance, see Paredes, 1936, 6–11. Among the modern Quechua the séance is used chiefly in connection with curing. Mishkin, 1946, 469–470. While numerous details differ, the general structure of the séance in Moche is strikingly similar to that of Chucuito. Gillin, 1947, 119–123.

nique to communicate with owls, night hawks, demons, phantoms, and the like, and to solicit their aid in the perpetration of evil.[1] Generally speaking, the séance is held as a separate and distinct ceremonial; whenever the situation so demands, however, it may be combined with the offering of a *mesa* or *p'awaqa*, or may be incorporated into any other rite. Thus in an animal increase ceremony, for example, it may be desirable to consult supernaturals on the matter of the welfare of the livestock, or on the occasion of a *Compadre* rite the participants may wish to inquire after the health of absent relatives.

It is unfortunate that on the only occasion when the writer had an opportunity to witness a séance (if one may be said to witness a rite in a darkened room at night) no interpreter was present. The ceremony was brief and lasted about 20 minutes. This séance was conducted by Informant 45 and his apprentice-assistant and was attended by an Indian couple from Chinchera who had lost a sheep. The observed procedures, however, corroborated in every way the interview data obtained from informants. The following description of the Chucuito séance, then, is based primarily on accounts by Informants 2, 28, 45, 64, 66, and 87.

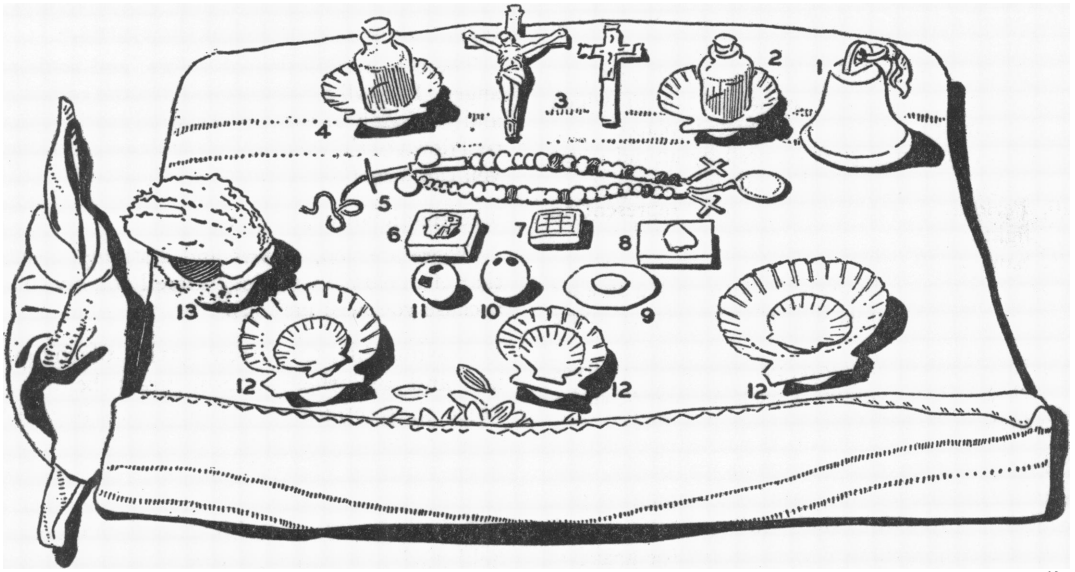

FIG. 8. Ceremonial layout arranged for the séance. 1. Small brass bell. 2. Scallop shell, with a small bottle of red wine placed inside it. 3. Two small bone crucifixes. 4. Scallop shell, with a small bottle of red wine placed inside it. 5. Old rosary with two crucifixes and three religious medals. 6. Small square stone *mesa* on top of which iron pyrites, representing gold, is placed. 7. Small stone *mesa* to serve as a spirit seat. 8. Small square stone *mesa* on top of which galena ore, representing silver, is placed. 9. Piece of mirror glass covered by an old silver coin, representing Lake Titicaca. 10. Perforated round brass ball, representing lightning. 11. Perforated round brass ball, representing lightning. 12. Three large scallop shells, each with a smaller one placed inside; these also serve as spirit seats. 13. Bivalve shell, *kuti ʃoxe*, placed with the halves closed; this contains a seed, *saxsa kuti*, and a snail shell, *kuti č'uru* (see pp. 241, 244).

Under ordinary circumstances, a séance is held in the house of the client and always after dark. Upon arriving at the house, the magician and his assistant spread out a ground cloth facing east and then proceed to arrange the coca and alcohol and the contents of the ceremonial bundle. If there are to be offerings, llama fat, *q'oa*, and incense will also have been brought along, or supplied by the client. All participants beg one another's forgiveness and then drink and chew coca.

The contents of a séance bundle owned by Informant 45 contained the following items,

[1] Among the Bolivian Aymara sorcerers consult the devil, while practitioners of benevolent magic converse with Santiago. Paredes, 1936, 7–9.

which were arranged on the ground cloth as shown in Fig. 8:

1. Small brass bell
2. Scallop shell, with a small bottle of red wine placed inside it
3. Two small bone crucifixes
4. Same as 2
5. Old rosary with two crucifixes and three religious medals
6. Small square stone *mesa* on top of which iron pyrites, representing gold, is placed
7. Small stone *mesa* to serve as a spirit seat
8. Small square stone *mesa* on top of which galena ore, representing silver, is placed
9. Piece of mirror glass covered by an old silver coin, representing Lake Titicaca
10. Perforated round brass ball, representing lightning
11. Same as 10
12. Three large scallop shells, each with a smaller one placed inside. These also serve as spirit seats
13. Bivalve shell, *kuti ʃoxe*, placed with the halves closed. This contains a seed, *saxsa kuti*, and a snail shell, *kuti č'uru* (see pp. 241, 244)

Shortly before the séance is to begin, the magician makes a brief, informal speech to the audience, requesting their full attention and impressing upon them the necessity for gravity and sobriety. There must be no joking, no profanity, and above all, no quarreling, for dissension destroys the efficacy of the ceremony and angers the supernaturals. Everyone at the séance has been advised previously to bring a knife in order to ward off possible attacks by demons who either have been summoned or have slipped in unbidden. The spectators are further warned to keep their eyes tightly shut, or to cover their heads with their ponchos or shawls, for if they glimpsed the spirits, they might become blinded. At times the proximity of the supernaturals causes some of the spectators to suffer severe headaches, and the magician always keeps certain remedies and amulets handy for such emergencies (see p. 244). After the instructions from the magician, all present again chew coca and drink.

The magician then announces that the séance is about to begin and instructs all present to place *nairanča*, or coins that enable the *paqo* "to see and think more clearly," on top of the stone *mesa*. The client contributes a 50-*centavo* piece and the other spectators from 10 to 20 *centavos* each. When this has been done, the magician rings the bell, beckons in the air with his coca bag, calls out excitedly, "Keep back, the spirits are coming!" and then extinguishes the oil lamp or candle. Trembling with excitement and fear, all sit back against the wall so as to leave the ground cloth free.

In the ensuing darkness, a noise is heard from the rafters and then something falls, "*pun*," on the *mesa*. This is, of course, interpreted as the arrival of the spirits.

There is a confusion of voices, and some sound angry. They all talk at once. Then the rafters shake and you can hear them [the spirits] coming from the roof down to the *inkuña*. You can't see anything, but you can hear them (2).

The magician calls out:

Where are you, *uiwiri?* and a strange voice, like that of an old man, replies, "Here I am, my children, because you need me" (2).

Following this, the interrogation of the guardian and of other supernaturals begins. The voice that replies to the questions is generally referred to as *ap'aʃani*, "the voice that comes from nothing," or *č'amakani*, "in darkness" (28, 45, 105).[1]

Informant 28 related in detail a conversation held during a séance in which he was seeking to discover who had stolen some cattle from his house.

First we called the *uiwiri*, but it just said that the cattle were to the south. I was trying to find out who had robbed my house and I suspected a man named Pedro *wilka*.[2] Then the magician called the place spirit [of my house], and it said: "Let us see what the soul of Pedro will say; let us question him." The spirit said to wait a minute, and then it went in search of Pedro's soul and brought it back to the house.[3] He made the soul arrive all tired and angry, and it complained, "Why do you want me? What do I owe these people? Why do you molest me?" The soul was very angry. Then the *ap'aʃani* asked the soul: "Why did you rob Pablo *aski?*" The soul of the thief only said: "I did it, all right. Now what are you going to do?" I asked the spirit to tie up the soul and

[1] As stated earlier, Informant 66 identifies the *ap'aʃani* as a particular all-powerful supernatural, synonymous with God. This belief was not shared by other informants.

[2] In order that he may remain anonymous, the name of the thief has been altered.

[3] During the sorcerer's séance, an owl or a night hawk is sent to spirit away the soul of the intended victim (87).

whip it, and the spirit did this. You could hear the soul howling and crying while he was beaten. Then the *paqo* asked the place spirit: "Why did you permit this thief to steal Pablo's cattle?" And the place spirit answered: "If I gave the cattle to Pedro, it is because this man gives me nothing. He walks over me, eats, drinks, and dances in the fiesta, and gives me nothing. He does not remember me. This is why I gave them to Pedro." Then the *paqo* said to me: "Why do you forget the place spirit? Why don't you make him an offering? Otherwise you will lose everything." I said: "It is my fault. Forgive me." Then when it [the séance] was over, the *paqo* prepared a *mesa* for the place spirit.

During the séance, guardians, place spirits, souls, and other supernaturals are summoned singly or in groups. Ordinarily they are called in the order of their increasing power and importance, beginning with the guardian. They converse with the magician, the client, the spectators, and with each other. Queries are directed to the spirits by the magician, the client, or, in fact, anyone present. If the magician desires to interview a particular spirit who is reluctant to talk, he may then summon a superior spirit to deal with the stubborn supernatural.

You can hear it when the *paqo* is working and one *ataŧila* is being punished by another. He will cry out and howl, and you can hear the blows (45).

When the questioning has been completed, the *ap'aḷani* tells the audience what the magician should be paid for having conducted the séance. Usually this is stated somewhat as follows:

You, *paqo*, will receive five *soles;* if you charge these children any more, I will punish you (2).

Then the magician rings his bell, lights the lamp or candle, and the ceremony is terminated. When the lights go up, the ground cloth is revealed as before, save that the wine and some of the coca have been consumed. Again all present drink, chew coca, and beg one another's forgiveness, and the séance is completed.

Although magicians were consistently reluctant to divulge the tricks they employ in séances to feign the supernatural visitation, it is clear at least that they are expert ventriloquists.[1] In the séance attended by the writer, the magician and his assistant managed to simulate five separate and distinct voices, and to pitch them so that they appeared to come from various parts of the room, as well as from the roof. The scrambling noise in the rafters and the effect of scuffles between souls and spirits are probably produced by simple mechanical devices, or by tossing small sticks and pebbles. It is most unlikely, however, that the magician employs any elaborate contrivances in this connection.

In terminating this discussion of the séance, it must be repeated that the magician belongs within a "priestly" rather than a "shamanistic" tradition. The *paqo* is, psychologically speaking, a thoroughly "normal" individual. He has no trances, no epilepsy, and is not believed to be possessed by supernaturals.[2] Nor do the Aymara believe that the magician's soul takes flight during séances. The *paqo*, moreover, is unable to kidnap souls or to force them or reluctant spirits to speak. If properly approached, powerful supernaturals may wring confessions from souls or statements from lesser spirits, but the magician himself has no such power. In short, the magician is merely a "priestly" intermediary between the human and supernatural worlds; his principal gift is his ability to communicate with spirits and, through offerings, to persuade them to do his bidding.

House Dedication Rite, *wilanča*, "Blood Sacrifice"

That magical rites associated with the construction of houses were important in Inca times is made clear by the writings of Father Arriaga.[3] Today both the Quechua and the Aymara hold dedicatory ceremonies, usually

[1] It is highly likely that some Inca practitioners employed ventriloquism in "communicating" with supernatuals. See Rowe, 1946, 303. Ventriloquism is also employed by Bolivian Aymara magicians. Paredes, 1936, 6–8.

[2] Paredes mentions a type of Bolivian Aymara practitioner who is subject to trances and cataleptic seizures. Paredes, 1936, 4–5. Chucuito informants, however, unanimously denied that magicians were subject to such states (45, 66, 85, 109).

[3] "*En hazer sus Casas tienen como en todas las demas cosas muchas supersticiones, combidando de ordinario a los de su Ayllo, rocian con chicha los cimientos como ofreciendola, y sacrificandola para que no se caigan las paredes, y despues de hecha la casa tambien la asperjan con la misma chicha.*" Arriaga, 1621, 37.

when the house foundations are excavated and not infrequently again when the structure is ready to be roofed.[1]

Although in Chucuito the magician is at times summoned to make the foundation sacrifice, this is usually a simple offering customarily made by the house owner or master builder, without professional assistance. By far the more important ceremony, however, is that held after the completion of house walls and before the roofing begins. Such a rite is considered vitally necessary to insure the happiness and general welfare of those who are to occupy the house. The dedication ceremony of any dwelling requires the services of a professional magician.[2]

When the house walls have been finished, the remaining days preceding the dedicatory ceremony are devoted to assembling the necessary roofing materials—poles, thongs, thatch, and grass rope—as well as offerings for the rite and food, drink, and coca for feasting the participants. The relatives and friends of the house owner, as well as those individuals who owe him *aini* indebtedness, assemble the evening preceding the day on which the ceremony is to take place, for the blood sacrifice must be performed at dawn.

The house dedication ceremony observed by the writer occurred on December 17, 1941. The unfinished dwelling, the walls of which had been completed five days earlier, was situated on the outskirts of upper Chucuito on a rocky promontory overlooking Lake Titicaca. The place spirit of this site is known as *San Sebastián tupu qawana*. Anselmo Corrasco, the son of a financially prosperous Aymara family, owned the property, and the ceremony as observed appears to be exceptional only in that his father, Informant 85, officiated as magician.[3]

The participants in this rite included the following individuals:

Anselmo Corrasco: Owner of the house
Manuel Corrasco (85): Magician; Anselmo's father
Fecundo *nina:* Magician's assistant; Anselmo's brother-in-law
Mauricio *ṭoqe:* Apprentice to magician
Moises Ramos: Anselmo's brother-in-law
Benita Teves: Anselmo's mother
Juana *nina:* Anselmo's wife
Manuel Corrasco II: Anselmo's brother
Senon Corrasco: Anselmo's brother
Casimiro Merma: Anselmo's maternal uncle by marriage
Sabino Navincha: Anselmo's wife's young nephew
Bertram Flores: Master builder who built house
Ascensio *tiki:* Working for *aini*
Silverio Sosa: Working for *aini*
Eusebio Suero: Working for *aini*
Raimundo Meneses: Friend of Anselmo's father
Juan de Dios *aski:* Friend of Anselmo's father
Olomino *marasa:* Boy working for wages
Mariano Aguilár: Boy working for wages

(5:20 A.M.): All has been prepared for the ceremony and the subsequent roofing bee, and 16 men (including three boys) and the two women are present. They stand around outside the house, talking, and occasionally stamping their feet in the pre-dawn cold. When we arrive, the magician says:

We are preparing this blood sacrifice to this sainted place so that no disease will attack those who will live here, and so that they will live very well.[4]

(5:30 A.M.): A brown and white spotted llama is tethered by a rope to a peg outside the house; Moises unties it and leads it into the room where the sacrifice is to take place. Inside, a red carrying cloth with coca between its folds is spread out facing east (Pl. 28a). On it the magician and his assistants arrange the following items (see Fig. 9):

1. *ẗ'uwa*
2. Flowers
3. Small pottery bowl
4. Incense burner
5. Flowers
6. Small pottery bowl
7. Wine
8. Alcohol and shot glass
9. Two enamel basins
10. New pottery basin
11. Two scallop shells
12. Incense (*kopala*)

[1] Mishkin, 1946, 440; Bandelier, 1910, 94–96; Paredes, 1936, 63–65. The Bolivian Aymara likewise offer sacrifices at these two stages of house construction. La Barre, 1948, 186.

[2] The services of a trained magician are said not to be required for kitchen structures, storage rooms, and other outbuildings (39, 45, 109).

[3] Less wealthy individuals frequently sacrifice a sheep instead of a llama.

[4] The dialogue throughout this section has been translated from Aymara texts recorded by the interpreter.

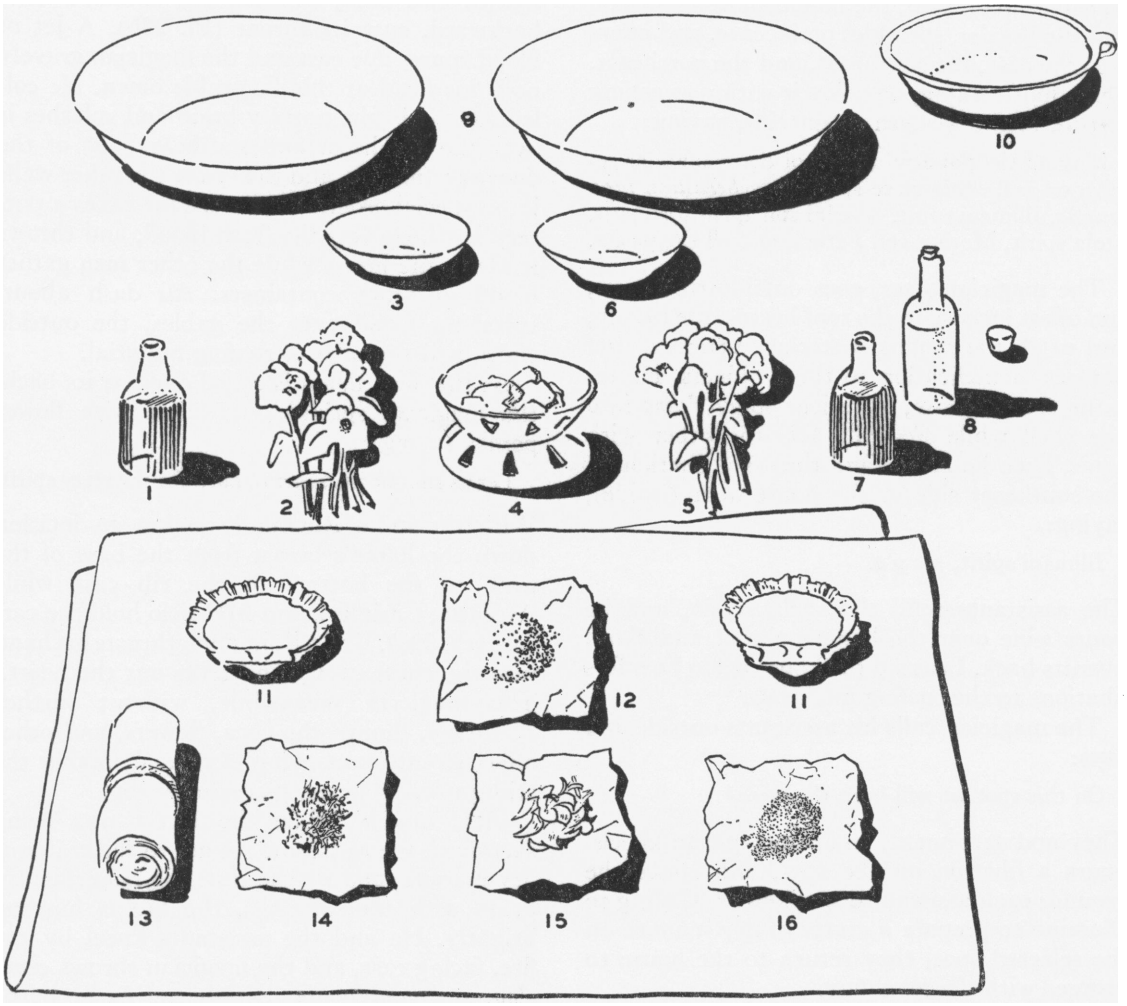

FIG. 9. Ceremonial layout arranged for the house dedication rite: 1. *č'uwa*. 2. Flowers. 3. Small pottery bowl. 4. Incense burner. 5. Flowers. 6. Small pottery bowl. 7. Wine. 8. Alcohol and shot glass. 9. Two enamel basins. 10. New pottery basin. 11. Two scallop shells. 12. Incense (*kopala*). 13. Sugar and candies. 14. Mint (*q'oa*). 15. Llama fat. 16. Incense (*insensio*).

13. Sugar and candies
14. Mint (*q'oa*)
15. Llama fat
16. Incense (*insensio*)

(5:40 A.M.): When the paraphernalia and offerings have been arranged, the other men and women file in and stand against the house wall, facing east. The magician kneels before the ground cloth, mixes the *č'uwa*, and grinds a bit of both kinds of incense together with sugar. Mauricio shakes up the *č'uwa*, spilling a little, and the magician tells him to be careful. Moises stands by silently, holding the llama's tether.

All kneel, excepting Moises and the magician, and the latter intones:

May everything be well. May God, the Sun, receive us very well. Now let us all kneel and kiss the sacred earth.

The magician leans over with his palms to the ground and kisses the earth; all, save Moises, do likewise. The magician pokes the coals in the incense burner, discovers that they are almost cold, and sends Sabino for live coals from the

fire outside. When he returns carrying glowing coals on a rock slab, the magician dumps them into the brazier, sprinkles on incense, and offers it to the east, the southeast, and the northeast. Then, half turning, he offers it with a sweeping gesture to the western mountains, saying:

May all the powerful spirits of the mountains receive us well—this place spirit, *San Sebastián tupu qawana*, Illimani spirit, Asogini spirit, Autuja spirit, Atoja spirit, Mother and Father, and all the places.

