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THE POLITICS OF SACRIFICE: AN AYMARA COSMOLOGY IN ACTION

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: HIERARCHY, HEGEMONY, AND RESISTANCE IN A "SYNCRETIC" RITUAL SYSTEM

1.1. The Research Problem

1.1.1. Initial Research Goals: Change in "Syncretic" Aymara Collective Rites

When the research on which this dissertation is based was no more than a glimmer in this anthropologist's eye, and the Andes something only dimly reflected there from others' ethnographies, I saw an opportunity to remove the motes from those others' eyes through research which would make fiesta-cargo systems, indeed ritual in general, intelligible as historically active forces through which Andeans come to grips with—that is, change—the changing world in which they live. My original research plan called for an examination of change in the ritual systems through which Lake Titicaca area Aymara constitute their authorities, and through them, their polities. In brief, I wanted to investigate the logic of the reported conversion of whole communities in the area to evangelical protestantismo. According to such (largely unpublished) reports, the people of the area were rejecting fiesta rituals, and indeed much of what (it seemed) defined them as "Indians" in the eyes of others. After arriving in Bolivia, a few preliminary field trips and some additional reflection convinced me that understanding the changes that had taken place in ritual required a considerably thicker baseline understanding of the supplanted form, possible only by turning my back on the region of greatest change and seeking out an area in which "fiesta systems," and "traditional" ayllu organization, were still intact.

Correspondingly, my attention turned to the Norte de Potosí region, an extremely interesting
one in the few accounts then available (such as Platt 1976), which apart from the conservation of an apparently "traditional" culture, had the added advantage of being very little studied. Tristan Platt, who proved a generous tutor in Andean ethnohistory and ethnography, suggested K’ulta 1 (see map 1) as a possible research site, into which my wife, Mary Dillon, and I moved in June of 1979.

It has taken considerably more effort than went into the writing of the research proposal to come to grips with the beam in my own eye, a theoretical outlook obscuring a clear view of the relationship between cultural orders (such as ritual is made of) and historical processes (including, but not limited to, colonial and neo-colonial domination). The problem is already present in formulations like the foregoing one, in which we (sometimes unawares) pose that relationship as one between statics (cultural "orders") and dynamics (historical "processes"). But it is more than just the effect of ingrained turns-of-phrase which are at fault.

The problem seems to begin in the idea that the societies often studied by anthropologists, in contact with western capitalist society but "different" from it, continue to be distinct (and for that reason remain interesting) because of what, in their "cultural orders," they manage to preserve or reproduce. That is, I, at least, began fieldwork with the unexamined assumption that the Aymara society chosen for study existed still (in the face of unrelenting external pressure) because of the inherently inward directed, conservative nature of its cultural system. Only from the present perspective do the faults of this assumption seem glaringly obvious: it now clear that it is not because they are insular that Andean societies still exist, but rather because they are centrally concerned

Orthography for Aymara terms follows Yapita M. (1968). Unmarked consonants are unaspirated, aspiration is represented by ['] following the aspirated consonant, while ["] signifies glottalization. When referring to Aymara-defined social units, I have preferred to employ the orthography outlined above. Nevertheless, for clarity in referring to maps and other "official" sources, I have spelled the officially recognized names of social units and place names in the most commonly encountered orthography. Thus in referring to the self-designated social group, I prefer Ayllu K’ulta, while references to the canton or town are given as Canton Culta or Santa Barbara de Culta, as would be encountered on maps and in census reports.
MAP 1
THE STUDY REGION: MODERN BOLIVIA
with—and are always thinking through—the problem of social domination and the hegemonic forces thereby generated. It seems equally obvious that the "more global" social order in which Aymara communities are enmeshed, and the specific forms in which it addresses the "indigenous," are also affected by just this necessity to "address" the dominated.

It now seems essential that the research problem be posed differently: while still centrally concerned with understanding the indigenous Aymara outlook on the matter, it seems more fruitful—especially when considering "political" ritual-like fiesta-cargo systems—to see such ritual as a dialogue between not mutually exclusive, but mutually presupposed parts of a larger whole, a dialogue through which societies define themselves via strategic recastings of one another's terms.

This should have been obvious from the way in which Mary Dillon and I first encountered the people of K'ulta, our field site. Our initial experience of the society as a whole was essentially mediated by its authorities, who we needed to convince of the merits of our presence. These authorities, constituted, of course, just to deal with outsiders such as ourselves, became (because of the orientation of the project) increasingly important to the research, but to me, they also seemed to screen from view the "authentic" local practice and belief which I sought to understand.

What was difficult to see from the initially lonely vantage (in which we seemed destined to know K'ulta only through formal encounters with these authorities) was that the qualities of authorities, constituted to deal with outsiders by becoming kinds of outsiders, is not so much just a kind of cultural insulation (though it is that, surely, to a degree), but exists as an analogy with or iconic symbol of the ways in which the attributes of social actors are perceived even in the most hidden and intimate aspects of local social life (from which I felt "screened" by the authorities).
1.1.2. The Priest's Visir, or, Too Much Heaven

Sorne four months later, and still with few contacts apart from the alcaldes, jilaqatas, and aljuciles (as the authorities of K'ulta's ayllus are known), I experienced an event that seemed a revelation of sorts. Though I had not been privy to (or known of) much of what transpired in them, I had already been present at the public parts of two major fiestas, and interpreted my exclusion from private rites as indicative of the necessarily "clandestine" nature of subordinated cultural practice.

For a week in October, I worked with the authorities, re-cobbling the floor of the recently repaired church in the town of Santa Barbara. During what I thought was a mid-day rest break, an astonishing thing happened. The jilaqatas with whom I had just been drinking led two rams into the plaza. Directly in front of the church door, they threw them to the ground and cut their throats, collecting the blood in bowls and intoning mumbled words while flicking some blood towards the east. We then knelt, in turn, before the rams, holding a pair of incense bowls in the air. When my turn came, I was told to say the words "Tata Awatir Awksa" and "Santisima Paxsi Mamala," which one jilaqata explained referred to the sun and the moon.

While pondering all of this (the candid performance, by those whom I had thought most culturally constrained, of what seemed a quite un-Christian ritual), a young boy on the hill behind the plaza spotted the priest's jeep on a rare visit, and shouted out an alarmo The incense, the rams, the bowls of blood, all were quickly dragged out of sight into a nearby house, while another authority spread fresh sand on the blood-stained ground. I was left alone in the plaza while everyone else scrambled to wash their faces, hands, and feet, and to send out messengers that the priest was in town.

The authorities convinced the priest to say mass, and then seemed in dead earnest in their devotions during the ceremony, first quietly suffering through the priest's denunciations of their "savage practices, filthy living, immorality, and poor workmanship,"
and his admonitions (fortunately in a rarified Castillian unintelligible to most) to malee the gringos among them their cultural guides. AH nonetheless seemed deeply moved by the sacrament and the images of Christ and the saints, for which many lighted candles and fervently prayed.

After he had finished mass and had collected his baptismal and funeral fees and was preparing to depart, already climbing into his jeep, he pointed to the few visible blood spots on the plaza's cobbles and asked,"What happened here, did you kill a cat?" The highest ranking jilaqata replied that no, they had only been butheering a sheep. With that, the priest closed the door with a smile, said, "Next time, give me some of it," and drove off.

It is only remotely possible that the priest did not know, after some ten years visiting churches in his far-flung parish, at least something about what had actually taken place. It was months before I learned just what the sacrifice was for. It was, in fact a~ one among many types of sacrifice in K'ulta, here performed in the context of a rite known as a luOa misa, a~ (Sp. for "heaven") altar or mass. Lurya misa, it turns out, is performed in order to rid oneself of a dangerous build-up of b.lya, which is not exactly heaven, but the uncontrollable producto lightning, of too much contact with the saints.

I have risked this anecdote in order to point out that Jesus Christ, the Virgin, and the saints are critically important to K'ulteros, and the role of those who carry out their rites and represent K'ulta to outsiders is not to keep incompatible orders apart, but to maintain controlled contact between parts of a single order. Differently evaluated practices and forces need to be constrained in appropriate contexts lest control be lost, a fact that is as clear to the priest as it is to the "pagan."

2Aymara misa can be derived from both Sp. "table," and D.Ísk "mass," since the vowels i and e are allophones in Aymara.
As should be clear from the foregoing, the central theme of this thesis is the analysis of a type of ritual system in an Andean society which seems to reproduce some form of "indigenous" formation while it mediates the relationship of the "indigenous" cultural order to the dominant state in which it is embedded. A major concern of the anthropology of the 1980's has been a struggle to find alternatives to both the static functionalist "synchronic reproduction" approach, which treats native societies as "closed corporate" isolates, and to the materialist "world system" approach which sees the structures of "peripheral" polities as directly determined by their insertion as a "class" into state and/or world capitalist orders. From these perspectives, indigenous or "peripheral" societies continue to exist either because or in spite of externally applied pressures; their structures are either determined by the global system or continue in clandestinity. But as Comaroff has argued for another colonial society (the Tshidi of Southern Africa), "Both local and global systems are at once systematic and contradictory; and they become engaged with one another in relations characterized by symbiosis as well as struggle" (1985:3).

The problem is a large one, involving what amounts to a rethinking of our concepts of culture and social system. Central to this enterprise is treating the determination of the unit of study as problematic, rather than as a given. This has sometimes been addressed using an approach focusing on the moment or conditions of conjuncture of the global and the local. One such approach has been to reveal cultural systems through the evidence produced in their displacement by other systems. Sahlins has suggested that the simultaneous reproduction and transformation of societies as

3Many of the ideas developed in this chapter took form through discussions with Mary Dillon. Related analyses of myth, developed further in chapter 4, are offered in Dillon and Abercrombie (n.d.). I am also indebted to the participants in symposium titled "Civil Administration, Religious Indoctrination and the Transformation of Polities in Colonial Peru," part of the 1985 meetings of the American Society for Ethnohistory. Discussions with Rafael Sanchez have also been instrumental in the crystallization of the ideas presented here.
historical systems becomes especially clear in their conjunction with other social orders, since both change and resistance may become overt (rather than implicit) facts in the process of argumentation between alien orders (Sahlins 1981:68; cf. Comaroff 1985:6).

It is clear from the outset that different kinds of societies, with radically different contact histories, require different approaches. One can study the moment in which colonial powers first overtake "pre-contact" social orders only in occasional, usually recent cases. In the Andean case, which I address here, our image of the initial events of conquest and conversion is distorted and dimmed both by remoteness in time and the pre-enlightenment mentality of those who recorded the events. But there is fortunately an even more intriguing alternative to first hand observation, if we turn our attention from the reconstruction of the events through which supposed cultural wholes were violated (or "destructured") to the processes, through which continuing colonial orders are reproduced.

It is tempting to approach "mediating" rituals (like the authorities) of colonized societies as insulating barriers or superimposed symbolic orders appropriated (or reinterpreted) by the dominated for their own ends, to reproduce an autonomous order. But that would be to deny that such rites also serve the ends of the colonists. As Gramsci noted (Hall 1977), hegemony is not "given," but itself has to be sustained and reproduced (cited in Comaroff 1985:79). In the pages that follow I will argue that so-called syncretic rites such as the "fiesta-cargo" systems of the Andes, can appear as both resistance and hegemony. Conquest is not, in colonial societies, a single event. The confrontation of distinct cultural systems is, in ritual forms like "fiesta-cargo" systems, regularly recreated at the locus of their historical articulation, preserving the forms of colonial intervention while producing the individuals who define the terms of the conjuncture between local and global orders.

It is also clear that there is more than one kind of ritual interface with the outside within each of the societies concerned. Some ritual forms, such as shamanic curing, for example, seem to provide a forum for creative and extemporaneous formulation of
responses to the situation of the moment, while other kinds of ritual, like collective calendrical rites, are in their rigid scripting fairly unsusceptible to rapid refiguration in order to deal with current exigencies. And while shamanism is often held up as a paradigm for resistance and a seed-bed of rebellion, public calendrical rites, especially when their forms are in part those of a hegemonic order, are treated as the hand-maidens of stability and subordination. What follows is an attempt to question these stereotypes.

1.1.4. Andean Fiesta-Cargo Systems and the Problem of Cultural "Syncretism"

The collective, publicly performed calendrical rites held by the Aymara of K'ulta, Bolivia, in honor of Catholic saints form a system in which sponsorship positions are intercalated with civil offices in a set of individual careers—an example of the so-called "fiesta cargo system." The case which I present is that of the Aymara polity of K'ulta, an ~ and canton of highland Bolivia. Given that the symbolisms deployed in the rituals seem to have both Christian and non-Christian character, this is also the kind of "mixed" ritual which used to be called "syncretic."

"Syncretism" as a term has fallen from grace because it has come to embody the misrepresentations of local orders perpetrated by a series of theoretical schools. In earlier usages, it often seemed to refer to a mishmash conjunction of irreconcilable orders, possible because, as Madsen said of "conflicting Christian and pagan concepts of the afterworld" in the Valley of Mexico, they "have been reconciled in a philosophy whose

4This is not to deny that in Andean societies there also exist both heavily "scripted" forms of shamanic curing and a considerable amount of extemporaneous, "ad lib" behavior in even the most rigid calendrical rites. In the latter case, there is plenty of room in the interstices of scheduled events for humor of all types (both good and bilious). Some such "unplanned" interruptions are even built-in to the performance itself. And apart from this, public ceremonial events are also a forum for cathartic excess; for the unbridled expression of hate and love, personal grief and "collective effervescence." It would in fact be unthinkable for rituals expressing fundamental aspects of social identity not to include such events. It nonetheless seems to me that Beuchler (1980) goes too far in claiming that the more formal aspects of fiestas serve only to maintain a circuit of communication in which informal pecking-order messages can be sent.

5See the useful review of thinking on the subject for Mesoamerica in Chance and Taylor (1985).
logical inconsistencies do not bother the Indians” (1966:381). Approaches giving more respect to indigenous intellection (including both "static reproduction” and "world systems" theories) rejected the mish-mash model in favor of one of two alternatives. Either the natives became Christians and peasants, or their Christian practices were deceits. Accepting either model is to be taken in by the colonists’ own ideology of conversion and domination as a civilizing project.

As Salomon put it in an analysis of another so-called "syncretic” tradition in the Quito area,

"... their Catholicism is misunderstood. Most writers tend to take Quichua speakers' [substitute Aymara speakers?] participation in Catholic ritual either as a demonstration of a religious consciousness essentially identical to that of urban Catholics or else as a mere veneer which coercion has imposed over a non-Catholic world view. Priests who serve Quichua parishes know that the first view is unrealistic, and their parishioners would consider the second (if any fieldworker were candid enough to acknowledge it) profoundly insulting. ... Andeans need neither pretend nor refuse to believe in Christian deities. They are self-evident realities. The task is rather to locate them within a more inclusive map of the sacred universe.” (1981: 194-95)

These common misunderstandings of Andean Christianity reveal a single underlying teleology which views history since the conquest as grounded in a forced acculturation; syncretic religion is in this view but a moment in a unidirectional process of displacement. What is more, indigenous and Catholic religions are conceived as mutually exclusive orders, each the negation of the other. True co-existence within a single system is assumed to be impossible. In this view rational, civilized forms of belief and social order gradually but inexorably displace what becomes an increasingly inchoate collection of savage superstitions and magical practices. Disconnected from the public sphere of polity-

6 In a remarkably well documented study of the origins of fiesta-cargo and compadrazgo institutions in Tlaxcala, Nutini & Bell (1980) nonetheless posit a unidirectional, teleological model (called the syncretic-acculturative cycle) for understanding the progressive displacement of "native" religion by "Catholic" religion. Essentially the claim is that the process begins with a delegitimation of native forms, then top local gods are identified with Christian figures. Then there is a gradual displacement of the "native" characteristics of the "merged" deities. Lacking their former coherence, other native religious practices are relegated to the realm of superstition and magic.
defining activity, that which is incompatible with Christian practice fades away into folklore.

Clearly we are here facing related recensions of the ideology of the colonizers. In the colonizers view as in the "syncretic acculturation" model, the events and structures of the colonial confrontation of cultures are reduced to a universal teleology, in which the past is a Pagan Indian Savage, and the future a Civilized White Christian. On the social plane the opposition is attributed respectively to the local and the global, the popular and the canonical, the colonized and the colonizers. To paraphrase Trexler's critique of the notion of popular culture (see note 7), "Ideology commonly passes for analysis; to study the concept of popular culture [read syncretism] is to study the politics of marginalization passing for intellection." Can we avoid this pitfall?

To do so requires us to make the ideology of the colonizers and their politics of marginalization an object of study, along with the political and ritual forms in which their hegemony is reproduced. To assume that the indigenous is no more than the colonizers' conception of it is clearly a mistake. It would be equally in error to give the hegemonic order a monopoly on the power to define the place of the "other" in its vision of history.

1.15. The Wild "Other" and the Reproduction of Hegemony

One might argue that every culture defines itself as a "positive" against some more-or-less objectified "Other" which represents the negation of the culture's central values. In the absence of suitable neighbors, wild nature or a now-transcended past become this Other; but more often than not (and perhaps always?), there is for the culture of reference some concrete otherpopulation to embody (in some way and to some degree)

As Trexler put it (ef. also Chartier 1984:229) in a critique of the current vogue for studying "popular culture":

. . . the label is an epiphenomenon of fundamental stereotypes that, as in the old corpus mysticum, still give identity to the intelligentsia as the head while regulating its relations with the arm of power and the plebeian stomach. Ideology commonly passes for analysis; to study the concept of popular culture is to study the politics of marginalization passing for intellection." (1984: 188)
its negation: The Greeks had their Barbarians; the Aztecs their Chichimecas; the Incas their Yunkas and Chunchus; the Aymara their Urus; the Tukanoans their Maku. For the Absolutist states of Renaissance Europe, there were infidels of every stripe: Moors, Turks, Jews, witches and idolators.8

For the Spanish of the "Age of Discovery," of course, there were "Indians," who as a category partook of the Otherly qualities of many of their forebears. As is well-known, Imperial expansion and conquest was given (papal) sanction only where conversion was required to save the souls of savages.9 Indians could be given in encomienda, and forced to supply labor drafts and tribute, only to underwrite the cost of their conversion. Even if it were possible, the Christianization and civilization of the Indians could not be actually accomplished without delegitimizing the entire colonial project. Again, "Hegemony is not 'given'; it has to be sustained and reproduced."

In the Andes, Spanish hegemony was nurtured and reproduced through the imposition of what were to be new forms of polity—settlements and civil authority posts modelled on but held apart from a Spanish town mould, and through many forms of public theatre and ritual through which Andeans were to publicly express their submission to colonial rule through Christian worship. In chapter 2 I develop the thesis that modern Andean ethnic groups as we know them emerged as a by-product of the reduccion doctrina organization, only as Andeans took form into their own hands to construct a system of articulation which served their own ends as well as those of the dominators. Here I stress how it is appropriate that the very vehicles through which hegemony was to be reproduced would also become the channels for the expression of resistance.

Trexler has shown for the conquest of Mexico that events are themselves tailored to conform to a kind of theatre of subjugation, which is then made a model of all future

8] I am indebted here to Taussig's provocative work on the importance of the "wild man" in European and "colonial" thought (1984).

9] Bulls of Pope Alexander VI sanctioned the conquests of Catholic kings. For analysis of the Las Casas-Sepúlveda debates on the justice of making war on Indians, see Hanke (1959, etc.) and Pagden (1983).
representations of the interaction between the conquerers and the vanquished (1984). Events of major, transformative consequence may themselves be understood, even initially, as a ritual form, but such forms themselves embody a historical understanding that is the same time a processual understanding of the conditions of domination.

In the first instance, from the perspective of the colonizers, the performance of Christian rites is an external sign of conversion/acculturation/submission, and members of the Indian elite were required to perform them as "models" for their subjects. Since the late 18th c. at least, such rites have been performed in rotation by "commoners," but still can be viewed as a demonstration of obeisance to the Christian order. It is from this perspective that the Christian elements of fiesta ritual may appear to be a mere facade. But it is worse than pointless to question the sincerity of the Indians' Christianity. For just as the colonial image of the pagan, chthonic "Indian" is required for the reproduction and legitimation of the hegemonic order, the structures and gods of the conquest—always defined as outside powers—are now required for the reproduction of the indigenous order.

1.2. The Thesis in Summary

12.1. The Conquest Cosmos: Generative Power and Hierarchy

In K'ult'a's calendrical rites, ritual sponsors come to the town and matrix church to adore a set of apparently Christian deities, all of whom reside in alaxpacha, "the sky:" There is Christ, who is identified with the sun; the Virgin, who is the moon; and a host of saints, refractions of the sun and moon who embody the power (represented in lightning) to mediate between the sky, this earth, and manxapacha, "the underworld."

There is a myth in K'ult'a accounting for the arrival of this solar Christ which males the domination (or conversion) of autochthonous Andeans by a foreign Christ the foundation of the current cosmos, the ground which males fully social humanity possible. The myth identifies pre-Christian ancestors with other, autochthonous peoples as beings
(called chullpas\textsuperscript{O}) who live in darkness, without herds or cultigens, in a timeless, pre-social condition. The solar-Christ arrives as a man, and after the chullpas fail to entomb him, he rises to the sky and dries and burns the chullpas, relegating them to the just-created underworld (manxapacha). The myth describes a confrontation between forces that centrifugally expells them to otherworldly zones, opening up in the tension between them an empty space in which Aymara society may be constituted. The "conquest" the story relates leads neither to the complete elimination of the chullpas (as chthonic powers) nor to the ascendancy of the sun (and Christian gods of the sky) as an all powerful form. The narrated conquest leads, rather, to the beginning of an alternation that is hierarchically regulated.\textsuperscript{U}

In the myth an opposition between darkness and light, wetness-coldness and dryness-heat, is transposed from the plane of this earth to that of opposed other-worldly zones. Living between, but in neither, of the two zones of a now hierarchically ordered cosmos, today's Aymara must mediate them by calling upon beings which have mediated the zones previously, whether through post-death journey (ancestral souls), through proximity to both zones (mountain-condors and saint-lightning), or by being associated with the negation of the contrast (chullpas).

Even though the calendrical alternations imply reversibility in the relative hierarchy of the two cosmological zones,\textsuperscript{12} the myth describes an ultimately irreversible process in which complementary forms of life generating and destroying powers are divided and banished from the realm of meno. Living between the two zones of a now hierarchically ordered cosmos, it is the task of today's Aymara to hamess and balance,\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10}The term chullpa refers both to preconquest tombs and human remains and to the people otherwise known as Uros or Moratos, stereotyped by K'ultas as hunter-gatherer-fisher relics of the true autochthones.

\textsuperscript{11}The myth is analyzed in detail in Dillon & Abercrombie (n.d.).

\textsuperscript{12}The predominence of the two zones in the lives of men alternates with the seasons (dry and sunny vs. wet, cloudy and warm).
through alternation, what are opposed but complementary extra-social forces, for the
purpose of producing society.