The magician rises, goes outside the house, and offers incense to the roof beams, the thatch, and to all the roofing materials, uttering brief phrases of dedication to these objects. He returns to the house, Mauricio pours *č'uwa* into one shell while Fecundo fills the other with wine. Then he kneels and throws a libation on the southeast side of the house door (inside), saying:

Illimani spirit, *p'a p'a*.

The assistants refill the shells again, and he pours wine over the llama's throat and *č'uwa* over its back. Leaving the house again he offers libations to the roofing materials.

The magician calls his assistants outside and says:

On this spot we will burn the *mesa*.[1]

They nod agreement, and the magician kneels, pours a libation on the spot, and kisses the ground; each assistant does likewise. Calling to Olomino to prepare a crater of dry manure on the selected spot, they return to the house to proceed with the ceremony.

Inside the house the magician says:

Now we will kill the llama. Who knows well how to cut its throat, to perform the blood sacrifice? Tie its feet with rope and then throw it to the ground so that it looks to the sunrise.

(5:55 A.M.): At this point, Bertram, the "master builder" who supervised the construction of the house, arrives and offers to perform the blood sacrifice. He, Ascensio, Raimundo, and the magician then tie the llama, while Moises holds its ears. The llama is thrown and bound in a kneeling position facing east. While Ascensio and Raimundo hold down its haunches, Bertram accepts a long, sharp knife from Benita and then, twisting the animal's head backward, cuts its throat (Pl. 28b). A jet of blood spurts due east and the magician gravely nods his head at this favorable omen. He collects blood in the pottery basin and splashes it over the northeast and southeast side of the doorway (inside), and then over the other walls in no special order. Each assistant takes a pottery bowl, collects the fresh blood, and throws it about the house while the other men gather blood in other containers. All dash about, splashing blood over the gables, the outside walls, and the piles of roofing material.

As the dead llama is rolled over on its back, the magician sprinkles its chest with flower petals, saying:

Let us cut out the heart to burn for the place spirit.

With the knife Raimundo makes an incision down the llama's breast from the base of the neck to the bottom of the rib case while Ascensio, Casimiro, and Mauricio hold the carcass (Pl. 29a). Then Raimundo thrusts his hand into the chest cavity and tears out the heart.[2] The magician meanwhile, without further ceremony, dumps the coca, flowers, and other offerings into a carrying cloth and, taking the still quivering heart, places it on top.

(6:15 A.M.): While the llama was being sacrificed, the assistants set fire to the crater of dry manure, and by the time the magician appears with the offerings, the fire is burning brightly. He and the assistants kneel by the fire, facing east, and the magician throws coca, *q'oa*, and *ɬamp'u* upon the blaze. As he burns the offerings, Manuel says in an aside to Juan de Dios and Silverio, who are watching the proceedings and who are themselves well-known magicians:

I offer the *mesa* in a different manner. Is it a good way, or not, *tata* Juan de Dios? You are a good *paqo*. What do you say?[3]

[1] The word *mesa* is here used in a loose sense to mean "offering"; the true *mesa* was not offered in this particular ceremony.

[2] In this instance the spleen was not inspected for divinatory purposes. This omission was explained in terms of the earlier favorable omen, i.e., that since the blood had spurted due east when the llama was killed, it was not necessary to resort to further divination.

[3] Manuel refers to the fact that he did not bother to prepare either a *p'awaqa* or a *mesa* as these are usually offered, but merely sacrificed the proper ingredients.

Juan de Dios answers:

You do as you like. I am not able to go over your head. You are an older man, *tata* Manuel. Do as you think best.[1]

As the magicians converse, Fecundo wraps the heart and more coca, *q'oa*, and *ɻamp'u* in a paper and hands the package to Manuel, who deposits it with flowers in the depression of the burning crater (Pl. 29b).

(6:30 A.M.): The magician and assistants then return to the house, where Manuel announces:

It is finished. The fire has now burned. Now let us all chew coca.

Benita empties a supply of coca into the carrying cloth and all help themselves. Even the boys are given a leaf or two; Mariano grimaces and spits out his coca when unobserved. The magician then takes a bottle of alcohol and a shot glass, makes a libation first to the east and next to the dead llama, and then hands a drink to Bertram. The latter pours a few drops on the floor and drinks the rest while Manuel proceeds around the room, giving a drink to everyone, including the children.

(6:40 A.M.): Following the interlude of drinking and coca chewing, Bertram, Ascensio, and Raimundo proceed to skin and dismember the llama. The meat, to be eaten later at the feast, is taken out and hung in strips over the roof beams. As a joke, Bertram gives the bladder to Sabino to make into a ball, and all laugh, although the boy seems pleased. When the internal organs have been removed from the rib case, Fecundo collects the remaining pool of blood in bowls and buries it in the four corners of the room. The knife, the basins, and bowls are washed, and the bloody water is poured into a jug in which all participants wash the blood from their hands. As the magician pours the bloody water over the floor, several of the men climb up on top of the house walls, and the roofing bee begins (6:50 A.M.). The ashes of the sacrificial fire are now cool; they are carefully collected by the magician and his assistants and thrown into the near-by stream of *murinlaya*. This rite terminates the ceremony.

[1] This is sheer politeness on the part of Juan de Dios. Later both he and Silverio criticized Manuel for preparing offerings incorrectly, i.e., for failing to prepare the conventional *mesa*. In regard to their respective ages, Juan de Dios is actually several years Manuel's senior.

General Propitiatory Rite, *mesa loqaña*, "To Offer a *mesa*"

Although the antiquity of this ceremony in its present form is uncertain, it seems quite clear that the great majority of the offerings as well as the component paraphernalia and procedures of the rite are in large part aboriginal. Of all the ceremonies today performed by practitioners of magic in Chucuito, the *mesa loqaña* is unquestionably employed most frequently and in the greatest number of situations.

The rite is extremely generalized and is performed to propitiate both spirits and demons. With respect to its manifest objective, a *mesa* may be offered in such diverse contexts as the curing of disease, the prevention of death and destruction from lightning, and the promotion of good will among relatives. It may prevent sorcery or theft, insure an abundant harvest and the fertility of livestock, or guarantee success in fishing. With minor differences in detail, it is performed by magicians for good and by sorcerers for evil. Although most frequently the *mesa loqaña* is a discrete rite, it is at times incorporated into such other ceremonials as the animal increase, the First Fruit, and the *Compadre* rites. Most frequently a *mesa* is offered at night and in the house of the client. On some occasions, however, as when offerings are made to cairns and sacrifices are made at the abodes of demons, the *mesa loqaña* rite is performed outside and during the day.

The following account describes a representative ceremony of this type as it was observed in Chucuito. The circumstances surrounding its performance on this particular occasion, however, were somewhat special and deserve brief preliminary consideration. For some months earlier the writer's wife, an archaeologist, had been engaged in the excavation of a ruined structure in Chucuito known as *inka uyu*. She employed a number of local Aymara as workmen, among them the Magicians 45 and 66. Although they did not appear to be actively frightened, most of the Indians were somewhat apprehensive, not only about handling artifacts associated with their long dead

and departed ancestors, but also about disturbing the abode of so powerful a place spirit as the *inka uyu ačačila*. It was agreed at the outset, therefore, that upon the completion of the excavations, a propitiatory rite would be held (financed by the writer) in order to placate this spirit and to insure the welfare and health of all the workmen.

Additional complications, however, soon developed. Although according to Peruvian law all archaeological sites are the property of the state, the field in which *inka uyu* was situated had for some years been farmed by a Señora X, a local Mestiza. Señora X granted permission to excavate with the greatest reluctance and only after pressure had been applied by Peruvian Government officials. In spite of the fact that she had been duly (and extravagantly) indemnified for any damage to her potato crop, Señora X became the butt of jokes of her Indian tenant farmers, who disliked her thoroughly and reveled in her predicament. Humiliated at this loss of face and generally frustrated by the whole proposition, Señora X quietly engaged a sorcerer and had all of the workmen, as well as the writer and his wife, bewitched.[1] Rumor of this malevolent act began to circulate simultaneously with the completion of the *inka uyu* excavations; the workmen were, of course, terrified. It was then decided that in addition to placating the place spirit of the ruin, the *mesa loqaña* ceremony should also be designed to counteract and nullify the sorcery.[2] For this purpose the two magicians who participated in the *inka uyu* excavations were engaged and they performed the *mesa loqaña* jointly, assisted by their apprentices.

The ceremony was held on March 31, 1942, in the house of Informant 66, the senior magician.[3] Those present at one time or another (in addition to the writer, his wife, and the interpreter) included:

Silverio Sosa (66): Magician
Manuel Barrientos (45): Magician
Martín *čoqe:* Apprentice to Silverio
Antonio Perez: Apprentice to Manuel
Ascensia Alejo: Silverio's wife
Lorenza Sosa: Silverio's daughter (aged 12)
Manuel Sosa: Silverio's adopted son (aged 3)

(2:15 P.M.): Silverio and Martín spread a blanket on the floor and over this a large brown carrying cloth. Silverio takes a brazier from a wall niche and hands it to Martín, who goes out to the kitchen and fills it with live coals. When he returns, all sit down around the carrying cloth, squatting on their heels. Because of the narrowness of the room the two magicians sit on the south side, facing north, while Martín sits to the west, facing east. Antonio has not yet arrived and no one else is present. Silverio opens a bundle wrapped in a red cloth and directs the placing of the various objects contained within (Pl. 27b). These, which are arranged on the ground cloth as shown in Fig. 10, include the following items:

1. Wine
2. Incense
3. *č'uwa*
4. Alcohol
5. *q'oa*
6. Knife
7. Large conch shell
8. Knife
9. *ɬamp'u*
10. Scallop shell
11. Brass bell
12. Brass bell
13. Scallop shell
14. Plate containing a miscellaneous collection of small stone amulets, old coins, religious medals, and an old rosary
15. Small wooden crucifixes
16. Large standing crucifix

[1] Although divination failed to reveal conclusively the identity of the sorcerer, public opinion in Chucuito favored Informant 87.

[2] Although the writer was unaware of the fact at the time, he learned later that the magicians had in addition caused the evil to boomerang upon Señora X. As will be noted in the description that follows, however, there was little, if anything, in the ceremony as it was observed to suggest that sorcery was in any way involved.

[3] The cost (in *soles*) of the offerings and materials employed in this ceremony can be itemized roughly as follows:

Coca	S/1.00
ɬamp'u	1.00
Alcohol	4.50
Wine	1.50
Figurines	1.50
Silver and gold leaf	2.00
Fuel	.10
Two llama foetuses	10.00
Total	S/21.60

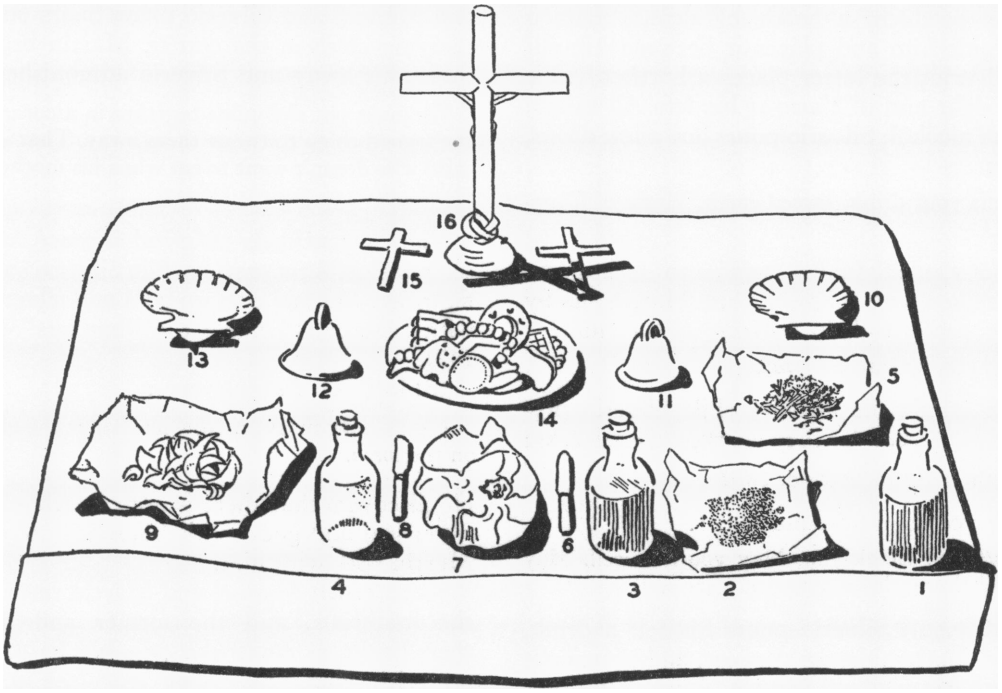

FIG. 10. Ceremonial layout arranged for the general propitiatory rite. 1. Wine. 2. Incense. 3. *č'uwa*. 4. Alcohol. 5. *q'oa*. 6. Knife. 7. Large conch shell. 8. Knife. 9. *ɬamp'u*. 10. Scallop shell. 11. Brass bell. 12. Brass bell. 13. Scallop shell. 14. Plate containing a miscellaneous collection of small stone amulets, old coins, religious medals, and an old rosary. 15. Small wooden crucifixes. 16. Large standing crucifix.

(2:25 P.M.): Silverio takes the brazier and waves it about vaguely, muttering:

Let us start.

He pauses, and then continues:

May no sadness or misfortune follow us, golden street, silver street, sacred earth, *inka uyu* spirit.[1]

He sprinkles more incense on the coals and passes the brazier to Manuel, who recites:

My father with medicines, I salute you, father, *inka uyu* spirit, *inka pukara* spirit,[2] and all of the powerful mountains, golden table, silver table, golden chair, silver chair. Now may we all be well; may no disease attack the workmen. May this *caballero* be well [he nods to me], and also his wife.

Silverio adds more incense and passes the brazier to Martín, who continues:

Father above, creator of all things, master of all things, watch over your children, *inka uyu* spirit. Do not send us any misfortune.

(2:35 P.M.): The little Sosa boy wanders in and stands by watching, but no one appears to be disturbed by this. The two magicians go out, wash their hands, and return with a pottery bowl that is then filled with llama tallow from the supply on the ground cloth. Silverio hands it to Manuel, saying:

You make the *mesa* from this *ɬamp'u*.

(2:40 P.M.): Manuel says:

First let us chew a little coca and drink a little alcohol.

Manuel opens a red carrying cloth placed at his side and selects a few leaves and some lime, while Silverio takes a chew of coca from a supply stored in his hat. Martín opens his coca bag and also takes a few leaves. This is done ritually, deliberately, and in silence.

[1] The dialogue throughout the following description has been translated from Aymara texts that were recorded by the interpreter, as nearly as possible verbatim.

[2] In ancient Aymara, *pukara* meant "fortress." Cf. "*pucara*," Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 275.

Manuel produces a bottle of alcohol from a bag beside him and places it between himself and Silverio; the latter places a bottle of wine at his right and of *č'uwa* at his left. All take a drink of alcohol; Silverio pours out a few drops, saying:

Here is your drink, sacred earth, Virgin of Copacabana.[1]

(2:45 P.M.): Manuel begins to scrape the llama tallow with a knife, while Martín sits by silently, ready to help. Silverio says to him:

Grind this incense well, *tata.*

Martín grinds the incense while Silverio prepares the *č'uwa.* As they work, Manuel asks:

Will there be one *mesa* or two?

and then continues (to me):

Caballero, I thank you. May you live well. May God and the spirits receive you very well.

(3:00 P.M.): Silverio pours himself a drink, offers a libation, drinks the rest, and passes the bottle to Manuel and Martín. After they drink he offers me the bottle; I refuse. Manuel comments:

The *caballero* also should drink a little alcohol. If not, the great stones of the Inca will not receive him.

Silverio adds:

You should drink too, because you are offering this *mesa* to *inka uyu.* It is for your health, too, so that you will not get sick.

I drink and the interpreter does likewise. None is offered the child and I point this out. Silverio replies:

He is just a baby; he doesn't know what is happening.

(3:20 P.M.): Manuel has finished modeling the two *mesa,* and smooths them with alcohol. Silverio unwraps a package of little lead figurines and begins to sort them out (see p. 246).

(3:30 P.M.): Silverio again passes the alcohol, saying:

Let us drink more alcohol, *tata,* and chew more coca.

Each removes his coca quid from his mouth, and Manuel and Silverio place theirs on a red carrying cloth in the corner. Martín begins to throw his away and Silverio admonishes him:

We must put the quids together in a corner. It is not a good thing to throw them away. That is like a child who doesn't want to eat when his mother gives him food.

Martín continues to grind incense, using a scallop shell for a pestle, while Silverio sorts the figurines. Manuel cuts up gold and silver paper with scisssors to make the "banners" (see p. 247).

(3:45 P.M.): Manuel says:

I am nearly finished. Now let us put the gold leaf on the *mesa.*

He discovers that there is not enough gold and silver leaf and goes to his house to fetch more. Martín goes with him.

(4:00 P.M.): Manuel and Martín return with the materials, and the former and Silverio then begin to cover the two blocks of llama fat with gold and silver leaf (see p. 252). Manuel passes the alcohol and all drink. Silverio says to the child who is asking for a drink:

Go away, boy, don't come any closer. If you drank alcohol you might go crazy. Later I will buy you some bread.

Each removes his coca quid as before. Manuel and Silverio produce coca bags from under their belts; Manuel waves his coca bag over the paraphernalia and kisses it and then all exchange coca bags ceremonially (see p. 257). Then all have another drink. Silverio chants:

Golden place, silver place, forgive us, *inka uyu.* Today we salute you. Now once more the great house (i.e., the ruin) of our grandfathers may be seen. From the rubbish we have dug it so that all, small and large, may see it.

(4:15 P.M.): Silverio's wife has just returned with the livestock and comes into the house where the magicians are working. Martín says:

Let us give you a drink, *mama.*

She accepts it and thanks him. Then he gives her a handful of coca and she departs with the child.

(4:20 P.M.): Manuel and Silverio now begin to arrange the figurines on top of the blocks of *ļamp'u,* a painstaking task. Manuel says:

[1] The shrine of the Virgin of Copacabana, situated on the Peninsula of Copacabana in Bolivia, attracts countless pilgrims, Indian and Mestizo alike.

Let us arrange the things well; the sun, the moon, and everything should be straight and even [p. 246].

(4:40 P.M.): When the arrangement of the figurines is completed, all drink and chew coca. Silverio takes down a bundle from a storage niche and extracts a set of broken pan-pipes. He gives them to Martín, saying:

Now we only lack the banners. Split up these pan-pipe canes to make the poles.

Manuel cuts more gold and silver paper for the banners; Silverio sticks them to the cane slivers with llama fat. Manuel directs Martín in the splitting of the slivers, and Silverio says:

There should be twelve, six of gold and six of silver.

(4:55 P.M.): Manuel says:

I am almost finished. Now we should begin with the *aita* so that we can name all the powerful places.

The *mesa* are completed. They clear away the scraps on the end of the ground cloth to make room for the *aita* [see p. 252]. Silverio urges:

We must hurry. It is almost night.

At this point Antonio enters, and Manuel tells him that he is late. He continues:

This *tata* (Antonio) has finally come. Let us make the *k'intu* of six leaves [see p. 252].

(5:00 P.M.): Silverio starts the drinks around again, spreads out a small carrying cloth, and dumps a large supply of coca onto it to be used in preparing the *aita*. All chew coca, and Antonio spreads out a blanket to sit on, removes his sandals, and begins to sort out perfect coca leaves.[1] All stack the leaves into little piles of six each.

(5:15 P.M.): Antonio is sent out to buy fuel to be used in burning the offering. The others continue to sort perfect coca leaves and to prepare the *aita*, a time-consuming task which occupies them until after 8:00 P.M. After darkness has fallen, Lorenza assists them by holding a lighted candle over the ground cloth so that they can see to work.

[1] The feeling exists that one should go barefoot in the presence of the supernatural. Today the Cuzco Quechua remove their sandals before entering a church. In Inca times anyone seeking an audience with the Emperor had to remove his sandals as a gesture of humility. Rowe, 1946, 259.

(8:15 P.M.): Manuel announces,

Now this side is almost finished.

Silverio inspects the *aita* and approves, although there are only 96 (arranged in 12 rows of 8) whereas ideally there should be 144. The remaining coca is scooped up by Martín and Antonio and placed in its original carrying cloth. Manuel then divides this surplus coca equally and each fills his bag. All chew and exchange bags ceremonially, and the alcohol is passed around again.

(8:25 P.M.): All present beg one another's forgiveness. Then Silverio produces more scallop shells, fills two with wine and two with *č'uwa*, and places a shellful of each beverage on either side of the ground cloth. Silverio now begins the ceremony by ringing each brass bell and then scraping two shells together, intoning:

Father above, receive this *mesa*. May all be well.

Manuel repeats these actions, chanting:

Ay, father with medicines, receive this, God, my father with medicines, *inka uyu*.

Silverio sprinkles powdered incense over the shells and the crucifix.

(8:30 P.M.): The offering of the *aita* begins, and a piece of paper sprinkled with shaved *ɬamp'u* is spread out to receive the *aita* as they are dedicated (see p. 254). The two magicians alternate after the dedication of three successive *aita*, beginning with Manuel. The assistants sit by silently and sprinkle each *aita*, after it has been dedicated, with *ɬamp'u* and *q'oa*. In this operation, Antonio aids Manuel and Martín assists Silverio. The pace is leisurely; the voices of the magicians are solemn and subdued. The opening dedicatory phrases are long and rambling as compared with those spoken later in the evening.[2] Thus, Manuel begins:

Ay, *inka uyu*, may all Peru be well; may all the people be well; may all the workmen be well, God, superior to all. May this *caballero* be well; may no misfortune befall him.