Conquest, domination and the imposition of social hierarchy are central themes
of K’ulta ritual (as they are also central in myth). Parallel to the hierarchically arranged 社会
and underworld of the myths are the like-named and hierarchically ordered moieties of
K’ulta–alaxsaya (upper/outside) and manxasaya (lower/inside). The ranked but
complementary moieties of the region can be interpreted as an introjection into society (and
on the intermediary cosmic plane which is neither alaxpacha nor manxapacha) of the
opposition between cosmic zones and their attendant deities. Like the cosmic zones, the
moieties are on the one hand locked into a permanent form of asymmetry in which the
"upper" moiety remains "upper," though the permanence of the relative authority of moiety
heads has disappeared with the colonial periodo In today’s moiety-level authority system
(as in the cosmos), the valences of the terms to the opposition alternate, so that higher-
ranked jilaqata mayor and alcalde offices (the "greater" jilaqata and alcalde) rotate
yearly between the moieties. The valences alternate in other cyclic forms as well.13 It is
indeed through the system of collective fiesta performances that moieties, and the polity as
a whole, are periodically recreated, in the image of the conquest cosmos.

As a state-defined entity, Ayllu K’ulta is a canton, with a population living in
over 100 hamlets scattered across a large territory in the high reaches of the treeless zuna
But polity-defining (and authority legitimating) activities are circumscribed within a
Spanish-founded, (now usually empty) ritual center town, subordinated to the sub-prefect
of the provincia de Abarca, Departamento de Oruro, Bolivia. For K’ulteños the town of
Santa Barbara de Culta is the locus of state and sky-deity intervention in local affairs. Such
circumscription is appropriate, considering that the authorities constituted through the ritual

13In the annual battles (tinkus) which take place during saint fiestas, there is an
unpredictable give-and-take, in which victory is not predetermined. Alongside this chance
alternation are other forms of more predetermined alternations such as the annual
exchange between moieties of ritual sponsorship roles in each of the town's major fiestas.
system are the figures who mediate between the polity and the state. Thus while moieties themselves express a parallelism with the hierarchy of the cosmos as a whole, the town-based public ritual (focusing upon sky deities) in which moieties actually meet, seems to link the production/reproduction of the polity as a whole to the state/polity interface, and oppose this total order to the partial, sub-moiety social groupings (such as household, hamlet, patriline, and ayllu), scattered across the territory. This is clearest in an apparent division between the rites performed in town (oriented towards the Christian sky-deities) and in the residential hamlets (oriented towards manxapacha deities). Seen in this light, the sequential structure of moiety level rituals can be seen as modeling (and defining) the structure of the confrontation between the indigenous order and the colonizing state. To fully understand this dialectical confrontation, one would have to work through a four-hundred year history of the articulation of Spanish-colonial and indigenous Andean ideas about the relationship between the “civilized” and the “savage” as these ideas are embodied in social space and time as well as in social groups.

1.2.2. Center, Periphery, and Encompassment

K’ulta society may be peripheral to the state and world-capitalist system in which it is located, but it also has a symbolic center, which is the point—in both space and time—at which it articulates with the hegemonic order. And to this center—the Spanish-founded town of Santa Barbara de Culta there is a periphery: the scattered residential hamlets. The opposition between central town and hinterland, in which the cosmological scheme is given another set of spatial coordinates, speaks of a notion of polity and civitas apparently shared by both pre-conquest Andeans and the Spanish conquerers.

14This indeed is the hypothesis developed by T. Turner (n.d.), in an essay comparing highland moiety systems with those of the Ge peoples.

15Cereceda (1978) and Meisch (1985) both show that the center-periphery scheme is also related to ideas about the body, clearly expressed in the iconography and symbolic composition of Andean textiles.
Early Spanish sources, such as the Aymara dictionary by Bertonio (1984 [1612]), and the origin myths collected soon after the Spanish invasion, indicate that the Aymara vocabulary defined fully "social" humans through their opposition to people of the pre-solar, pre-domestication age. These early sources show an identification, in Aymara terminology, of this autochtonous people with their supposed latter-day remnants in the hunting/fishing Urus and Choquelas, as well as in wild animals and birds, all of which lived outside the frontiers of the hierarchical "community" of lords and subjects bound by reciprocal obligations. Though the authors of these sources were Spanish, and we should suppose that they grasped and transcribed themes and definitions which they found (and made) understandable in their own terms, we cannot see the Aymara self-definition in hierarchical terms as being a colonial imposition. The details of the taxonomy of natural productivity through which this hierarchical understanding is reached, belies a colonial origino.

However, the project of conversion to Christianity and civilization, which justified the subordination of Indians in colonial rule, did presuppose and require the maintenance of Indians in the role of "pagans and savages" in a European opposition which in many ways resembles the Andean. The project also required the resettlement of scattered

16This is particularly clear in a whole array of terms from Bertonio’s dictionary which identify people who, like the Choquelas are “Gente cimarrona que vive en la puna sustentandose con la caca,” (“fugitives who live in the highlands, subsisting through hunting”). (1984 [1612], Bk. 2:89):

Pampa: El campo, o todo lo que está fuera del pueblo, ahora sea cuesta, ahora llano ....
Pampa haque: Vno que vive a poco mas, o menos, sin consejo, ni prudencia.
Pampa haque, vel Puruma haque vel atimaa haque: Vno que no está sugeto a nadie, que vive a su atuedrio .... (Ibid.:246-7)

Puruma haque; Hombre por sugetar, que no tiene Ley, ni Rey.
Puruma vraq; Tierra por labrar, + O la que ha mucho que no se labra. ..
Puruma Caura; Carnero que aún no ha sido cargado
Puruma, vel Cchamacapacha; Tiempo antiquísimo, quando no auia sol, segun imaginauan los indios, ni muchas cosas de las que ay agora.
Puruma camauisa haque; El que no acude a las obligaciones del pueblo. (Ibid.:278)

Suni: Tierra despoblada!
Suni haque: Saluaje que nunca vive en poblado. (Ibid.:327-8)
populations which were previously unified through subordination to the hereditary indigenous elite into towns modeled on the European idea of civitas: civilization through orderly subordination to church and state representatives in a (social, and not natural) man-and-God-made world. Those who remained in the town and fulfilled their obligations to God and king (the feast-sponsors and town authorities) would necessarily have been considered at least partly civilized, but in this scheme, those who fled (the majority of the populace, who returned quickly to their former, scattered settlements) presumably joined their "gentile" ancestors (or remained with them) in the category of lawless (rebellious) and Godless (idolatrous) savages.

Today, the superimposition of these two parallel contrasts remains in the association of the town with the Christian sky gods of alaxpacha and the outlying hamlets with the relatively autochthonous deities of manxapacha. But this is not to say that Andeans adopted the Europeans' terms. K'ultas consider themselves good Christians even as they recognize that they must keep some of their beliefs and practices out of the sight of the priest and other city people. It is their pre-conquest ancestors (the chullpas) who, as non-Christians, have been assimilated to the category of "natural man," with specially close ties to the chthonic powers which remain the raw materials from which "social man" makes himself.

Let us examine these ideas as they are played out in ritual. The temporal sequence of a fiesta performance moves from the residential hamlet to the ritual center town, (the locus of church and state intervention in K'ulta affairs) and then back to the hamlet. This movement from periphery to center and back is accompanied by shifts in the focus of libations offered by fiesta sponsors. In the hamlet, libations are offered primarily in alcohol, to underworld forces (the mountains, plains, and ancestors that are close by and in which the hamlet is 'rooted'). In the town, these libations are greatly attenuated in favor of libations in corn beer (chicha) to sky deities (sun, moon, and saints). The opposition between private and public performances may owe its existence, at least in part, to the
idolatry extirpating activities that accompanied the religious conquest of the Andes. However, this contrast in ritual performances does not emphasize the separation of the two social/cosmological zones, but, like seasonal fertility rites, it emphasizes their mediation. The power of authority comes from control over the meeting of the moiety and cosmic zones. Indigenous authorities, in turn, mediate by representing indigenous society to the state and the state (through tax collection, etc.) to the indigenous society.

123. *Subsistence Production, Social Production, and the Alienation of Generative Power*

The contrast between town and hamlet libation performances reveals a division between two aspects of the generative power which is the source of both social form and subsistence strategy. In the case of basic subsistence activity of K’ultas, two models of llama herding exist at opposite ends of the cosmological spectrum. In the infra-social domain, there are the mountain deities with their "herds," the wild animals which are the chullpas’ and the mountain gods’ analogues of humans’ domesticated ones. On the supra-social plane, there is the solar Christ, herder of a human flock. While the fertility (a kind of "natural" production) of herd and human family derives in large part from the chthonic powers (such as the mountain uywiris, "those who own/raise the herds"), man’s ability to control the herd animals—to master the hierarchy needed to appropriate nature for cultural purposes—derives from the solar model.

So it should not surprise us that authorities and ritual sponsors merit the title awatiri, "herder of men," given them by their followers, only through a prolonged series of metaphoric, sacrificial equations among llamas, men, and the gods. Hierarchical control of men is gained by internalizing a quality both possessed by the solar-Christ (who is called Tata Awatiri, "father herder") and present in the animal world (as llantirus, the "herd-leading llamas"): that of the one subsuming the many.

Very briefly summarized, fiesta sponsorship rites begin with a sacrifice of llantiru llamas (from Sp. delantero), dedicated primarily to chthonic manapacha deities of
fertility and "natural" production (the uywiris and mallkus). Through these sacrifices, and by presiding over the meeting of moieties and cosmic zones in banquet and tinku, the sponsor becomes a llantiru of the human herd (the herder of which is Tata Awatiri). Subsequently offering himself in symbolic sacrifice to the gods of alaxpacha, he is equated with the saint (and the solar Christ of which the saint is a fragment). The final sacrifice is of the saint image, whose "clothing" is removed and worn home to the harnlet.

One might argue that the symbolic focus of these collective rites is the projection of the herder-herd hierarchy from the level of ordinary production (man to llamas) to that of production of the society as a whole, in which authorities are called awatiri, "herder," and address their followers as lama, "herd." But in fact it is the very power of controlling domesticated animals--the basis of "civilized" (rather than layra timpu-type) society--which has been invested in the relationship between alaxpacha (and the state) and manxapacha (and indigenous society), that is, of having come from the domination of autochthonous beings by the solar-Christ. Wearing home the "clothing" of the symbolically sacrificed saint seems a clear expression of the encompassment and internalization of the hierarchical power of the Christian alaxpacha, and the social totality, by the partial social units of the manxapacha-associated harnlet. In this scheme, the reproduction of the household and harnlet, and of the very subsistence base, hinges on the creation of authorities who can gain such internalized control.

1.2.4. Hegemony and Resistance

If the rites of authorities represent a kind of submission to state hegemony, they are not conceived as such by their practitioners, and local control over their form represents control over the form in which hegemony is expressed, as serving local ends. So the ritual sponsors' and authorities' role, in mediating between cosmic zones and between polity and the state is that of appropriating from each, through the intercession of its opposite, what is necessary for the reproduction of society. From the underworld to which men have access through mortality to the distant ancestors, and from "wild" intermediaries, men may gain
access to powers of growth and sustenance. From the sky gods, reached through rites partly imposed from the outside, comes, via a sacrificial pact, the ability to harness such powers by subordinating them within a reversible hierarchical order. In both cases, society's appropriation of chthonic "generative" and colonial"hierarchical” powers remains incomplete and its maintenance contingent on the repetition of sacrificial mediation.

Colonial and republican hegemony, for the K'ultas, is an integral aspect of the constituted social whole. The alternating ambivalence toward indigenous deities, on the one hand, and toward Christian sky deities, on the other, precludes either full identification with or complete rejection of either. The antipathy between what are not only opposed parts of the cosmos but opposite sides of a long-running dialogo between "ethnic group" and hegemonic powers, forms a complexly ordered dialectic through which society defines itself.

Some would argue that this kind of "accommodated resistance" is no resistance at all, and that the ritual system described here indeed is a conservative force, a kind of "opiate" of the oppressed. There are two responses to such arguments. First, that we are speaking, after all, of societies dominated by states with incomparably more coercive power, so that this kind of resistance constitutes the alternative to impossible rebellion. But there is by now enough evidence to show that it has been precisely through this kind of ritual constitution of the polity that (some nearly successful) rebellions have been organized and carried out between the mid-17th c. and the present. What has been effectively resisted is the repeated attempt by Liberal reformers, in the modern era, to deconstitute the "indigenous" polities by articulating individuals directly to the state, in repeated attempts to privatize land tenure.18

17See section 6.2.
18Platt (1982a) analyzes these post-independence, Liberalism-inspired efforts at "civilizing" Andeans in detail,
The thesis which I have here attempted to summarize raises the specter of some intransigent theoretical problems while it suggests some potentially fruitful avenues of future research.

First, where is the locus of cultural/social system in cases such as K'ul'ta (and indeed, all colonized societies)—cases in which a global, dominant order is implicated and presupposed in the local order, and vice-versa, even as both remain analytically distinct, and are perhaps only partially mutually intelligible? I would suggest that socio-cultural order, in these cases at least, is continually emergent, created at the juncture of greatest potential change and conflict, through meta-communicated or meta-pragmatic poetics of public ritual, which presupposes the lived meanings of daily practice just as it is capable of re-ordering them. Such rituals, I argue, give expression to both hegemonic and counter-discourses. But these heavily scripted, and only apparently "traditional" and "unchanging" forms of custom are but one form of ritual practice in K'ul'ta. I have left out of accounts here another form, shamanic ritual, which has its own, different, logic: In the same pilgrimage feasts which are the contexts of fiesta rites, shamans gather to cater to members of the dominant society in search of the powers of the wild.

Neither have I touched on the rituals of inversion through which success in monetary transactions is sought, forms of sorcery which draw on the diabolical side of the dominant society's formulation of the Indian other, and at which whites and outsiders are thought to be particularly apt, as vampires who magically sacrifice Indians in order to transform their generative substances into material wealth. These issues, like the full accounting for the process of colonial ethno genesis which gave rise to today's Andean polities in the mass rebellions of the late 18th century (long viewed as a last gasp of Andean social forms) await future work.

In the following chapters I will develop this argument by embodying such concepts in the cultural and historical warp and weft of what I hope is a sufficiently "whole cloth" to do justice to the Andean reality. In chapter 2 I present the findings of
ethnohistorical research into K’ulta’s precolombian, colonial, and republican past. Chapter 3 then takes up where the documents are silent, and blueprints the symbolic architecture of social units at the sub-ayllu level, that is, the cultural values and processes within and among households, as well as the exogamous patronymically defined groupings which form the constituent units of the ayllu. In chapter 4, I explore the ethnopoetic genres through which Kulteños “remember” their symbolic universe. In chapter 5 I examine how myriad individual ritual careers are harmonized as a single collective political-ritual order. Finally, in chapter 6 I turn to the ritual of the collective saints’ feasts through which authorities, as well as the polity as a whole, are produced.
CHAPTER 11

THE GENESIS OF A SOCIAL FORMATION:
AN INITIAL VIEW

2.1. Preliminaries

2.1.1. Ethnohistory as Project

When, during the latter part of the 15th Century, the armies of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui marched in conquest to what is today highland Bolivia, they entered a land dominated by a small number of large-scale, thoroughly dual-organized federations of (mostly) Aymara-speaking kingdoms. Hindered as we are by the Cuzco-centric bias of the chroniclers and a lack of other substantial documentation from early enough in the colonial period to be of much use, we can only imagine, for the most part, what these federations or kingdoms were like, especially as regards matters of symbolic organization (such as religion, state-level ritual, etc.). In recent years, the great gap in our knowledge of the pre-conquest state of affairs in the region south of Lake Titicaca has begun to close, through the efforts of scholars such as Tristan Platt (1978b, 1982a, n.d.), Roger Rasnake (1982), Silvia Rivera (1978), Nathan Waehtel (1978, 1981, 1982), and others. Drawing on the example set by John Murra's studies of the Lupaqa and Chupaychu (1968, 1972, etc.), an increasingly clear picture is emerging of the Charka, one of the great federations of the southern end of the Inean province of Qullasuyu.Í

Much of this advance is, of course, due to the efforts of scholars who have heeded Murra's admonitions (1968, 1970) that much is to be learned from sources of a bureaucratic and administrative sort. It is lamentable, however, that Murra's longstanding efforts to encourage cooperative projects taking advantage of the special resources of archaeology have so far not been heeded in Bolivian ethnohistorical projects.
My intention in this chapter is to provide a preliminary sketch of both the preconquest scope and colonial transformations of another of these federations: the Kiilaka (Quillacas in colonial documents), located to the west of the Charka, primarily in the altiplano region of what is today the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. The federation was complex, (consisting of four dual-organized kingdoms), and populous (totalling over 22,000 persons—after the population decline of the early post-conquest period—according to the census of the Toledan years).

The initial sections of the chapter present the available data on the precolombian organization of the federation. The existing data, however, carry us only to the threshold: I do not believe that it is possible to understand how a federation such as this functioned without considering such matters as religion, cosmology, ritual organization, and at the same time the conceptual order through which the organization of domestic production was harmonized with them. But on these matters the documents are silent. As a result, the second purpose of the chapter is to examine such issues in the precolombian case by augmentation with both ethnographic data and by the better documented intermediate transformations of the later colony. At the same time, development of hypotheses that might explain the processes of transformation will be required.

The general theoretical framework of the chapter is related to the hypothesis that Andean societies, then as now, define themselves through collective ritual formations which are (and were) both calendrical in nature and the means through which authorities (nobles) establish and legitimate their rule. Thus I must begin to explore here how authority, at every level, is conceptualized, how this relates to the general issues of cosmology, what ritual acts might mean, and what all of this has to do with the organization of production, at levels from the domestic group to the federation and the state.

I came to ethnohistory via ethnographic fieldwork. But it is not my intention to simply indicate continuities between precolombian and present day societies of Bolivia.
Such efforts tend to fall victim to romanticist temptations, such as "purifying" the ethnographic description through the elimination of "Hispanic elements," for the purpose of placing continuities of "indigenous elements" in relief. My aim here, on the contrary, is to illuminate former social totalities through the demonstration of formal and functional parallels among total symbolic orders. Such an exercise might help us to imagine the degree to which the purposes of public ritual, means of conceptualizing and legitimating authority, and schemas of dual organization, are truly continuous, in spite of changes in particular "elements." As a result, I will argue that although we can be certain that saints' feasts, with all of their Catholic features, did not exist in precolombian times, the ideas that they express and the socio-cultural purposes they accomplish indeed—very similar to the ritual-political-cultural formations of precolombian times.

At the same time, of course, such an analysis requires that we find and describe the historical conjunctures in which the encounter of opposed modes of thought and social forms gave rise to particular cultural accommodations—on the Spanish side as well as by the Indians. It will also be necessary to search for both the continuities and the ruptures which impelled the successive transformations of the colonial compromise.

2.1.2. From Archive to Fieldwork

As a result of the fact that the Killaka are not as richly documented as their Charka neighbors to the east, my description of the pre-conquest state of affairs must proceed carefully, and many of my conclusions must remain tentative, pending discovery of further documentation which may yet turn up in Andean and Spanish archives, or in the private holdings of the successors of the Killaka rulers. Fortunately, however, the Killaka have also recently been the object of a major essay by Waldemar Espinoza S. (1981). The reader of both essays will note that between them there are significant differences of approach and interpretation. I have found Espinoza's essay to be particularly valuable for its treatment of the genealogy and deeds of the Colque-Guarache dynasty, and admirable historiography of the pre-Toledan encomiendas (grants of Indian labor to conquistadores).
of the Killaka region. Where I have found reason to quibble with Espinoza's conclusions I have done so in the text and footnotes. Such differences center on the construal of social structure, such as identification of kingdom and moiety boundaries, and it should be noted here that this is precisely the area where the differences in our sources and approaches to the material are most telling (Espinoza apparently had no access to the detailed and revealing revisitas, [the records of periodic census visits] located in Buenos Aires).

I will begin with a proviso concerning the more serious of the limitations which face the researcher who would describe the societies which lay within the jurisdiction of the Audiencia de La Plata.

In the best of circumstances, accounts of the state of affairs in the Qullasuyu region before the Spanish conquest come to us refracted through mistranslations, cultural misapprehensions from both the Spanish and indigenous perspectives, and the usually complex motivations and interests of chronicler, questioner, and witness in the varied proceedings giving rise to retrospective documentation of preconquest affairs.

In contrast to the relatively small body of data on pre-European religion in the Andes (especially non-Inciac religion), to be expected in an Inquisition era Spanish colony, the bulk of early colonial documentation on indigenous affairs in the Qullasuyu region relates to matters of land tenure, the form of Inca and local tribute exactions, and to accession to and the privileges of kingship. Therefore, my description of the Killaka (who...
go scarcely mentioned in the chronicles), draws principally on the sources of this latter kind. Bureaucratic/administrative documents on the Killaka are, unfortunately, of relatively late dates and lacking in much ethnographic material.\(^5\) The tásā (an assignment of tribute resulting from a census) of Toledo,\(^6\) visitas (post-Toledan), land tenure litigation (of which only one suit is pre-Toledan),\(^7\) and probanzas (service reports) of caciques (all post-Toledan).\(^8\) We must, of course, keep in mind the distorted nature of this kind of source material.

Because our sources are fiscal and legal, (definitions of ownership of property, legitimate succession, tribute owed, etc. all via Spanish categories), we should not be led to the conclusion that Killaka culture was so motivated. On the contrary, if recent ethnography can be carefully used to read into the remote past, Andean thought and the categories which organized it were radically dissimilar to the European. Caciques,\(^9\) however, learned to manipulate European categories and logics in order to legitimate their rule and protect their own and their subjects' interests in the Spanish legal system,\(^10\) and in

\(^5\)The earliest visita material that I have been able to locate for the Killaka are the two summaries of the "Tasa" of Francisco de Toledo, and padrones, (locally produced census lists) and visita summaries for 1645-46 and 1683-84. I have so far found nothing comparable to the wonderfully detailed and early visita by Garci Diez de San Miguel of the Lupaqa (1964 [1567]).

\(^6\)Cf. Cook (1975), and AGNA 9.17.2.5. "Retasa de Fray Lim de Toledo" (copy of a summary of the tasa made in 1785). Another copy of the same material (not consulted by the author), is located in the Archivo Histórico de Potosí: Cajas Reales 18, "Libro donde se asientan las tasas de los indios que estan en la Corona Real," [1575].

\(^7\)Cf. Wachtel (1981, 1982), treating litigation records for a suit between encomenderos, (the men to whom indians were given in encomienda) and the caciques of Killaka and Karanka over lands in Cochabamba, contained in AR 1540 and AR 1570 in the Archivos Historicos de Cochabamba (as cited by Wachtel). A small portion of the documents have been published with commentary in Morales (1977).

\(^8\)Most importantly, the probanzas of Juan Colque Guarache, cacique gobernador of the Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques. Good comparative material with some reference to the Killaka is to be found in the "Memorial de Charcas," written in 1582 by the caciques of the Charka federation. The "Memorial" has been published (in part), with commentary, by Espinoza (1969).

\(^9\)The term cacique, imported by the Spanish into the Andes from the Caribbean, was applied to indigenous authorities who might otherwise have been titled kuraka (Quechua) or malku (Aymara). The term soon replaced the indigenous crms, and obliterated many of the finer distinctions of hierarchy made in the native languages.