Many of the earlier dedicatory speeches contain prayers that are obviously entirely irrelevant to the current situation. Prayers are included, for example, for such diverse people

[2] It is impractical even to present summaries of the content of all these dedicatory speeches. For representative examples, see p. 254 ff.

and things as:

The law courts of Peru ("May there be order in the grand courts of Lima")
The President of the Republic ("May he live well")
The national treasury ("May it be full forever")
The highways and railways ("May they stay in good repair")
The senators of Peru
The *vecinos* (Mestizos) of Chucuito
The banks
The mines
Commerce generally, etc.[1]

It is impossible in most cases to identify the various mountains to whom *aita* were offered, since the names of these are often local and they appear on no maps.

(8:45 P.M.): They pause for a moment during the dedication of the *aita* for a drink and a chew of coca. Again the coca bags are exchanged ceremonially, and Silverio produces a fresh bottle of alcohol from a leather trunk in the corner of the room. At 8:55 P.M. the offering of the *aita* is resumed. Both magicians show signs of weariness, and the dedicatory phrases become increasingly more brief and disjointed.

(9:25 P.M.): Manuel yawns and says:

We are almost half through. Now let's have a drink.

They drink and exchange coca bags ceremonially. Before resuming the *aita* dedication, however, they again beg one another's forgiveness. The dedicatory rite is resumed at 9:30 P.M. Silverio is so tired that he half reclines and must concentrate hard in order to think of additional mountain spirits. Manuel prompts him frequently and at times interrupts and corrects him.

(9:50 P.M.): They finish dedicating the *aita*, exchange coca bags ceremonially, and drink. I pass around cigarettes; each man blows the first puff of smoke to the east (see p. 250). Manuel and Silverio move the paper containing the *aita* and the offerings to the back of the ground cloth; Manuel complains that there should be 24 more *aita*.[2] The assistants hasten to prepare these, using coca from their own coca bags, and the magicians begin at once to dedicate them.

(10:20 P.M.): The dedication of these *aita* ends with more prayers for the welfare of all participants in the *inka uyu* excavations, and for the health and prosperity of their families. Silverio concludes:

Finally, may this *mesa* burn well so that nothing will befall us; may it all finish well.

Manuel sprinkles *q'oa* and *ɬamp'u* over the paper of *aita* and says to Silverio:

Let us make the two libations.

Each magician takes a shell of wine and a shell of *č'uwa*, passes them over the offerings, throws the liquids to the east, and then scrapes the shells together in the direction of the western mountains. Then each rings the two bells, and Manuel wraps the offerings in old newspapers while Silverio inspects the coca leaves remaining on the ground cloth. Since most of the leaves are found to be green side up, he says that this is a favorable omen. All drink, exchange coca bags ceremonially, and beg one another's forgiveness.

(10:45 P.M.): While Manuel refills the shells with wine and *č'uwa*, Silverio extracts two llama foetuses from a sack.[3] These are given to the assistants who wipe and wrap them with gold and silver paper (see p. 248). They are then placed on top of the large conch shell, resting with their necks crossed.

(11:05 P.M.): All scraps of paper, coca, and other offerings are carefully collected into a paper to be sacrificed with the *aita*, for everything must be burned. All exchange coca bags ceremonially and drink. All four men are now quite intoxicated and unsteady on their feet. In a thick voice, Silverio announces,

Now it is nearly midnight. Get everything ready. Take the bundles. We must go to *inka uyu*.

Manuel prays:

May everything be all right, father above, golden *mesa*, silver *mesa*.

Taking the bundle of offerings, he holds it against the foreheads of all present in turn, in imitation of the familiar Catholic blessing. The

[1] For the benefit of the writer, a prayer was included for the Congress of the United States!

[2] Actually 48 additional *aita* should have been prepared in order to complete the ideal total of 144.

[3] The writer later learned that the llama foetuses were intended to cause the sorcery to "backfire" upon Señora X.

offerings are then packed into saddle bags, and all four stagger out into the dark night, across the fields to the ruin. The only light is a flickering kerosene lantern carried by Martín.

(11:30 P.M.): In the center of the ruin Martín and Antonio build a pyre for burning the offerings. First they spread a bed of dry grass; on top of this they construct a rectangular wall of dry cow chips. Antonio lights the fire; it flickers and smokes in the high wind from the Lake. In the distance a dog barks, and at these ill omens Silverio gestures in the air with a knife, telling the dog to stop barking and the wind to stop blowing.

(11:45 P.M.): Manuel kneels facing east, throws incense into the fire, and passes the rest to Silverio, who also offers incense, saying:

Sacred earth, *inka uyu* spirit.

Each magician in turn offers incense three times. When the fire is burning well, Manuel calls out in a low voice:

Let us burn the *aita*, the *mesa*, and the llama foetuses.

Kneeling twice, Martín hands the bundle of *aita* to Manuel who takes it with a flourish and tosses it into the flames, saying:

Receive this, golden treasure, silver treasure, *inka uyu* spirit.

Sparks shower over the ruins as Antonio brings the llama foetuses and they too are thrown into the blaze. Martín fills shells with wine and *č'uwa*, and Silverio throws one libation to the east and a second into the fire. The libations are repeated three times, and then Manuel does likewise, chanting:

Golden libation, silver libation, *p'u p'u*,

while Silverio throws three additional libations around the ruins. Following this the assistants offer six libations each. Meanwhile Silverio gestures in the air with his knife, muttering:

May no one know of this, may no one hear of it, *inka uyu* spirit.

Manuel tosses the *mesa* into the flames and, at his signal, all grab the lantern, the saddle bags, and the carrying cloths, and hurry away across the fields without looking behind them. By midnight the ceremony was completed.

At some time before dawn the magicians and assistants returned to the ruin from Silverio's house, where they had continued drinking and chewing coca, and obliterated all traces of the sacrifice, including all footprints left by the participants. The ashes were swept up and thrown into the stream of *inkulaya*. There a final prayer for the welfare of the workmen concluded the *mesa loqaña* ceremony.

Animal Increase Rite, *uiwataki mesa loqaña*, "To Offer a *mesa* for the Animals"

Animal increase rites, in one form or another, are practiced widely by the contemporary Aymara of both Peru and Bolivia.[1] In Chucuito proper such ceremonies are rarely held because stock breeding is not of primary importance in the economy of the village. In some of the outlying ayllus, however, the raising of livestock is of considerable economic importance; in these areas animal increase rites are performed frequently.

The occasions on which these ceremonies are held in the pastoral ayllus of Chucuito are variable. Rites to increase the flocks of sheep may be performed on San Juan's Day (June 24); for cattle during the fiesta of Trinidad (May); and for llamas and alpacas at the time of the fiesta of San Andrés (December). Increase rites designed to promote the fertility of all livestock may be held on Christmas Day. Increase ceremonies are also performed in the mating season of llamas and alpacas (July), at branding (during Carnival, in February or March), and at shearing time (December). In addition, animal increase rites may be held whenever a stockbreeder feels that his flocks are, or have been, threatened.

With minor variations, the above-mentioned increase ceremonies are extremely similar, irrespective of the class of animal for which they are held. Since they are often coupled with such activities as branding or shearing, these ceremonies are frequently performed during the day. If no house is available, as often happens in the grazing areas distant from the Lake, the ceremony is held and the sacrifice offered in a corral. Increase rites are normally attended by the owner of the livestock, his immediate family, and by those individuals (friends or relatives) who have come to assist him because of *aini* obligations. Ordinarily

[1] La Barre, 1948, 185; Paredes, 1936, 31.

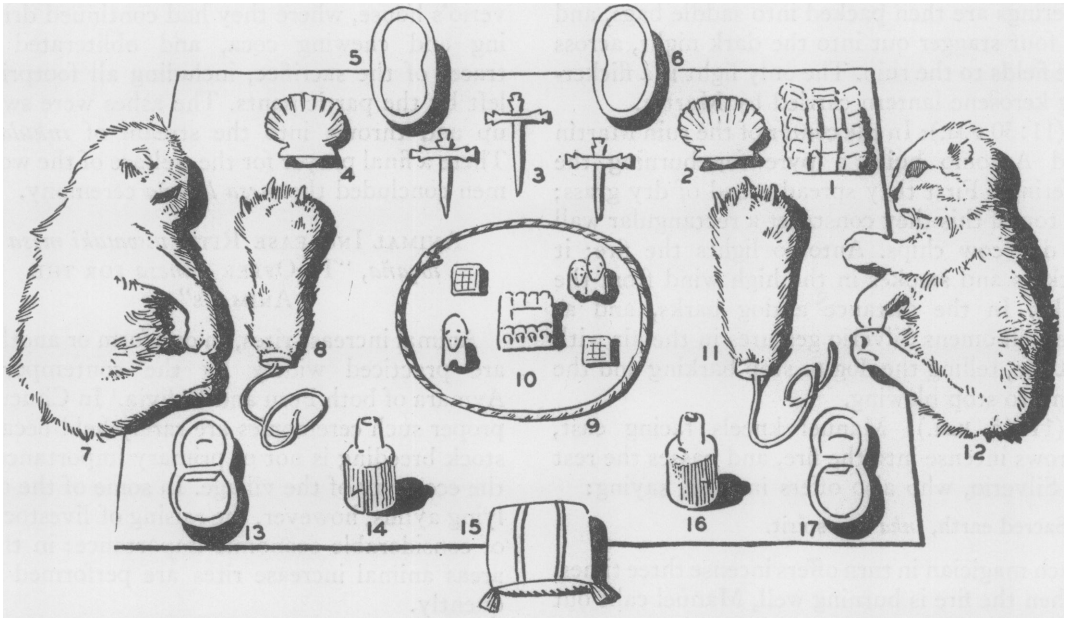

FIG. 11. Ceremonial layout arranged for the animal increase rite. 1. *mesa*. 2. Scallop shell. 3. Three bone crucifixes. 4. Scallop shell. 5. Libation gourd. 6. Libation gourd. 7. Stuffed wildcat. 8. Puma paw. 9. Rope. 10. Amulets. 11. Puma paw. 12. Stuffed wildcat. 13. Wooden libation bowl. 14. Bottle of *č'uwa*. 15. Coca bag. 16. Bottle of wine. 17. Wooden libation bowl.

feasting and social dancing follow an increase ceremony since these rites are considered occasions for celebration.[1] The account of the increase ceremony that follows is based on a description by Informant 45 of a rite he performed for a client, Pablo *mamani* of *k'arukaya* ayllu in the Estancia country. This ceremony, held on August 2, 1941, was designed to promote the fertility of "all the livestock" (Pl. 30a,b).

The ceremony was performed at approximately 10:00 in the morning after the animals (llamas and sheep) had been rounded up and driven into the corral. Since the *mamani* household was situated near by, the magician elected to prepare the *mesa* inside. The ceremonial bundle, in this case wrapped in a carrying cloth and a short, jaguar skin poncho, contained the following items, arranged on the ground cloth as illustrated in Fig. 11 and Pl. 30b:

1. *mesa*
2. Scallop shell
3. Three bone crucifixes
4. Scallop shell
5. Libation gourd
6. Libation gourd
7. Stuffed wildcat
8. Puma paw
9. Rope
10. Amulets
11. Puma paw
12. Stuffed wildcat
13. Wooden libation bowl
14. Bottle of *č'uwa*
15. Coca bag
16. Bottle of wine
17. Wooden libation bowl

A thin llama-hair rope, arranged in a circle, represents the corral. The several animal amulets (see p. 239) are placed inside it facing east:

You do this so that the animals will always be there and won't go away.

Once the ceremonial layout has been arranged, the magician goes out into the corral among the animals and, kneeling, offers incense towards the east, chanting:

Now, spirits, well will I begin to prepare this *mesa* for the animals. Receive it so that there will be no misfortune. May all be well.

Then the magician returns to the house and offers incense to the amulets, repeating the

[1] In the rite held when mating llamas and alpacas, the participants eat a special dish of ground, toasted *kañawa* (*Chenopodium* sp.) called *kañawa aku*.

prayer. Following this, all present, beginning with the owner of the livestock, offer incense to the east and to the amulets. All beg one another's forgiveness, drink, and chew coca.

The magician and his assistant then prepare the *mesa* (see p. 252), while the client and his guests dance in the corral to the accompaniment of panpipes and drum. When the offering has been completed, all drink, chew coca, and once more beg one another's forgiveness.

Returning to the corral, the magician offers libations of wine and *č'uwa* first to the east and then to the sky.[1] All present repeat these acts. The magician reënters the house and, pouring out a shell of wine, dips a flower into it, sprinkling the liquid over the amulets.[2] He then pours out a shell of *č'uwa* and offers this to half of the animal amulets. Returning to the corral, the magician again offers libations to the east and to the sky. All present in turn repeat his actions up to this point. Back in the house the magician offers *č'uwa* to the rest of the animal amulets and then, with the wooden libation bowls, douses the amulets with *chicha*. All the spectators duplicate his actions. The wildcats are next offered libations, first of wine, then of *č'uwa*, and finally, of *chicha*. All present do likewise.

For the third time the magician returns to the corral and offers libations of wine and *č'uwa* to the east and to the sky. As before, all present repeat his actions. Finally, the magician again offers incense to the east and to the amulets, as in the beginning of the rite, as do all participants. All drink, chew coca, and beg one another's forgiveness.

Meanwhile, on the east side of the corral the assistant constructs a small, dome-shaped adobe and fieldstone oven with a small door open to the east. When this has been completed, it is filled with dry dung from the corral and lighted. When the fire is burning well, the magician throws in the *mesa*, coca, flowers, and all scraps incidental to the preparation of the offering. As these are consumed in the flames, he offers incense to the east, saying:

Spirits, now it is finished. Receive this *mesa* well so that there will be yet more animals.

[1] This second libation is intended for the "owner" of the livestock (see p. 199).

[2] This operation is called *uiwa tikaña*, "feasting the animals."

When the oven has cooled, it is taken apart and the site where it stood is marked by a flat stone. The ashes are swept up, carried away, and thrown into near-by Macuamayo River.

Lesser increase rites are performed by laymen themselves for the benefit of their livestock. Thus most herders keep animal amulets in their houses and regularly feed them llama fat, coca, and flower petals.

If you have one of these, your llamas will not die and you will have lots of them (54).

On the eve of San Juan's day (June 24) grass fires are lighted in the hills and in the corrals "to warm the animals."[3] Miniature animals are also modeled of quinoa dough, *k'ispiña*, on this day and placed in small bowls, representing corrals, formed of the same material. This practice is called *uiwa laraña*, "animal making."

If you do this, you will always have many sheep (9).

Other Ceremonies

There remain to summarize briefly, for the sake of completeness, several additional ceremonies performed by the magician. While these are in general character similar to those described above, they do contain some unique or unusual features, and also represent different combinations of the more familiar rituals, acts, and procedures. Finally, it is desirable to review in condensed form the rites employed by the magician in connection with curing and counter-sorcery.

Rain making rite, *haḷu luraña*, "to make rain"

Reference is made above (p. 197) to the rain-making ceremonies of the Inca; such rites are practiced by the contemporary Aymara of both Peru and Bolivia. Rain is always associated with lakes and rivers, with mountain peaks, and with frogs (or toads).[4] The Chucuito ceremony described below combines all three features in dramatic form.

[3] Paredes, 1936, 167–169; La Barre, 1948, 174, 185.

[4] See Bandelier, 1910, 100; La Barre, 1948, 182–183, 201; Paredes, 1936, 87–88. The latter writes as follows (p. 88): "*Cogen a los sapos y los exponen en rocas áridas, o los encierran en ollas para que viéndose en esa dura situacion clamen al cielo por agua.*"

In his Bolivian manuscript, Bandelier writes:

In Chucuito village, rain making ceremonies are held only in periods of severe drought. The latest such rite recorded was held in 1939, a year before the field studies were initiated.[1] After nearly three months without rain, the villagers began to clamor for a rain making rite, but since no individual is officially responsible for such matters, and since it had been years since a similar occasion had arisen, nothing was done for a time. At length, in December, Pascual Paredes, a public-spirited man often designated as *p'eqeña* ("one with a head," "head man"), took the initiative and conducted a door-to-door campaign to raise the necessary funds for expenses.[2] After collecting the requisite money, he traveled to the Peninsula of Chucuito and hired a magician.[3]

Early in the morning of the day on which the ceremony was to take place, the magician, Paredes, and an orchestra of musicians with drums and side-blown flutes embarked in a sail balsa for certain deep pools in the Bay of Puno (Lake Titicaca). Some 20 or 30 interested individuals accompanied the magician in small fishing balsas. When they had reached their destination, the magician offered incense and threw coca into the water, imploring the Lake Spirit to send rain. Then, using a long-handled scoop net, he collected quantities of frogs, *k'aira*, and a water plant, *ļaču*, and deposited them in several large pottery basins with water from the Lake. Meanwhile the musicians played and everyone sang the Frog Song, *k'aira waruru:*

A frog, I have come out, María,[4]
From the sea, from the Lake, I have come out.
A frog, I have come out, María,
From the depths of the Lake I have come out.
A frog, I have come out, María,
In a golden balsa I have come out.
A frog, I have come out, María,
With a silver balsa pole I have come out.
A frog, I have come out, María.

At about noon the party returned from the Lake, disembarked, and climbed the steep trail above Chucuito village to the shrine of Father Atoja (see p. 195), the magician and his assistant carrying the basins of frogs. They were accompanied to the summit by the musicians as well as a large crowd of villagers, all singing the Frog Song.

Nearly everyone in town went up, and they never stopped singing.

At the shrine the magician prepared a *p'awaqa* (see p. 252), while his assistant filled the "eyes" of the shrine with the frogs, water plants, and lake water (see Pl. 27a). Then, while the whole assemblage sang the Frog Song with renewed vigor, the magician placed the offering in the "mouth" of the altar, and prayed:

Atoja spirit, accept this *p'awaqa.* Make it rain for these, your children. Everyone knelt and prayed, and some of them wept. They all cried "rain!" "rain!" and they kept on singing. Later that afternoon the water evaporated and the frogs began to cry out. Then later that week it rained.

The Chucuito Aymara appear to have no special ceremony to prevent rain.[5] Informant 64 reported, however, that when excessive rain falls, live snakes are thrown into the fire:

There are always a lot of snakes when it rains.

FIRST FRUIT RITE, *manq'ataki loqaña p'awaqa*, "TO MAKE AN OFFERING TO THE FOOD"

Writing soon after the Conquest, Cieza de León described the potato harvest rite as one of the most important Aymara ceremonies.[6] At present, although agricultural ceremonialism appears to be far more highly elaborated among the Bolivian Aymara than in Peru, rites on the

"When there has been a long drought, the Indians from Pucarani send a delegation to the *laguna* of Vilaque (about four *leguas* lower than Huayna Potosi) with flutes and drums and clay vessels, to fill the latter with water from the lagune and carry them to Pucarani at a run. Other details about the ceremony we could not learn." Bandelier, MS.

[1] The following account was related by Informant 43, who witnessed this particular ceremony.

[2] A *p'eqeña* has no formal authority; any individual who takes the initiative in any activity may temporarily be so designated.

[3] The magician was *q'api* Damaso, a half-Quechua, married to an Aymara woman of Chucuito District.

[4] "María" in all probability refers to the Virgin.

[5] Informants denied that skulls were exposed or skeletons exhumed to prevent rain (43, 64). See La Bârre, 1948, 183; Paredes, 1936, 89.

[6] Cieza de León, 1922, chap. 101, 318.

occasion of the potato harvest continue to be performed in Chucuito.[1]

During the fiesta of Espíritu in May, at the time of the harvest of late potatoes, the magician may be called upon to perform a ceremony for the most perfect vegetables.[2] Such rites are held for individuals, for extended families, or, occasionally, for several closely related extended families; they are said not, however, to be held for larger social units. During the harvest season the largest and most perfect specimens of vegetables and grains (potatoes, ocas, *isaño*, *uɬuku*, *habas*, wheat, barley, quinoa, etc.) are selected and set aside for the ceremony. According to the kind of vegetable, these specially selected examples are designated *č'oqe t'inka*, "libation potato," or *apiɬ t'inka*, "libation oca." The client must save at least one vegetable from each of his fields, and these are carefully guarded inside the house.

The ceremony is held on the evening of Espíritu fiesta; the perfect vegetables are arrayed on a new carrying cloth in the place of honor in the house, opposite the doorway. After they have been smoked with incense they receive libations of wine and *pisco* and are sprinkled with *k'intu* of coca (see p. 252). Then, depending upon the amount the client wishes to spend, the magician offers a *p'awaqa* or a *mesa*. As stated above, informants were not always clear as to whether these offerings were intended for perfect vegetables, the place spirit, or for both. The client and all present then offer a *k'intu* of coca each, and the magician prays that food will always be abundant and that the supply will never become exhausted. While the *paqo* burns the offerings in the patio of the house, buries the ashes, and marks the spot with a flat stone, everyone present dances to the music of panpipes and drums, each carrying some of the perfect vegetables in a carrying cloth on his back.

It is as though the potatoes were dancing; they are making the fiesta for the potatoes (45).

The next morning, at sunrise, an animal (either a white sheep or llama) is sacrificed outside the doorway of the house (see p. 248). The blood of this sacrifice, called *manq'a wilanča*, "blood for the food," is collected in sea shells, and libations of it are offered to the east, the house, and to the perfect vegetables. The llama is then cut open and the spleen, *č'akara*, inspected to divine the future of the client.