\(^10\)On this point see, for example, Stem (1982) and Rivera (1978).
so doing were forced to fragment their cultural vision to meet the demands of the radical cultural (as well as linguistic) translation required by the colonial courts. Hence our lack of comprehensive cultural materials leaves us with a relatively static picture of Killaka, that can perhaps be compensated for in part by a subsequent look at the process of change, unfolding in structurally motivated patterns from the early colony down to the present day.

2.13. From Ethnography to History

This chapter, and the ethnohistorical research which produced it, has evolved out of an attempt to understand the historical context of cosmology as embedded in the ritual performances of the people of Ayllu K’ulta, Bolivia, who occupy a small fragment of what was the coherent Killaka realm. In fact, the K’ulta today incorporate in the hierarchy of their gods some part of their political history, no longer extant but with which they perpetuate a relationship through the same ritual metaphor—that of herding—that permeates and structures all aspects of their social reality.

K’ulteños participate in a large number of calendrical feasts, held in honor of saints’ days and sponsored by aspirants to political offices. During these feasts, most sacrificial acts (among them—incense offerings, ch’allas [libations with alcohol and coro beer], coca dedications, and llama sacrifices) are directed towards a complex hierarchy of indigenous deities. In this complex ritual/political system, one of the most highly charged of obligatory acts is performed by each ayllu’s jilaqata (also called cacique) during

1] Though applied to problems in the interpretation of chronicles written by indigenous authors, the strictures offered in Salomon’s perceptive essay (1982), on the insoluble contradictions inherent in the motivations of these early attempts to bridge the cultural gap between the Andean and Spanish worlds, apply equally well to documents such as those I have employed in the chapter. As Salomon puts it: “They necessarily speak partly through ideas and myths not their own, and partly through those that are too much their own to be readily conveyed in a foreign vehicle” (1982: 32).

12 In general three ranked “types” of sponsors—mayordomo, film, and alferez—perform each of the five major saints’ fiestas, giving a yearly total of about fifteen single “steps” in as many individuals’ fixed feast-giving careers. There are four fixed kinds of careers. Two of them lead to the cargo of alcalde, and the other two, successively, to alguacil and jilaqata (also called caciques). Each of the two ayllus-cum-riquetíes participating in the system is thus “led” by three authorities on a yearly rotating basis (but see section 5.1 for details).
his year in office. These authorities carry their staffs of office ñullá ~ or YillAS) some fifty kilometers, on foot, to the patron saint festival of the town of San Pedro de Condo, on the shores of Lake Poopé. The feast of San Pedro, on June 29th, is also known as the fiesta of Tata Asanaqi, which is a mountain dominating the region. In K'ulte as well as in Condo, Tata Asanaqi is considered to be the most powerful mallku (mountain spirit, literally "male condor") in the region. We shall see that this shared homage bespeaks a common past that yet guides and empowers the present. For it is through acts such as this sacred pilgrimage that the tata-reyes are transformed into something more than mere emblems of office, and the authorities into something more than mere tax-collecting officials.13

Serving an apprenticeship in a ritual career lasting up to twenty or more years, the jilaqata-to-be performs a great number of llama sacrifices during calendrical rites, dedicating alcohol and chicha libations (ch'allas) to, among other things, a hierarchy of mountain gods. These gods of the underworld (manxapacha) range in importance from the hamlet uywiris, the "herd owners," to the mallku, "mountain peak/condor," of the ritual-center town of maximal ayllu K'ulte, shared by all K'ulteños, rirwan Tata, "father storehouse." This last mallku is addressed in the language of libations as Churi Asanaqi. The term is said to refer to the derivation in remote times, of K'ulte's leading ayllus and their gods from Condo and Tata-Asanaqi. Not coincidentally, among Condo's extant ayllus are four bearing the same names as the ayllus of K'ulte. Less that two hundred years ago these pairs of ayllu namesakes were not, in fact, distinguished one from the other. We can see here that exactly at the level of Tata Asanaqi the contingent, historical division of political units intersects and is given meaning by the constant, cosmological ordering of the gods.14

13A rich source of data on the symbolism and ritual of the tata-reyes (as well as of the fiestas of authority in general) is to be found in Rasnake (1982:313). 14Martinez (1976) provides a cogent analysis of types of place deities (including uywiris) for the Aymara-speaking people of Isluga, located not far to the west of Killaka territory in present-day Chile.
the "second person" or "second in command," of hanansaya Asanaqi as named by Toledo\(^\text{16}\)) were assassinated by their subjects in 1774,17 and the institution itself, already greatly weakened, disappeared shortly thereafter, at the close of the colonial period. In addition, the subordination of the Asanaqis to the lords of the nearby town of Quillacas (ethnic group Killaka), is not remembered, notwithstanding the yearly celebration in K’ulta of the feast of Tata Killakas (Exaltacion of the cross). Through most of the colonial period, Condo, capital of the Asanaqis, was but one town within the more inclusive Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques.\(^\text{18}\)

Today "Killaka" is understood by most Bolivians to refer to a small town on the southern shore of Lake Poopó. Known also as Santuario de Quillacas due to its status as a major religious pilgrimage center, the town was christened "Oropesa de Quillacas" when it was created as a Toledan reducción, a new town within which the scattered population was to be concentrated, and known during most of the colonial period as Hatun Quillacas. Residents of nearby towns such as Condo or Culta may also understand "Killakas" to refer to a social grouping (ayllu), and its component sub-groupings (also ayllus). Killaka was once the dominant kingdom in a federation including three other kingdoms, wherein the name Killaka, as an unmarked term, could refer to both the highest ranking part (kingdom

16Gregorio Feliz Uanquipacha makes the claim of descendence from Martin Pacha in ANB EC 1747, no. 12, f.6. Martin Pacha is named to the post in AGNA 9.17.2.5., f.120v.

17Criminal proceedings resulting from the tumult, a precursor to the far more generalized rebellion of the Catari brothers a few years later, are preserved in ANB EC 1781, no.83 (copied in AGNA 9.30.2.3., Exp. 16). The acknowledged motivation for the assassinations, perpetrated by members of Llanquipachas’ own ayllu Sulcayana (who subsequently fled to Asanaqi valley outliers), was grief over the expulsion of the doctrina's priest by the governor (f8r). Prosecutors note, however, that many of the suspects (supported by the priest?) were demandantes in a criminal case brought against Gregorio Llanquipacha by his subjects in 1772 (ANB EC 1772, No. 115).

18The repartimiento, given initially to Lorenzo de Aldana (Espinoza 1981:207), was given to the royalist Diego Pantoxa in encomienda by La Gasea (AGNA 9.17.2.5., fII5v.-116r.).
Killaka), and the whole (federation of Killaka), as well as the capital town of both
(Quil1acas) (see map 2).19

If today the people of Condo, Culta, Chal'pata or Pampa Aullagas exhibit an
historical amnesia to go along with a political autonomry (from the lords of the Killaka
federation) fully achieved only during republican times, the people of Macha, one of the
ethnic groups of the neighboring Charka federation, continue 10 regard them as "of a
piece": Aymara speaking herders from a multitude of ayllus--fragments of the former
Killaka federation who annually travel 10 and through Macha lands on their trading
expeditions, are known collectively as "Khellaja.20

19 An explanation of terminology is in order here. As among the Macha, the
members of present-day "ethnic groups" such as K'ulta, Wari (Huari), Challapata, or
Quinata (Condo), refer to their society as an ayllu ("Ayulla Kulta," for example). This
usage corresponds to Platt's term maximal ayllu (1978a:1082). Similarly, the component
moieties of each group may be called ayllus (Platt's major ayllu), as are the variable number
of theoretically endogamous social groups within each moiety (Platt's minor ayllu). At
least among the Kulta, there is no lower level of segmentation corresponding to Platt's
rnanimal ayllu (or cabildo). For clarity of exposition, I have preferred to employ the term
ayllum primarily to refer to the named minor ayllus of each ethnic group (or maximal ayllu).
Similarly, in treating ethnohistorical materials, I have used the term - in the only sense
it is employed in extant documents on the Killaka--to refer again to the named minor ayllus.
It is likely that ayllum (or some Aymara equivalent--such as the term haiha found in
Bertonio's Aymara dictionary) may have been the term used in historic times to refer to
what I have chosen to call kingdom, moieties, kingdoms, and federations, as well. The latter
terms are more or less arbitrarily chosen, and result from the lack of a record of suitably
differentiating indigenous terms. I could have used ethnic group in place of kingdom,
chiefdom instead of kingdom, kingdom in place of federation (as in Murra's [1967] usage)
--but all other alternatives are equally unsatisfactory, failing to convey the complexly
embedded nature of Andean social forms. What is lacking is data which shows us how
Aymaras terminologically differentiated among authorities at different levels of social
hierarchy. Until we have such evidence, terms such as cacicasgo, or kurakasgo, or kingdom
could apply to any level of segmentation from ayllu to federation. It is doubtful that we
will advance much towards resolution of the problem without many more comparative
studies of social organization in the Andes.

Ethnic group, of course, is another problematic termo In contradistinction to
more frequent usages in Andean studies, which make the term applicable either to the
class/racial category of Indian (versus mestizo, white, etc.), to language groupings
(Quichua vs. Aymara ethnic groups), to the boundaries of 16th century kingdoms or
federations (so one might refer to the Lupaqa ethnic group), or to other groupings easily
identifiable by observers as "ethnically distinct" because of clothing styles, etc., I have
chosen to use the term in place of what are commonly called communities, that is, to self-
defined polities at th: maximal k J at \&t; group identity and authority hierarchies are
locally produced. So I have called : Ayllu vsult an ethnic group, as well as Ayllu Macha.
20 Operson<11cornmunicauon from Tristan Platt, 1983.
That the people of Macha should take little interest in the ethnic subdivisions and local niceties of the component groups of the former Killaka federation should come as no surprise. And the fact that, for their neighbors, Killaka are "of a piece" points simultaneously to what the Killaca groups have in common with, and to their common differences from, the Charka. While Charka groups, for the most part, can claim agriculture as their primary subsistence base, through direct or indirect control of a variety of ecological zones within their core territories, the groups from the high, cold and dry altiplano zone of the Killaka region are very much dependent upon herding (of llamas, alpacas, and sheep) as their local resource base. Consequently, the Killaka peoples were and are forced to cross Charka territories to reach the agriculturally rich valley lands which produce the foodstuffs constituting the bulk of their diet (principally wheat and corn, but also a good deal of potatoes). Thus the difference between Killaka and Charka ecological regimes is also what perforce inter-relates the two federational areas.

This contrast in ecological regimes would be, of course, too sharply drawn, were it reduced to a simple agricultural/pastoral opposition. As Platt (1978a) and Harris (1978a) have shown, though many Charka groups extend territorially across both highland and valley ecozones, their political centers are located in their high and cold puna regions, in which herding is of considerable importance. Likewise the core Killaka region supports limited agriculture (producing, in most areas, only the *papa* IIQi (bitter potatoes), from which chuño, (freeze-dried potatoes), are elaborated, plus some *Quinoa* and fodder), which is most important in the narrow band of terraced and irrigated lands (producing small quantities of dwarf maize) along the eastern shore of Lake Poopó, in the vicinity of the capital towns of the core-area Killaka. Nonetheless, ecological resource differences between the two areas were noted by Spanish and 16th century caciques alike, and used as

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2jūn the varied forms of "vertical ecology" in the region, see Harris (1978a, 1978b), Platt (1978a, 1982b), Rasnake (1982), and West (1981a, 1981b).
evidence to forward radically opposed arguments concerning the relative wealth of the two federations in litigation over land rights and the just distribution of the tribute burden.

223. Verticality and Rivalry

In the by now well-known "Memorial de Charcas," a letter from the caciques of Charla and Karakara to the King of Spain seeking redress for various injustices (the letter was published with commentary by Waldemar Espinoza in 1969) the issue is raised with reference to the lower tribute charged to the Killaka and their neighbors to the northwest, the Karanka. In chapter (or paragraph) 44 of the 53 chapter "Memorial," the caciques claim that Viceroy Toledo, on the basis of a false impression of the poverty of the Killaka and Karanka, assigned to these herding federations an unjustly (by comparison) low level of tribute payment:

Another thing. Don Francisco de Toledo, who was Viceroy of these kingdoms, was informed by the false testimony of the caciques of Carangas and Quillacas, who alleged that their lands were sterile and poor punas, while the contrary [is true], because although they are cold puna lands, they are people with herds and [therefore] rich, and moreover they possess many hot lands and fields, and ranches with good climates in many places. And thus the said don Francisco de Toledo, because of the sinister testimony of the said caciques, assigned to them only 6 assayed pesos and to their Urus [he assigned] three common pesos, while to us the Charcas and Caracaras and Soras [he assigned] seven assayed pesos and to the Uros of the Soras of Paria, three common pesos. [He] should have assigned to us the Charcas and Caracaras but 4 pesos, because we are poor people and we were always the Inka's soldiers, and we were on many frontiers eating and drinking at the Inka's cost as is public and notorious. In all of which we three nations have received considerable aggravation and damage. We supplicate that Your Majesty should be served to command that this be remedied, [by] reducing our tasa by half or by dividing the work among all equally. And in this we will receive good and mercy with justice. (Espinoza Soriano 1969:24)

22Francisco de Saavedra, visitador in the Cochabamba valley for the Toledan visita, cites agricultural poverty as a factor in support of the KarankailKillaka claim to parcels there: "... y que atento a que ay gran cantidad de tierras en dho valle y a que los yndios carangas, quillacas y asanaques viven en tierra muy esteril donde coxen muy poca comida y se sustentan de mayz que compran en este dicho valle. ... por la necesidad grande que tienen de tierras que Su Exc. les podría hazer merced en nombre de Su Mgd. de algunos suyos de tierras de las que beneficiaban para el dho Ynga .... " (Morales 1977: 29, [from ARC 1570 "Provision del Virrey Toledo en favor de los yndios Carangas de Cochabamba, [1574"]])

23My translation from the Spanish original, which reads as follows: Lo otro. Don Francisco de Toledo, visorrey que fue de estos Reinos, siendo
The conflict of interpretations made explicit in this passage of the "Memorial" is one reflection of the contrast between an Andean disposition and the Spanish tendency to see wealth in terms of agricultura! or mineral productivity. As Muria (1975) has argued, this Andean disposition was to regard Q'llus herds as "wealth."24 Ir> :-d, as the Killaka and Karanka progressively lost control over their "many hot lands ..., .fields ... in many places," they ~ increasingly impoverished during the colonial periodo

2.3. Transitions from Inka to Spanish Control: Early Sources

23.1. The Cacique and Federational Integrity

In spite of the Spanish assaults on Killaka and Karanka territorial integrity, and the Charlea dispute of both their low level of tributation and the authority vested in their mallkus, it appears that the latter did effectively argue a case for the poverty of their subjects, and this argument was undoubtedly partly responsible for their successes (apart from the reduced tasa) in defending, in spite of considerable obstacles, the pre-conquest

mformado con falsa relación por los caciques de Los Carangas y Quillacas alegando de ser tierras estériles y punas y proues siendo al contrario, porque aunque ellos son de tierras punas y frías y son gentes de ganado y ricos y alliende de esto posén munchas tierras y chacras calientes y estancias de buenos temples en munchas partes. Y así el dicho don Francisco de Toledo por respecto de su siniestra relación de los dichos caciques les echó de tasa tan solamente a 6 pesos ensayados y a sus Uros a tres pesos corrientes y a nosotros Los Charcas y Caracaras y Soras a siete pesos ensayados y a los Uros de Los Soras de Paria a 3 pesos corrientes, hauiéndose de echar a nosotros Los Charcas y Caracaras a 4 pesos solamente por ser gente proue y siempre soldados del inga que estuvieron en munchas fronteras comiendo y bebiendo a costa del inga como es público y notorio. En todo lo cual hemos reciuido notable agrauio y daño las dichas tres naciones. Suplicamos a Vuestra Majestad sea servuido de mandar y poner remedio en ello, quitándonos la mitad de la tasa o que se reparta el trauajo entre todos igualmente. Y en ello reciuiremos bien y merced con justicia. (Espinoza Soriano 1969:24)

240n the importance of herds as "banks" of wealth which was readily convertible in both the Andean and colonial regimes, see Murra (1968: 120, aslo 1975: 203-4). Murra cites Bertonio's dictionary entry to the effect that "los yndios solamente a los carneros [de la tierra] suelen llamar hazienda." (Bertonio: 1984 [1612; Bk. 2: 261). Also see Murra's article, "Rebaños y pastores en la economía del Tawantinsuyu," (in Murra. 1975: 127). It was very likely the advantage offered by the convertibility of their animal resources that enabled the Killaka lords to expand their valley holdings by purchase towards the close of the 16th century, at atime when the primarily agricultural KaraKara groups were at a loss for cash for tribute payments.
regime in land tenure. Paragraph 35 of the "Memorial" refers in part to the chagrin of the Kurakas of Charlea over Killaka and Karanka successes in this regard. The Charka claim, in essence, is that they have been unjustly deprived of title to their preconquest possessions in the valley of Cochabamba, while the rights of the Killaka and Karanka were affinned, in part, by land title.

Nathan Wachtel has documented the Killaka-Karanka effort to affirm their rights in Cochabamba lands (1981, 1982). Apart from these lands in Cochabamba, the Killaka, at least, were able not only to preserve control over valley lands held at the time of the conquest, but, it appears, to increase them, at least during the first half of the colonial period. This success seems to have resulted, in large part, from the favor curried by the highest ranking cacique of Killaka among his Spanish overlords. In part through an effective paperstorm of litigation, in part through frequent references to his family's early and continued record of service to the Spanish crown, and in part through a degree of wealth (in Spanish terms) and influence resulting from his herding resources, this Killaka lord, named Juan Colque Guarache, also managed to accomplish what the Charka could not, that is, relative preservation of the integrity of his federation and of his status within it.

That Juan Colque managed this is due, at least in part, to the power accorded him by appointment to a colonial post Named by Viceroy Toledo as capitán general (along with a Sura cacique) of all the mita supplying repartimientos of the province.25 Colque

25The initial appointment appears to have been limited to the context of a military campaign, as the Colque Guarache interrogatorio attests:

"Yten si saven que asimismo el dicho don Joan Colque fue nombado por capitán general por el muy Excelente Señor don Fran- de Toledo Vissorrey destos reynos en la jornada que hizo de los chiriguanos de los yndios amigos que fueron a ella para la quallevo dozientas y cinquenta fanegas de comida e quinientos carneros de la tierra y otros proveymientos ...." (ATP 1575, No. 11, f3v.)

In a 1578 letter to the King on Colque Guarache's behalf, Matienzo describes him as "capitan en la villa de Potosi nombrado por el virrey" (in Levillier [1918: 480]; “Carta a S.M. del licenciado Matienzo, recomendando la pretension de Juan Colque Guarache, cacique principal de los Quillacas, que se le conceda legitimacion a cinco hijos naturales. La Plata, 23 de Diciembre de 1578").
managed to achieve ascendancy over not only his own federation, but to a degree, over the Charkas as well, further sting the less favored Charka lords.26

But this is not to say that the Killaka federation was immune to the distortions introduced into the native polity through the imposition of colonial institutions. True, the supreme lord of the Charka, Ayaviri, was humbled in social rank to a much greater degree than the lord of the Killaka, but this is a matter of degree, not kind.27 Like the Charka, the Killaka federation was disarticulated into separately administered encomiendas/repartimientos, even into distinct provinces. At the deepest level, Colque Guarache’s advantage derived from the fact that the Spaniards found it efficient to administer the mita of Potosí through precolombian structures. Although his federation was dismembered into repartimientos, in theory linked only through encompassing Spanish institutions and officials, these same bureaucrats found it expedient to leave indigenous authorities like the capitan general with their command more or less intact, in order to more easily satisfy the ever burgeoning need for mine labor.

232. Colonial Evidence of Killaka in the Inka Empire: The Cochabamba Case

As part of their plea for the rectification of colonial administrative distortions of their realms, the caciques of Charkas took great pains to make clear the distinctiveness and independence of the "nations" of the Provincia de los Charcas. Paragraph 25 of the "Memorial de Charcas" lists them as Charka, Sura, Killaka, Karanka, Chuwi, and Chicha,

26Piqued, that they were thus subordinated to the capitanes from the Killaka and Sura, "que son naciones por si y gente extranjera," the Kurakas of the "Memorial" suggest the creation of two more capitanías, one from the Charcas and the other from the Karakara (Espinoza, 1969:23 [par. 43]).

27Undoubtedly, as the authors of the "Memorial" suggest, the privileges denied by Toledo were far greater than those he affirmed. But the greatest harm to the mallku/kuraka was not the loss of pomp and luxury, but the denial of confirmed access to labor and land, vital for the generous displays of reciprocity expected in return for the demands the kurakas placed upon their subjects. Where the authority to rule was based on consent by the ruled, rather than on coercion, the importance of the appearance of generosity cannot be underestimated. On this point see Murra (1968: 135ff), Platt (n.d.), and Rasnake (1982).
"cada uno diferentes en la nación, hábitos y traje," "each one different in nation, habits and clothing," (ibid.: 18).

The "Memorial" compares the lords of these nations to the dukes, counts and marquises of Spain (noting, however, that they were not being treated as such by colonial officials). In reference to the stature and ranking of these lords, paragraph 25 begins:

Another thing. In our province of Charcas, before the Inkas and after them there were natural lord’s of greater than ten thousand vassals and others of eight thousand Indians and others of six thousand Indians and vassals. Some of the said lords and gentlemen were superior than the other caciques and lords that there were in each nation . . . And thus each one of these lords would have eight second persons and ten as well, each [lord] of one thousand Indians, and four principales of each ayllu of five hundred and of one hundred, and four mandones in each ayllu each one in his nation of hanansaya and hurinsaya. And in this order the Inkas governed uso (Ibid.:18)

Killaka, then, was a nation of 10 or 8 or 6 thousand vassals (adult male tributaries). But nowhere in the "Memorial" is its ethnic composition or territorial extension noted, apart from the mention of its cold and sterile lands and many valley possessions.

Fortunately, the Cochabamba materials published by Morales (1981) and Wachtel (1981, 1982) offer us a valuable source of information on the precolumbian internal structure of Killaka. A litigation proceeding (taking place between 1560 and 1570), the documents record the struggle between colonial officials and the lords of

28As in all translations of Spanish sources, the translation is mine. The original Spanish is as follows:

Lo otro. En nuestra provincia de Los Charcas, antes de los Inkas y después de ellos solía haver señores naturales mayores de a diez mil vasallos y otros de a ocho mil indios y otros de a seis mil indios y vasallos otros dichos señores y caualleros eran superiores de los demás caciques y señores que hauia en cada nación . . . y ansi cada uno de estos señores solían tener ocho segundas personas y diez también de a mil indios y cuatro principales de cada ayllu de a quinientos y de ciento indios y cuatro mandones en cada ayllu cada / uno en su nación de hanansaya y Hurinsaya. Yen esta orden governaron los inkas. (Ibid: 18).