If he is going to die, the spleen will look like a corpse. But if the spleen is flat and perfect, everything will be all right (45).

Following the blood sacrifice the llama is butchered, and a feast is held for those who participated in the ceremony. All of the meat, as well as the perfect vegetables and grain, must be consumed before nightfall.

A second rite, which does not necessarily require the services of a magician, is performed for the growing potatoes during Carnival. The owner of a field burns coca, llama fat, and *q'oa* in a ring of manure, open to the east, as an offering to the place spirit. Following this a perfect potato plant is uprooted and the potatoes counted off in two's to divine the outcome of the crop. An even number signifies an abundant harvest, while an odd number presages a poor crop. The plant is then replanted and sprinkled with wine, after which the owner and his friends feast and dance.[3]

FISHING RITE, *č'auɬataki mesa loqaña*, "TO OFFER A *mesa* TO THE FISH"

Although fishing plays a lesser role than agriculture or stock-breeding in the total economy of the Aymara, ceremonies designed to increase the supply of fish are performed on behalf of the fishermen of Chucuito during Carnival.[4] Bandelier mentions, in passing, that fishing rites are also held by the Bolivian Aymara, but gives no details.[5]

Since Aymara surround-fishing in Chucuito is a cooperative enterprise, often involving all or most of the local fishermen, the fishing ceremony is not held for individuals, but for all

[1] For accounts of Bolivian Aymara agriculture ceremonialism, see Paredes, 1936, 82–100; La Barre, 1948, 183–184.

[2] The date of Espíritu fiesta is movable. The description of this ceremony was furnished by Informants 45 and 66.

[3] Libations to growing plants during Carnival is also Bolivian Aymara practice. La Barre, 1948, 183.

[4] Occasionally this ceremony is held instead during the fiesta of Espíritu, in May (52).

[5] Bandelier, MS. For the Uinamarca region of Bolivia, Wegner describes an interesting rite during which Lake fish are offered coca and chicha so that they will become abundant. Wegner, 1934, 162–163.

fishermen jointly.[1] The surround technique calls for close supervision and direction lest the schools of fish be frightened and dispersed. This necessity has given rise to somewhat more formal patterns of leadership than prevail elsewhere in Aymara culture. During the period of the field study, the leader, *p'eqeña*, of the Chucuito fishermen was an elderly man, Francisco *wilka*, whose knowledge and abilities were conceded by all.[2]

About a week prior to Carnival Sunday, Francisco *wilka* collected 50 *centavos* from each fisherman in Chucuito (some 20 to 30 men in all) in order to engage Miguel *wilka* of ayllu *marka sułkapunta* to perform the ceremony and to purchase materials for the offerings.[3] In addition, each fisherman contributed food and alcohol for the subsequent feast. On the day preceding the Domingo de Carnaval, all of the fishermen were instructed by the magician not to venture out upon the Lake lest they anger the Lake Spirit. That evening at sundown they all gathered at the house of Francisco *wilka*, near the balsa landing. After reading the coca to discover the proper hour for the ceremony, the magician and his assistant prepared a *mesa* and a *p'awaqa*. When these offerings were completed and dedicated, they were wrapped in a package, carried down to the Lake shore, and deposited in an old reed balsa. The magician offered incense and libations of wine and *č'uwa*, and prayed to the Lake Spirit to increase the supply of fish and to allow them to be caught. As in the animal increase rite (p. 275), all the participants repeated his actions. Finally, a ring of manure, open to the east, was laid in the bottom of the balsa; the offerings were placed inside the circle and burned. Repeating the prayer, the magician shoved the blazing balsa out onto the Lake and permitted it to drift away.

During Santiago fiesta a magician may be engaged by an individual fisherman who is unlucky and who desires that a *mesa* be offered to the Lake Spirit on his behalf. In addition, the bones of the most perfect fish of each catch are burned with coca in the stove, while the fisherman prays to the Lake Spirit that his luck may continue.

Compadre RITE, *kompadre*

Briefly, the term *compadre* (or *comadre*, depending on the sex of the person in question) designates an individual to whom one is bound by ties of "ceremonial kinship."[4] As employed in Chucuito, *compadre* and *comadre* are reciprocal terms that designate, respectively, the father and mother of one's godchild, *ahijado*. *Compadre* relationships are here initiated on three principal occasions: (1) at the baptism of an infant; (2) at a child's first haircutting; and (3) at marriage. Since each of a man's children may have different *padrinos*, or godparents, on each of these occasions, any individual may have a considerable number of *compadres*.[5] In many ways the bonds of ceremonial kinship resemble ties of consanguinity or affinity, and individuals standing in such a relationship to one another are bound together by a series of formal obligations, as well as (in theory) by attitudes of mutual respect and affection.

Although it is quite clear that the *Compadre* ceremony as practiced in its present form cannot be of native origin, since the *compadre* complex itself is unquestionably of Spanish introduction, it has been adapted to Aymara ceremonial pattern, and is in effect a merging of the *mesa loqaña* rite with the séance. At the present time *Compadre* rites are celebrated by the Aymara of Bolivia as well as in Peru.[6]

In Chucuito the *Compadre* ceremony is held on the eve of the second Thursday before Carnival, often designated *Jueves de Compadre*, while the *Comadre* rite is celebrated (when it is held at all) on the eve of the Thursday preceding Carnival, called *Jueves de Comadre*.[7] The

[1] For a summary description of Aymara fishing techniques, see Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 521–525.

[2] The following summary account of the fishing ceremony was furnished by Informant 52, himself a fisherman.

[3] This magician rarely practiced in Chucuito proper; he undertook this particular ceremony because he was a cousin (father's brother's son) of Francisco *wilka*.

[4] The Spanish concept of *compadrazgo* or "ceremonial kinship" has been elaborated to a considerable degree by the Indians of various parts of Latin America from Mexico to Bolivia. Paul, MS.

[5] At present the *padrino* who sponsors a marriage is frequently a Mestizo.

[6] Paredes, 1936, 173–175.

[7] Ordinarily in a particular instance an individual's *comadre* will be the wife of his *compadre*.

The *Comadre* ceremony is now obsolescent in

avowed purpose of the ceremonies is to reaffirm the cordial relations that should, in cultural theory, prevail between *compadres:*

They have this fiesta so that all will be good and nothing will be bad; so that they will have good animals and crops, and so that they will be on good terms with each other (2).

When a man decides to hold a *Compadre* ceremony, he announces his intentions and sends invitations to all of his *compadres* well in advance. These individuals, accompanied by their wives and children, arrive at the host's house on the Wednesday preceding the second Thursday before Carnival.

Usually the ceremony is good for 10 years, but some people have it every year. If the ceremony is very solemn, it lasts for more years (2).

On the occasion described by Juan *kurasi* (2), the rite was attended by his wife and children, by his younger brother and his wife and children, and by three of Juan's *compadres* with their wives and children. The last-mentioned children were Juan's *ahijados de bautizo*, since he had assumed the role of godparent when they were baptized. Juan's own children had Mestizo godparents; although they sent the conventional, appropriate gifts, they did not attend the ceremony.[1]

At approximately 8:00 in the evening, Juan's relatives and *compadres* assembled in his house, where a magician prepared a *mesa* and a *p'awaqa*.[2] As described by Informant 2, this rite conformed in all important particulars to the account of the *mesa loqaña* rite given above (see p. 269). During the preparation of the offerings and the dedication of the *aita*, all participants begged one another's forgiveness three times.

This is very important in *Compadre* because the whole reason for the fiesta is to make everyone friendly.

Following this, the magician blew out the candles and held a séance.

First they called the different spirits and the spirits talked to everyone and blessed everyone. They [the spirits] said, "Juan, may you be healthy." They said, "Mariano, may you have good crops and many sheep." There were many spirits and no one knew which spirit was talking.

After they received the blessings of the spirits, the assembled *compadres* summoned and conversed with the souls of deceased relatives and friends.

They talked to all the people they used to know, and it was as though they were alive again.

On three occasions during the séance everyone present again begged one another's forgiveness. When the séance terminated, the magician and his assistant burned the offerings in the courtyard of the house, buried the ashes, and marked the spot with a flat stone.

When another *paqo* comes the next time you have this ceremony, he has to dig up these ashes and throw them in a river.

On the following day, *Jueves de Compadre*, the various *compadres* returned and presented Juan with gifts:

One brought me a sheep, another a cheese, and the third some eggs.

In return Juan gave each of his godchildren a new outfit of clothing, a conventional gift on such occasions, known as *čeqa*, "wings."[3] The remainder of the day was spent in feasting and friendly carousing.

CURING AND COUNTER-SORCERY

Numerous references have been made in the preceding pages to rites performed by the magician to cure disease or to counteract

Chucuito and is said to be held only by widows and unmarried women who are ignorant of the paternity of their children (2). When celebrated, however, the form of the rite is said to be in every respect identical with the *Compadre* ceremony.

[1] On *Jueves de Compadre*, an Indian may call on his Mestizo *compadre* and bring him a gift. But although the latter gives his Indian *compadre pisco* and coca as well as the conventional gift of *čeqa* (for the *ahijado*), he seldom, if ever, attends the ceremony. For an account of Indian-Mestizo relationships in Chucuito, see Tschopik, H., Jr., MS.

[2] The magician who officiated on this occasion, Manuel *mačaqa*, is now deceased, while his assistant, Rufino *sairitupa*, no longer resides in Chucuito.

[3] Informants were unable to explain the use of the term in this context. In some respects the practice of *čeqa* recalls the ancient Aymara rite of *Sucullu*. Cf. Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 323. On this occasion also, children were given presents of clothing, but by actual blood relatives.

sorcery. It is convenient here to summarize these observations and to describe some additional techniques favored by the *paqo* in connection with curing and counter-sorcery.

As opposed to the cures performed by other practitioners, the magician specializes in treating the diseases sent by spirits, especially the guardian or place spirit, and by demons of all types. He also recovers lost souls and, at times, cures chullpa sickness (see p. 203). In addition, he may perform preventative rites against human and animal illness. Yet, generally speaking, and discounting the exceptions described below, the magician has no special curing rites. In the event that the disease is sent by a supernatural (good or evil) it may be cured or banished by offering the proper sacrifice. Thus in curing, as in virtually every other ceremonial situation, the magician resorts to one or both of the familiar all-purpose offerings, the *p'awaqa* or the *mesa*.[1] There seems to be some tendency to offer the *mesa* to spirits and the *p'awaqa* to demons, although there are numerous exceptions to this generalization. Generally speaking, however, the nature and size of the offering appear to be governed by the importance of the spirit and his rank in the supernatural hierarchy and by the seriousness of the disease. The most important and usual curing rite of the magician, therefore, is merely the now-familiar ceremony, *mesa loqaña* (see p. 269). The manner in which the offering burns is carefully observed for divinatory purposes and indicates whether the patient will die or recover. Thus Informant 86 related:

> Once I was called to the Peninsula to offer a *mesa* for Mariano *mamani*. There was a sick old woman there called Josefa Gomez. I went to offer the *mesa* for her health. The *mesa* did not burn well; it burned all wrong. Then I said, "She is going to die." And later she died.

In the event of an epidemic, the magician, or at times the *qoʃasiri*, may be summoned to perform a rite called *troka*, designed both to cure the patient and to banish the disease.[2] This rite is held for an individual, an extended family, or for several extended families. The patient is placed in bed with silver coins, food, and valuable clothing in order that the disease may impregnate and pass into these objects. The patient is also bathed carefully in a mixture of water and alcohol. The valuables and the bath water are then carried away to a deserted spot, *wasara*, to the junction of two streams, or to cross-roads, and there abandoned, occasionally with a *p'awaqa* or *mesa*, which in this instance is offered to the disease itself (33).[3] In the event that a traveler finds these objects and carries them away, it is Aymara theory that he takes the disease with him.[4] If no one is tempted by the *troka*, the disease may be unable to find its way back to the sick patient or may be persuaded by the offerings to go elsewhere. In the opinion of Informant 66, it is dangerous for a magician to perform a *troka* unless he is accompanied by his assistant or at least by another person who should dispose of the contaminated objects:

> A *paqo* is good; to throw away the disease is a bad thing. That is why his assistant must do it. The disease is afraid to attack two people, but it will attack one.

It is clear from the following entry in Bertonio's dictionary that in essence the *troka* rite is an ancient Aymara ceremony. He states:

> *Tapitha: Dexar enel camino ropa o lana, etc., para q̃ el q̃ la hallar se lleue la enfermedad de aquella persona cuya era la ropa. Es supersticion de indios.*[5]

As explained earlier, soul loss is thought to be a cause of disease common both to adults and to children, although more prevalent

[1] In the case of very serious illness, a llama foetus may also be offered (see p. 248).

[2] The term *troka* is derived from the Spanish *trocar*, "to exchange or change." In exceptional cases, the *troka* rite is performed to cure any serious illness, whether an epidemic is raging or not.

[3] Paredes describes the Bolivian Aymara *trucakha* rite as follows: "*También suelen pasar por el cuerpo de los enfermos, yerbas, maíz, cuys y junto con la ropa que le sacan, hacer un atado, llevarlo al camino próximo y abondonario allí, para que el mal siga su terrible y lúgubre viaje, empujando por el viento o conducido por los incautos viajeros que se apropian del atado, se contagian de la enfermedad.*" Paredes, 1936, 199. As mentioned earlier, Frazer mentions an Aymara rite in which the clothes of plague-stricken people are loaded on a black llama which is then turned loose to carry away the disease. Frazer, 1930, 565.

[4] In the opinion of Informant 33, a person who wishes to carry away a *troka* may nullify its evil effects by first urinating on it and then by "disinfecting" the money with alcohol, and setting fire to it.

[5] Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 337.

among the latter.[1] On the one hand sudden fright, shock, or accident may jolt the soul loose from the body and cause it to wander[2]; on the other, the soul may be kidnapped or imprisoned by a demon because of natural malevolency, or at the instigation of a sorcerer. While the latter type is more serious and requires counter-sorcery, the former, which is especially common among children, may be cured by treatment. In the presence of the patient the magician offers incense to the place spirit and recites prayers, summoning the soul by name and urging it to return (66). Then he rings a little brass bell, calling out repeatedly to the soul and coaxing it back. Meanwhile the magician fumigates the patient in the smoke of two cactus plants, *akiḷa t'una* and *mari t'una*.[3] The rationale for this behavior is that while the soul is absent, the patient's body may be occupied by demons:

> The smoke drives out the *supaya* in the person's body so that the soul (*anima*) can get back in (66).

Following this, incense is offered once more, the soul again called, and the patient is made to drink an infusion which has as its main ingredient the ground bones of a priest.[4] For the Puno region, La Barre describes a somewhat different rite that also has as its objective the restoration of a wandering soul:

> The doctor takes a little mannikin, gives it the name of the *loco* [i.e., the patient] and then performs magic so that the absent soul will return and come into the doll. Then the doll is put in bed with the sick person, and the soul is exorcized to return into the body it had left.[5]

Before counter-sorcery is discussed, it is necessary to summarize very briefly the techniques of black magic employed in contemporary Chucuito.[6] As stated above, sorcery is the profession of the *laiqa*. Since generally this specialist acts at the bidding of a client rather than out of self interest, in the opinion of most Aymara in Chucuito guilt devolves primarily upon the latter. The activities of the sorcerer are designed to kill his victim, to send disease or insanity, to cause accidents, or to destroy the victim's livestock and crops. To produce a spell, bodily exuviae or old clothing of the victim are required as well as (usually) a toad representing this individual. In order to produce similar effects on the victim, the toad is mutilated or strangled and then wrapped in a bundle, *laiqa q'epe*, with the exuviae. At other times, instead of using a toad, the sorcerer kidnaps the victim's soul and imprisons it in an old cow horn. The bundle, together with the dead toad or the cow horn, fox fat, and threads that have been twisted in reverse of normal, is then hidden in a ruin, or buried at the abode of a demon or on the victim's property. Almost invariably the bundle is interred with offerings to the demon or place spirit, and these, with minor differences in the preliminary details, are highly similar to those prepared by the magician for benevolent magic. Ordinarily they include coca, *q'oa*, llama fat, incense, *q'oḷpa*, and the like.

For sorcery to be effective, of course, the victim must be made aware of it. This is ordinarily accomplished through the medium of village gossip or rumor. The victim sickens; then he or his relatives endeavor to discover through divination whether or not sorcery has been practiced. A diviner, doctor, or magician can detect the presence of sorcery by reading coca, or a magician can consult supernaturals during a séance. In all events the victim is advised to find the bundle and burn it; the direction of the smoke will then indicate the whereabouts of the sorcerer or his malevolent client.[7]

Until he knows the location of the bundle

[1] Regarding the Aymara of Ilave, Kuczynski-Godard states: "*Hay un tremendo temor de que el alma se separe del cuerpo, acontecimiento frecuente de lo que resulta enfermedad.*" Kuczynski-Godard, 1944, 9.

[2] It may be that Bertonio refers to soul loss in the following entry: *Samcarttaatha:* "*Aturdir o asombrar a alguno con algun golpe, o espanto.*" Bertonio, 1879b, vol. 2, 307.

[3] These plants were not identified.

[4] This remedy may be procured from the traveling medicinemen of Bolivia.

[5] La Barre, 1948, 222–223. This rite is also described for the Bolivian Aymara. Paredes, 1936, 116–117.

[6] Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 565–566. For descriptions of Bolivian Aymara sorcery, see La Barre, 1948, 220–221; Paredes, 1936, 4–11.

[7] At times, when the magician already knows the identity of the sorcerer and his client from other sources, he disposes of the bundle by pouring salt and the victim's urine on it and depositing it in running water.

or the identity of the sorcerer or his client, the magician is powerless to act. Once, however, this information has been obtained, either by accidental discovery or through the revelations of supernaturals, the *paqo* may cope with the situation in several ways. The victim or his relatives may, of course, wish to hire another *laiqa* and retaliate with counter-sorcery, but such an expedient is considered both dangerous and anti-social (11, 66).

You can't call another *laiqa*. A *laiqa* is bad and another one would make it worse. A *paqo* is good and he works to make the bad stop—like pouring water on a fire—so that the evil goes back to the other person who caused it (11).

Counter-sorcery as practiced by the magician is designed to accomplish three objectives simultaneously: (1) to nullify the spell; (2) to make the evil backfire upon the sorcerer or his client; and (3) to prevent further sorcery from this particular source. As in curing, the magician has no rite designed specifically and solely to counteract sorcery, but instead relies upon his stock-in-trade, the *mesa loqaña* rite. If the victim's kidnapped soul has been imprisoned on his premises, or if the place spirit has been persuaded by a sorcerer to send disease, an adequate sacrifice to this spirit will release and restore the soul or banish the sickness. Similarly, by offering them the proper sacrifice, demons and the evil supernaturals or ghosts that inhabit ruins may be persuaded to take back disease or insanity. In such cases the magician always includes some special offering such as the mineral *q'oḷpa*, which has the power to reverse the situation and to make the spell backfire (see p. 247), or a llama foetus, which has a compulsive quality and forces the supernaturals to act whether they wish to or not (see p. 248).

Less frequently, instead of offering the conventional *p'awaqa* or *mesa*, the magician may counteract sorcery by killing a sheep, cutting it open, and forcing the feet of the victim inside the still-warm stomach.[1] The sheep's heart is then cut out and burned with offerings at the abode of the spirit or demon that has been persuaded to send the disease.

They do this to make the evil go back to the person who caused it (11).

It is Aymara theory that merely to look at a sorcerer (or his client) with knowledge of his guilt helps to make the evil backfire and affords future protection against this individual.[2] Informant 11 stated as follows:

If you know who a *laiqa* is and you look at him, he dies because the evil turns back to him. If you know who he is, it is easy to kill him just by looking at him and talking to him. When you do this, you shouldn't let the *laiqa* know that you know who he is. If he knows that he is found out, he may do something to save himself or he may bewitch someone else. You just look at him and talk to him as a friend.[3]

It follows, therefore, that a counter-sorcery rite, based as it is on knowledge of the identity of the guilty party, serves to protect the victim and his family against future onslaughts of black magic from this particular source, and to some extent from sorcery in general.[4] After describing cases of sorcery, informants almost invariably made statements along the following lines:

Then when I got home I had a *paqo* prepare a *mesa* so that no one can ever bewitch me or my family again (16). So Juan had a *paqo* prepare a *mesa* so that his family would not be bewitched again by this man (53).

Similarly, any individual who particularly fears sorcery or has reason to believe that he is about to be bewitched may have a magician perform such a rite in advance as a general preventative measure.

There is a feeling among the magicians of Chucuito that to counteract local sorcery, the magician who performs counter-sorcery should come from outside the village proper. Informant 66 explained this point of view as follows:

A *paqo* who does counter-sorcery must come from a great distance. I can't do it for people in Chucuito whose souls have been kidnapped. If I did such a thing, the *laiqa* might find out about it and bewitch

[1] See Kuczynski-Godard, 1945a, 28. This technique of "curing" is also recorded for the Bolivian Aymara. Cf. Paredes, 1936, 201–202.

[2] Drinking the blood or urine of a sorcerer also serves to nullify the evil (16).

[3] It is difficult to imagine a more clearly expressed statement of the Aymara sentiment against open, overt aggression.

[4] To some extent it is generally believed that once a person has been bewitched, he is thereafter immune to sorcery.

me. That is why a *paqo* who burns the bundle should come from far away.