When transcriptions are not taken from secondary sources, I have followed the following conventions: orthography is not modernized except where necessary (when characters are lacking in standard Spanish orthography). Letters which I have supplied to complete words abbreviated in the original are underlined. A slash [/] indicates a page break in the original. Interpolations by the transcriber are included within square brackets.
Killaka, Karanka and Sura over the administration of the mitimas, ('permanent’ settlers from far-flung home regions) placed there by Wayna Qapax. Colonial encomiendas had separated the mitimas (and their lands) from their native highland groups. The result of the litigation was the affirmation of the rights of the highland lords over their indians and some of the Inca administered lands. Since Inca owned lands (especially those devoted to religious cult) could be expropriated for crown purposes, the proceedings included some relatively detailed ethnographic investigation, producing detailed geographic and toponymic information along with descriptions of the manner in which the Incas assigned long strips of land to be worked by particular ethnic groups within each large chacara (field). Such detail enabled Wachtel to clearly map the distribution of ethnic groups within one of the chacaras (see table 1).

What interests us here is the assignment of the southeast quarter of the chacara to the Karanka and Killaka. Each group was assigned four suyus in this quarter, one strip of land for each of the four subdivisions (kingdoms?) within each "nación" or federation. Were there more evidence, the consistent grouping of Killaka and Karanka together in assigned lands, and the fact of their joint suit, might indicate some kind of formal connection between the two groups (perhaps like that between the Charka and Karakara). Here it is necessary to focus upon the four subgroups of the Killaka sector within the Colchacollo field.

29As part of the "tasa y servicio" Toledo allotted to Juan Colque Guarache, los ñndios que residen en el valle de Cochabamba le hande sembrar coger y beneficiar una cementera de anega y media de Maiz ... (AGNA 9.17.2.5., f126r.). The lands allotted to the Karanka and Killaka--called "la Chulla"--were in periodic litigation until at least 1771 (see ANB EC 1771, no. 143).

30Together, Karanka and Killaka would have formed a dual federation on the scale of the Charka and Karakara. Though suggested by the facts of the Cochabamba valley litigation and by other facts such as the inclusion within Killaka territory (Challa pata) of an ayllu apparently of Karanka origin, any such connection between the two federations must remain mere conjecture, especially in the absence of any direct reference to the possibility by the principals themselves.
### IV. Quarter of the "Colla"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caranga</th>
<th>&quot;Quillaca&quot;</th>
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### III. Quarter of the "Caranga" and "Quillaca"

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caranga</th>
<th>&quot;Quillaca&quot;</th>
</tr>
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### II. Quarter of the "Sora"

Source: After Wachtel 1992, fig. 8.2: 211)
The four groups are listed in the document in an unvarying order (sometimes, in
the listing of suyus in other chacaras, in reverse order): 1. aracapi de puna, 2. quillacas, 3.
uruquillas de aullaga, 4. quillacas asanaques. Another of the lists, this one of the suyus of
achacara named Yllauroco, sheds more light on the Killaka subdivisions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quillacas</th>
<th>Carangas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. &quot;aracapi que son yndios del repartimiento de puna&quot;</td>
<td>6. &quot;aracapi que son yndios del repartimiento de puna&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. &quot;quillacas de Juan Guarache&quot;</td>
<td>7. &quot;quillacas de Juan Guarache&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. &quot;uruquillas de aullagas&quot;</td>
<td>8. &quot;asanaques que son del repartimiento de quillacas&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. &quot;asanaques que son del repartimiento de quillacas&quot;</td>
<td>10. &quot;anclamarca en las carangas y urinoca&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. &quot;anclamarca en las carangas y urinoca&quot;</td>
<td>(etc.) (Ibid.:226)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The text serves to emphasize the embedded nature of the federation. The term Quillacas
appears three times, first as the name of the federation as a whole, secondly, as one of the
four subdivisions, "quillacas de Juan Guarache," and third, as the colonial repartimiento
into which the Asanaques were also grouped. Putting aside for the moment this last usage,
the pattern is reminiscent of the use of the term Charka to designate both the federation of
Charka and one of its component moieties (the other half of the federation of Charka being
the Karakara).31 The Aracapi and "uruquillas aullagas" groups were, as we shall see, each
assigned to yet other encomenderos (by Viceroy La Gasea) and were thus separate
repartimientos. The core territories of three of the four sub-groupings of the federation--
which I here label "kingdoms"--were located in the vicinity of the southern end of Lake
Poopó (see map 2), forming a large part of the colonial Provincia de Paria, while the
Arakapi of the Repartimiento de Puna, located further to the east--and separated from the
rest by other ethnic groups--found themselves incorporated into the colonial Provincia de
Porco. Table 2 summarizes the data on population and reducciones of the four kingdoms
in three repartimientos. But what was the political structure like before the conquest?

31 See Platt (n.d.).
### TABLE 2

**THE KILLAKA IN THE VISITA OF VICEROY TOLEDO**

**Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaquez**  
(Visitación performed by Pedro de Carate. One half of the encomienda belongs to Diego Pantoja [given by la Gasea], the other half to Capitan Ruibarba [given by Toledo].)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pueblos</th>
<th>Tributarles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Oropesa de Quillaca</em> (modem Santuario de Quillacas)</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(reduced from 5 pueblos in &quot;distancia de 4 leguas)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>San Juan del Pedroso</em> (modem Challapata)</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(reduced from 7 pueblos in district of 4 leagues)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>San Pedro de Condocondo</em> (modem S. P. de Condo)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(reduced from 4 pueblos in district of 4 leagues)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>San Lucas de Pabacollo</em> (modem San Lucas)</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(reduced from 5 asientos and many estancias of two or three houses each, in area of 151 leagues)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Tributarles:</td>
<td>2,545 (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population:</td>
<td>1,519 huros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(including 400 huros)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td>11,526 persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pueblos**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pueblos</th>
<th>Tributarles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talavera de Puna (modem Puna, Dept. of Potosí)</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todos Santos de Quiocaya? (modem Vilacaya?)</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(The two towns together reduced from 28 pueblos in a district of 30 leagues)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Tributarles:</td>
<td>1,164 (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population:</td>
<td>292 huros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(including 62 huros)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td>5,968 persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Repartimiento de Puna (Siwaruyu-Arakapi)**  
(Visitación performed by Capitan Augustin de Zaumada. Encomienda of the Crown)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pueblos</th>
<th>Tributarles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Villa Real de Aullaga (moderno Pampa Aullagas)</td>
<td>824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salinas de Tunopoa (modem Salinas de Garci Mendoza)</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctiago de Guari (moderno Huari)</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(The three towns together reduced from 19 pueblos in a district of 20 leagues)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Tributarles:</td>
<td>1,371 (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population:</td>
<td>1,758 huros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(including 581 huros. 47 tributarles reside in Puna)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td>3,103 Aullagas and Uroquillas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td>4,851 persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.3. An Heroic History of the Federation

In order to go beyond this simple list of the parts (kingdoms) of what I have called the Federation of Killaka, it is necessary to invoke later documents, dating (like the "Memorial de Charcas") to the Toledan period and the years immediately following those of Viceroy Toledo's rule. Apart from summaries of the Toledan census itself (I have used two versions of the "Tasa"), the most important of these documents are the records of the testimony for two successive "proofs of services and merits" (probanza de servicios y meritos) advanced by the then "cacique principal" of all Killaka, during the years 1574-75 and in 1576-77, in order to extract concessions from the Audiencia (the sub-Viceroyalty court in the town of La Plata [modern Sucre]) and the King. What is remarkable in the proceedings, not in themselves uncommon events, is that the Killaka lord, Don Juan Colque Guarache (who succeeded his father, Juan Guarache, about 1560, and died sometime before 1588) found it expedient not only to recount his own and his father's considerable services to the Spanish crown--in expeditions of conquest and "pacification"

Some slight differences (not attributable solely to transcription errors) appear to exist between the partial copy of the 1574-75 probanza which I found in the Archivo del Tribunal de Poto (ATP, Exp. 11 [1574-75], [no title]) and that used by Espinoza (AGI [Sevilla], 1575 "Primero información hecha por don Juan Colque Guarache, ... ") [as cited by Espinoza].

The second probanza, completed in 1577 and also published in part in Espinoza (1981), repeats much of the information available in the first while providing some new data (AGI [Sevilla], 1576-77, "Segunda información ... ") [as cited by Espinoza]. In quoting the first probanza, I have preferred to use my own transcription of the ATP version, where possible, as it was either an original or a late 16th c. copy, to judge by the script. It is not clear to me whether the additional punctuation and diacritics, as well as numerous spelling changes, present in Espinoza's published version, were added by the scribe who copied the two probanzas into a memorial presented by a grandson of Juan Colque Guarache (AGI [Sevilla], 1617, "Memorial de don Diego Copatete Guarache. Potosí, 23 de noviembre de 1617." [Cited in Espinoza 1981:235-236]).

Fragments of a questionnaire for yet a third probanza, dated 1580, were inserted in and then retained in an 18th C. document produced in an effort (by a member of the Chuquiticlla line) to seek the return of the papers from an "outsider" to whom they had been loaned (ANB EC 1793, no. 42). I thank Gunnar Mendoza, Tristan Platt, and Antonio Rojas R. for their help in making this document available to me.

Witnesses responding to Juan Colque Guarache's questionnaire (ATP 1574-75, Exp. 11), place his succession to his father in approximately 1560. See, for example, the testimony of Don Pablo Humoro (Ibid:66r. Also Espinoza 1981:242).
of rebellious kingdoms and tribes, civil war actions, and the regular collection of tribute and administration of Potosí mita services—but also to detail the services of his ancestors to the Incas in conquests, wars, and colonization projects. The questionnaire amounts to an oral history of the events of two successive waves of conquest, as told from the vantage of a single ruling lineage within an Aymara speaking federation. As such it is essentially an "heroic" history, affuming the grandeur of the noble house as it stresses the relative independence and antiquity of the Killaka "nation."

The witnesses in the probanzas represent an impressive array of the important persons of the time, including caciques who were already adults at the time of the

Juan Colque Guarache was succeeded by his brother, don Francisco Visalla, "... cacique principal y capitán [en la Villa de Potosí] de los yndios del Repartimiento de los quillacas y asanaques que subcedio en lugar y como hermano legitimo de don Juan Colque Guarache difuncto ..." (ANB EC 1588, no. 5, f2v, "Reclamacion de Don Miguel Colque ... "). In June, 1575, after the completion of the Tasa, Toledo had appointed Visalla, at the request of his brother, te the post of cacique of San Lucas and his brother's segunda persona (the Provicion was copied into the 1588 document). 1588 is not necessarily, however, the date of Juan Colque Guarache's death, but rather the year in which Francisco Visalla petitioned the Audiencia to appoint his son to his San Lucas post.

35Witnesses for the first interrogatorio included three caciques and fourteen Spaniards:

Don Pablo Humoro (age 80), cacique of Moromoro; Don Miguel Droga (circa 80 yrs.), cacique of Chuquicota; Domingo Copa quira (85), cacique of Aullagas; the "vecinos de La Plata" Pedro de Cevallos (50), Gaspar de Roxas (40), Goncalo Sanches (60), Joan de Veal (50), Joan de Espinosa (60), Antonio de Robles (35), Gaspar Centeno (?), (received "pensión" from the Repartimiento de Puna), Pedro de Carate (44) (visador of the Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques in the Toledoan visita); El padre Segastian Marques Fragoso, clerigo (80); the "vecinos de Potosí" Cristoba1 de Medina (63), (Mayordomo of Pedro de Portugal, encomendero of the Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques), Francisco de Cuniga (60), Pedro Sande (33), Juan de Berrio (50); and finally, Torivio de Alcaraz (56), "residente en Potosí."

Witnesses for the second questionnaire (as identified by Espinoza (1981 :228 and passim) included four indigenous persons and eleven Spaniards, among them:

Don Juan Marca, cacique of the Incas resident in Potosí; don Juan Pacocuti, cacique of Machaca; don Alonso Chuquichambi (40), cacique of Oruro and resident of Potosí; don Juan Calpa (50), cacique of Jatuncolla; Licenciado Gómez Hamández, corregidor de Potosí; vecino of Potosí Juan de Berrio (also testified in first questionnaire);
Spanish conquest. Since the witnesses were chosen by the claimant and not cross-examined, it is not surprising that none contradict Colque Guarache's claims. As a result of the procedure followed, the most interesting material is provided in the questionnaires themselves, and in answers based on "eyewitness experience" (por vista de ojos) which affirm and only occasionally expand upon the information supplied by Colque.

Given the date of the proceedings (1574-75) it is not surprising that none of the witnesses (not even Colque Guarache) can affirm "por vista de ojos" the first few links of Juan Colque's genealogy, comprising four generations of Colque Guarache's ancestors, and extending two generations before Huayna Capac-three generations prior to the Spanish conquest, which took place, after all, more than forty years before the first questionnaire was composed.

Confirmed in the post of Cacique Gobernador of the Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques by Viceroy Toledo just prior to initiating his first probanza, Colque Guarache claims for his ancestors the distinction of being "señores de vasallos y caciques de los dichos parcialidades de Quillacas Asanaques Cibaroyos y Uroquillas y Haracapis" (f22r of the first probanza, question 3)36—that is, lords of the very same kingdoms as were given

Tomplo de Alcaraz, residente en Potosí (also testified in first questionnaire); Rodrigo Prieto; Padre Juan de Pantoja, cura de Chaqui; Juan de Castro; Lepe Hernández; Pedro de Zárate, vecino de La Plata, and visitador of the Rep. de Quillacas y Asanaques (also testified in first questionnaire); Juanes de Gamboa; Cristóbal de Medina, vecino de Potosí and mayordomo of Pedro de Portugal, encomendero of the Rep. de Quillacas y Asanaques (also testified in first questionnaire).

Witnesses for a third interroatorio, in 1580, composed of eleven questions asked in Potosí, included:

Lepe Hernandez, vecino de Potosí and "procurador general en ella."; Capitan Pedro de Cuellar, corregidor del Partido de Chuquisaca; Ynigo de Orguello Carbaja, vecino de Potosí; and Pedro Sánchez, vecino de Potosí.

36The full text of questions three and four of the interroatorio:

3 -- Yten si saven [etetera] que antes yen el tiempo del ynga los antepasados y predecessores del dkho don Joan fueron señores de vasallos y caciques de las dichas parcialidades Quillacas Asanaques Cibaroyos y Uroquillas y haracapis los quales no reconocieron superior ni menos subcedieron en el dicho cacícasgo por titulo de mercedes sino por subcesor como dicho el y así mismo fueron señores de duo antes y en el tiempo del ynga y ydespues aca que era los ynsigma de los cavalleros y como tales fueron allidos y repartados contribuydos libres ni compelidos a ofycios ni cargos digan 10 que saven.--
lands in Cochabamba by Wayna Qapax. (We shall see that the Cibaroyos [Siwaruyus] composed one part of the Repartimiento de Puna). Moreover, Colque Guarache continued, these ancestors were such lords even before the Inca conquest, and recognized no superiors, being legitimately descended, not appointed, lords of the region, and as well, lords who held the QYQ (a short, stool-like throne) (ibid.).

The first eight questions of the first questionnaire give Colque Guarache's genealogy from his great-great grandfather to his father—with reference to Incaic succession, despite the fact that question four (ibid.:f22v) claims that bis lineage pre-dated the Inca conquest of the Killaka. The genealogy begins with a cacique named Colque (Juan

4 -- Yien Si saven leteternal que antes del dicho ynga gozavan de las dichas libertades /f22v/ hasta Colque su predecessor que fue el que dio la obediencia al ynga el quelle confirmo lo que tenia de antes que fue por el ynga Yupanque ynga el cual conquisto la dicha provincia de los quillacas digan...'' (ATP 1574-75, no.II, f22r-v).

37The interrogatorio of Juan Colque Guarache's second probanza, pursued in 1576-77 (Espinoza, 1981:252ff), presents, in the first question, a different list of groupings subject to the cacique principal:

1. Primeramente si conocen al dicho don Juan Colque Guarache, cacique principal del repartimiento de los Quillacas y Asanaques y de los Saracapis [sic] y de Puna y Yucasa y Guare, y que asi lo fueron sus padres y abuelos por le venir el dicho cacicazgo por justos y derechos títulos de línea reta de Huno Mallco, que quiere decir señor de salua [que es] como duques, condes, marqueses en los reinos de España. (Ibid.).

Apart from its generally increased emphasis on the services and merits of Juan Colque and his brothers (with less attention to his father and other ancestors), the second interrogatorio differs from the first principally in a greatly shortened genealogy, which mentions only Juan Guarache and the Hunu Mallco (a lord of ten thousand households, in the Inca decimal system of administration) brought up in question one. Presumably this is the same individual as the Colque who forms the apex in the first interrogatorio.

Here I will try to clarify the differences between the subject groups mentioned: There is here no mention of the Uruquillas or the Cibaroyos, while the terms Puna, Yucasa, and Guare are added. The kingdom of Awllaka-Urukilla, however, is not unrepresented: Yucasa and Guari, as we shall see, were the two ayllus/moieties of the reduccion town of Santiago de Guari, as well as the only Awllaka-Urukilla ayllu names appearing in census records of the outlier region of San Lucas de Payacollo. Puna, on the other hand, was but the name of the repartimiento and principal reduccion town of the kingdom of Siwaruyu-Arakapi. It is difficult to assess the real significance of Juan Colque Guarache's choice of names in this second list. One possibility is that Yucasa and Guari were moiety designations that may have applied to the Awllaka-Urukilla kingdom as a whole. Or perhaps the author of the interrogatorio intended to exert greater hegemony over just a part of the client kingdom: The reduccion town of Guari was separated from the rest of the Awllaka-Urukilla kingdom by Lake Poopo and Killaka kingdom territory. As I point out in Appendix of this thesis, however, the internal structure of the Awllaka-Urukilla kingdom remains unclear even after examining all available documents in detail.
Colque Guarache's FFFF, who was the one who first submitted to the Inca (Ynga Yupanque Ynga). Confirmed in his title and possessions, this Colque, says question five (ibid.), then aided "Ynga Yupanqui Ynga" in the conquest of the "chichais y diaguitas" in the capacity of "capitan general of the people of his provinces," and was awarded the privileges of using the honorific title of Inka Colque and of being carried by fifty indians in a litter (ibid.).38

The questionnaire continues with Ynga Colque's son, Ynga Guarache (who succeeded his father during the reign of the Inca "Tupa Yupanque"), who, apart from the litter and fifty indians to carry him, was given ". . . three shirts, one with threads of silver and one of gold and others with precious stones called mullu ... " (ibid.:question 6).39 Question seven continues the genealogy with the succession, during the reign of Wayna Qapax, of Inga Guarache's son, called simply Colque, about whom we learn nothing more than that he was succeeded by his son (also during Wayna Qapax's reign) named Guarache (ibid.:f22v-23r). It was this latter Guarache who, we learn in question seven, was in Cuzco at the court of the Inca (Manco Inca, Waskar's successor) when Francisco Pizarro arrived in Caxamarca, whereupon Guarache, in company with the Inca (on whose "consejo de guerra" Guarache served [question eight, f23r]), submitted to

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38 It is certainly possible that these lords had had the Inca title of hunu mallku, "lord of ten thousand households," bestowed upon them, as question one of the second questionnaire claims. As of 1574, when censed in the Toledan visita (after significant demographic decline), the Killaka federation was still populated by more than twenty thousand souls. Assuming that four fifths of the population had died in the years following the conquest, Juan Colque Guarache's father may have ruled the approximately 100,000 individual s necessary to have deserved the title of hunu mallku. Nonetheless, question two of the second questionnaire, in which the term is defined as "señor de cinco mili indios" casts doubt on the centrality of the decimal terminology to the conception of authority in this group of (mostly Aymara-speaking) kingdoms (Espinoza 1981:252). All four indigenous respondents to this questionnaire, however, corrected the error in their answers to this question (ibid.:258-265).

39 The original reads ". . . tres camisetas la una de chapería de plata y otra de chapería de oro y otras de piedras preciósas que llaman mollo .... "

Spanish rule.\footnote{Note that the genealogy, up to the point at which Guarache (Juan Colque Guarache’s father) became Guara... one half of the 18th century (see the padrones cited below).}

Among the services rendered by Juan Guarache (the claimant’s father) were aid in the conquests of Chile, Chichas, and Tucuman, provisioning of troops from the storehouses of Aullagas and Paria, help in the foundation of Chuquisaca, and participation (on the Royalist side, of course) in what seems to be every battle fought (in the region south of Caracollo) in the civil wars. Juan Colque Guarache, the claimant in the

\textbf{4UResponding to question six of the questionnaire, the octogenarian cacique of Moromoro (today’s Ravelo), don Pablo Humoro, revealed his familiarity with such sumptuary gifts:} \begin{quotation}
6 -- A la Sesta pregunta dixo que este testigo era criado del dkho guayna capa que le aderocava las plumas que se ponía e vio que un día el dkho ynga llamó antesi al dkho Colque Guarache ynga y en señal de amistad e por querrelle mucho en presencia de este testigo le dio tres camisetas de su vestir el quallas recibió y en aquel tiempo lo suso dkho era negocio muy señalado y esto dize a la pregunta \textendash;\textendash; \footnote{ATP, Expediente 11 [1575 Probanza, untitled, f7r]; cf. also Espinoza 1981:242} \end{quotation}

Nevertheless this same Pablo Humoro--spelled Humiro in Espinoza’s copy from a different MS (Ibid.:241)--raises some questions about the veracity of Juan Colque’s genealogy. Presumably in a position to know, he made it clear in his response to question five that the individual who received the camisetas was \textquotedblright... el abuelo del dicho don Juan, padre de su padre ... \textquotedblright; who had gone with the Inca in the conquest of the Chichas, and upon his return had come\textquotedblright; \footnote{ibid.:f7r}. The Moromoro cacique seems here to be either confused or evading a disagreement with the questionnaire, for question five identified \textquoteleft the individual who received the camisetas \textquoteright; as Juan Colque Guarache Colque \textquoteleft... \textquoteright; (Ibid.). The Moromoro cacique seems here to be either confused or evading a disagreement with the questionnaire, for question five identified the "ynga Yupanque Ynga" as the conqueror of the Chichas and Diaguitas and the apical Colque as the first to receive the title of Ynga and the privilege of the litter, while question six claims that the three shirts were received by the son of this Colque, "ynga guarache", from the Inca Tupac Yupanqui! (ATP, Expediente 11, f22v; Espinoza 1981:237). In question seven Juan Colque related the succession, during the time of Wayna Qapax, of a son of Inca Guarache named simply Colque, \textquoteright... el cual gozo de las mismas preeminencias y subcession ... \textquoteright; whose son, in turn, was Juan Colque’s father (ATP Expediente 11, f22v-23r). Pablo Humoro’s response to this question, \textquoteleft... dixo que no la save ... \textquoteright; (ibid.:f7r), raises the distinct possibility that he is telling us that the two generations of ancestors referred to there are interpolations invented by Juan Colque to give his genealogy the depth it needed to reach back to Ynga Yupanqui Ynga (that is, to Tupac Yupanqui’s father, also known as Pachacuti).
probanzas, also lists a large number of services to the King, among them participation in campaigns against the Chiriguano and rebellious natives of Chichas, as well as services as alcalde in Chuquisaca and Potosí.41

But in all of these “services” it is surely the case that two factors contributed towards making a privileged place for the cacique of Killaka: access to herd animals and herders (necessary for transport and food in all expeditions, and used extensively to move minerals and ores in the Potosí mining venture, as well as in supply of the city),42 and the strategic location of his subjects in Aullagas (last substantial settlement of ‘peaceful’ indians on the road to Chile, and apparently an Incaic tambos [resthouse on the road)43, and Puna.