This ideal pattern is borne out, moreover, in practice; in no case of sorcery recorded in Chucuito did the sorcerer and the counter-sorcerer come from precisely the same area.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MAGIC

The Magicians of Chucuito

When the field studies were initiated in Chucuito, early in 1940, seven practicing magicians resided in the village proper.[1] Soon afterward, however, one of these left to take up permanent residence in Ilave, while a second moved to the same town shortly after the Chucuito census was taken in January, 1941. In addition, two other magicians, Paco Damaseno and Juan de Dios *aski*, who lived within the District of Chucuito but outside Chucuito itself, practiced in the town with such frequency that they merit consideration here.[2] While these two individuals, as well as Informant 85 (aged 57), were classed as "old men," the four remaining magicians, who ranged in age from 36 to 42, belonged in the age category of "mature men," as did the two who left Chucuito to pursue their profession in Ilave.[3]

During this same interval, five of the above-mentioned magicians of Chucuito (45, 66, 85, 86, 109) were training a total of eight apprentices, seven of whom were natives of the village, while one, Pascual *kutipa*, came from the outlying Chucuito ayllu of *potoxani*. With the exception of the latter, who was 24 years old and was classified as a "young man," all of the apprentices belonged in the category of "mature men."[4]

Although there appear to be no formal prohibitions that prevent a woman from becoming a magician, there are no women magicians in Chucuito village.[5] One, however, was reported to have achieved a considerable reputation in the Estancia region of the District. Regarding this woman, and female magicians generally, Informant 45 stated:

> She says that no other magician is as good as she is. I don't like her—I just don't think that a magician should be a woman—but everyone there says that she is a good one. Usually, though, I think that men make the best magicians.

Like all other specialists of Chucuito (potters, shopkeepers, ayllu head men, or doctors) the magicians of the village are basically farmers and pursue their professional calling in their spare time. Visits to clients are fitted in between routine agricultural activities, and many professional calls are made after sundown. Nevertheless, although the magician is dependent chiefly on farming for his livelihood, he relies upon his profession for much of his ready cash and, as is shown below, derives, for an Aymara, a comfortable income from this source.

[1] At this time, there were six *qoɬasiri* (doctors), four *yatiri* (diviners), five *usuiri* (midwives), and four *t'aliri* (chiropractors). It was not possible to ascertain the number of sorcerers, or *laiqa*.

[2] Paco Damaseno (or *q'api* Damaso), a man of 55, resided in *q'api* on the Peninsula of Chucuito; his ayllu was *maqera*. Juan de Dios *aski*, approximately 60 years old, lived in the farming settlement of *kusipata*, which pertains to *marka suɬkapunta* ayllu. Comparative statistics on the number of magicians practicing in other Aymara communities are not available. Kuczynski-Godard lists only one *paqo* for the entire community of Ichu (population, 1952 inhabitants); this figure, however, is almost certainly incorrect. Kuczynski-Godard, 1945, 13–23.

[3] Ages of Chucuito magicians in 1941: Manuel Barrientos, 36; Anselmo *čeqani*, 40; Alejandro *sairitupa*, 42; Silverio Sosa, 42; Manuel Corrasco, 57.

Those who left Chucuito for Ilave were Pío Serrano, 27; Mariano *harpa*, 45.

[4] Apprentice magicians in Chucuito in 1941: Pascual *kutipa*, aged 24, trained by Silverio Sosa; Martín *čoqe*, aged 31, trained by Silverio Sosa; Alejandro Laura, aged 29, trained by Anselmo *čeqani;* Alejandro *waraťa*, aged 38, trained by Anselmo *čeqani;* Vicente *sairitupa*, aged 31, trained by Alejandro *sairitupa;* Antonio Perez, aged 38, trained by Manuel Barrientos; Mauricio *čoqe*, aged 25, trained by Manuel Corrasco; Fecundo *nina*, aged 33, trained by Manuel Corrasco.

It will be noted that in an earlier paper I stated that there were only five apprentice magicians in Chucuito; at the time when the manuscript was sent to the editor, the Chucuito field data were still incomplete. Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 564.

[5] Paredes states that in respect to the practice of magic, for good or for evil, among the Bolivian Aymara, the role played by women is vastly inferior to that of men. Paredes, 1936, 6.

Among the contemporary Quechua, either men or women may engage in magic, although women are more apt to practice sorcery. Mishkin, 1946, 469.

TABLE 1

CLIENTS TREATED BY CHUCUITO MAGICIANS

I Name of Magician	II Locality	III Ayllu	IV Relationship	V Rite	VI Purpose	VII Fee
Manuel Barrientos (45)	Lower town	*potoxani*				
Paulina *kurasi*	Estancia (D)	*potaxani*	Unrelated	*mesa* offered	Curing	2.50+.20
Antonio Ascensio	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Unrelated	*p'awaqa* offered	Restore kidnapped soul	1.00+.20
Manuel Merma	Chinchera (D)	*marka hilapunta*	Unrelated	*mesa* offered	General welfare	2.00+.30
Martín *čoqe*	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Unrelated	*p'awaqa* offered	Curing	.80+.20
Mariano Ramos	Ilave (O)	"Foreign"	Unrelated	*mesa* offered	Good health	2.00+.50 S/9.70
Anselmo *čeqani* (86)	Lower town	*Artesano Zapatero*				
Martín *arukipa*	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Unrelated	*p'awaqa* offered	Love magic	2.00+.20
Mariano *mamani*	Peninsula (D)	*qota*	Unrelated	*mesa* offered	Curing	2.50+.20
Antonio Ascensio	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Friend	*mesa* offered	To cure "insanity"	1.20+.20
Raimundo *č'aļč'a*	Lower town (V)	*marka hilapunta*	Unrelated	Séance	Discover thief	2.00+.40
Julian Mansano	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Unrelated	Séance	Discover thief	2.00+.50
Juana *čeqani*	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Sister	*mesa* and *troka*	Curing	— .20
Josefina *sap'ana*	Chinchera (D)	*marka hilapunta*	Unrelated	*p'awaqa* offered	Restore lost soul	1.00+.20
Mercedes Zea	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Friend	*mesa* offered	For success of fiesta	1.80+.20
Manuel Artiaga	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Friend	Séance and *mesa*	Curing	1.50+.20
Juán Grimaldos	Lower town (V)	Mestizo	Patrón	*mesa* offered	House dedication	2.00+.50 S/18.80
Silverio Sosa (66)	Lower town	*Artesano Zapatero*				
Mariano Laura	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Unrelated	Séance	Discover cause of death	2.00+.50
Miguél Pauro	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Unrelated	Séance	To resolve family row	2.00+.20
Various (group)	Chucuito village	—	Unrelated	Séance	Discover thief	2.50+.80
Juán Cruz	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	*Compadre*	*mesa* offered	General welfare	1.50+.50
Fecundo *qoila*	*laiqo uma* (D)	*marka sulkapunta*	Friend	*wilanča* and *mesa*	House dedication	1.50+.50 S/12.00
Alejandro *sairitupa* (109)	Lower town	*Artesano Sombrerero*				
Isidro *čoqe*	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Friend	Séance and *mesa*	Discover lost property	1.50+.50
Jorge Perez	Lower town (V)	*Artesano Zapatero*	Unrelated	*wilanča* and *mesa*	House dedication	2.00+.50
Pablo *mamani*	Peninsula (D)	*paļaļa*	Unrelated	Séance	Decide choice of spouse	2.00+.20
Mariano *qoila*	Estancia (D)	*k'arukaya*	Unrelated	*mesa* offered	Animal increase	2.00+.50 S/9.20

KEY

I The clients of each magician are listed under his name.

II Home of the client: Chucuito village (V); Chucuito District (D); outside Chucuito District (O).

III Ayllu affiliation of magician and client. *Artesano Zapatero* and *Artesano Sombrerero* are ayllus of the village. Others, except "foreign," are ayllus of the District.

IV Relationship of client to magician.

V Rite performed by magician for client.

VI The purpose of this rite.

VII Fee (in *soles*) by the magician. The first figure is the fee proper; the second represents *nairanča*, or money placed by the client on the amulet to enable the magician to see more clearly.

The number of cases treated by particular magicians appears to vary considerably. Not only is the clientele of a given *paqo* dependent upon his prestige and personality, but there is good reason to believe that his activities are in a sense seasonal and that they tend to be increased during the interval after harvest and before planting. Thus Informant 86, one of the lesser magicians of Chucuito, treated double the number of clients in July (the height of the slack season) than any of the better-known magicians attended during the month of October, the height of the farming season (see Table 1).

Table 1 lists the number of clients treated by four Chucuito magicians (45, 66, 86, 109) during an interval of one month. The month selected for Informants 45, 66, and 109 was October, 1941, while that for Informant 86 was July, 1943. During these periods, Informants 45 and 66 each attended five clients, Informant 86 handled 10, while Informant 109 treated only four. An additional magician, 85, who had all but retired from the profession, treated only three cases during the entire year of 1941. According to Informant 45, October, 1941, was a bad month, and this *paqo* maintained that during the agricultural season he often averaged as many as 10. Informant 66, who had a tendency to boast, claimed to average eight or nine cases during the farming season and 11 or 12 during the dry season.

An inspection of Table 1 reveals that of a total of 24 cases attended by the four Chucuito magicians, 16 were confined to the village proper, seven to other places within the District of Chucuito, and only one to towns (Ilave) outside the boundaries of the District. Thus it would appear that local magicians practice infrequently outside the District limits, a point corroborated by interviews. All, however, stated that on one or more occasions, usually during trading trips or when attending out-of-town fiestas, they had attended clients in other villages. Conversely, the writer has no record of any magician from a neighboring town having practiced within the confines of Chucuito District during the period of field study.[1]

On the other hand, it was noted that four magicians from other parts of Chucuito District practiced in the village proper. Two of these resided on the Peninsula of Chucuito, a considerable distance away, while the others lived in Chinchera and *kusipata*, farming settlements situated just outside the geographical limits of the village. Of these four magicians, two came to the village infrequently, and then only to treat relatives. On the other hand, as noted above, Paco Damaseno from the Peninsula and Juan De Dios *aski* of *kusipata* carried on what might be said to be regular practices in Chucuito proper, and Informant 45 estimated that these men came to town for professional reasons as often as four times a month.

Although they appear to engage in no formal and public competitive exhibitions of their "power" abilities, it was clear that the magicians of Chucuito were, generally speaking, acutely jealous of one another. They lost no opportunity to scoff and belittle one another, both to other Aymara and to the writer. Informants 45 and 66 regularly ridiculed and sneered at Informant 85 because the latter failed to make offerings in the approved manner. Similarly they dismissed Informant 86 as a charlatan because he had never been struck by lightning and had not, therefore, "been chosen by God." Once during an interview Informant 45 remarked that his rival (66) did not know enough to do more than divine with coca. Almost the next day Informant 66 asserted that Informant 45 had once been his apprentice (a statement that was quite untrue), and that the latter owed all of his knowledge to the former's skilled tutelage. In public, however, magicians contrived to be frostily polite to one another, and under certain circumstances even managed to collaborate professionally (see p. 233).

The Economics of Magic

As stated in a previous section, there are few avenues in Aymara culture that lead the ambitious to wealth, power, and prestige. It is also pointed out that economic security is the Aymara life goal and that wealth is usually a necessary prerequisite to prestige and high status. In view of these considerations, the attraction of magic as a professional career becomes evident. Not only is the magician a respected and esteemed member of the community, but without question he occupies the most financially rewarding special status af-

[1] There is one instance, however, of a Chucuito Indian having consulted a sorcerer from Ichu village.

forded by Aymara culture.[1]

The economically compensating aspects of the status are clearly and explicitly recognized by the Aymara themselves. One layman spoke of the lot of the successful magician in envious terms:

> A man is a *paqo* because he wants to make money. I knew one once in Chucuito named Fabián *tikiʃoka*, who earned much money and property by becoming a *paqo*. It depends upon how good they are how much they make (64).

In the responses of magicians to the query, "Why did you want to become a *paqo?*" the financial factor was always stressed. Thus Informant 109 replied:

> In order to do this (become a magician) I bought sea shells, *q'oa*, and amulets. With these things I earned money. It is a good thing to be a *paqo*. Going to the Estancia to offer a *p'awaqa* or a *mesa* one earns much money. Then for the *paqo* there is always good food and much coca, wine, and alcohol. Being magicians we bring many sheep to our houses. I learned to be a good *paqo* so that I could earn money.

Similarly, Informant 66 responded:

> To be a *paqo* one must know, one must be a superior man. A magician is beloved by all the spirits, that is why I became a *paqo*. We magicians earn much money, and we eat good food. Also, we are loved and respected by the people.

An inspection of Table 1 reveals that during a relatively "poor" month at the height of the busy agricultural season of 1941, Informants 45, 66, and 109 earned a total of S/9.70, S/12.00, S/9.20, respectively, while in a month during the slack season, Informant 86 earned S/18.80.[2] While in absolute terms these figures seem shockingly low, to the average Aymara they represent substantial remuneration. It must be remembered that at this time an unskilled farm laborer in Chucuito earned only 10 *centavos* a day, or S/3.00 for a 30-day work month, while even a plowman received only 60 *centavos* a day for strenuous work of a highly seasonal nature, and at the same time was required to feed and maintain his oxen at his own expense.[3] In addition to his fees, it must be remembered that the magician is fed, entertained, and housed by his client during a professional visit, and that later, when he departs, he is customarily given food, a half-bottle of alcohol, and approximately 50 *centavos* worth of coca.

Notwithstanding the earning power of the magician, however, only one *paqo* of Chucuito (85) was classed, in terms of land, as a rich man. Magicians 66, 86, 87, and 109 were generally considered to have average means, while 45 and 84 were classed, and again in terms of land owned, as poor. Yet it was generally conceded by layman and magician alike that, in the long run, the *paqo* fared better than the land wealthy, since the former's professional earnings made him in large part independent of the vicissitudes that are the traditional lot of the farmer. During the entire period of the Chucuito study, not a single magician complained of poverty or hunger, and all appeared, by comparative standards, to be well fed.

It will be noted from the figures given in Table 1 that the fees received by magicians for professional services are remarkably standardized. The average fee (including *nairanča*) paid to the magician for conducting a séance is S/2.35 (maximum S/3.30, minimum S/1.70); for offering a *mesa*, S/2.30 (maximum S/2.70, minimum S/1.70); and for offering a *p'awaqa*, S/1.40 (maximum S/2.20, minimum S/1.00). The magician receives no formal fee from relatives by blood or marriage, merely the *nairanča* money; for friends and *compadres* he customarily reduces the price a few *centavos*.

In spite of these concessions to family and friendship, the feeling exists that the efficacy of the ceremony depends in some measure upon the size of the fee and that a rite held without any compensation would be valueless (45, 66). Although, as stated above, it is usual during séances for a supernatural to name the amount to be paid the magician, there is no evidence that this convenient fiction is abused. In addition, it is Aymara belief that the more one

[1] Paredes likewise stresses the lucrative aspects of this status among the Bolivian Aymara: "*El favorito de la suerte se convierte en ídolo de la multitud. Todos le colman de atenciones y le hacen obsequios. El indio que necesita de él, le entrega gratis el cordero más gordo de su majada, los productos escojidos de su cosecha....*" Paredes, 1936, 12.

[2] At this time the currency exchange rate was S/6.48 to the dollar.

[3] The buying power of the *sol* in 1941 is indicated on pp. 230–237 in terms of the prices of farm products for that year.

pays for a magical rite, the longer it will remain effective; in regard to the *Compadre* ceremony (see p. 280), Informant 2 stated:

> It depends on how much you pay the *paqo* how long it is good for.

The Sociology of Magic

In 11 cases recorded in Chucuito there is available concrete information regarding the ayllu and/or *barrio* affiliations of magician and apprentice, as well as the degree of blood relationship existing between these individuals. Although so small a sample is obviously inadequate evidence on which to base any definitive conclusions, a brief analysis of these data may be of some interest. In six instances magician and apprentice belonged to the same ayllu, while in five they differed as to ayllu affiliation. In all cases (6), where both magician and apprentice were residents of Chucuito proper, however, these two individuals resided in the same *barrio* of the village, and in four of these instances they were geographically close neighbors. Of the 11 cases available, blood relationship between magician and apprentice was claimed and could be demonstrated in only two instances; in one of these the apprentice was the magician's full brother, while in the second the apprentice was the magician's first cousin, related through the latter's mother. In like manner, genealogical analysis revealed no tendency whatever for the role of magician to be inherited or perpetuated in either the paternal or maternal line.

In three of the nine cases where no blood relationship was claimed, it was stated that magician and apprentice were near neighbors and close friends. To sum up, therefore, apparently blood relationship and ayllu membership are factors of no particular importance in the establishment of the formal relationship between apprentice and magician, but *barrio* affiliation, or, perhaps, geographical propinquity, and friendship are more significant considerations in this context.

In regard to the various considerations that appear to influence and structure the relationship between the magician and his clientele, an examination of Table 1 makes it apparent that the factors involved are in every way similar to those discussed above. Thus of 24 cases handled by four Chucuito magicians during a sample month interval, in only one was the client related to the *paqo* by blood (in this case, his full sister). In a second case, a magician officiated on behalf of his *patrón;* in a third, he performed a sacrifice for a *compadre.* In five instances the clients were described as "friends" of the magician; in 16 they were classified as totally unrelated, by either blood, marriage, or through "ceremonial kinship." Again, ayllu affiliation appears as a factor of no particular importance, since in 10 instances the magician handled clients of his own ayllu, while in 13 cases he officiated for clients belonging to ayllus other than his own. In every example, however, where magician and client were both residents of Chucuito proper (a total of 15), they were invariably members of the same *barrio* of the village.[1]

Finally, although the Mestizos of Chucuito frequently express disbelief in magic, and officially adopt a superior attitude towards such "ignorant superstitions" of the Indians, it is by no means exceptional for a Mestizo to engage an Indian magician (or sorcerer) in his professional capacity.[2] Thus a Chucuito magician regularly performs sacrifices in the fields of his Mestizo *patrón* at the latter's bidding and is usually called in to dedicate any new structure constructed on behalf of a local *vecino.* It was likewise noted that Mestizos usually welcomed the *čoqela* dancers into their patios and offered them drinks and coca, doubtless with the hope of sharing in the general prosperity that this ceremonial is thought to promote.

The Magician and the Community

As Evans-Pritchard has observed, "the test of magic is experience," and it is the consensus among the Chucuito Aymara, who almost invariably tend to be pragmatic in their judgments, that a good magician is a successful magician.[3] The outcome of any magical rite is, of course, uncertain, but ready answers and rationalizations are always available to explain

[1] It has been noted elsewhere and in other contexts that in Chucuito the *barrio,* or moiety division, tends to have greater solidarity and to play a more positive role in the life of the community than does the ayllu. Tschopik, H., Jr., 1946, 541.

[2] In Bolivia also, Mestizos as well as Indians consult native Aymara practitioners. Bandelier, MS.

[3] Evans-Pritchard, 1937, 466.

the failures. The patient died because he delayed too long in summoning the magician, or the lost llamas were not recovered because the client failed to obey the advice and instructions of the spirits as these were relayed to him by the *paqo*. In pointing out the *paqo* of his choice, an individual conveniently forgets the failures and enumerates only the magician's spectacular and well-known successes. This method, of course, is likewise employed by the *paqo* himself for purposes of professional advertisement.

In the long run, unless a particular *paqo* has an unusual and outstanding streak of luck, the failures and successes average the same for each magician. In spite of the odds, however, not all of the magicians of Chucuito were in equal demand. Informants 45 and 66 were clearly the most popular, while Informant 109 ranked next in public favor. Informant 86 enjoyed little popularity, while some individuals even declined to believe that Informant 85, was, or ever had been, a magician. Factors other than success *per se*, therefore, enter into the question of why certain magicians in the community have greater prestige and a larger following than others. Age is clearly a consideration; young magicians tend in general to be distrusted, an attitude prevalent towards young physicians in certain segments of our own society. In both circumstances, the Aymara and our own, such attitudes of distrust of the young are thoroughly consistent with the pattern of prolonging the childhood age category until adult status has been achieved. Likewise the Aymara feel that magicians should not be too old; some evidence suggests that old age tends to be associated with sorcery and evil. Informant 11 summed up popular opinion as follows:

> A magician should be a mature man (*čuimani haqe*), not too young and not too old.

Other factors that appear to be especially pertinent in governing the popularity of a given magician are related to his status personality and the manner in which he performs his expected (i.e., culturally prescribed) role. These considerations are discussed below.

The general attitude of the layman towards magicians as a class is highly colored by ambivalence. On the one hand he is regarded as a community leader, a pillar of society, and as a benefactor of, and a counselor to, the troubled and distraught. As such, he is highly respected for his wisdom and intelligence. In the words of Informant 28:

> The *paqo* is wiser than anyone. He is a privileged person and he has a superior intelligence.

Ultimately, moreover, the magician is thought to hold the very key to security as the Aymara envisage it:

> If you want to get rich, you have to get a *paqo* to offer a *mesa* for you so that you will have many animals, good land, and a lot of money. Only a *paqo* can help you to get rich (33).

On the other hand, the magician is feared because of his intimacy with spirits, demons, souls, and other supernatural beings. He is known to manipulate the supernatural world for purposes of good, and there is always a lingering doubt as to whether or not he also manipulates it for evil. This doubt is sometimes confirmed, as shown, in situations where particular magicians are known to practice both black and white magic; in any event, the similarity in the techniques employed by the magician and the sorcerer cannot fail to escape the notice of the average Aymara. The *paqo* is known to perform magical rites objectively and impartially on behalf of his clients, but there is always the suspicion that he may also use his knowledge and his abilities for his own benefit and his own personal gain. Regarding the general attitude towards Magician 45, Informant A stated:

> Not many people like to talk to Manuel. They are afraid of him—afraid that he will find out about things that they have done wrong. He can find out all about robberies and things like that. They are afraid of him because he talks to the spirits.

The magician is, therefore, simultaneously respected and feared, trusted and distrusted; he is simultaneously a much-needed confidant and friend, and a potential enemy.

As Linton has written:

> . . . all societies assume that the individuals who occupy certain positions in their systems of organization will, as a group, show certain personality norms differing from those of individuals in certain other positions.[1]

With their interest in magic and their mixed attitudes of mingled respect and awe towards the magician, it is not surprising that the

[1] Linton, 1949, 166.

Chucuito Aymara have developed a stereotyped view of this role, and that they tend to attribute certain behavior patterns and personality characteristics to the *paqo*.[1]

A *paqo* should be a serious person, and he shouldn't drink too much; it makes the spirits angry when a *paqo* gets drunk (2).

He [the *paqo*] should not laugh too much or joke with people. If he gets drunk, people won't respect him—like Anselmo *čeqani*. Everyone would talk about him. (39).

A magician should always remain dignified and aloof:

He shouldn't mix with the people too much, and he shouldn't dance a lot, except *čoqela* (33).

Yet while maintaining proper dignity, the magician should not appear unapproachable:

paqo should get along well with people and he should help people and give them good advice (11).

It was generally agreed that a magician should appear reasonably prosperous and that he should be well dressed (2, 11, 43).[2]

The patterns generally ascribed to magicians in Chucuito are frequently reflected in the behavior of others towards these specialists. It was noted that when a large group of people was working in a field, or was engaged in roofing a house, or in some other cooperative enterprise, magicians were excluded from the customary joking and horseplay that accompany such activities. During gatherings the *paqo* is ordinarily allowed to sit apart. Indeed, unless he enters into a group of his own free will, the magician is usually left conspicuously alone, nor is he urged to dance during a fiesta unless he so wishes. The magician is, moreover, invariably accorded a great respect, and women and men alike tip their hats to him; when he calls at a house on a social visit, he is always given a poncho to sit on, a courtesy usually shown only to distinguished guests and to Mestizos. At feasts and during fiestas he is served first and attended with great solicitude.

Of all the roles in Aymara culture, that of the magician is, perhaps, most highly colored by the behavior patterns and personality characteristics that are culturally ascribed or attributed to individuals who occupy this status. This is to say that magicians as a class tend to exhibit certain behavior and personality traits that, by and large, appear to be atypical of most adult Aymara. Before a generalization is attempted in this regard, it is profitable to characterize briefly the personalities of the several Chucuito magicians as these came to the attention of the observer in the field. All of these individuals were well known to the writer and were seen frequently and under a variety of circumstances during a period of some three years.

Manuel Barrientos (45), aged 36 (Pl. 32), was born in *potoxani* ayllu, near Pichacani, in the Estancia country southwest of Chucuito. At the time of the field study he resided in a small house on the outskirts of lower Chucuito with his wife, his small son, his wife's little daughter by a former marriage, and his wife's young niece. Manuel was landless; the house and lands he occupied were the property of a local Mestizo, for whom he farmed on an *a medias* (halves) basis. Although classed as "poor" (in terms of land), he derived a comfortable income from the practice of magic and from the weaving of *bayeta*, or homespun.

Manual had never been to school, was illiterate, and spoke no Spanish. He had, for a brief interval, worked in Moquegua on the coast, and had traveled to Juliaca and to Juli on trading ventures, but had never been so far away from home as Arequipa.

Although he had a sly, dry sense of humor, which he did his best to suppress, Manuel was usually serious and dour and rarely smiled. He was extremely hard-working, almost never idled in the streets, seldom visited other people, and spent most of his time in the compound with his family. It appeared that he had few close friends. He almost never spoke unless spoken to, and had a disconcerting habit of now and then withdrawing into himself during interviews. In several places in my field notes I characterized him as "introverted."

During archaeological excavations in Chu-

[1] Linton has pointed out that such ascriptions are in the nature of "ideal culture patterns" and that, as such, they do not necessarily mirror the reality in any precise way. Linton, 1945, 69.

[2] Although, as Linton has written, ". . . workers with the supernatural are usually distinguished from the rest of their age-sex category by prescribed patterns of costume and behavior which they are expected to follow even when not engaged in their special occupation," Aymara culture is not so rigid and specific in the former requirement as our own. As stated above, the magician wears ordinary clothes, except when engaged in a ceremonial. Linton, *loc. cit.*

cuito on which he was employed as a workman Manuel gave every evidence of imagination and initiative; without instruction he directed difficult operations quietly and efficiently and with the appearance of self-assurance. The Mestizos of Chucuito were well aware of Manuel's leadership abilities, and he was frequently called upon by them to supervise work groups, house construction, and the like.

He danced only in the *čoqela* ceremonial, and although he drank freely and considerably on festive occasions, he deported himself well and inconspicuously when intoxicated.[1] His relations with others were easy, if somewhat sober and restrained. Although there is no evidence that he ever engaged in open quarrels with other magicians, he was jealous of his rivals, especially Informant 66, and never missed an opportunity to belittle them.

Silverio Sosa (66), aged 42 (Pl. 33), of ayllu *Artesano Zapatero*, was a native of Chucuito and lived in the lower *barrio* of the village with his wife and three unmarried children. He was a man of average economic circumstances, owned his own house and land, and in addition regularly farmed on a share-cropping basis for a local Mestizo. In addition to the income derived from his profession, Silverio wove homespun for sale and trade.

Although Silverio had never been to school and was illiterate, he spoke a little Spanish and had a tremendous store of misinformation about Peru, Peruvian politics, and world affairs generally. He believed, for example, that Manco Capac was the first president of the Republic, and that the United States was situated just to the north of Lima. Yet in spite of his inaccurate knowledge, Silverio must be classed as an intellectual and a thinker; he had an agile mind and a great natural curiosity. His first-hand knowledge of the world, however, was bounded by Juliaca to the north and Copacabana (Bolivia) to the southeast.

Although soft-spoken and shy on first acquaintance, he later became garrulous and babbled a great deal in his quiet voice, forever expounding his knowledge and views regarding the "ways of the world." His attitude towards life was philosophical, and tinged by a keen and whimsical sense of humor. Of all the Aymara I knew, Silverio seemed best adjusted and gave every appearance of being a thoroughly happy and secure individual.

Amiable and friendly by nature, he spent much time alone and pointedly avoided large social gatherings. Except for *čoqela*, he stated that he gave up all dancing when he was 17. He drank moderately, but alcohol appeared to make him only sleepy. Silverio prided himself on his clothes, which were always neat and of good quality, though a trifle exotic. His felt hat was far deeper in the crown than most, and his usual black poncho almost dragged on the ground.

In any cooperative undertaking, Silverio assumed leadership naturally, and directed the operations in his gentle voice, maintaining a constant stream of chatter. What he lacked in natural dignity was compensated by his manner, which on all occasions, sacred or secular, was ceremonious to a degree. His slightest gesture suggested ritual, as though the role of magician had become second nature to him. He was liked and respected by other Aymara, but he appeared to have few intimate friends. In his dealings with Mestizos he was polite but never obsequious. His principal weakness appeared to be a deep jealousy of his professional colleagues, and in a series of quiet, though devastating, remarks, he would (during interviews) dispose of one after another.

Alejandro *sairitupa* (109), aged 42, of *Artesano Sombrerero* ayllu, was a native and resident of lower town Chucuito. Although he had a good house in the village, where he occasionally lived with his wife and three young children, he and his family spent most of their time in another house, located near his fields, remote from the town.

Alejandro was a man of average means; he owned his own fields and houses. His wife came from a wealthy family and owned additional land. He prided himself on the fact that he worked for no one save on a labor exchange (*aini*) basis. In his youth he had decided to become a wealthy man and resolved to devote all of his energies to this end. He clearly and unabashedly used the role of magician as an avenue to wealth. He had no schooling, spoke no Spanish, and had never traveled farther from home than to Juliaca and Pomata, whence he went on frequent trips to trade the felt hats he manufactured.

Alejandro was stolid, unsmiling, and silent to the point of sullenness. His frequent monosyl-

[1] As stated earlier, two magicians regularly participate in the *čoqela* ceremonial.

labic answers seemed to indicate that he was too busy to be disturbed. In his private life he was virtually a recluse, devoting much of his free time to his own and his brother's family. Except for his brother, of whom he was very fond, he appeared to have no close friends. Since he was an accomplished stone mason, possessed a mechanical turn of mind, and was in addition an expert plowman, his services were frequently demanded by others. Provided that his labor was repaid in kind, he was usually willing to help his neighbors. In directing work projects, however, he tended to be exacting and domineering, and at times short-tempered and impatient.

Alejandro appeared to be highly self-possessed and confident of his own abilities; he knew what he wanted and worked hard to get it, although it was rumored that he was occasionally ruthless in his dealings with others. He and his family dressed well, but never indulged in conspicuous display, and entertained rarely. Alejandro had no time for frivolous amusements and attended few fiestas. He almost never danced, and for an Aymara drank surprisingly little. Thus, whilė he was admired and respected for his energy, abilities, and success, and was at times referred to as an *amauta* ("successful man"), he was at the same time resented and even feared. Although he appeared indifferent to the competition offered by other magicians, he thoroughly disliked and distrusted the Mestizos of Chucuito and avoided them as much as possible.

Anselmo *čeqani* (86), aged 40, was a member of *Artesano Zapatero* ayllu, and resided in the lower *barrio* of Chucuito. His household, in addition to himself, was composed of his wife, three unmarried children, and his wife's niece. He owned his own land and fields and was a man of average economic circumstances. In addition to his professional earnings, he worked occasionally as a day laborer for local Mestizos and for Indians and Mestizos alike in the capacity of *maestro*, or master builder. Although he had no formal education, he spoke some Spanish and had traveled extensively to Arequipa, Sicuani (in Cuzco Department), and to Moquegua on the coast. It was in the latter town that he learned the builder's trade.

Anselmo was an aggressive individual, particularly when intoxicated. He was a heavy drinker and apt to be noisy and quarrelsome under the influence of alcohol. He made a spectacle of himself at every fiesta and not infrequently became involved in drunken brawls. When sober, however, his personality was forceful, convincing, and persuasive. He was subject to frequent fits of depression, during which he avoided people and spent much time in the lonely *puna* grass lands with the livestock. These moods, as well as his unpleasant behavior when drunk, were in large part responsible for his lack of popularity as a magician. In his role of master builder, however, he was much in demand, since he was a competent foreman as well as technician.

Anselmo was boastful of his abilities as a magician and bragged incessantly about his successes. He claimed that his reputation was considerable in the neighboring towns and lied about the size of his following in the village proper. At the same time he was defensive because of his lack of proper training and staunchly maintained that it was unnecessary to be struck by lightning in order to become a magician. Some claimed that he was a charlatan, and it is not unlikely that he secretly shared this belief. As a consequence he was extremely jealous of all other magicians and lost no opportunity to blacken their reputations in the eyes of his followers.

Manuel Corrasco (85), aged 57, was a member of ayllu *Artesano Zapatero* and lived in an extensive house compound just off the main plaza of Chucuito. He was the head of a large and wealthy extended family; his many children had all married advantageously. He owned much land and many head of livestock, and in addition supervised the hacienda lands of a prominent Mestizo family. Although all of his children had been to school, Manuel himself was illiterate and spoke no Spanish. He had traveled surprisingly little and had never been farther from home than to Juli.

The relations within the family were exceptionally warm and affectionate. Manuel had followed the culturally prescribed (but seldom practiced) pattern of dividing his lands before his death, so that each of his children was, in large part, financially independent. The family exhibited a degree of solidarity and cohesion rare among the Aymara of present-day Chucuito.

Manuel was a man of great dignity and poise. Although his manner was ceremonious and formal, he was kindly and soft-spoken, considerate, and eager to help others. By

many he was considered a community leader and was occasionally designated *p'eqeña* ("one with a head"); he appeared in public infrequently, however, preferring to stay home with his family.

In his role of magician his practice had never been large, but at the time of the field study it was restricted exclusively to family members and close friends. Manuel was very well liked and was respected even by Mestizos because, although wealthy, he was a "good Indian" and "knew his place."

From the above personality sketches, brief and superficial though they are, it is apparent that the several magicians, however they may differ from one another in other respects, share certain personality traits in common. They all exhibit qualities of independence, dominance, and leadership that are extremely rare in most Chucuito Aymara and appear to possess a degree of self-assurance and self-reliance that is equally atypical in this society. Similarly, although in varying degrees, all are resourceful and responsible individuals. With the exception of Anselmo *čeqani*, all possess an air of dignity that often accompanies faith in one's own abilities. All in some measure tend to remain aloof, to avoid the company of others, and to keep to themselves. Finally, and again with the exception of Anselmo *čeqani*, all exhibit a sense of security that is so unusual in adult Aymara that, when present, it is immediately striking.

The role of magician, then, would seem to call for a number of responses on the part of those individuals who occupy this status that are at marked variance with some dominant aspects of Aymara basic personality, as outlined in a previous section. The successful magician must be mentally agile, resourceful, self-reliant, and assured; he must appear secure in order to inspire confidence in others; he must assume responsibility; and, most important of all, he must be a leader. He must, moreover, perform his role with reasonable warmth and good will. Individuals possessing these qualities must be found, or others must be trained to exhibit them, in a society where the model personality structure is characterized by avowed helplessness, great individual insecurity, personal irresponsibility, and abject submissiveness, as well as by hostility and suspicion towards others. We are here confronted, then, with a striking example of what Benedict has termed "cultural discontinuity."[1] The problem arises as to whether magicians as a class exhibit the above-mentioned personality characteristics because they are playing a culturally prescribed role, or have selected this role because they sense that it will be compatible with traits already prominent in their personalities. Linton takes the position that role behavior proves nothing about an individual's personality save that he "has normal learning ability."[2] It cannot be denied that the bulk of the magician's role behavior is learned and that a not inconsiderable proportion of it is affected by the specially patterned reactions of others towards him. Yet, as Kluckhohn and Murray state, although the importance of role training and role playing in personality formation is poorly understood at the present time, it seems likely in this instance that some individuals with dominant and secure personalities tend to seek the status of a magician because of the scope it offers for the expression of their particular personality characteristics.[3] As noted above, the evidence clearly indicates predisposition on the part of some of the individuals who later became magicians (p. 227). At the same time it is probable, as Merton and Hughes have shown for our own society, that existing personality characteristics may be heightened by the playing of a congenial role.[4] In any event, it is not left to chance in Aymara culture that so important a status as that of the magician will be filled, or that so vital a role will be performed, and well performed. As is shown below, the pattern assemblage magic is closely geared to the personality characteristics of the average Aymara; exceptional individuals, therefore, are not necessarily required to fill and perform the status and role of the magician.[5]

[1] Benedict, 1938, 161–167.

[2] Linton, 1945, 26.

[3] Kluckhohn and Murray, 1948, 267–268.

[4] Merton, 1948, 282–291; Hughes, 1937, 404–414.

[5] Linton has written: "Individual talent is too sporadic and too unpredictable to be allowed any important part in the organization of society. Social systems have to be built upon the potentialities of the average individual, the person who has no special gifts or disabilities. Such individuals can be trained to occupy almost any status and to perform the associated role adequately if not brilliantly." Linton, 1936, 129.

CONCLUSIONS

PERSONALITY AND THE CULTURE PATTERN

"THERE IS A CONTINUOUS and dynamic interrelationship," Kluchkohn has written, "between the patterns of a culture and the personalities of its individual members."[1] This proposition, here stated in the most general and comprehensive terms, is, of course, extremely complex and many-faceted, a problem or set of problems to be explored from diverse points of view. The first section of the conclusions is devoted to a discussion of only one aspect of this broad thesis, namely, the "goodness of fit" that can be shown to prevail between personality and the culture pattern. More specifically, the discussion is confined to an exposition of the degree to which the pattern assemblage magic is congruent with those aspects of Aymara personality that have been labeled irresponsibility, submissiveness, disorderliness, and utilitarianism. As becomes apparent in the section dealing with magic and the individual, the pattern assemblage is likewise highly compatible with the characteristic Aymara expressions of anxiety and hostility. The subsequent discussion is intended, as stated in the Introduction, to provide a background against which the functioning of magic, with reference both to the individual and to the society, acquires an added meaning and intelligibility.

Irresponsibility, a trait of Aymara personality so apparent in the sphere of inter-personal relations, is a configurating principle that can be traced throughout the pattern assemblage magic. The magician does not actively seek a supernatural experience; rather it is thrust upon him "by God," and at times he is reluctant to accept this supernatural calling. In effect, he becomes a magician through no choice of his own, almost as if by accident. The "trance experience" (as a result of being struck by lightning) receives a minimum of cultural emphasis and expression. It is not conceived as power-conferring because, significantly, the magician possesses no personal supernatural power, no guardian spirit or protector, no formula, and no song. With the possible exception of the amulets, he owns not a single ritual object that is endowed with power in its own right. He is singled out from the crowd only by his ability to converse and intercede with the spirits. Since he himself has no power, the magician is liable to no blame; failure is invariably the fault of his client, the supernaturals, or of some unforeseen factor beyond his control. Even the sorcerer in this blameless society is infrequently held responsible for his malevolent acts.

In its general effect the séance removes responsibility from the magician and places it squarely upon the supernaturals or the spectators. Throughout this rite the role of the magician is merely that of master of ceremonies. He himself directs a minimum of questions to the spirits, and, if a thief is to be sought, the client must supply the names of the suspects. Nor does the magician's spirit take flight to summon souls of the living for questioning; this unpleasant task, so obviously apt to antagonize the person under suspicion, is relegated to the *ap'aḷani*. Once the souls have arrived, they are interrogated by other spirits, but not by the magician himself. If a stubborn soul or a reluctant spirit merits punishment because of insubordinate behavior, such a penalty is meted out by one or another of the supernaturals, who themselves often appear loath to assume responsibility and exhibit evasive behavior when confronted with difficult or delicate matters. When such situations arise during a séance, lesser spirits customarily avoid responsibility by referring the problems to their superiors, in some instances to the very top of the supernatural hierarchy. Finally, at the conclusion of a séance, it is a supernatural, and not the magician, who specifies the size of the fee.

In a sense, the denial of responsibility has been institutionalized in the scapegoat configuration. Thus disease, contaminated clothing, or tainted and undesirable objects are banished or wished onto someone else by magical means; or disease is transferred to an animal or a mineral that is disposed of subsequently. Such ritual behavior is thoroughly consistent with the practice of attaching blame to the external world rather than facing issues squarely and risking the consequences.

[1] Kluckhohn, 1949, 204.

In principle, divination is likewise entirely compatible with irresponsibility. In a divinatory culture, divining the future constitutes a substitute for decisive action; in such a culture the only responsible act of the individual is to divine. Underlying premises for such action are that the external world cannot be altered and that events are predetermined. Therefore, the diviner might argue, that all he can do is to discover *how* they have been determined. If he ignores divination, he is irresponsible; if he accepts it, he is blameless. Divination thus avoids the necessity of decision and evades the assumption of responsibility.

It is stated above that in the society of Chucuito many key interpersonal relationships are structured in terms of dominance and submission. The total society of the village is a rigid caste system in which all Aymara occupy a position inferior to that of all Mestizos. Within the Indian level, children must exhibit submissive and deferential behavior towards parents, towards old people generally, and even towards older siblings. Submissiveness, therefore, is deeply ingrained in Aymara behavior and can be considered a trait of Aymara personality; it is also a dominant motif of the pattern assemblage magic.

The dominance-submission principle is implicit in the very structure of the supernatural hierarchy; the power of spirits of a given class can be defined only in terms of inferiority or superiority to those above and below them. Again, all supernaturals, even the least significant, demand unhesitating obedience and submissiveness of all Aymara. When the relationship of man to supernatural beings was discussed, it was pointed out that these patterns duplicate precisely and in detail those governing the interpersonal relationships of human society in Chucuito village. It was suggested that the supernaturals, as they are conceptualized by the Aymara, represent "projections" of life models, the native spirits conceived in the image of the Aymara father and the Christian-derived deities patterned after the Mestizo. The ways of dealing with these two classes of supernatural beings likewise mirror human relations. Ingratiation and placation, mingled with resignation, characterize the overtures towards an angry spirit or an angry father. Thus it is felt necessary to calm or pacify the irate *ałałila*, and ritual paraphernalia are available for this purpose. As a peace-making gesture both the father and the spirits are offered gifts, often identical gifts of coca and alcohol. Replete with resignation, prayers to spirits, like the Aymara's plea of helplessness to his superiors, are equivalent to mechanical statements of his abject and miserable condition. Christian-derived deities, on the other hand, are rarely invoked or offered gifts since they are too remote and inaccessible. Like the Mestizo, these deities are obeyed, respected, and feared, and, like the capricious *patrón*, they are best dealt with by avoidance. Thus the magician, in accepting his supernatural calling, is obeying an order, a divine summons; thereafter, however, he relies but little upon God, tends to avoid Him in ceremonial, and, in spite of his special status, stands in no closer relationship to the Deity than does the average Aymara.

In the same way as it is compatible with irresponsibility, divination is thoroughly consistent with submissiveness. To the obedient, dependent, helpless individual divination supplies authoritative, ready-made answers mechanically and, as it were, objectively. It obviates resolution and eliminates the necessity for making personal decisions. In a sense, in obeying an omen or in following an augury the Aymara is bowing to higher authority; at least he is behaving in accordance with an externalized judgment. It should be noted in this connection that prescriptions (omens, auguries, special foods, special dress, etc.) that operate externally have been more extensively institutionalized in Aymara culture than restrictions (taboos) that operate from within. Such prescriptions, resembling orders or instructions, would appear to be more compatible with the submissive, guiltless personality than taboos that operate internally like a "conscience." It is offered as a tentative hypothesis, subject to verification through the analysis of cross-cultural data, that the elaboration of divinatory techniques tends to be positively correlated with rigid authority and unquestioning obedience, and that divination is a highly appropriate, though not inevitable, response of the submissive individual in an authoritarian society.[1]

[1] Blind reliance upon the letter of the law might, for example, be an alternative response.