41Since Espinoza (1981) gives this matter extensive treatment (in chronological fashion), I will not discuss these services in detail here. Note, however, that the argument advanced seems to simultaneously (1), aim to impress Crown officials with the extreme loyalty of the Killaka lords and the bountiful and unremunerated material support they offered, and (2), seek restitution or reward for what were clearly considerable damages to community herds, food stores, and population. Juan Colque Guarache asserts that the aid provided to conquistadores in these years (apart from “tres mil pesos de oro y plata” given to Almagro) amounted to more than four thousand pack-llamas and six thousand fanegas of maize and chuñu. (ATP Expediente 11, 1574-75 [Guarache probanza], f25v-26r [question 23] [cited in Espinoza 1981:205-6]).

42One would expect that herds which the mallkus pressed into the service of the conquistadores and encomenderos were made up of animals from community holdings (or perhaps from former Inca controlled herds). The huge community, Inca, and mallku herds reluctantly revealed to visitadores in the Lupaqa realm suggest their possible existence in the Killaka case as well, but the only shred of evidence for community or mallku controlled herds there is in the appointment of herders for the service of the caciques in the Toledan Tasa (AGNA 9.5.2.7., f126r). See also Ayaviri’s complaint in the “Memorial de Charcas” (Espinoza 1969) about Toledo’s usurpation of 1,000 llamas for the campaign against the Chiriguanos:

... nos mando quitar mil carneros de la tierra ... por persuasión de un clerigo llamado Juan Luis de Padilla, que por congraciarse con don Francisco de Toledo le informo con siniestra / relacion diciendo que aquel ganado era de las guacas y siendo tan al contrario porque el dicho ganado era de los proues [sic] y de la Comunidad de los repartimientos de Sacaca y Chayanta como es publico y notorio. ... ...

(Abid.:23 [paragraph 42])

43Espinoza cites evidence that there were in actuality three Incaic tambos within Killaka core territory: the tambo of Aullagas (1981:202), and the tambos of Las Lagunillas and Las Viscachas (Cf. Guaman Poma 1615:1092, and Matienzo 1566:xlviü, cited in Espinoza 1981:208). Juan Colque Guarache plainly describes the use of the tambos [tambo] of Aullagas for the supply of Almagro’s expedition to Chile in the first interroatorio: “... para ello saco mucha cantidad de comidas al tambo de los aullagas para los soldados y gente que llevaba que eran cuatrocientos soldados/le dieron bastimentos y provisiones para mas de millo ... ” (ATP Expediente 11:1574-75 [Guarache Probanza], f23r-23v [question 9]. Compare Espinoza 1981:238)
(apparently a primarily herding settlement conveniently located as a base for "entradas" into
the land of Chiriguanos, for the conquest of Chichas, and for exploration of lands further
south, and, as well, close to Potosí).

It was likely this first probanza which helped secure for Juan Colque the title of
capitán general of the province (of Charcas), bringing with it specific duties related to
provisioning the mines of Potosí with mita laborers, and at the same time a certain degree
of leverage with colonial administrators. By 1778, Matienzo, in an appeal on behalf of
Colque sent in a letter to the King, affirmed that ". . . without him the indians would go
and would do nothing because they hold him great and all obey him . . ." (Levillier
1918:480). In the letter Matienzo appealed to the King to satisfy Colque Guarache's
wish to legitimate his five illegitimate sons, as well as to send three of them (already adults)
to see the court and meet the King. Though the request does not seem to have been
granted, it was apparently one of these sons (though perhaps, as Espinoza asserts, Juan
Colque Guarache himself [1981:234], inheriting at least the office of capitán general from

Question ten of the second questionnaire (1576-77) states:

10. Iten. Si saben que de muchos años a esta parte el dicho don Juan Colque ha
residido siempre en la uilla de Potosí por mandado de las justicias y personas que
gouierman y ha tenido cargo de capitán, teniendo cuenta con los indios que andan en
las minas .... (Espinoza 1981:253)

The third questionnaire (of which only a few of the questions are preserved)
expands on the role of the capitán general de la mita:

. . . y en cada lunes se ocupa a las que andan a la labor de las minas e yngenio .

9--Yten si saben que las [Juestos?] desta uilla no acude .. [tom] .. sino solo al
dkho don Ju.iillColque por ser hombre de rrazon y asi apa .. [tom] .. do mucho
trauajo muchos mas que los otros capitanes por tener el dkho don Juill colque a su
cargo toda esta provincia asi a los collasuy .. [tom] .. y condes y canas pacajas y
a los demas Repartimientos que en .. [tom] .. esta uilla residen ....

10--(...) como a auido en esta uilla malio .. [tom] .. y desgracias
siempre el dicho don Juilllucuéd a la placa con doscientos o trescientos yndios por
auiar luego y sauer quien son los culpados por que no sea con dilación [enbia?] el
dkho don Juan Principales de su repartimyento por que los culpados sean castigados
y asi el dkho don JuillColque siempre a seruido en esta vill.a a los gouemadores y
uisoreyes y otras justicias de su ma&ester Y audiencias. . . . (ANB EC 1793,
no.42, "Expediente promovido ... ", f17r-18r)

45" . . . sin ellos yndios se yrian y no se haria nada por que le tienen en mucho
y le obedescen todos .... "
his father (who was certainly dead by 1588), who Luis Capoche described disparagingly in his 1585 description of Potosí. Don Juan Collqui the boy, native of Quillacas, is captain of the Asanaques and Quillacas, of the division of Urcusuyu in this province of Charcas. He has heard grammar in the college of the Compañía de Jesús and goes about clothed in our fashion, with much silk. They indians do not get on well with him, in part because of the clothing, which he must rob them to sustain, but also because he does not understand the style and usages and customs of his office, nor does he treat the indians affably. They gave him this office for being the son-of a worthy indian and because he had served Your Majesty well. At present he is with the soldiers in the

46The letter, (Carta a S.M. del licenciado Matienzo, recomendando la pretension de Juan Colque guarache, cacique principal de los Quillacas, que se le conceda legitimacion a cinco hijos naturales. La Plata, 23 de Diciembre de 1578. 74-4-1), published in Levillier (1918:480), sought the legitimation offive "natural" sons (that is, sons boro before his marriage).

Regardless of the reference in this letter to five "natural" sons, with no hope for legitimate ones, a copy of a.ti..n.Qcomposed by Toledo in September of the same year, titled "Titulo de reserva de tasa y servicios personales, dado por el Excellentisimo Señor Virrey Don Fran de Toledo, Los Reyes, 25 de Setiembre de 1578." (In AGNA 9.36.6.1. [Tribunales 85, Exp. 17, 1796], "Testimonial de los documentos ... . . .", f25v-26v), asks for reserve of six sons from the lāsā and "servicios personales,"

"... los dos naturales, y los cuatro bastardos, que todos se llamaban, Don Diego y Don Juan, Don Felipe, y otro Don Fernando, y otro Don Juan. . . . los quales eran . . . Descendientes de Casiques y Principales, é hijos del dicho Don Juan ... como constava por cierta provenza que havia hecho de servicios en la Real Audiencia .... "

The 1796 expediente also includes a Real Cedula dated 1640, in which the King ordered that one Juan Colque Guarache be given "merced de un Repartimiento de yndios, confirmandole las mercedes que el dicho Virrey don Francisco de Toledo, hizo al dicho Don Juan Collque su abuelo ... . . ." (ibid: f26v-27r). The Real Cedula malees it clear that the 1640 Juan Collque Guarache, along with his father of the same name and his father's brother, Don Diego Copatiti Guarache, deserved the mercedes for their . . . mucha lealtad, y cuidado en cosas de us mucha importancia, y en particular en el entero de las mitas del Cerro de Potosi, cada uno en su tiempo, siendo capitán general de todos los Casiques de la dicha Provincia . . . . . "(ibid., emphasis added). Thus it appears that a number of descendants of the Toledan period mallku rotated through the (increasingly onerous) office of capitán general. It is clear that the office was held independantly of the governorship of Jatun Quillacas (though all of these men were referred to as caciques of that repartimiento), since by the 1640's, when Juan Colque Guarache's grandson and namesake held the post, the governorship of the Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques had been bequeathed on the Choqueticlla Colque Guarache line, of Ayllu Collana.

The aforementioned Real Cedula notes that the 1640 Juan Colque Guarache was only able to provide 30 of the 280 mitayos owed in that year, personally paying the Azogueros seven pesos per month for each of the missing indians--leaving him "tan pobre que no tiene para sustentar" (ibid.), and in need of a merced. We may wonder whether it was in fact this burden that contributed to the surprising decline of the population of the reduction of Jatun Quillacas from the 1,000 tributaries counted in the Toledan visita to a mere 206 (among which 119 were forasteros) in the 1684 Duque de La Palata visita, a drop of almost 80 percent (against a general background loss of 63 percent for the Killaka core area (excluding Puna). (See table in Wachtel1978:1154).
chiriguanaes, and went as captain of the indians taken there by the factor Juan Lozano Machuca. He has as his subjects these peoples: [puna; Quillacas y Asanaques; Aullagas y Uruquillas]. (Capoche 1959 [1585]:f52v)

Apart from the unfavorable portrait of this Juan Colque, it is striking that the administrative structure of the mita gave the Colque/Guarache line of Killaka lords continued control over the pre-conquest "subject" kingdoms of the Killaka federation, even while the visita of Toledo (at least in the extant tasa summaries) fails to mention any connection among the three repartimientos into which the federation was divided. Indeed, Killaka lords continued to claim authority over "client" kingdoms well into the 18th century.

The above Ceaula and Titulo, incidentally, were copied into two expedientes on behalf of Colque Guarache descendants seeking cacicasgos: Don Mateo Alejandro de la Cruz Condori (seeking the governorship of Challapata in 1738) borrowed the originals from Don Juan Choquetilla Colque Guarache, "Gobernador y Casique Principal del Pueblo de San Salvador de Pocpo, en la Provincia de Yamparaes [a Killaka maize outlier]" (ibid.:f26r-26v). This copy was itself presented by Don Diego Colque Guarache in 1781, while seeking confirmation of the post of Governor in Chayanta, a post to which he had been appointed by Ignacio Flores (repressor of Alto Peruvian rebellions) for his services to the colonial cause in the general uprisings (ibid.:f36r). The expediente was again copied into the record when Diego Colque Guarache, recipient of a medal "con el Real busto" for his services, was denounced for the usurpation of tributes and other abuses during litigation over the "new mita" of Jauregui and Orueta. (Cf. also a variety of documents concerning this cacique in two massive legajos on the "new mita": AGNA 9.14.8.8., "Potosi Mita 1795-97"; and AGNA 9.14.8.7., "Potosi Mita 1795-97")

47The original is as follows:

Don Juan Collqui el Mozo, natural de los Quillacas, es capitán de los asanaques y quillacas, del partido de Urcusuyu de esta provincia de los Charcas. Ha oído gramática en el colegio de la Compañía de Jesús y anda vestido a nuestro modo, con mucha seda. No se hallan bien con él los indios, así por el traje que para sustentarlo es menester robarlos, proque no es cacique, y también porque no entiende el estilo y usanza y costumbres de su gobierno, ni trata a los indios con afabilidad. Diéronle este cargo por ser hijo de un indio paramucho y que había servido mucho a Su Magestad. Al presente está con los soldados de los chiriguanaes, que fué por capitán de los indios que llevó el factor Juan Lozano Machuca. Tiene por sujetos a estos pueblos: .. . [Puna; Quillacas y Asanaques; Aullagas y Uruquillas]. (Capoche 1959 [1585]:f52v)

48 An example of a relatively direct form of authority and control is the 1708 case of Juan Francisco Choquetilla: "... casique principal del repartimiento de Hatun Quillacas, hasanaques y Governador actual de la parcialidad de los Sibaroios de este Pueblo de Puna ... " (ANB EC 1708, no. 34, f2r, "don Juan Franillm Choquetilla ... [document treating ownership of the hacienda of Ancaipa, in the San Lucas area]").
2.4. Asanaqi and Killaka Kingdoms in the Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques

2.4.1. The Killaka and Asanaqi Kingdoms Through the Repartimiento System

Because these two kingdoms (or, rather, üllus of each of the two) were united into a single repartimiento and thus jointly administered, it will be convenient to consider them, initially, together. The "Tasa" of Toledo only begins to inform us of the structure of the kingdoms, and only in a very general form. Data describing the actual ayllu composition, territorial extension, and relative ranking of the sub-units of the kingdoms come only from documents which are post-Toledan, and therefore confused somewhat by the administrative distortions introduced through the reduccion policy. Of the four reducciones of the Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques, for example, one (Hatun Quillacas or Oropesa de los Quillacas) is composed only of Killaka ayllus, one (Condocondo) only of Asanaqi ayllus, and one (San Juan del Pedroso or Challapata) of ayllus from both kingdoms. San Lucas, located "40 leagues" away in the valley lands of the eastern cordillera, was composed of ayllus from both kingdoms plus ayllus from the kingdom of AwllakalUruki11a. The modern-day ayllu composition of each of the reducción towns within the Asanaqi area, compiled through interviews in most of the towns and perusal of nineteenth century padrones, is presented in table 3 as an example of kingdom reconstruction. Seeing through the distortions introduced in the creation of these

49That two Killaka ayllus and three Asanaqi ayllus appear only in Challapata might have led to confusion, were it not for the fact that a number of padrones identify their provenience in the very names of the three parcialidades into which the ayllus were grouped. See for example the 1683-84 Challapata padron of "... los yndios del Repartimiento de San Pedro de Condo Condo de dos aillos que estan en este Pueblo de San Juan de Challapata, que son Caballe y Callapa a cargo del Governador del Pueblo de San Pedro de Condo Condo ... " (AGNA 13.18.5.1. "Padrones La Plata, 1725-54." "Padrones ... de la Provincia de Paria, 1683-84," f58). Similarly, other padrones make it clear that the three parcialidades were: Anansaya de Asanaques (with ayllus Caballe and Callapa); Urinsaya de Asanaques (with ayllus Hilavi, Changara, Sullca and Andamarca); and Urinsaya de Quillacas (with ayllus Saca and Ancaxoca) [underlined ayllus are those that exist only in Challapata].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condocondo</th>
<th>Challapata</th>
<th>Cacachaca</th>
<th>Caguayo</th>
<th>Culta</th>
<th>Lagunillas</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qullana</td>
<td>Qullana</td>
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<td>Sullkayana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yanaqi</td>
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<td>Yanaqi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Changara</td>
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<td>Ilawi</td>
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<td>Yuqasa</td>
</tr>
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</table>
new territorially demarked entities is, however, but the first step in the visualization of the pre-conquest form of the federation and its component kingdoms. Given the dispersion of Killaka subjects in a multitude of outlier settlements (in what his been recognized as a nearly universal characteristic of Andean societies), a large number of Juan Colque Guarache's subjects were "reduced" to yet other repartimientos and provinces, meaning that they often fail to show up on the census lists of the Killaka reducciones. Therefore, in the few cases where Killaka federation subjects are mentioned as resident in other areas, I also attempted to consult the padrones for these areas (though this does not often solve the problem, since indians who paid their taxes elsewhere were not often listed in their place of residence!).

Llhus Challapata, was a multi-kingdom settlement of sorts, like many a valley outlier. Indeed, the existence of an ayllu named Andamarca leads one to suspect that this is a residue of an earlier occupation by Karanka subjects. I am at a loss to explain why Challapata should be the site of this kind of mini-archipelago outlier, except for its better-than-average agricultural conditions and location at the entrance of an abra providing a pass through the Cordillera de los Frailes.

The ayllus of Challapata were also settled in other relatively nearby outliers, both of which point more clearly to a pattern of intra-federation and intra-kingdom multi-ayllu colonization of certain areas owing to micro-regional differences in the distribution of resources. Ayllus Andamarca and Hilavi each maintained settlements between the later annexes of Santa Barbara de Culta and Cahuayo, in what is perhaps the lowest lying irrigated land within the core territory, which happens also to possess surface salt mines (and which was also the site of early colonial grist mills--still in operation--operated initially by the caciques of Asanaqi kingdom [untitled document in possession of a resident of Santa Barbara de Culta]). I must here acknowledge my debt to Cajias de la Vega's publication (1978) of a summary of the 1785 visita to the area, and his discussion of the multi-ayllu enclaves of Culta [Ibid.:95] for bringing my attention to this matter.

50With reference to the San Lucas lands, note that in a revisita of 1726 (and in subsequent ones), San Lucas no longer appears in lists of Killaka or Asanaqi or Awllaka-Urukilla towns/topics. What happened? One might argue that the difficulties of maintaining outliers in other provinces (owing to Spanish colonial disdain and incomprehension, double taxation, etc.), might have finally prevailed against Andean custom, but for the fact that San Lucas had been replaced in the lists by another extra-provincial outlier, that of "Popo": "En el [Repartimiento] de quillacas que se compone de quatro pueblos nombrados Quillacas, Challapata, Condo Condo, y Popo, vienen numerados ..." (AGNA 13.18.4.3., "Padrones La Plata, 1616-1725," unordered cuadernos, "Informes y Sumarios de Retasas de Paria--1726," [without foliation]). This is clearly a reference to the outlier settlement of Poqpo, in the Provincia de Yamparaes, mentioned as early as the Toledan "Tasa" as an outlier of the Repartimiento de Auallagas y Uruquillas: "... los indios que de este dicho repartimiento residen en las minas de Potosi Porco y chacaras de Popo y otros valles donde siembran maiz ..." (Cook
In the pages to follow, I present sketches of two of the kingdoms of the Killaka federation. In the accompanying figures (4 and 5), I have attempted to diagram the gross features of kingdom organization (authorities, parcialidades, and ayllus) by combining information supplied in the two versions of the Toledan "Tasa" consulted and in a variety of padrões, especially those conducted in 1645-6 and 1683-4, the earliest ones available for the Killaka area.

It must be kept in mind, however, that by the time of these padrões, each reducción town had taken on a life of its own, with town authorities, elaborate feast cycles centered on the town (whether doctrina or annex), and a relatively independent set of caciques "governadores". In the 17th century, the stresses between the pre-conquest organization (the kingdom with its moieties), and these emerging, Spanish legislated ones, must be kept in mind, however, that by the time of these padrões, each reducción town had taken on a life of its own, with town authorities, elaborate feast cycles centered on the town (whether doctrina or annex), and a relatively independent set of caciques "governadores". In the 17th century, the stresses between the pre-conquest organization (the kingdom with its moieties), and these emerging, Spanish legislated ones, and these emerging, Spanish legislated ones,

The 1726 visita also refers to Killaka subjects in the Pueblo de Puna (see above). As we shall see, however, the inhabitants of the San Lucas region continued to claim their connection to the highland Killaka. Part of the story undoubtedly lies in the fact that the government of the Kingdom of Killaka had been taken over by the Choquetiilla line of Ayllu Collana, while the San Lucas parcialidades remained under the control of the Colque Guarache line, who continued to seek favors by emphasizing their descendence from the "famous" Juan Guarache and Juan Colque Guarache. The 1726 padrón for Jatun Quillacas, incidentally, states that the Colque Guarache ayllu of Malcoca is no longer even represented in the kingdom capital:

... y no tienen numerados los indios del Ayllo de Malcoca del Pueblo de Quillacas por decir el Corregidor Que se hallen en el Pueblo de Puna de la Provincia de Porco en tierras propias deste Pueblo en el ayllo de Marco Soraga, y Reconocido dicho Ayllo no se hallan dichos indios en el. ... (Loe, cit)

Malcoca reappears, however, in later padrões of Quillacas, and appears suddenly with significant numbers in Guari in the final quarter of the 18th century (Cajías de la Vega 1978:62-74).

Discussions of the Siwaruyu-Arakapi and Awllaka-Urukilla kingdoms (and related figures) are presented in appendices 1 and 2, respectively.

The only earlier material that I was able to consult, the first book of baptismal records for the church of San Pedro de Condo, lists the ayllus contained therein on its first page as: Collana, Callapa, Caualle, Sulcaiana, Changara, Andamarca, Hillavi, Sulca Hilavi, Chiguri, and CulloCullo. Ayllu Yanaqi is conspicuously missing from the list, and I had insufficient time with the book to determine if individual s from that ayllu were recorded in the texto. Each of the ayllus seems to have had a "principal", though the title page for the baptisms of some ayllus were missing (parochial Archive of San Pedro de Condo, Bautismos, Libro 1 [1579], "Bautizos del repartimiento de condocondo indios asanaques encomendados en Diego Patoja de que es curaca principal don Bernardo Puquina a el quallibro se hizo en este año de mill quinientos y setenta y nuoye ... Tabla de los Aillos, hecho por Padre Penalosa."). My thanks to the corregidor, jilaqatas, registro civil, and mayordomos of San Pedro de Condo (for the year 1980), for allowing me access to the documento.
are visible but not yet decisive: reduccion parcialidades and their caciques seem to be still firmly under the sway of kingdom lords. By the 18th century, however, increasingly frequent litigation among reducciones over boundaries signals what became a permanent break-up of the kingdoms into independant reduccion-town-based polities. But the stresses produced by the competition of these distinct organizational forms, fortunately for us, also produced rich documentation of the earlier form, through the kingdom lords' efforts to maintain it.

2.4.1.1. Effects of Reduccion in Asanaqi

It may be useful to consider the effects of reducciones in, for example, the Kingdom of Asanaqi. Toledo divided the population of the kingdom between three reducciones: San Pedro de Condo Condo, San Juan (de Challapata), and San Lucas de Payacollo. Later annexes, such as Cacachaca, Culta, Cahuayo, and Lagunillas (initally a tambo), further fragmented the kingdoms authority structure. Projecting the present into the past (always a risky undertaking), it seems likely that something similar to the present distribution of ayllus over the landscape was in effect before the conquest. While spatially bounded, ayllus of the kingdom were usually divided into two or more spatially separated (and non-contiguous) segments. Thus ayllu Collana existed (and exists) in three separate locations: in the vecinity of Culta (where it borders the lands of Macha and Tinquipaya), in Cacachaca, and in the vicinity of the former capital of the kingdom, San Pedro de Condo.

We may be certain that at the time of the conquest (and for many years after the reducciones were established), members of distinct ayllu segments formed unity and solidary social units, each with its "principal." But each ayllu was territorially fragmented into a kind of "horizontal" archipelago: islands in a sea filled in by the archipelagos of the remaining ayllus. If each ayllu's segments were assigned a single color on a map and all ayllus differentiated by color, the territory would resemble nothing more than a patch-work quilt.

The new political structure (and church-centered ritual organization) introduced to accompany Toledo's settlement strategy eventually tore asunder the non-contiguous
segments of a single ayllu, assigning each to a different new town and merging them into
new "ethnic groups" like K'ult'a, Kawayu, Challapata, Lakunilla, and Kakach'aka. So
today the members of ayllus called Kawalli (divided in some cases into "arriba" and "abajo"
sections) in K'ult'a recognize no ties to the Kawalli ayllus of Challapata, Kuntu, or
Kakach'aka.

Full understanding of the cultural/economic/ritual/political processes through
which new reduccion-based polities coalesced will require a great deal of future work. One
aspect of the new "ethnic groups" which requires attention is that they seem to come into
being already dual-organized. Challapata is a case in point. As we have seen, it was
initially divided into three parcialidades. By the late 18th century, however, the two
Killaka kingdom ayllus had merged to form a single ayllu, called Qui11acas, and had been
collapsed into one of the remaining two parcialidades, leaving a simple moiety structure
(Cajias de la Vega 1978:52; and interviews with the jilaqatas of Challapata, 1980). A
similar process was at work in the Repartimiento de Puna, where an initial three
parcialidades were also reduced to the favored two. Indeed, all of the new polities arising
from the ashes of the Asanaqi kingdom have moiety organizations.

Contrary to what one might want to suppose, the local moiety affiliation of new
polity ayllus is not a residue of former affiliation to Asanaqi moieties: thus in K'ult'a, the
ayllus Ilawi and Yanaqi, which were urinsaya in Asanaqi kingdom, are lumped with
Qullana (anansaya of Asanaqi) in anansaya of maximal ayllu K'ult'a, while Ala-Kawalli and
Manxa-Kawalli (anansaya in the kingdom) form K'ult'a's urinsaya moiety. Moreover, in
recent years K'ult'a itself has undergone fission, so that Qullana, Ilawi and Yanaqi have
each gone their separate ways, and have each divided, in turn, into incipient moieties.
Thus Yanaqi has become Yanaqi Arriba and Yanaqi Abajo, territorial segments which
alternate in sponsoring a patron saint feast and in "electing," through such sponsorship, an
authority (jilaqata) paramount over the new maximal ayllu Yanaqi.
This example, along with many others in the Asanaqi region which cannot be described here for lack of space, serves as a suitable reminder that we should not simply ascribe the origin of new polities to outside influences such as the Spanish imposed reduccion with its set of tax collectors and doctrina fiesta sponsorships. The Spanish imposed institutions did act as catalysts in what might be called a process of "ethnogenesis," but the decisive factor was the increasing congruence between the forms taken by the new politico-ritual institutions and the cosmological principles upon which the old kingdom order had been built.

Roger Rasnake has argued that in establishing reduccion elected authorities (alcaldes, etc.), Toledo intended to offset or undermine the authority of the hereditary kingdom lords (1982). Certainly the role of the new ritual institutions of the doctrinas was intended to replace the role of the lords in former idolatrous practices. Eventually, of course, and in spite of resistance on the part of mallkus who appointed their agnates and segundas personas to governorships in the new towns, such policies were successful. The salient power of the reduccion authority structure waxed at the expense of the kingdom authorities.

But the policies had unintended consequences as well. For while the new indigenous authorities (both "noble" caciques gobernadores and "elected" officials) of the town came under the tutelage of the resident priest—doctrinero, becoming exemplary Christians in the performance of their duties as ritual sponsors and as enforcers of "conversion," the emergence of a syncretic and partially clandestine religious/ritual system meant that they, unlike the city dwelling mallku, were in a position to legitimate their posts through ritual service to the indigenous--Christian--deities. Perhaps one of the supreme ironies of the colonial period is that while the Spaniards attempted to impose their own diarchy (that is, the split between civil and religious rule) with the intention of eliminating idolatry and rationalizing civil society, what they in fact accomplished was the provision of the conditions necessary for the re-unification and rejuvenation of the
decidedly non-diarchical (but dual organized!) indigenous system: that is, Spanish administrative efforts had, in the long run, precisely the opposite of their desired effects. But still, it is to Toledo that credit for the resurgence of indigenous polities—reduced in scale but generated by the old ideas—should ultimately be given, since he provided for one of the necessary conditions for the renewal, in the maxim that each reduccion town should be divided, like the kingdoms from which they were cut and like Cuzco, into its hanansaya and hurinsaya.

2.42. *The Killaka Kingdom*

Table 4 presents a composite diagram of the kingdom of Killaka. The authority hierarchy shown—caciques for each ayllu, over which stood a cacique and segunda persona for each moiety, all subordinated to the cacique of the entire kingdom and repartimiento—is that established by Toledo. What changes may have been introduced in the hierarchy of kingdom authorities we do not know, but undoubtedly Toledo merely confirmed at least some aspects of the early form. As in so many other cases, Toledo elevated the cacique of the upper moiety (anansaya, following the Quechua terminology imposed by Toledo) to

53 Of course, he made great changes as well. The authors of the "Memorial de Charcas" assert that the Incas governed them indirectly without changing the structure of kingdom rule: "... dejando a cada señor con la gente que tenia de su servicio y ayllus y parcialidades; y en esta costumbre los hallaron los españoles y Vuestra Majestad hasta el día de hoy ... " (Espinoza 1969: 17 [par. 20]). On the other hand, while leaving certain social-structural forms intact (the hierarchy of lords at the kingdom level, moiety organization, etc.), Toledo changed the picture. First by establishing repartimiento and provincial boundaries that cross-cut indigenous polities, but also by greatly reducing the privileges of the native lords, in a way that substantially reduced their ability to provide the ritual services that had until then legitimated their rule.

It is worthwhile to note here some of the most keenly felt (by "Memorial" authors) losses of privilege. The requests fall into two basic types: restitution of rights enjoyed before the Spanish conquest and bestowal of privileges enjoyed by Spanish nobles but withheld from the indigenous elite. Among the former type of pleas are for restitution of the fifty yanaconas who had served each major lord, but had been usurped by Toledo as tributarles (ibid.: 17 [par. 21]); an increase in the number of mitayos (exempted from tasa obligations) as well as of the amount of land they should work for the lords and of what is tantamount to the same thing, the amount of seed they should plant (ibid.: 17 [par. 21], and 31 [par. 9]); and confirmation of rights to other Kurakallands and to pastures for Kurakas’ herds (ibid.: 31 [pars. 10, 11]).
### TABLE 4

**AYLLU STRUCTURE OF THE KILLAKA KINGDOM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collana</th>
<th>Mamanoca</th>
<th>---</th>
<th>1 cacique.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moscoca</td>
<td>---L---</td>
<td>Hanansaya</td>
<td>1 segunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcoca</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coroga</td>
<td>Qua ...ras</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cara Cara</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**KILLAKA**

Juan Colque Guarache (in 1574)

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Do not appear in visitas after 1645

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soraga</th>
<th>Sinaco</th>
<th>---</th>
<th>1 cacique.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ancaxoca</td>
<td>Saca</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1 segunda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Challapata as parcialidad de Urinsaya Quillacas

"yanaconas"

Vichaque (ul1,ls)---

Source: AGNA 9.17.1.4. Alto Peru Padrones 1645-1686; AGNA 13.18.4.3. Padrones La Plata 1616-1725, Legajo 57; AGNA 13.18.5.1. Padrones La Plata, 1725-1754
a position of greater dominance than he was likely to have held before the conquest. The much favored Juan Colque Guarache, of course, occupied this role. Given the model of Andean dualism (discussed in detail in Murra [1967]), provided by the ample data on the Lupaqa realm on the western shore of Lake Titicaca, one would have expected to find another federation-wide authority heading the urinsaya moiety of the Killaka kingdom. In the extant documents, however, there is nothing to suggest this particular form of dual reign in the Killaka case. I will return later to this apparent anomaly.

The component ayllus of the Killaka kingdom, as shown in table 4, are those appearing in a padrón (of the "parcialidad" Los Quillacas--the Killaka part of the Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques) compiled in 1645 by the resident priest in the

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54Matienzo, in his Gobierno del Perú, made clear the delicacy of the predominance of the upper moiety lord of a kingdom in a way that was not clearly appreciated by many of his Monarchy schooled colleagues:

En cada repartimiento o provincia hay dos parcialidades: una que se dice de hanansaya, y otra de hurinsaya. Cada parcialidad tiene un cacique principal que manda a los principales e indios de su parcialidad, y no se entremete a mandar a los de la otra, excepto que el curaca de la parcialidad de hanansaya es el principal de toda la provincia, y a quien el otro curaca de hurinsaya obedece en las cosas que dice él. Tiene el de hanansaya, el mejor lugar de los asientos y en todo lo demás, que en esto guardan su orden. Los de la parcialidad de hanansaya se asientan a la mano derecha y los de hurinsaya a la mano izquierda, en sus asientos bajos que llaman dills., cada uno por su orden: los de hurinsaya a la izquierda tras su cacique principal, y los de hanansaya, a la mano derecha, tras su curaca.

Este de hanansaya es el principal de todos y tiene éste señorío sobre los de hurinsaya. Llama y hace juntas y goberna en general, aunque no manda en particular. Cobra la tasa a págala, porque aunque no la cobra de los de hurinsaya en particular, cóbrala del curaca o cacique principal de los de hurinsaya, el cual ha cobrado de sus ayllos ... (Matienzo 1967[1567]:20-21 [cap. VI])

55Indeed, the anomaly was first noted by Wachtel (1981/1982) in considering the assignment of plots within one of the Cochabamba chacaras to kurakas (or mallkus) of rnit'a supplying kingdoms by Wayna Qapax. In contrast to the other groups concerned, one Guarache seems to have been the only Killaka federation lord assigned a plot:

Pero por que un solo kuraka principal para los Quillaca, que constituyen una 'confederacion' compleja, y dos para los Caranga y los Sora? Aquí, carecemos de datos mas detallados sobre el problema de la organizacion dualista en las sociedades andinas. (1981:40; 1982:216)

Was there then, but one federation levellord of Killaka? This is an issue of some importance, given the overwhelming lack of any precedent for such a possibility in the region. We know that each kingdom encompassed by the federation indeed possessed moiety lords, but was there a federation level moiety system that would have provided a counterpart to Guarache? Espinoza (1981) seems to assume noto There is the possibility that this represents some Incaic manipulation of the indigenous polity, though the authors of the "Memorial de Charcas" denied that this occurred.
town of Quillacas. The ayllus were listed in that padron in what is, in the figure, a left to right order. Since the 1645 padron did not group the ayllus into parcialidades, a padron from 1683, in which the order was essentially the same, which does indicate moiety affiliation was used to complete the diagram. Note that three of the ayllus listed, Caracara, Qua ... ras [the document was torn here], and Coroga, had disappeared from the scene by 1683. Another disappearing ayllu was Vichaque, which the priest of 1645 described in a footnote to the padron (because they did not pay the tasa or participate in the mita) as "yanaconas assigned by order of your Majesty for the service of the governors." Two more ayllus of urinsaya Killaka appear only in the same footnote: "in the doctrina of Challapata there are two entire ayllus, ayllu saca and ayllu ancasoxa." In Challapata, the two ayllus formed the parcialidad of Quillacas-urinsaya (one of three parcialidades in that town). Having completed his padron from church records, the priest lacked further data on these ayllus. Indeed, he lacked information on a considerable part of the kingdom:

It only remains to note that the indians of the parcialidad de los Quillacas are divided among many places. In the doctrina of San Lucas de Paacollo there are indians of ayllu Collana, of ayllu Moscoca, of ayllu Malcoca, ayllu Mamanoca, and ayllu Ancasoxa. In the doctrina of Puna there are Collanas, Moscocas, Mamanocas, and Sinacos ... in the Curate of Poqpo there are also some [Quillaca indians] ...

Clearly embarrassed by the lack of precision, the priest went on to suggest that "... comparing this list with the lists of the towns I refer to, one may easily see how many indians there are, and whether there are too few or more than enough for the

56 "yanaconas diputados por sedula de su Magestad para el servicio de los gove..." (AGNA 9.17.1.4., "Padron de los Yndios Quillacas," [1645], without pagination)

57 "en la doctrina de challapata ay dos ayllos enteros el ayllu saca y el ayllu ancasoxa" (Ibid.)

58 The Spanish original:

Solo ay que advertir que los indios de la parcialidad de los Quillacas estan repartidos en muchos partes en la doctrina de San Lucas de Paacollo ay indios del ayllu Collana, del ayllu Moscoca del ayllu malcoca, del ayllu mamanoca, del ayllu ancasoxa en la doctrina de Puna ay indios collanas, moscocas, mamanocas, sinacos ... en el curato de Poqpo tanvien ay algunos .... (AGNA 9.17.1.4., "Padron de los Yndios Quillacas" [1645], without pagination)
Colonial administrative procedures were certainly not yet in touch with Andean cultural complexities. There were a great many more members of the Killaka kingdom in a number of areas that also went unmentioned by the priest of 1645, as became clear in the much more carefully compiled padrones of 1683. The priest was right, however, about the potential utility of comparing his data with the padrones of the towns he mentions (and of some he does not mention). What such a comparison demonstrates is an extremely widespread pattern of occupation, both permanent and seasonal, of lands in a variety of ecological zones in several regions.

The padrones of 1683, this time composed by the corregidor of each province, following the detailed instructions of the Duque de La Palata, reveal more about this pattern. The corregidor of Paria (province in which Quillacas and Condo Condo were both located) was able to give figures for Indians who "live in the Province of Yamparaes and reside on lands belonging to the repartimiento de Atun Quillacas and fulfill their obligation of mita and tasa ...", and gives some place names—Urca, Piosera, and Poqpo—which allow us to localize these holdings on the map. Moreover, he was able to give the population figures for the two ayllus reduced to Challapata (which the priest had lacked 38 years earlier), and to note that some of them (of ayllu Saca) lived in "the Salinas of Yocalla and Urumiri, jurisdiction of Potosí, who are in their own lands and are working some salt mines of this ayllu ....",61

The most intriguing part of the 1683 padron, however, is a list of "tierras de comunidad" provided, as per the visita instructions, by the lord of the realm, ". . . Don

59 "... comparando este padron con los padrones de los pueblos que refiero facilmente se beran los indios que son y si faltan para el entera de la mita o sobran . . . ." (Ibid.)

60 "... Viben en la ProvinQa de Yamparaes y residen en tierras propias [del] Repartimiento de Atun Quillacas y cumplen su obligacion de mita y tassa. ~ .. . " (AGNA 13.18.5.1., "Padrones ... de la Provi.n.cia de Paria," f20v)

61 "... las Salinas de Yocalla y Urumiri Jurisdiction de Potosí que estan en sus tierras propias y estan trabajando unas minas de Sal deste aillo .... ." (Ibid.:f21r)
Juan Fran—Choqueticlla Casique principal y Governador de este Pueblo de Atun Quillacas y sus anejos en diferentes Correjimientos... (ibid.:f15r):

Exsibo la Memoria de dkhas tierras y Casas en la forma Siguiente. Conforme se Publico El bando Publicado en Primero de outubre=
-Las tierras de Urca Estan en la Provincia de los Yarnparaes-
--Las tierras de Mamaguasi en dicha Juridicion«
--Las tierras de Piusera en dkha Juridicion de Yamparaes»
--Las tierras de Turrisa estan en la Provincia de Porco«
--Todas las tierras que estan en la Provincia de Pilaia y Paspaia las poseen los Yndios del Pueblo de San Lucas Paacollo de este repartimiento de Los Quillacas y Asanaques que son originarios de este ProviD.Qay Repartimiento de atun Quillacas que al presente Sean llamado ser Fronterizos»
--Las tierras de Chulla que estan en el Baile grande de la Villa de Oropesa de Cochabamba«
--Las tierras de este mi dkho Pueblo de atun Quillacas y su Juridicion«
... Con mas que de[claro?] que tengo Una Parcialidad de Yndios ... [torn].. Pueblo de Puna Provincia de Porco ... [torn]... Parcialidad de los Marca Soragas que ... [tom].. En tierras Suias Propias con su Principal y Segunda Persona los Cuales Cumplen su obligacion de este Pueblo y assi mismo lo Juro y firmo en la forma referido .... (Ibid.)

As impressive as the list is, however, it is still not complete. It is clear, however, that the tierras de comunidad ("community lands," in Quechua, Sansí, as in the name of one of the Asanaqi outliers) belonging to the Killaka kingdom were extensive. What is not so clear is just what the term means. Here I will only point out that the lands included in the list were not all of the same type. Chulla, of course, was part of the Cochabamba lands assigned to the Killaka by Wayna Qapax. The Yamparaes lands, as well, were maize producing valleys, as were the lands of San Lucas. In this latter case, moreover, the cacique laid claim to all of the lands of the Provincia de Pilaia y Paspaia, and indeed, as we shall see, Killaka (federation) natives were in 1683, the only indians classified as originarios in San Lucas and its environs. Together, the lands group into three regions heavily used by the Killaka for maize production—and in all three regions, the Kingdom of Killaka shared tenure with ayllus of both the Asanaqi and AwllakalUrukilla kingdoms. For the cacique of "Atun Quillacas," such a fact went without saying, since all three kingdoms were part of his larger, federational realm.

Shortly after the visita of Viceroy Toledo was completed and signed, the supreme lord of all the Killaka, Juan Colque Guarache, managed to have his brother named cacique
(a segunda persona was also appointed) of Killaka subjects in San Lucas. The 1683 "community lands" list adds yet another pair of lords, beyond those described in the Toledan "Tasa," to our picture of the authority structure of the realm: an entire parcialidad of Killaka kingdom ayllus had been reduced to the Repartimiento de Puna in the Toledan visita! In this case, however, we are not talking about a primarily maize producing valley area, but of the mostly puna core territory of one of the four kingdoms (Arakapi) recognized by Wayna Qapax and enumerated as part of the larger Killaka realm by its Toledan era lord (Juan Colque Guarache).

2.4.3. The Asanaqi Kingdom

The Kingdom of Asanaqi was reduced in the visita of Toledo to three towns. San Pedro de Condo Condo, the capital of the kingdom, was occupied entirely by ayllus of Asanaqi's two moieties. Two of the three parcialidades created in the reduction town of San Juan del Pedroso (modern Challapata), were composed of two ayllus of anansaya Asanaqi and four from urinsaya, the third parcialidad, being two urinsaya Killaka ayllus. Asanaqi ayllus from both moieties, shared the distant town and territory of San Lucas de Paacolio with two other parcialidades: Quillacas, made up of ayllus of Asanaqi's co-repartimiento kingdom, Killaka, and Yucasas, composed of ayllus from the fourth kingdom of the Killaka federation, Awllaka-Urukilla. The basic structure of the Kingdom of Asanaqi is presented in table 5, again a composite sketch based on information provided in the "Tasa" of Toledo and in later padrones.

62 Toledo prepared the formal Provisión naming Francisco Visalla to the San Lucas post (including similar privileges but sans salary) in La Paz, on June 23 of 1575: . . . Don Francisco de Toledo mayordomo de su Magestad su visorei gobernador y capitán general . . . por quanto don Joan Colque me hizo relación diziendo que yo avia nombrado por cacique de San Lucas de Payacollo a don Francisco Visalla como me costava por los decretos y que no sele avia dado Proviscion a que me pedio y suplicava fuese cervido de se la mandar dar y para qu~ el dicho don Fran~ Visalla fuese capitan del dicho pueblo y segunda persona suya en el. .. .(ANB EC 1588, no. 5, "Reclamación de don Miguel García Colque ... .", f3r)

63 I cannot agree with Espinoza that Puna, on of the reducciones of the Repartimiento de Puna, was no more than an "enclave de mitmas Sevaroyos-Haracapis" (1981:187), since the Puna area seems to have been the group's home territory.
TABLE 5

AYLLU STRUCTURE OF THE ASANAQI KINGDOM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collana</th>
<th>Hanansa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Callapa</td>
<td>casique, 1 segunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caballe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulcaana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also present in Challapatal as Aransaya Asanaques

Gone by 1645

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CUILOCUILLI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chiguri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icasique de &quot;huros&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ASANAQI
Remando Chuqiticlla (Underage, 1574)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yanaque</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilave</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present in both Condo & in "Urinsaya Challapata"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hurinsa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sulca(avi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andamarca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacagua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present in Challapata as Urinsaya Asanaques

Only after 1785.

Source: AGNA 9.17.1.4. Alto Pero Padrones 1645-1686; AGNA 13.18.4.3. Padrones La Plata 1616-1725, Legajo 57; AGNA 13.18.5.1. Padrones La Plata, 1725-1754
Above the level of ayllu caciques, Toledo appointed five caciques of parcialidades. (By the date of the "Tasa," he does not appear to have appointed any in the San Lucas region, as he did for the Killaka kingdom, though all three parcialidades of San Lucas counted caciques by 1683.) Each moiety was assigned a cacique and segunda persona, and a separate cacique assigned as authority over the Urus reduced to Condo Condo. As with all caciques appointed by Toledo, each was assigned a salary (paid from tribute of their subjects), a number of personal servants rotating every six months, and was allotted an income in foodstuffs that was to be planted yearly by his subjects. In addition to the crops planted for their own caciques, however, Asanaqi subjects were also to plant fields for Juan Colque Guarache, Governor of the Killaka. Within Asanaqi there was also a supreme lord. The pair of caciques appointed for Anansaya of Asanaqi, Don Remando de Chuquiberri and Don Martin Pacha, were designated as interim governors of the kingdom "until Don Remando Chuquiticlla, cacique of the Asanaqi ayllus of the parcialidad of Anansaya reaches majority."64

We learn nothing more of this Remado Chuquiticlla in extant documents. By 1591, the cacique principal of Asanaqi was one Alonso Fernandes Taquimallco, whose descendants managed to retain control of the cacicasgo until at least 1695. Shortly thereafter, the Taquimallcos were replaced by a line of Llanquipachas (who claimed descent from the Martin Pacha of Toledan days), who retained the position up to the abolition of the office in the early days of the Republic.65 The Chuquiticlla Colque Guarache who was

64"...entre tanto que tiene hedad Don Remando Chuquiticlla Casique de los Aylllos Azanaques de la Parcialidad de Anansaya ...." (AGNA "Tasa," f126v).

The presence of moieties within both Killaka and Asanaqi kingdoms, each with a line of high ranking nobles in the upper moiety, is to me clear evidence that Killaka and Asanaqi were not themselves moiety designations within a Killaka-Asanqi kingdom, as Espinoza would have it (1981:185), but rather each a kingdom in its own right. True, they formed part of a single federation, but the fact that they were lumped together in a single repartimiento may be a result of arbitrary Spanish administrative policy rather than of a particularly close relationship within the federation.