Aymara disorderliness is reflected in magic in a number of ways and can be viewed as yet another thread or theme structuring several areas of the pattern assemblage. Ceremonials, it has been noted, are disorganized and unsystematic. They are composed of a number of discrete and unrelated ritual acts combined and recombined in a seemingly arbitrary fashion within a loose, near-amorphous framework. Apparently the order of events is not rigid; the over-all plan or design is highly nebulous, and there is no marked climax. The pace of a ceremonial is slow and halting; the performance of even the most experienced magician is so hesitant, haphazard, and uncertain as to convey the impression that it is an initial experience. There are frequent pauses to recollect details or to recall the name of a particular spirit; acts are repeated or omitted accidentally or capriciously, and either too many or too few offerings are prepared. When collaborating during a rite, magicians sometimes correct one another or argue over the proper method of procedure. Ordinarily there seems to be no insistence upon finesse or perfectionism, and even in the single ceremonial (*čoqela*) which, theoretically at least, should be performed letter perfect, perfectionism is highly approximate, an ideal rather than an accomplished fact.

Nor has ceremonial order been institutionalized in Aymara ritual to any considerable degree. As stated earlier, the right hand tends to take precedence over the left in the handling of offerings and ritual objects, and there appears to be a tendency, denied by most informants, for sacrifices to be made in a counterclockwise direction. Aside from these faint trends, however, there is no larger order or plan.

In this connection the striking absence of symbolization in ritual can be noted. Generally speaking, ritual is fragmented rather than systematized, and the component parts are not related to one another in any coherent, meaningful manner. The rationale for the presence of a given ritualistic object or act is often vague or explicable only in terms of its having been employed since time immemorial; thus during the séance Lake Titicaca is represented by a piece of glass topped by an old silver coin, but the Aymara were unable to explain the reason for this. Neither rites nor ritual objects are imbued with any deep, explicit meaning; instead, they appear to be a meaningless jumble of details accreted through the centuries. Certainly they have little esoteric significance and have not been integrated into any coherent philosophical scheme.

Characteristic of Aymara beliefs about supernaturals are the numerous and marked conceptual inconsistencies. God and Christ are at times thought of as separate individuals, at other times as indistinguishable. The Virgin is sometimes conceived as having multiple identities, at others as a single individual, and in still others is confounded with *pačamama*. Her relationship with God and Christ is vague and uncertain. Saints are regularly confused with a number of different spirits, while Santiago, Viracocha, and *t'unupa* are at times fused into a single supernatural and at others regarded as separate deities. Concepts relating to souls and ghosts are so confused that it is difficult even to discuss these supernaturals with any degree of assurance. In short, although native and Christian beliefs about supernaturals have been merged and combined to some degree, integration has been incomplete and inconsistent, and a general lack of conceptual neatness is strikingly apparent.

In ritual and ceremonial the practical, utilitarian nature of the Aymara is reflected at every turn. Their essentially pragmatic view of life is illustrated in the broadest sense in the relationship of magic to their means of livelihood. Except in emergencies and in anxiety-arousing situations, the Aymara does not rely heavily upon magic to grow crops, to produce livestock, or to catch fish. Instead, as stated above, the problems of daily living are met largely by realistic means, and magic does not ordinarily accompany, step by step, the routine of economic activity. Even when it is employed in connection with such activities as, for example, offering sacrifices during the banking of potatoes, magic is accompanied by empirical action.

The very tone of Aymara ceremonialism is utilitarian. Although the aesthetic impulses of a people are not infrequently expressed in ritual and ceremony, the ceremonialism of the Aymara is drab and colorless and utterly devoid of beauty or polish. There is an essential lack of specialized ritual paraphernalia. Thus magicians often officiate in every-day dress; special ceremonial structures are entirely absent; rites are

held amid secular, humdrum surroundings in a common dwelling that receives a minimum of special preparation. The containers employed in ritual are frequently vessels in daily use, and ordinary carrying cloths may serve as ground cloths for ceremonial layouts or as wrappings for ritual bundles. Again, the liquors for libations are contained in commonplace glass bottles, and offerings are wrapped for sacrifice in old newspapers. In a sense, therefore, ceremonialism is reduced, or dragged down, to the plane of daily routine.

A practical attitude towards life is reflected in the very nature of the offerings the Aymara sacrifice to their supernaturals. Meats, vegetables, and cereals are offered less frequently than such non-essentials of diet as candies, cookies, condiments, and the like. Even in the rare instances when basic foods are sacrificed, the supernaturals merely receive the essence, while the Aymara themselves frugally consume the substance.

It has been stated that, in keeping with their utilitarian view of life, the Aymara are uninterested in such abstract concepts as space and time, an attitude equally apparent in the sphere of magic. Space in terms of direction receives little ceremonial recognition. With the exception of east, as marked concretely by the rising sun, direction as such is of little consequence in Aymara ritual; the physical location of a particular mountain or lake is of more significance than cardinal points. Color-direction symbolism, with the possible exception of the tenuous gold-silver association, is likewise absent. With regard to time, it may be noted that few rites are of a fixed, recurrent nature, and there is, today at least, no elaboration of a ceremonial calendar. Instead of being ordered primarily in terms of time, rites tend to be linked with specific activities and therefore are movable.

From the foregoing summary it can be concluded that there is considerable evidence to suggest that magic is patterned with reference to Aymara personality, and that a high degree of congruence prevails between the pattern assemblage and some dominant Aymara personality characteristics. A final comment on the nature of this "goodness of fit," however, seems necessary.

In a description of the congruence between personality and culture there is the danger that implications of causality may permeate the discussion, that the very exposition may imply that one "determined" the other. While it seems clear in the present state of our knowledge that the culture of a society is a very important factor in molding the personalities of its members, the degree to which personality in turn molds the culture is less apparent. It seems desirable, therefore, to state explicitly that the writer does not maintain that the pattern assemblage magic in its present form originates in Aymara personality in any simple sense. Moreover, the data necessary either to confirm or to refute this proposition are simply not available. Neither personality nor culture can be understood entirely and completely as a history-less phenomenon; both are the products of processes that have been operative over time, and both have roots extending backward into the past. Yet, except by inference from fragmentary documentary materials, we know almost nothing of Aymara personality during Inca and Colonial times. Similarly, the details of magic as practiced by the Incaic Aymara or during the era of Spanish rule are only poorly and imperfectly known. Even for the contemporary neighbors of the Chucuito Aymara, comparative data are woefully inadequate.

We have no choice, therefore, but to view the pattern assemblage magic in its present form as the product of a continuous and dynamic relationship between culture and personality over the span of time. The component culture patterns are the products of a long and complicated history, and their presence within the body of contemporary Aymara culture can be "explained" in terms of historical processes; yet the unique emphases and specific phrasing that these patterns receive in the culture of the modern Chucuito Aymara bear, to a remarkable degree, the impress of Aymara personality. The question whether personality has been operative primarily in the initial selection and rejection of culture patterns made available to the Aymara through historical contact, or has been the strategic factor in the subsequent modification and reinterpretation of these patterns after they were incorporated into the body of Aymara culture is, in large part, academic.

MAGIC AND THE INDIVIDUAL

La Barre has observed that

> . . . for the typical anxieties which a culture engenders, a culture often has patterned techniques for the liquidation of those anxieties . . .[1]

The pattern assemblage magic is just such an anxiety-reducing mechanism, a ready-made set of adjustive responses, geared and attuned to the peculiarities of Aymara personality. To a lesser extent it likewise functions in the handling of hostile impulses by furnishing some acceptable and appropriate outlets for aggression release.

That the pattern assemblage magic should be highly compatible with the characteristic ways in which the Aymara express anxiety and hostility is scarcely surprising. As stated above, the very nature of specialization in the realm of supernaturalism can be comprehended only in terms of certain specific anxieties of the Aymara and their habitual ways of reacting to these fears. The several specialized statuses have crystallized around these particular problems of anxiety and hostility, and it is in accordance with them that the Aymara classify their professional practitioners.

The average Aymara worries about his economic security and his health; he is apprehensive about the malevolent intentions of others and about the outcome of current problems and difficulties. Not infrequently he is unable to put into words the nameless anxieties that disturb him. As a consequence, he is filled with hostile feelings which, owing to the nature of Chucuito society and of Aymara values, are all the more intense because ordinarily they must be suppressed or repressed at every turn. To a greater or lesser degree, as stated earlier, each class of specialized practitioner deals with one or another aspect of these fears and antagonisms, and thus is operative to some degree in tension reduction. The diviner can disclose the whereabouts of lost livestock or discover that theft or sorcery has in fact taken place; the doctor, the midwife, and the chiropractor all cure certain kinds of diseases; professionals of all types practice divination to a greater or lesser extent, while the sorcerer provides means for hate satisfaction. Yet it is the pattern assemblage magic that converges and focuses squarely upon the fears and frustrations of the Chucuito Aymara. It is the magician alone who is able to cope with important aspects of all of these problems, as evidenced by the various rites and ceremonies at his command (see pp. 261–262).

Of all specialized practitioners, only the magician has the ability to do anything "constructive" about the subsistence problem. He alone can increase the flocks and herds, assure luck in fishing, insure the welfare of the crops, or "create" wealth. Of all practitioners, only the magician performs rites for the benefit of the community as a whole. Since he is able to intervene with the supernaturals operative in this sphere, he and he alone holds out the offer of economic security.

The magician alone is able to cure the most feared and dangerous of diseases, those sent by supernatural beings. He is in fact the court of final appeal and is summoned when home remedies and treatments by doctors and chiropractors have failed. Nor is the importance of the magician in curing limited merely to the alleviation of anxiety; as Ackerknecht has asserted, the objective effectiveness in a physiological sense of the cures performed by primitive "physicians" is not inconsiderable.[2] In addition the magician performs rites to prevent disease and to promote health. Regarding ceremonials of this nature, the same authority writes that

> it seems very likely that within certain limits they actually enhance mental as well as physiological resistance towards disease and accident.[3]

Only the magician is able to assist in discovering the identity of thieves and sorcerers and to practice counter-sorcery, thus reducing anxiety from these sources. Such rites, moreover, have another, equally important, function. If sorcery, as Howells suggests, is a "safety valve" for the sorcerer (or his client), counter-sorcery may be said to function in the same capacity on behalf of the victim.[4] Thus counter-sorcery not only restores the victim's health and relieves him of anxiety, but if the evil is made to "boomerang," the rite further reduces tension by enabling him to express his hostile feelings towards the sorcerer or his client, and thereby feel avenged. Similarly, the victim of theft experiences vicarious satisfaction in

[1] La Barre, 1947a, 229.

[2] Ackerknecht, 1948, 826.

[3] *Ibid.*, 830.

[4] Howells, 1948, 112.

seeing the soul of the thief apprehended, humiliated, and punished in his presence by powerful supernatural beings. In both instances the handling of hostility is thoroughly consistent with Aymara personality, since openly expressed aggression and direct action are entirely avoided.

Finally, the magician is, in the last analysis, the most important diviner, for in addition to the more usual divinatory techniques he can answer almost any question by interrogating the supernaturals directly. For a people plagued by nagging doubts and by diffuse anxiety, such direct communication has the added advantage of being highly explicit and of affording detailed answers which then can serve as a basis for action. Divination of this type, moreover, serves to allay diffuse anxiety by explaining past misfortune in terms that are precise, understandable, and concrete.

From the point of view of the magician himself the pattern assemblage magic is thoroughly satisfying. Without question he occupies the most important and most favored single status in the Aymara society of Chucuito. Not only is he in fact financially more secure than most by reason of his professional earnings, but the magic to which he has access is believed to be vitally necessary to acquire and maintain wealth. His faith in his own abilities to manipulate the supernatural world, for his own personal ends, if needs be, serves as a bulwark against much of the fear and anxiety experienced by others. No one dares to rob, cheat, or impose upon him for fear that he may practice sorcery; in any event, it would be a simple matter for him to discover the guilty party. By virtue of his position he is accorded respect and deference by his fellow Aymara; even the Mestizo regards him with some apprehension and awe. In short, the status affords the magician security and prestige as well as power over others in a society where security, prestige, and power are available to the very few.

It is pointed out above that it is difficult to know whether the playing of a particular role (i.e., that of magician) has modified the personalities of the individuals who occupy this status or, with appropriate personality trends already set, these men were initially attracted to the status because it was congenial to them. In the cases analyzed, evidence of some general predisposition was detected on the part of individuals who eventually became magicians. It should be apparent from the foregoing discussion, however, that in Chucuito no special, atypical personality traits are required of the magician in the performance of his role. Instead, the pattern assemblage magic is so geared to the personality characteristics of the average Aymara that a submissive, dependent, irresolute individual, unfamiliar with decisive action and the burden of responsibility, may become a leader and a guiding force, in short, a power, in his society.

MAGIC AND THE SOCIETY

"Often it is impossible to decide," Kluckhohn and Murray have written, "whether a particular pattern is an expression of the profound 'wisdom of the culture,' or merely, like man's coccyx, a vestigial fixation."[1] Although the roots of the pattern assemblage here considered extend far back into the pre-Columbian epoch, it is impossible to view Aymara magic in its present vigorous expression merely as a picturesque survival from the past. Instead, just as it functions in furnishing certain responses that are adjustive with reference to the individual, so magic also performs several important functions that may be said to be adaptive with respect to the society. This is to say, the rites and ceremonies performed by the magician operate today to insure the survival and smooth functioning of Aymara society in Chucuito by providing certain integrative mechanisms and controls that, in many ways, are more effective than those available in other areas of the culture.

From the point of view of the Chucuito Aymara the chief contributions made by the magician towards the well-being of the community are the ceremonies he performs for the benefit of the village as a whole or for groups within it. Thus the *čoqela* ceremonial insures abundant crops for the following year, while the rain rite guarantees precipitation in times of drought. Similarly he may promote group health by magically banishing disease when an epidemic is raging. The magician also performs

[1] Kluckhohn and Murray, 1948, 23.

special rites for such delimited occupational groups as fishermen, herders, traders, and the like. The mere participation of the component members of the village (or of special segments of it) in such public ceremonials cannot help but contribute to group solidarity, for it is on these infrequent occasions, and under conditions of solemn ritual, that personal aims, differences, and antagonisms are submerged in the interest of the community as a whole. It must be remembered that on such occasions quarreling and the airing of ill-feelings are forbidden lest they destroy the efficacy of the ceremonial. Such public performances thus emphasize the unity of the group and, as do similar rites in other societies, tend to heighten the villagers' awareness of their common interests and community of sentiments.

Similarly the rites performed by the magician serve to reënforce the solidarity of the family group and likewise to cement bonds between unrelated individuals and families. The majority of ceremonies, it will be recalled, are held for units no larger than biological or extended family groups. On these occasions relatives are assembled under ritual conditions when animosity is prohibited and good feelings must prevail; the participants partake of coca and alcohol together and at stated intervals embrace and beg one another's forgiveness. If personal differences exist between relatives present, these matters are aired objectively by the spirits who, after judging the merits of the case and offering advice, counsel the aggrieved parties to forgive and forget. During the séance, moreover, communication with the souls of departed friends and relatives, mutually beloved by all present, emphasizes the unity of the family group and reaffirms the bonds of relationship that tie the living together. Similarly, the *Compadre* rite serves to strengthen the relationships between individuals linked to one another by ties of ceremonial kinship, a function recognized in some measure by the Aymara themselves. In addition, the apprentice-magician relationship can be viewed as yet another formal bond that serves to unite two biologically unrelated individuals and, indirectly, their families. The pattern assemblage magic, then, functions as a positive factor in social integration and, by fostering cohesion between individuals and groups, insures the cooperation necessary for the survival of the society; at the same time it serves to minimize the disruptive effects of intra-group friction by affording mechanisms and opportunities for tension reduction.

Not the least important function of magic is the role it plays in supporting group mores and in enforcing the rules of good behavior. It has been stated that the guardians and certain other native supernaturals take a keen and active interest in group mores and in proper conduct and that they punish deviation from these norms by sending sickness or misfortune. Diseases sent by supernaturals thus become powerful social sanctions, and it is the magician's role as mouthpiece of the spirits that enables him to enforce current moral judgments and to function as an active supporter of group values and mores. The magician likewise functions in maintaining law and order. His counter-sorcery rites form an effective check against the potentially disruptive influences of sorcery, and these ceremonies are so patterned that tension-ridden situations may be liquidated with a minimum of disturbance to the society as a whole. Similarly the magician's ability to identify thieves and to detect crime generally serves in some measure to hold criminal tendencies in check. Magic, therefore, functions importantly in maintaining law and order and is an effective mechanism of social control.

Finally, the pattern assemblage furnishes leaders in a society where leadership patterns are poorly developed and insures that in crisis situations the needs of the community will be met. In a group where obligations are avoided whenever possible, magic guarantees that someone will shoulder the burden in the interest of the group, even though the responsibility for such public spiritedness rests ultimately with the supernaturals.

In concluding, it must be remembered that the successful ceremony is, in a sense, self-perpetuating; each time it "produces results," confidence in the effectiveness of a rite is reënforced so that it tends to be performed again in similar circumstances; at the same time the magician's belief in his own abilities is reaffirmed and strengthened. This process lends continuity to the pattern assemblage and, other things being equal, insures its survival. In this manner the magician is enabled to function as custodian of the group's magical knowledge and to preserve and perpetuate magic as a coherent body of belief and practice.

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GLOSSARY

The following words and phrases of native, Spanish, or hybrid origin occur frequently in the text and are included in the glossary for this reason. After each word is a symbol in parentheses which indicates its source: A, Aymara; S, Spanish; S-A, mixed Spanish and Aymara; Q, Quechua.

ačačila (A), grandfather; spirit
ahijado (S), godson
ainača marka (A), lower town; lower moiety of Chucuito
aini (A), formal labor exchange
aita (A), a composite offering
ají (S), chili pepper
alaxa marka (A), upper town; upper moiety of Chucuito
alferado (S), sponsorship, as of a fiesta
alferez (S), sponsor, as of a fiesta
alma (S), soul
altiplano (S), high plain, especially the plateau of the Titicaca Basin
amauta (A), wise man (respect term)
amaya (A), corpse; ghost
apačeta (A), cairn
ap'aḷani (A), sky spirit (the voice heard during a séance)
apu (A), respect title
Artesano Sombrerero (S), hatmakers' guild in Chucuito
Artesano Zapatero (S), shoemakers' guild in Chucuito
auki (A), father (formal form)

barrio (S), city or town, district or ward
braseru (S-A), brazier or incense burner, from Spanish *brasero*

centavo (S), unit of Peruvian currency; "cent"
chicha (S), a fermented beverage
comadres (S), women bound together by ties of ceremonial kinship
compadrazgo (S), ceremonial kinship
compadres (S), unrelated persons bound together by ties of ceremonial kinship
cordillera (S), mountain range or chain
čiuči (A), little metal figurines employed as offerings
čoqela (A), a ceremonial held annually in Chucuito for the benefit of the entire community
čuḷpa (A), ruined burial tower or tomb
čuḷpa usu (A), a disease
č'amakani (A), literally, "with darkness"
č'uwa (A), sweetened water; an offering

espiritu (S), spirit

hač'ira (A), persons who wear the special insignia of bereavement
hentil (S-A), heathen, from Spanish *gentil*
hilaqata (A), head man of an ayllu

iḷa (A), amulet
inka uyu (A), a ruined Inca structure in Chucuito

katari (A), water monster believed to inhabit Lake Titicaca
kat'a (A), fright; a disease
kaxya (A), lightning
k'arukaya (A), ayllu of Chucuito
k'intu (A), perfect coca leaf employed in an offering

laiqa (A), sorcerer
ḷamp'u (A), llama fat employed as an offering

maestro (S), master builder
maestro mayor (S), head man of a *barrio*
maqera (A), ayllu of Chucuito
marka hilapunta (A), ayllu of Chucuito
marka suḷkapunta (A), ayllu of Chucuito
mesa (S-A), stone spirit seat; also a composite offering
mesa loqaña (A), rite of offering a mesa, or composite offering
montaña (S), the jungle region of eastern Peru

orixa (A), ghost sickness

pačamama (A), female earth or fertility spirit
padrino (S), godfather
paḷaḷa (A) ayllu of Chucuito
paqo (A), magician
patrón (S), patron, sponsor
peón (S), laborer, servant
potoxani (A), ayllu of Chucuito
puna (Q), the high, upland grasslands of the Andean plateau
p'awaqa (A), a composite offering
p'eqeña (A), head man, leader

qamasa (A), soul
qolqe (A), silver
qoḷasiri (A), doctor
qoḷawayu (A), traveling medicinemen of Bolivia
qori (A), gold
qota (A), lake; ayllu of Chucuito
q'oa (A), a plant, condiment, and frequent offering
q'oḷpa (A), a mineral employed in divination and as an offering

sol (S), unit of Peruvian currency; "dollar"
soroche (S-A), mountain sickness
suni (A), the high plains of the Andean plateau
supaya (A), demon; devil
susto (S), fright; a disease

tata (A), father (familiar form)
tienda (S), shop; general store
totora (A), reed

tunu (A), remote ancestor
t'aliri (A), chiropractor
t'exa (A), bundle, especially the package of exuviae used in sorcery