65The Llanquipacha genealogies are found in ANB EC 1747, no. 12, "Reclamo de Don Gregorio Feliz Llanquipacha, para la posicion de Casique . . . .," f6r. The appointment of Don Martin Pacha as one of Asanaqi's two segundas personas is located in the AGNA "Tasa," f120v.
lord of Killaka in 1683 (a line which also retained power until the institution came to an end) claimed descent, not from the namesake of Asanaqi, but from both the Colque Guarache line and the Toledan era second person of Anansaya Quillacas, Francisco Pomaguanca.66

In his response to the Duque de La Palata query (which was given in the instructions for the 1683 visita67) about the extent of "tierras de comunidad," Don Juan Bartolome Taquimallco, "Governador y Casique Principal del Pueblo de San Pedro de Condocondo y sus repartimientos,"68 listed the following possessions:

66Seeking exemption from the "capitanía de la mita" and "gobierno ... de los Pueblos de yndios del Repartimiento de los quillacas por su mucha edad ... " (ANB Minas 125, no. 17, 1667, f1v), Don Felipe Choqueticlla, having just been released from the Potosí jail for mita related offenses, presented a genealogy beginning with:

. . . . Don Felipe Choque y Maman su bisabuelo capitan y governador Superior que fue de la general provincia de los charcas abriendose Bauptisado y obedecido la Santa ley ehezangelica y estando ya en el rebaño de christo señor nuestro por obra suia biendo que el marquez Don francisco Picarro estaba conquistando el Reyno del Pero le socorro y ayuda para este efecto con cinco mill Yndios soldados todos puestos a punto de guerra y Don francisco pumaguanca su abuelo yendo yendo a su padre fue a la jornada de los chiriguanaes con titulo de Capitan de yfanteria llebando mucho numero de yndios/ soldados. . . . (Ibid.:f2r)

Moreover, the 1667 Felipe Choqueticlla claims, his grandfather also aided, in the same role, the punitive expedition of Martin de Almendras to Chichas territory, while his father, Don Felipe Choqueticlla Maman, served with Juan Losano Machuca in the Chiriguano campaign (ibid.:f2v). This last campaign, incidentally, was the one which, according to Capoche, caused "Juan Collqui" to be absent from his Potosí Capitanía in 1585. I assume that the 5,000 soldiers mentioned by Felipe Choqueticlla were sent along with Almagro's expedition to Chile, and as well, that all of the members of this genealogy acted under the tutelage of Juan Guarache and Juan Colque Guarache.

The Felipe Choqueticlla of 1667, incidentally, appears to be the same man mentioned in the 1645 "Padron de los Yndios Quillacas" as having in his power the Uro ayllu of Uichaque exempted from tasa and mita as "yanacaonas": "... y abra beinte años que se sirve de ellos un indio llamado don Felipe Choqueticlla que oyes capitan de los indios quillacas para el entero de la mita ... " (AGNA 9.17.1.4., "Padron de los Yndios Quillacas [1645]:"without pagination). The Uro ayllu numbered some 13 adult men, of which 3 resided in the outlier of Tacobilque (ibid.).

67A printed copy of the instructions for the 1683 visita (performed by priests of Doctrina) are to be found in 13.18.5.1., "Padrones La Plata 1725-54," "Instruccion que han de Guadar los Corregidores en la numeracion general que se ha de hazer de los Indios, cada uno en su jurisdicion [1683]," unfoliated cuaderno.

68The supremacy of Juan Bartolome Taquimallco as "Governador y Casique Principal" of the whole of "San Pedro de Condocondo y sus repartimientos," that is, of the kingdom of Asanaqi, was due to his status as the cacique principal of its upper moiety. Nevertheless, his authority was first and foremost over that moiety. Thus he was listed as the cacique principal of the two anansaya Asanaqi ayllus reduced to Challapata, but in that
Las tierras de San Pedro de Milloma están en la Provincia de Yamparaes tierras de Comunidad y que viven en ellas Yndios de este Pueblo-e
Las tierras de San Juan de Caiachaca están en d,kha Pro~ de Yamparaes assi mismo de Comunidad del aillo Sulcayana=
Las tierras de Llanquiri assi mismo de Comunidad compradas de dk,ho aylllo Collana»
Las tierras del balle chulla Provincia de cochabamba Contorno del Pueblo de Oropesa»
Las que estan en el balle de San Pedro de Moco del aillo Changara y todas las de este mi dk,ho Pueblo y sus anejos- .... (AGNA 13.18.5.1., "Padrones La Plata 1725-54," "un-ordered cuadernos,” "Padron de Hatun Quillacas,” f7Ir)

Once again the list is not exhaustive, and fails to mention the vast holdings in the Provincia de Pilaiya y Pasaia (San Lucas area), mentioned by the lord of Killaka proper.

What is most striking in this list is the identification of certain ayllus as "owners" of particular lands, demonstrating that while the lands may have been worked under the direction of the moiety or kingdom or federation lord, they were probably locally administered by ayllu heads or by leaders of even lower levels in the segmentary polity.

2.4.3.1. Location of Outliers

From another source we learn that both San Pedro de Moco and San Juan de Caiachaca were within the jurisdiction of Guaicoma, in the vicinity of Pitantora, Chulla, as we have seen, was the name given to Cochabamba lands (part of Wayna Qapax's colonization project) to which Killaka and Karanka gained title as a result of their joint litigation. Milloma appears to have been located in the vicinity of Sapsi,69 in a region town, shared the titlo of gobernador with the caciques of the two other parcialidades. These protracted succession struggles in Challapata must also relate to the fact that the only caciques indigenous to the reduccion itself came from an ayllu (llawi, which was without representation in Condo) which was part of the urinsaya moiety of Asanaqi, and even then not that moiety's leading ayllu. The problem of legitimacy in Challapata is raised in the following documents: ANB EC 1738, no. 62, "Juicio contra Don Pedro Norverto Chungara por atroces ... ” ANB EC 1743, no. 9, "Don Matheo Alejandro de la Cruz Condori [cacique principal] contra Don Pedro Norberto Chungara [gobernador] ... ” ANB EC 1759, no. 39, "Challapata, para ver a cual de estos por derecho de sangre le corresponde desempeñar el cacicazgo del mencionado pueblo.”; ANB EC 1766, no. 117, "Provision Real para que el corregidor de Paria ... [sobre el derecho de Cacicazgo] ... ”; ANB EC 1770, no. 157, "... sobre el derecho de Cacicazgo de Challapata.”; ANB EC 1776, no. 24, "Autos seguidos ... sobre capitulos puestos contra el Cacique y Comunidad de indios de Challapata”; and ANB EC 1790, no. 29, "Autos seguidos por Tomas Cruz Choque y otros pretendientes al Cacicazgo de Challapata.”

69_s.mm, not coincidentally, is also a Quechua term meaning "community lands."
heavily occupied by Killaka outliers (including Urca and Piosera, and which are still occupied by many ayllus of Condo, Huari, Aullagas, Challapata, and Quillacas). About Llanquiri, tierras de comunidad "... compradas de ... ayllo Collana," more can be said. At present the lands (located just across the river from the former Guaicoma colony, and but a small "island" in the midst of the valley residents of the Macha) are occupied by members of Major Ayllu Collana (of the Maximal Ayllu--and Canton--K’ulta), one of four territorially separated segments of the once solidary Collana ayllu of Asanaqi (the other segments being those in Condo, Challapata and Cacachaca) which hived off as the Asanaqi kingdom segmented into new and autonomous social units with reduccion town nuclei.70

Tristan Platt, who has carried out field-work in the area of Llanquiri, has discussed the complexity of ethnic group identification and the formation of alliances in the region (platt n.d.). Like their 17th century predecessors, today's Collana outlier residents maintain their membership in the puna-based ayllu through a complex system of reciprocities with their highland kin. Yearly, they play host to a large number of Collana puna dwellers who descend to the valley during the harvest to fill their puna storehouses with coro, wheat, and other valley products. Since at least the 18th century, sponsorship of the feast of San Pedro in Llanquiri has been the responsibility of highland natives who take on the ritual career leading to core territory authority posts.

I know of but one case (involving some four families descended from a former peon on an agrarian-reform-confiscated hacienda in the Ravelo area) of dual domicile similar to those described by Platt (1982b:30-35), and Harris (1978a:57). In this case the evidence for this example of bi-zonal feast sponsorship—which serves, among other things, as a means of guaranteeing rights to land in both zones—lies in the records of the cofradías (religious confraternities) of San Marcos de Miraflores, in the "Libro de la Fabrica de esta Santa Iglesia de San Marcos de Miraflores que corre desde el dia siete de septiembre del año de 1779 . . .," located in the Biblioteca Parroquial de San Pedro de Buena Vista (Provincia Charcas). I thank Tristan Platt for giving me access to his 1971 transcription of the document (cf. also Platt 1982a:30-33). Following up this evidence, I was able to confirm the continued importance of sponsorship in the outlier (for the cargo system of ayllu Collana of K’ulta) with a number of ex-sponsors of the valley fiesta. Research collaborators in Challapata and Huari described similar arrangements in their outliers, Pocpo and Piosera.
families plant crops in both zones every year, and maintain large camelid herds which are moved to K’ulta (in the puna zone) during the rains. For three generations, the families have maintained rights to lands in both zones (and both ethnic groups) through participation in the fiesta-cargo systems in both places. Most of these individuals are bilingual (in Aymara and Quechua), and "bicultural" as well, possessing complete outfits of clothing styles appropriate in each context, and importing valued new melodies and dance formations into each of their homes from the other. While the numbers of such cases of dual residence and/or the maintenance of valley outliers are quite small for the total population in K’ulta, there is a ramifying effect through which a much larger percentage of puna households gain access to valley crops.71

There were other outlier settlements as well. In the vicinity of the early reduccion town of Tomata, collateral descendants of a cacique of Asanaqi pursued litigation for many years (mostly amongst themselves) over what they termed the "hacienda" of Tacobilque (see ANB Ee 1755, no. 20, f11), in the region to which Awllaka llama caravanners still travel during yearly trading expeditions (West 1981). Other Asanaqi outliers, fully evident in the archival record during the last quarter of the 16th century and into the first decades of the 17th, may have been alienated before the 1683 list of community lands was composed. Asanaqi ayllus shared lands with the Killaka in at least two of these locations, one of them in the vicinity of Tacobamba (and including a street and houses in that reduccion town), the other even nearer to Potosí, on the eastern slopes of Turqui mountain and in the "valle de Tarapaya, tres leguas de la villa de Potosi" (ATP, Expediente 12, f33r). In both cases, use of the lands seems to have been connected with the presence, in the mines of Potosí, of Asanaqi mitayos.

Whether it is through close family, patrilocal group, or ayllu ties, domestic groups without valley lands gain reliable trading partners who will both reserve a portion of the maize crop for their allies and trade it at favorable rates, while valley cultivators are assured an available labor input for the harvest (and sometimes, for sowing), as well as the animals needed to transport manure and seed to the fields and the crop to the storehouse or road-head.
2.5. Symbolic Bases of Authority and Their Transformations

2.5.1. The Kingdoms of Killaka in Summary

Thus far I have but sketched in what may be considered the gross social-structural features of the four constituent kingdoms of the Killaka Federation. I have described them in terms of their territorial extensions, their interpenetration in what amounts to a mini- or horizontal-archipelago system, their inter-digitation in distant valley outliers within the territories of other federations. I have also discussed the moiety and ayllu composition of each kingdom and their authority structures at the time of Toledo. This description of the hierarchy of authority within and among the kingdoms has been complicated by the disjuncture between the pre-Toledan system, which shared much with the precolombian one, and what followed it, when new "caciques gobernadores," "principales" of ayllus, and all the new offices of the cabildo system were established in the reduccion towns. In part, it has been possible to untangle the two systems, although it seems they were in competition with one another at least until the end of the 18th century.

The moment has come, however, to seriously attempt to distinguish between the pre- and post-Toledan systems of authority and social organization, and as well, to evaluate the arguments which could explain the co-existence of two competing systems for over two hundred years of colonization. Finally, we must inquire into the question of why the later social form—that of cabildo government in the reduccion towns—should have replaced the earlier system only in the last days of the colony.

I would begin to sum up what we can learn from this material by reviewing our findings so far. Killaka was, in its largest extension, what I have called a federation of four distinct dual-organized kingdoms: The Killaka, Asanaqi, Awllaka-Urukilla, and Siwaruyu-Arakapi, each with a reported Toledan era population of approximately 5,000-6,000 persons. The data are the clearest for the first two, Killaka and Asanaqi. Espinoza—perhaps unduly influenced by the association of the two in a single post-conquest
repartimiento--treated Killaka and Asanaqi as themselves moieties within a kingdom called Quillaca-AsanaQ' (1981: 185). Examination of evidence from the Toledan "Tasa," later visitas, and other sources, shows us that each of these groupings was unambiguously divided into moieties, each with its pairs of hereditary mallku.

Moiety arrangements are less clear for the Awllaka-Urokilla and Siwaruyu-Arakapi. In the former case, Awllaka seems to have been no more than a place name, while Urokilla referred at times to the kingdom as a whole, and at times to a possible ethnic minority within it. It is possible that the lack of correspondence of ayllu names in the three reduccion towns of this kingdom indicates a greater complexity than heretofore suspected, perhaps on the order of a number of semi-autonomous ethnic groups, including a substantial number of "Urus." Siwaruyu-Arakapi is another complex case. Here, as we have seen, the dual designation seems to reflect not only (and perhaps not originally) a moiety division, but the imposition of a Killaka-derived Siwaruyu population upon an original Arakapi population, while in colonial times, yet a third grouping--also derived from the Killaka kingdom--was added to it.

Each of the four kingdoms was mentioned in the Cochabamba valley litigation in such a way that we can be sure that they had formed a federation under the domination of the Guarache house, at least as early as Wayna Qapax's land distribution there. The kingdoms differed from those of the Charca region in some respects. They were (in their core territories) dedicated chiefly to care of their animals, which served as beasts of burden for trade in the distant valley outliers. Ecologically, then, the Killaka federation was more like the Karanka, Pacasa, and Lupaqa than like the Charka groups. Three of the four kingdoms held a variety of valley outliers in a number of zones (mostly within the Charka territory), apart from the Inka organized fields in Cochabamba. The mallku-curn-gobernadores of the kingdoms, confirmed in transformed roles after the conquest, managed to defend their subjects' interests in these outliers--and to insulate their subjects to some
degree from the demands of tasa and mita, through both their considerable litigation efforts and their access to animal capital.

2.52. Federation Lords, Extra-Federation Alliances, and the Influence of the Inkas

2.5.2.1. Intra-Federation Moiety Structures

One of the most intractable questions about pre-conquest social forms is that of the nature of federation level authority and inter-kingdom relations. Murra's (1968, 1975) account of Lupaqa organization convinces us that there were two ruling dynasties, not just one. In the Lupaqa case, the upper moiety lord of Chucuito "kingdom" (or town) constituted the ruler of all upper moieties of the federation of all seven towns of the Lupaqa, while Chucuito's lower moiety lord ruled all lower moieties. But while each of the Killaka federation kingdoms seems to have been dual organized and led by two mallkus, there is not a shred of evidence for a line of hereditary lords who could have been the federation level lower moiety counterparts of the upper moiety's Colque Guarache line. Given that so much of our data is post-Toledan, this might not be surprising. It may be that the evidence is simply too late to not have been affected by the European monarchical bias. Post-Toledan documents on the Lupaqa, as Murra notes, also fail to mention the existence of two simultaneous dynasties (Murra 1968:126).

Documentation from earlier days of the colony may eventually show the Killaka to have been more like the Lupaqa than the later evidence demonstrates. Nevertheless, our one bit of pre-Toledan data on the Killaka, the Cochabamba litigation produced by Polo de Ondegardo (who knew the Andean realities better than most Spanish sources), indicates that unlike other groups involved in the Inka project, the Killaka had only one mallku who received parcels in the field allotted to the nobility of the region. Is it possible that there was only one federation-level mallku for the Killaka? Espinoza (1981:196) seems to accept this view. If so, this would constitute an anomaly for the region. The clear centrality of dual organization within the federation's kingdoms, as well as in neighboring federations,
leads one to suspect that we are facing a distortion of a dual actuality, whether this
distortion is the result of insufficient data or of some perhaps unique historical
circumstance. It is possible that a lower moiety dynasty (comparable to that of the Lupaqa)
had been suppressed by the Spanish colonizers at the urging of a hegemony-minded Colque
Guarache dynasty. It is also possible, as the presence of but a single lord in the
Cochabamba mallku fields may indicate, that the situation was brought about through the
incorporation of the Killaka into the Inka empire. But speculation of this sort, in the
absence of data that could confirm or deny it, must be left aside.

It might, however, be worthwhile to assume the possibility that the absence of a
federation level lower moiety lord, though anomalous for the region, was real in the Killaka
case. If, indeed, the federation was a-perhaps recent-alliance among kingdoms without a
federation level moiety organization, what might such an alliance have been like? If the
lower moiety lord in each kingdom was beholden only to his kingdom's upper moiety
mallku, and the subordinate kingdoms linked to the Killaka kingdom only through their
upper moiety lords, why should there have been a federation moiety system at all? But this
is not satisfactory. The question remains unanswerable in part because neither can we yet
answer the question of why there should be moieties in general. And yet there are
moieties.

2.5.2.2. "Super Moieties," Social Value, and Imperial Rule

Before leaving the realm of speculation about the nature of social organization on
the large scale, we must also address the evidence for what was, in all probability, a yet
more inclusive, and pre-Inka, form of social integration. I am referring to the classification
of federations (and parts of divided federations) into one of two categories: Ilrм and
.ILLIпа. As described by Bouysse-Cassagne (1978), these two categories marked out what
amounted to a "super-moiety" system encompassing all of what fell within the Inka
province of Qullasuyu. Killalca, like its Karanka and Kharakhara neighbors (the first a
federation with close ties to the Killaka, the second one half of the more inclusive federation of Charka), fell into the Urqusuyu moiety.

To understand the symbolic value of these moiety terms, it is necessary to turn to Capoche’s characterization of the terms, given in the course of his description of the mita-supplying capitánías (in which Juan Colque Guarache served as capitán). Capoche wrote that . . . the part of Collasuyo, which is of the Collao, which is populated by the nations contained in the capitánías, is divided in two sides. [These are] called Urcusuyu and Umasuyu, [the first of] which means people who live in the mountain heights, which have this name urcu, and the umasuyus [live] in the low and flat plains, the banks of the rivers which in this language are called urna; Others say that the urcusuyus signify masculine and forceful people, because by this name urcu "masculine" is understood, and the umasuyus "feminine" and of lesser quality. And the urcusuyus were always of greater presumption and quality, and the Inca gave them the right hand side in public places and they were preferred over the umasuyus in reputation. (Capoche 1959 [1585]:139-40)

That is, these "super-moieties," roughly corresponding to a division of kingdoms and federations into primarily herding (Urqusuyu) and farming (Umasuyu) components, were understood through what were simultaneously gender and ecological attributes. Given the territorial coordinates involved, Urqusuyu lords were rich in herds, with which they "controlled" productive resources in lands in the Umasuyu territory.

Both Bouysse-Cassagne and Julien (1978) took their data from Capoche's description of the capitánías through which the Spanish administration of the mita of Potosí obtained its labor pool (as organized by Viceroy Toledo and perhaps, as Wachtel suggests, following the agricultural mit’a devised by Wayna Qapax for working state lands in the Cochabamba valley [1982]).

Julien demonstrates that the division into capitánías, which were administrative districts under the domain of "capitanes de la mita" such as Juan Colque Guarache, is closer to previous Andean social divisions than the contemporaneous division of the territory into corregimientos, which were groups of encomienda/repartimientos under the jurisdiction of Crown-appointed corregidores. She also suggests that the capitánía units in fact correspond to Inka administrative districts, as Wachtel's data might also suggest.
Bouysse-Cassagne, on the other hand, suggests that the over-arching urqulumula moiety structure, discernible from Capoche’s capitanía list, represents a social form ante-dating Inka control of the region. It is probable, given the admittedly shallow evidence in this case, that both are right.

Given that the Inkas maintained, so far as we know, two principle administrative centers within Qullasuyu (Hatunqolla and Paria), it is possible that this quarter of Tawantinsuyu was in fact a quadripartite structure with a northern moiety (itself divided into urqu and urna moieties), and a southern one (also divided into urqu and urna segments).

In a probanza forwarded in 1612, don Joan de Castro y Paria (then the Alcalde Mayor of the Repartimiento de Macha) informs us that his great-grandfather, named Tata Paria, "was universal lord in this province of all the nation of the Urcusuyos called Caracaras." We know from Capoche and from the maps which Julien and Bouysse-Cassagne based on Capoche that the line which divided Urqusuyu from Umasuyu ran north-west to south-east through the entire area of the Inka province of Quillasuyu. With the further division into north and south zones (with their capital s in Hatunqulla and Paria), the result is a quadripartite organization within what was one quarter of the Inka empire.

One witness for Joan de Castro y Paria’s probanza described Tata Paria’s authority as extending beyond federational boundaries. At the same time, his adds yet greater complications to ourreconstruction of Quillasuyu organization. On the 21st of March of 1612, Don Felipe Ochani, a principal ("more than one-hundred" years old) of the Ayllu Paro of the Anansaya moiety of Macha, testified that Tata Paria was:

"lord of all the nation of the Caracaras of the said parcialidad [of anansaya], and of the Quillacas, Soras, Carangas, and Chuyes, and all of them obeyed him and he made them come together in Macha, and this witness knew the said Tata Paria very well, when this witness was a boy, and he saw that the indians carried him on their

72"... señor Vniuersal que fue en esta prouincia de todo la nacion de los Urcusuyos llamadas caracaras ... " (AGNA 13.18.7.2. [padrones Potosi 1612-1619]. "Rebisita del Pueblo de Macha de la Corona Real por el governador Antonio Salgado, 1619," f298r).
shoulders like a great lord . . . and that this witness knows that all the said nations carne together in order to malee him tombs .... "73

If we leave the Chichas and Lipes federations--indomitable groups who resisted both Inka and Spanish control--aside, and if we suppose that the Charka nation (of umasuyu) was assumed to be part of the Karakara dominion in this description, it turns out that Tata Paria could have been lord not only of the anansayas of the Karakaras of Urqusuyu, but of the whole southern half of the Inka province of Qullasuyu, the capital of which was located in the town called Paria, within Sura territory (platt n.d.).74 Or is it that Tata Paria was all of this through his position as mallku of the upper (anansaya) moiety of the highest ranking "nation" or "federation" among urqusuyu groups? It is also possible that the witness meant to say that Tata Paria was lord only of the Anansaya moieties of all the federations mentioned. For the moment, we cannot go any further along these lines, given that anansayalurinsaya moiety divisions are so ubiquitous at every social organizational level (existing even within a federation, or within one moiety of a federation, such as the Kharakhara, or within one ayllu of a kingdom!), that more detailed data is required for clarification.