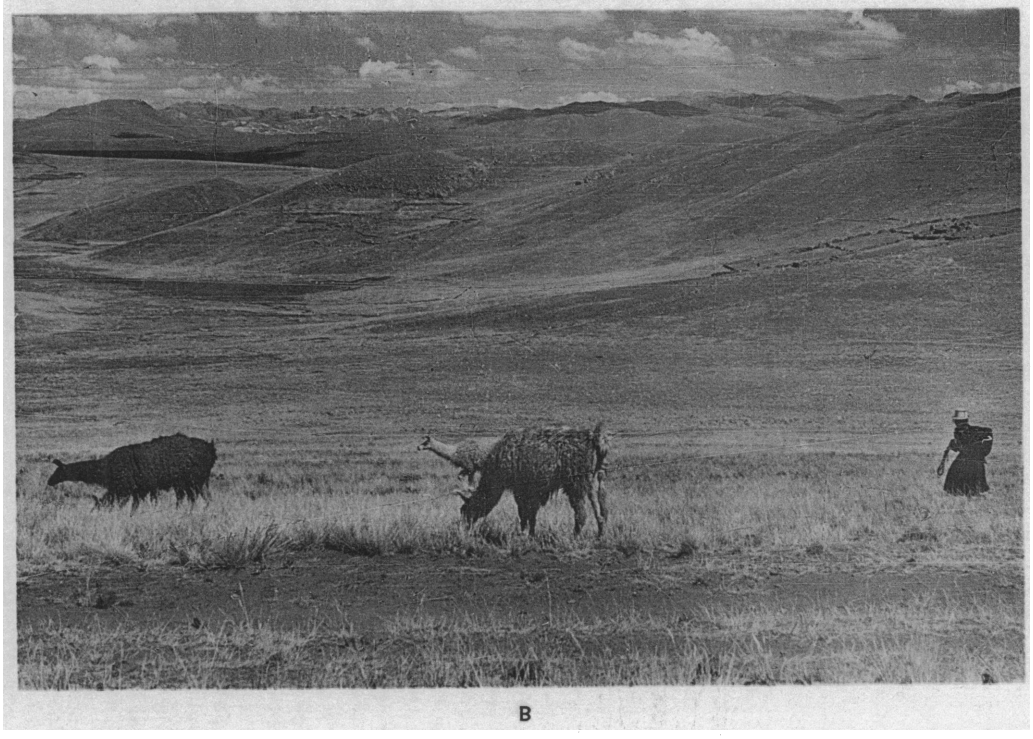
uiwiri (A), guardian or household spirit
uiwiri puriyaña (A), séance
usuiri (A), midwife

vecino (S), neighbor; as used in Chucuito, Mestizo

wak'a q'ala (A), an evil stone or boulder
weraxoča (A), Viracocha, an ancient deity; today a respect term for whites and Mestizos
wilanča (A), blood sacrifice

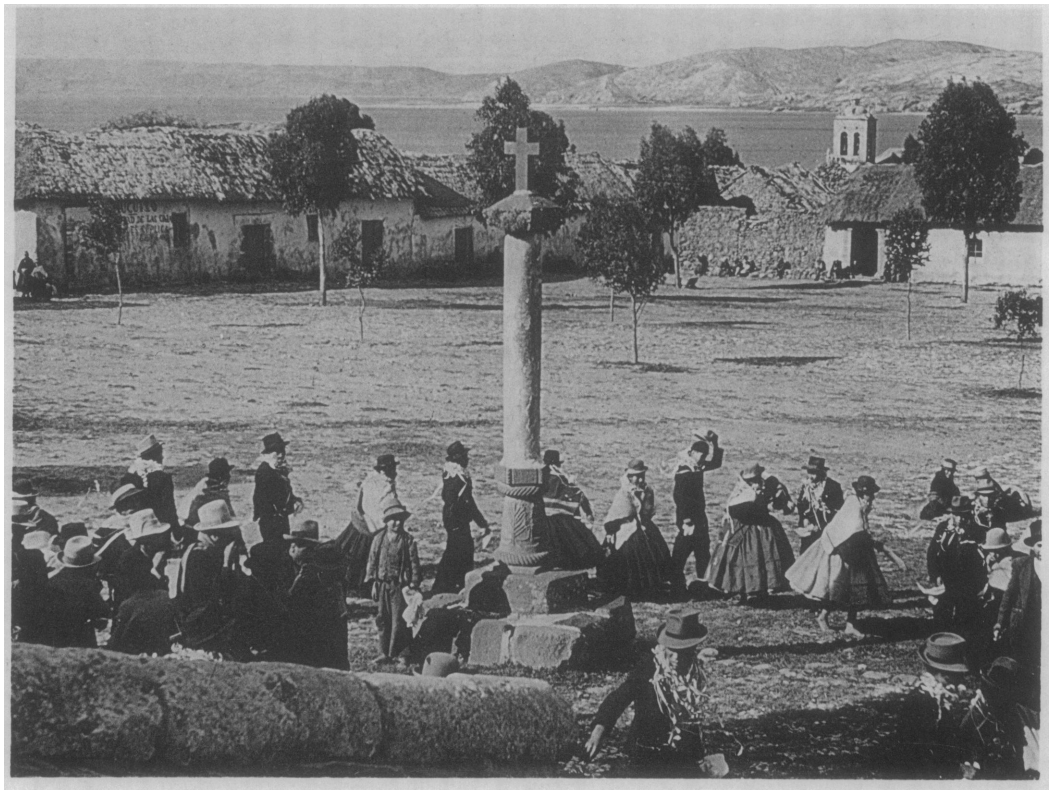
yatiri (A), diviner

A



B

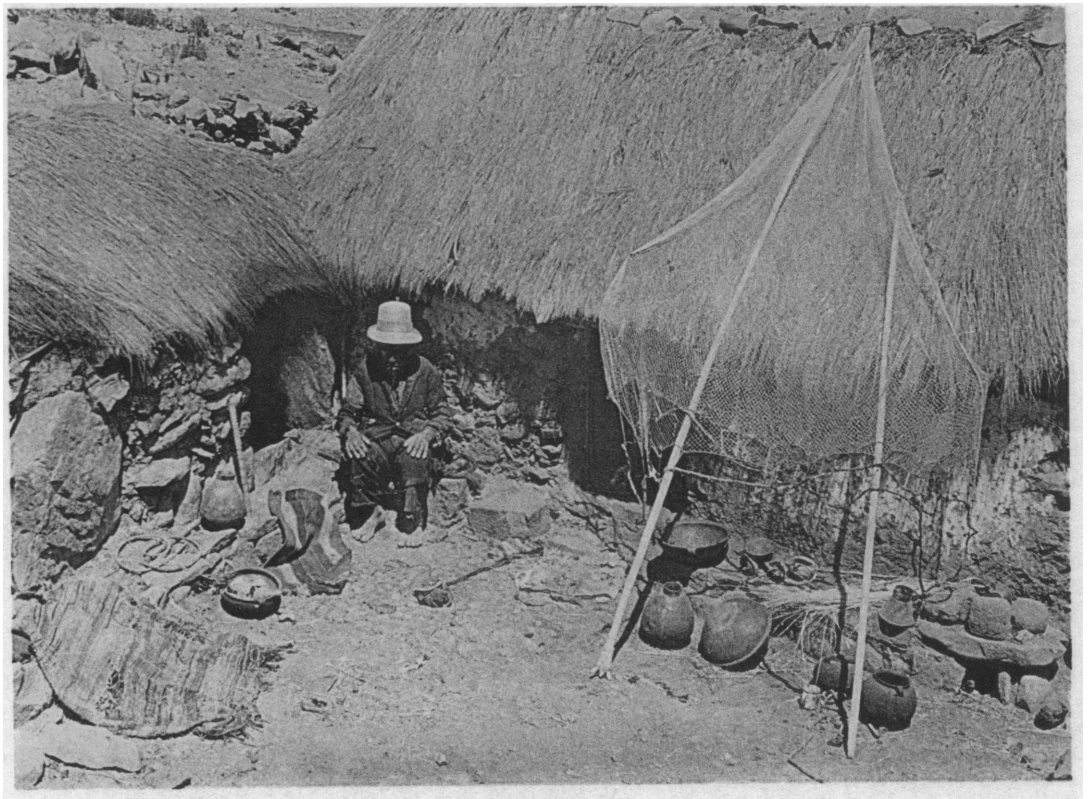
a. View of Chucuito looking towards Lake Titicaca. b. The grasslands of the Estancia country, southwest of Chucuito



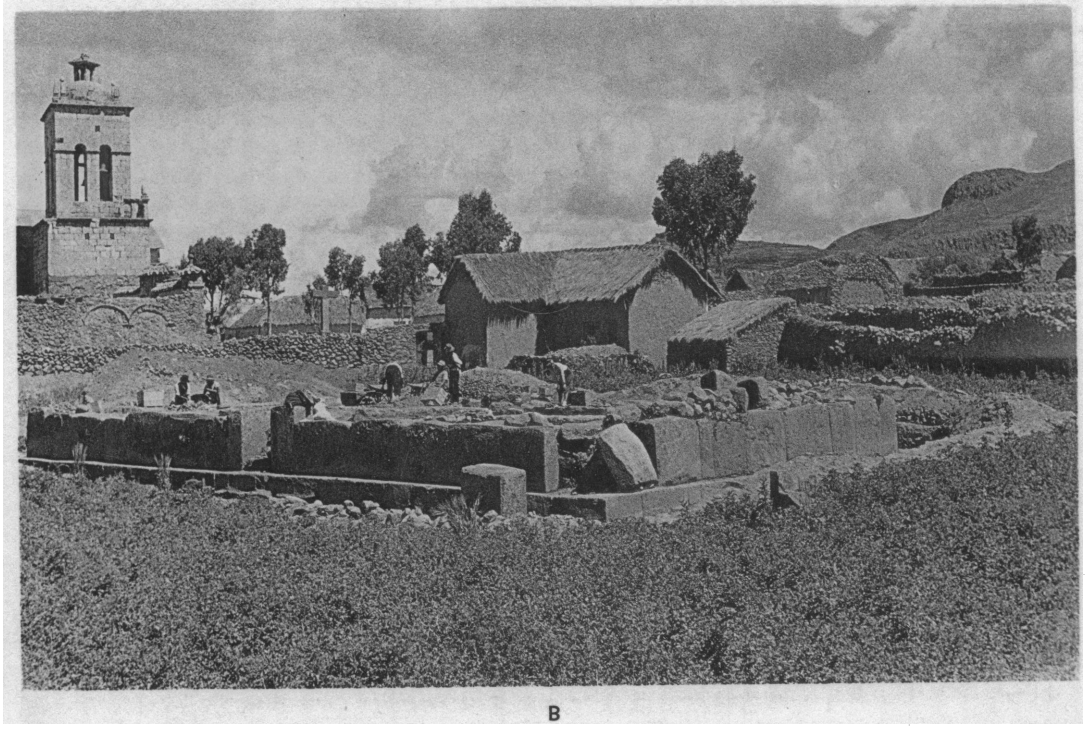
A

B

a. The Plaza de Armas in Chucuito, looking eastward. b. A street in the upper *barrio* of Chucuito



A



B

a. An Aymara household showing dwelling house and kitchen hut (left). b. The ruins of *inka uyu* in the lower *barrio* of Chucuito

A

B

a. Shrine of "Father Atoja." b. Magicians at work during *inka uyu* rite

A

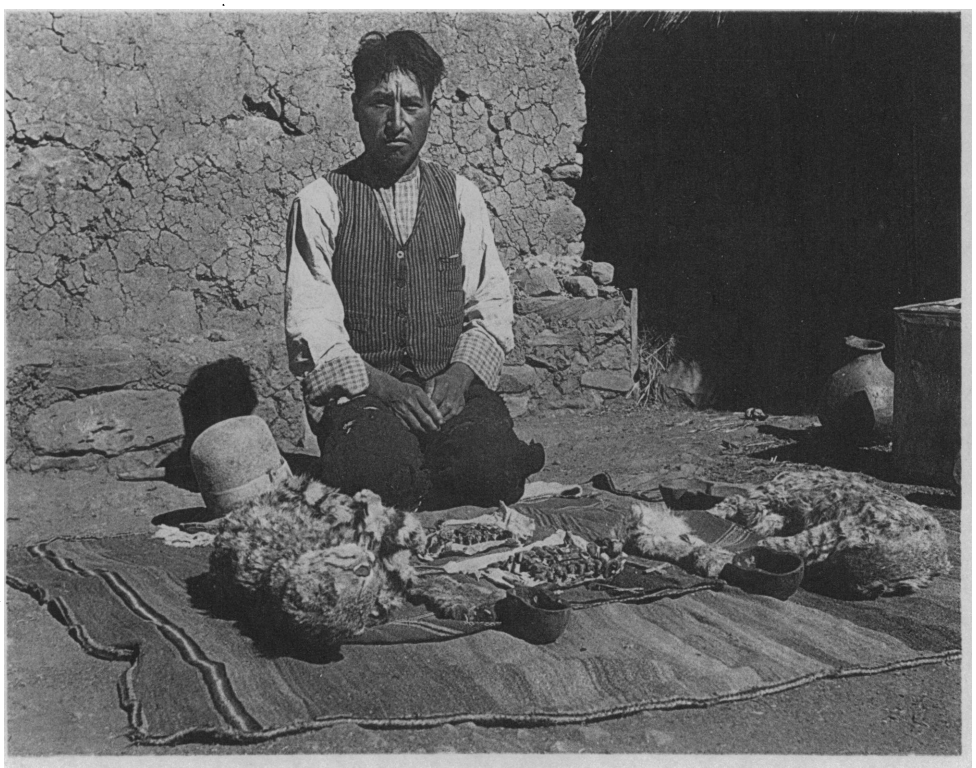
B

House dedication rite. a. Preparing offerings. b. Cutting throat of llama

A

B

House dedication rite. a. Cutting out llama's heart. b. Burning offerings



A

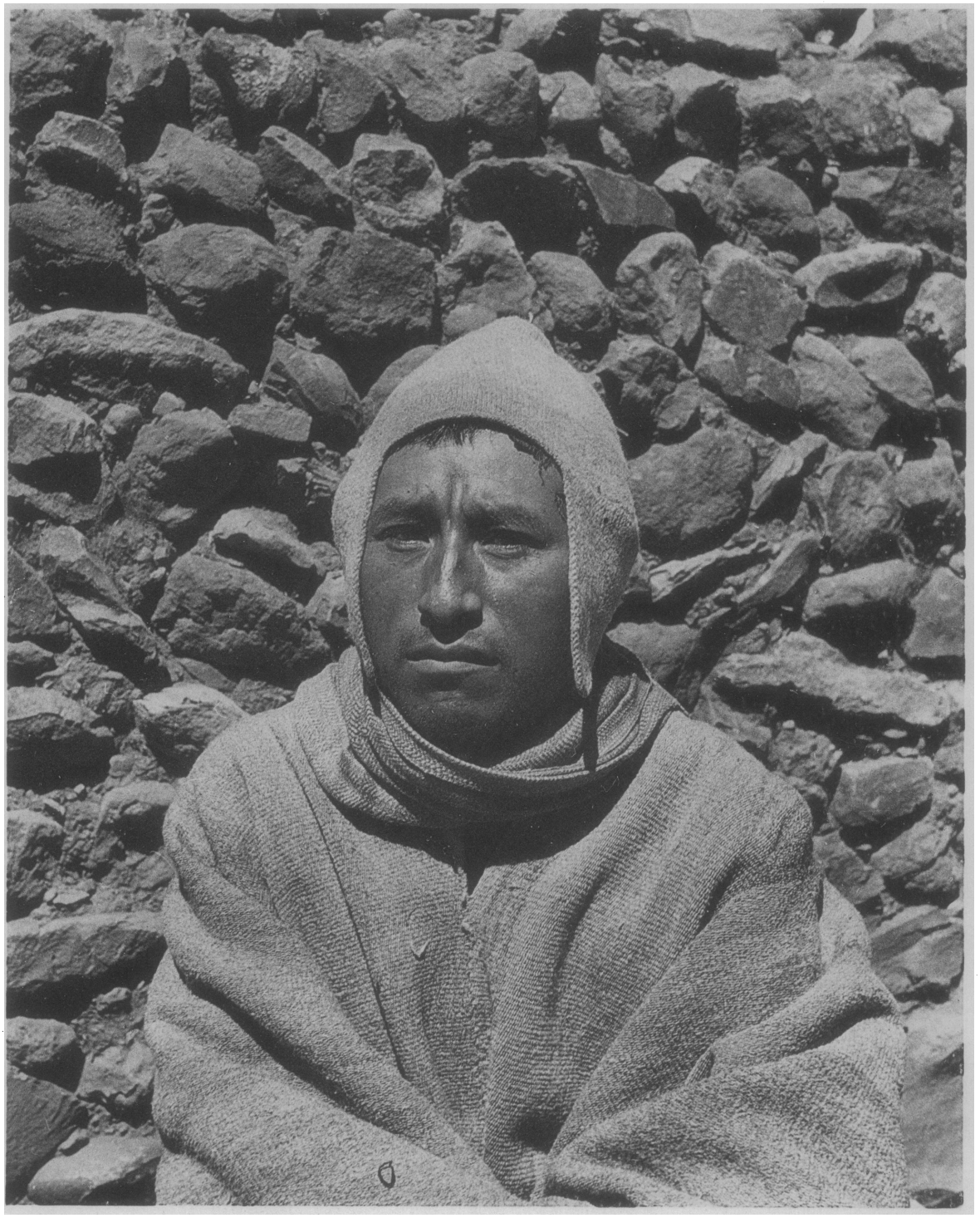
B

Animal increase rite. a. Informant 45 with ceremonial layout. b. Detail of ceremonial layout

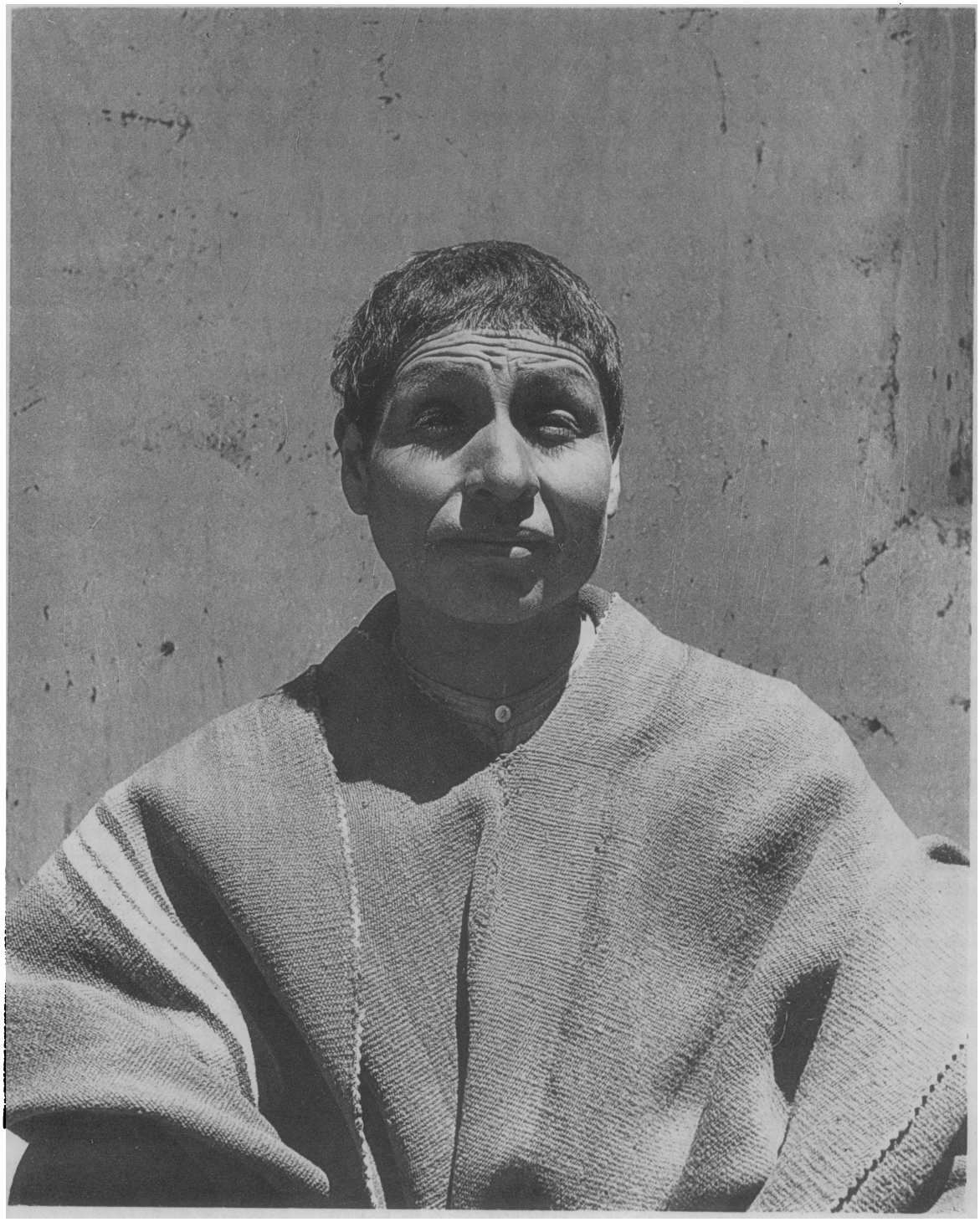
A

B

čoqela ceremonial. a. Chorus, magicians, and masked performers. b. Sacrificing the vicuña



Portrait of magician: Informant 45



Portrait of magician: Informant 66

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