73 The Spanish original is as follows:
"... señor de toda la nacion de los caracaras de la dk,ha parcialidad [de Anansaya] y de la de los quillacas soras carangas y chuyes y todas ellas le obedeceron y las hacia juntar en Macha y este t-- conocio muy bien al dkho tata paria siendo este testigo muchacho y Vio que le traian en onbros de yn-- como gran señor . . . y que este testigo saue que todas las dk,has naciones se juntaron para hacelle sepulturas .... " (!bid.: f309r)

74 Nevertheless, the source does not mention the Umasuyus Charka group, and the lord of that "nation" also claimed (in the Memorial de Charcas) the distinction of being the maximallord of the Charka and Kharakhara. We have seen that one of the insults suffered by the Charka mallku under Spanish rule was precisely the naming by Viceroy Toledo of only two capitanes generales for the mita of Potosí, one from the Sura "nation" and the other, Juan Colque Guarache. According to Capoche (1959 [1585]:137), these were two of the original six capitanías established by Toledo and later augmented by the naming of other capitanes. The long-suffering Charka mallku, Don Hernando de Ayaviri, managed to obtain one of these added posts, gaining dominion over the Suras as well as recapturing control over his own Charka subjects.
2.5.2.3. The Lords’ Part of the Bargain

It should be clear that much remains to be discussed. The issues that I have saved until now are, of course, those which are most difficult to address. They involve a whole series of questions which must be answered before we can claim to understand these kingdoms. How did the mallku rule? What were the social values (in the absence of a means of absolute coercion) which motivated submission and service to the whole hierarchy of mallkus—that is, which made such submission worthwhile? What was the nature of intra-ayllu relations and authority at that level? In what way were ayllus inter-related within a moiety? And moieties within a kingdom?

Here I can do no more than to suggest some possible answers. I will do so, given the rather fragmented and incomplete data on the Killaka, through comparison with what we know about other such groups (like the Charka and Lupaqa), as well as through the more risk-laden enterprise of projecting understandings gleaned from modern ethnographic work into our view of the past. Such risks, however, are justified by the fact that otherwise, and without suitably dense descriptions of the ritual aspects of kingdom organization, we would be left with a relatively lifeless and static picture of social relations, reified in the names of "groups" in a diagram. There is a truly great gulf between the establishment of facts such as the names of kingdoms, their size, location on the map, and the names of their leaders, and the interpretation of the complex meanings understood by an individual in herding his llamas, in greeting his god or his wife's brother, or in performing labor for his mallku. And yet the gulf must be bridged if we are to understand how a mallku ruled or why kingdoms are divided into moieties. What follows is but an initial attempt to bridge this gulf.

In considering the nature of social structural arrangements of the federation of Killaka it is essential to keep in mind that the "groups" we talk about were constituted by asymmetrical patterns of reciprocal relations among hierarchically ranked individuals. Thus we must of necessity address ourselves to the question of the superordinate position of the
mallku, maintained through his increased access to the labor of household heads. But how was this disproportionate access to labor gained?

As I have pointed out, there is no evidence to suggest that the mallku before or, for many years at any rate, after the conquest, ruled to any significant degree through coerción. On the contrary, evidence drawn from other areas suggests that the service given to mallkus was of a voluntary sort. The mallkus had to ask for the labor that sustained them, and they had to fulfill certain obligations in return.

What is more, the paramount mallku had to ask his subalterns, who in turn asked their subordinates, down to the level at which a local ayllu authority asked the "commoner" individual to perform a task. Among the "levels" making up society at large (taken together resembling something like a set of nested Chinese boxes, in Platt's simile), rule was always mediated through a hierarchy of authorities, at ever further levels of remove from the "house" or domestic group itself, which of course had its own authority as well. And "domination," which we might define as the asymmetrically distributed "right" to expect a prestation of labor service when properly requested, was always couched in the language of reciprocity. At the uppermost level of the social hierarchy, of course, the mallku of the federation as a whole mediated requests for labor service made by the Inka, and later, by the encomendero and azoque (mine owner). But what was the return for such services?

To the mallku, the Inka and Spanish gave the right to sumptuary goods, preeminent social position as expressed in the order of seating arrangements, and affirmation of his general pre-eminence within his domain. But what was it for the members of an ayllu? It would be easy to argue that what the domestic group received in return for its labor prestation was a guarantee of limited autonomy, access to land and animals, and defense of its territory for incursion by "outside" groups. At least this is the received wisdom of what can be called the "social contract" theory of the state and political organization. But I would argue that these were (and are) not the terms in which Andeans think. Rather, the
return for them was (and is) the fulfillment of the conditions necessary for the maintenance of the cosmos as a whole, for the guarantee of continued fertility of the soil, the herds, and of women, and of the reproduction of the domestic group and ñulu in a certain form.

253. Capac Hucha and Incaic Sacrifices: Some Uses of Surplus Production

Great Inka administrative centers such as Pariá and Hatunqulla, through which armies of mit'a workers as well as great maize-laden llama-caravans passed and rested on their journeys to and from the fields of the Inka, were also places in which Inka regional administrators dwelled. Called camachic/camachicuc,75 "governor or overseer, or one who commands or rules" (González Holguín 1952 [1608]:47). As the investigations of Morris (1972), in the analogous Inka administrative center of Huanuco Pampa, have shown, the officials of such sites did not sit in their "elite" quarters dryly keeping records and giving commands, but appear to have presided over what, from the quantities of chicha storage jars found there, was a kind of Incaic beer hall. Morris concludes that administrative centers served a kind of hospitality function, feasting there, as reciprocal prestation, the laborers who worked for the Inka.

I think, however, that we must think of this drinking in more sacramental terms, and the rooms in which it was done more as cathedrals than beer halls, for drinking was (and is) a part of serious devotional practice, a corollary of dedicated libations. And libations were simply one part of a whole constellation of sacrificial rites that must have been directed in the administrative centers. This is not the place to catalogue the complex system of calendrical sacrifices which linked the provinces to the Inka capitol, in which cloth, camelids, and the makings of chicha (the three principal items of sacrifice) were

75The term is the Quechua form (spelled here in the 17th-century lexicographer's orthography) of what in Aymara is kamachiri (formed from the root kama, plus the causative -cha and the "agentifier" -iri), "one who causes to be ordered/obliged/accomplished," applied to figures of authority from the father in the household, to the "elder brother" of the hamlet, to the highest authorities of the ayllu. We will see in chapter 5 that it is the kamachiri who make sacrifices, as well as the sacrifices that make kamachiri.
brought into Cuzco and then systematically offered to a hierarchy of deities (such as wak'as, themselves "heads" of polities) radiating out into the periphery.

One such rite was the qapax jucha, not a calendrical rite per se but one performed at the accession to the throne of a new Inka. From each of the provinces of each of the four quarters (suyus) of the empire, every polity supplied a set of items for sacrifice, including carnelids, cloth, metals, and children. These were carried into Cuzco, where they were received by the Inka with great pomp and respect in the main plaza. In Cuzco, the children were dressed in finest cloth, and then sent back out, along straight lines from the center rather than on the roads, and great care was taken that every single sacred place received part of the sacrifice. The children were sacrificed to the wak'a of their own polity, in one of several possible forms, including removing the still-beating heart and anointing the face of the wak'a image with blood, "almost from ear to ear" (Molina 1959:132-141). In the provinces, in places like the federation of Killaka, the sacrifices were directed by a hierarchy of local ritual specialists devoted to the wak'as care.

In this periodic rite, the elevation in rank of an ethnic nobleman went hand-in-hand with the elevation of his group's chief wak'a. In the most detailed description of qapax jucha from the perspective of the provinces, Hernández Príncipe (1923:60-63), an "extirpator of idolatry," reported that the rise in status of wak'a and kuraka (as mallku are called in Quechua) was connected with the willingness of the kuraka to sacrifice his own daughter, after her consecration in Cuzco. She was dressed in Inca finery, and after her demise, became an intermediary, through spirit mediums, between her father's people and their own gods. The girl herself was then called qapax jucha, as were the [me woven pieces (gifts of the Inka) in which the elevated wak'a, girl, and kuraka were now dressed (ibid.:62-63). Thereafter, her cult, along with that of the local wak'as, was directed by a

76Compare this practice to the larita's role in the Sucullu vicuña sacrifice (described in chapter 3), and to the anointing of the sponsor's aids in K'ulta sacrifices (chapter 6).
2.5.4. Hierarchy Within and Among Ayllus

Here I would like to present, in relatively schematic form, two related arguments. The first is that the ayllu authority (and the asymmetrical relationship among ayllus) is (and was) conceived in terms of relationships within the domestic group. Specifically, authorities within the ayllu, I will argue, are thought of as kinds of “collective” elder-brothers, a fact that becomes significant only after examining the evidence—in a society in which all generation mates are called, owing to an egalitarian ideal, simply “brother”—of the stresses created by the disequal access to decision-making power and property. The second argument, which I will defer for a moment, is that the ritual role played by the kingdom mallkus can only be understood by focusing—through ethnographic data—on the cosmological coordinates expressed in the names of moieties, which become intelligible only by examining the interplay of moieties in ritual.

Within the ayllu as a whole, there are currently three yearly rotating authorities, produced through a system of four different fiesta careers which ensure that each patronymic group periodically holds each office. The highest among these officials is the jilaqata, also called cacique cobrador.77 Arbiter of disputes among the exogamous and territorially-bounded patronymic segments of the ayllu, he also collects the tributo territorial, the latter day descendant of the tasa. This system differs in some ways from that instituted by Toledo in his 16th century reforms, but is quite like the colonial system that surged to the fore to replace the faltering kingdom structure in the late 18th century. Nonetheless, it was apparently always ayllu-level leaders (though perhaps, initially, hereditary ones), who mediated between the mallku and the domestic group in pre-conquest days as well as during colonial times.

77There is one putatively higher local authority, called the corre-idor. See section 5.1 for details.
It is quite likely that authority at the ayllu level in Andean societies was effected through sacrifice, in the kind of ritual office which Hemandez Príncipe describes, as was the rule of mallkuslkurakas. Unfortunately, this kind of data is missing for the Killaka, and for not only the colonial period, but is extremely thin down to "ethnographic present" as well. We get not a glimmer of whatever ritual roles figures such as the colonial ayllu "principales" may have exercised, but in order to understand (at least one aspect of) the derivation of today's ayllu offices, I next turn to the available sources.

25.5. Principales, Mallkus, and Colonial Transformations

Toledo, however, had reduced both the status and the number of ayllu principales. Among the "Ordenanzas del Virrey Don Francisco de Toledo, para los indios de la provincia de Charcas ... « (Levillier 1929), is one ordinance, given during the visita general, which specified the elimination of "superfluous” offices(ibid.:343 [Ordenanza vú]). Toledo wrote that the intention was to unburden the common indians of the weight of maintaining so many greedy noblemen. Thus he allowed only one principal for each ayllu, and required all but caciques and their eldest sons (as principal heirs) to pay the tasa. But the authors of the "Memorial de Charcas" asserted that a larger number of principales was justified. In paragraph twenty-two of their document, the mallkus stressed the importance of these ayllu leaders:

78 This particular ordenanza was copied into a 1612 claim by a descendant of Tata Paria to a right to exemption from tasa payments. In this case, the descendant had been a minor, and under an uncle's tutelage, at the time of the visita general.

79Toledo's "Tasa" decreed that each ayllu should have no more than one authority, who was called the "cacique principal". Whether or not this was a hereditary position before the conquest, Toledo regarded it as such, and in return for the services the authority would render to his superiors, allotted each ayllu's Cacique Principal "dos anegas de papas a cada uno y una anega de quinua dando ellos la semilla y de comer a los yndios como esta dicho“ (AGNA Tasa, f126v).

Notwithstanding his effort to keep caciques from controlling the cabildo offices, he allowed exemptions from personal service for secondary sons of caciques who were also employed as cabildo or ayllu officials . . . undermining his own efforts.

80The "Memorial" request was also, of course, self-serving, in that many relatives of the lords would thus be spared tasa and mita.
That Your Majesty be served that the principales of the ayllus be four principales, and that they be reserved from tasa and given salaries and fields, because they are also lords of their ayllus, and in the time of the Inka and before them, they were free and if these should have tribute there is no way they would collect the tasa, and it is convenient that they be reserved from the tasa because without them not a thing could be done relating to the tasa, as well as for the Christian doctrine and also in order to present the required Indians at the Villa of Potosí and mining centers of Porco, Beringuela and Cochabamba, to which we are obliged to give Indians, and they [the principales] know the people of their ayllus.81

The ways such principales were essential in the hierarchy is readily apparent. ayllu jilaqatas (as they are often referred to colonial documents and are called today) were necessary not only for their role in collecting the tasa and conscripting laborers for the mines, but also for providing the moiety- and federation-level mallku with field laborers, shepherds, and personal servants.82

It may well be that our best chance to appreciate such forms lies in the evidence of their prohibition, demise, or transformation. Murra has recommended paying close attention to the nature of the formal requests that subjects seem to have required of their lords before performing their services (ibid.: 133). Such formal requests are today an ethnographic commonplace in the Andes, and there is other historical evidence of their form during the colonial period as well, such as that which Rasnake reports (1982). Though 1 have found no documentary evidence of either this initial step (which triggered a whole series of reciprocal prestations), nor indeed direct references to the mallku's part of the bargain (apart from the Toledan "Tasa's" insistence that caciques give their subjects the

81 The Spanish original is as follows:
Que Vuestra Majestad, sea servido que los principales de los ayllus sean cuatro principales, y sean resuervados de tasa y les den salarios y sementeras, porque ellos también son señores de sus ayllus y en el tiempo de los ingas y antes de ellos fueron libres y si éstos tales tuviesen tributo en ninguna manera juntarían la tasa, y conviene que sean reservados de tasa porque sin ellos no se podría hacer ninguna cosa así en lo tocante a la tasa como para la doctrina cristiana y también para acudir con todo el recaudo de indios a la Villa de Potosí y asiento de Porco y asiento de Beringuela y Cochabamba, a donde somos obligados a dar indios, y ellos conocen a la gente de sus ayllus. (Espinoza 1981: 17. Emphasis added)

82 As Murra (1968) has demonstrated, the colonial system greatly simplified the pre-conquest form of labor allocation, which had distinguished among services provided collectively by the ayllu, the periodic labor tax of mit'a, and the apparently permanent institution of yana retainership.
customary food and drink during the actual field labor), we may still construct a model of the system as it might have been, even if from fragmentary sources covering a wide area of the Andes. For we must still answer what I take to be two related questions: For what use was the production of "cornmunity" and mallku fields intended? And why the difficulties in garnering the labor necessary to work them?

As Murra has pointed out for the Lupaqa case, the mallkus had already found it increasingly difficult to keep their allotted fields planted. As of 1567, the federation-level lords were forced to rely on their personal yanapakuna retainers to plant fields that should have been planted by local mit'a laborers (1968: 137). At this early date the lords of kingdom-level moieties (the moieties of the seven towns of Lupaqa federation), do not yet seem to have encountered the difficulties felt by their superiors. But yet earlier evidence adduced by Rivera and Platt (1978), shows that these kingdom lords were also losing legitimacy. Already in 1550, the jilaqatas subordinate to Don Juan Taksitarki, cacique of urinsaya of Caquingora (a kingdom or town of Pacaxa) had refused to grant the lord access to the labor prestations which they, according to local tradition, had owed him (ibid.: 103-4). Though in this case the denial of obligation seems to have been connected with a presumptuous and excessive request (the cacique had asked to be carried in a litter--a privilege his office probably did not rate), the denial is nonetheless indicative of a breakdown in a system of reciprocal prestations.

I do not believe that more examples of the oppressive aspects of colonial surplus extraction are needed to conclude that a major cause of the mallku's loss of legitimacy was his role in administering the hated mining mita, in the collection of excessive tribute payments, and in the provision of labor for obrajes--all of which exceeded the limits of traditionally established obligation on the part of kingdom subjects. In spite of the recently advanced, and undoubtedly correct, hypothesis that the massive entry of mallkus into the merchant economy was largely for the purpose of offsetting the new burdens imposed by
the Spaniards,\textsuperscript{83} it would be difficult to argue that this was not a large part of the mallkus' problem. And yet, even before the Spanish conquest imposed new burdens, the obligations of subjects to their lords were considerable. I am inclined to agree with García-Diez's assertion that the coca, food, and drink given by the lords to their subjects during their labor seems to be inadequate compensation (MUITa 1968:135 [1975:220]). One must agree with Murra that "What the lord contributed in the Andes in this reciprocal relationship with 'his' peasants needs further clarification" (ibid.:136), and that such contributions included management, ritual, and hospitality functions (idem), undoubtedly carried out simultaneously in the 'total social fact'-like performances characteristic of royal ceremony.

From a variety of sources we know that high-level lords (and presumably, their subordinate jilaqatas as well) served important ritual functions requiring large amounts of vegetable food, chicha, and animals for both sacrifice and meat. But these ritual duties are just the sort of phenomena that we learn the least about in the documents--as a result of the fact that such rites were suppressed because of their "idolatrous" content. We learn little about such public ritual forms of reciprocity apart from the fact that they were prohibited. Matienzo alludes to such rituals in two places in his 

\textit{Gobierno del Pero}. In the first instance, indirectly, through his discussion of the customary seating order among the members of the hierarchy of federation or kingdom authorities. One must suppose that such ceremoniously ordered meetings took place in equally ceremonious contexts, such as part of the "costumbre de comer todos juntos en las plazas públicamente" (Matienzo 1967:53, [1567:II:XVI]). Matienzo recommended that such feasts be prohibited, except during religious fiestas and by the permission of the priest or town judge. As part of a rechanneling of ritual practices, complementing the replacement of the wakas (to which we may assume that rites performed by mallkus were previously addressed) by the images of

\textsuperscript{83}The mallkus were required, at any rate, to make up the balance of the subjects' tribute payments, but surely the need to maintain the goodwill of their subjects also outweighed to some degree their own financial interests, and led to the use of market profits for subsidizing their subjects' payments (see, for example, Platt 1978b; and Stem 1982).
Christianity, such public feasting was eventually to assume great importance as part of the legitimizing ritual prestations of indigenous authority. But the performance of such rites was not to be the duty and prerogative of the hereditary lords, but that of the new class of (lower-level) authorities who eventually replaced them!

No doubt the diminution of the highest-level mallkus' customary labor drafts, and eventually the complete undermining of the mallkus' authority, was in part due to the suppression of such forms of ritual validation of office. And this in spite of the fact that, as recent research has shown, the hereditary lords of kingdoms continued to try to carry out ritual duties—e1andestinely of course—as late as the latter part of the 17th century, and probably after that.84 We must remember that the lords of the kingdoms did manage to perdure—if ever more tenously—for some 250 years after the conquest. I will return momentarily to the question of why, after 250 years of defending their subjects from the colonizers, and (through clandestine ritual validation, openly practiced litigation on their subjects behalf, and through the subsidation of their subjects' debts via the profits of their commerce) defending their office from the wrath of the subjects, the colonial system of compromise should have come to an end.

In addressing this issue, we must try, however, to progressively disambiguate the symbolic dimensions of the several kinds of authority with which we are concerned. It seems likely that the ayllu jilaqata's and jiliri's rule, like that of the mallku, was validated through the performance of collective rituals. It is not likely, however, that these rituals were, during pre-conquest times, of the same order. But when we turn to modern ethnographic data, it is no longer possible to distinguish between them. First, of course, because the mallku have disappeared. But also because two distinct ways of conceptualizing hierarchy—in terms of the oppositions jiliri/su llk'iri and afas/manxa-oave—been condensed, today, into the cultural values invested in a single figure, the jilaqata, who has taken over the key ritual roles in today's reduccion-level inter-moiety rites.

84See, for example, the data of Millones (1978, 1979) and Spalding (1981).
Two factors conspire to force us to treat these two forms of authority at once: first, the scarcity of data on the pre-conquest forms; and second, the fact that both attributes and functions are collapsed into a single system in the post-mallku era. If the authority of the ayllu head was based on the hierarchy of birth order and inheritance, and that of the mallku on the relationship between encompassing sky and encompassed earth (internalized in the moieties of society), the present-day system projects both roles onto jilaqatas who are ayllu heads and moiety authorities at the same time. In a certain sense, of course, these figures are comparable. That is, just as the jiliri of a patronym segment of the ayllu mediates among its households while representing the patronym group to equivalent units within the ayllu, and the jilaqata mediates among patronym segments while representing the ayllu to other ayllus, moiety mallku must have mediated among the ayllus of their moieties, while representing the moiety in its relationship to external powers in two forms: as represented in the figure of the opposite moiety, and in other equivalent units such as other kingdoms, and as well in the cosmos at large.

2.5.6. *Two Models of Colonial Administration in Conflict*

As I have pointed out, during his visita general Toledo named caciques and segundas personas to posts at the level of repartimiento, which is to say at the kingdom level. At the same time his "Ordenanzas" required the election of authorities--collectively called the cabildo--at the level of the reduccion town, a system modelled on and named after the cabildo system of local administration in Castile.\(^85\) It is clear that the two systems would have been in competition. It seems that Toledo had established the cabildo system with the idea of liberating the common people from the "tyrannical" domination of their mallkus, and at the same time bring the people more directly under the control of the Spanish priest and other Spanish authorities. The tenor of the Ordenanzas shows clearly

\(^85\)While modelled on the Spanish system, the officials of the reduccion towns, of course, became part of the parallel administrative structure of the "Republica de Indios," and were thought of as something quite different from the formally similar cabildo organizations of the Spanish towns.
that the intent was to create an autonomous authority structure, outside of the control of the indigenous nobility. A glance through but the titles of the ordinances from the set "De la eleccion de Alcaldes, Rejidores y Oficiales de Cabildo" exemplifies this view:

Ordinance I--That on new year's day they gather for the election.
Ordinance II--Forms of election and votes.
Ordinance III--That the elected be received and sworn.
Ordinance IV--Naming of alguaciles and the other officials.
Ordinance V--That caciques and principales neither interfere in nor encumber the election.
Ordinance VI--That neither cacique nor second person be elected to alcaldes or Tejidor.
Ordinance VII--That both alcaldes shall neither be Indios principales nor their close relatives.
Ordinance VIII--That the election shall be of indians from diverse parcialidades and not from one single AllQ.
Ordinance IX--That unfaithful indians not be elected to the offices of the cabildo, nor to cacique.
Ordinance X--That they do not elect idolatrous indians or those punished as sorcerers, and if they were elected, that they be nullified.
Ordinance XI--Seating they must take in the church.
Ordinance XII--That the day after the election, that residencias shall be published against the previous year's alcaldes, rejidores and officials.
Ordinance XIII--That they not be re-elected the following year, nor for two years thereafter.
Ordinance XIV--That any causes of residencia that might be discovered, be determined within thirty days and the remainder remitted to the corregidor.
Ordinance XV--That those submitted to residencia be granted their appeal before the corregidor.
Ordinance XVI--That the alcaldes and alguaciles take no tax from the business which they oversee. (Levillier 1929, my translation)

Although one sees here an effort to separate the new system from the control of the hereditary lords, one also sees some capitulations to the necessity for the involvement of the lords in the government of the town. The seventh ordinance tells us, for example, that one of the alcaldes can be a principal or the relative of one. In all probability what we are seeing here is a compromise forced upon Toledo in order to assure the smooth operation of tribute collections, labor drafts, etc. In another ordinance (the seventh of "De los Caciques Principales y lo que deben guardar por razon de sus cargos") he had recognized that "some of the said mandones and principales [of the ayllu] are sons of the caciques and principales [of the kingdom] repartimiento." And these were exempted from
personal service, in contrast to the rest of the cacique's relatives (apart from his successor), who were obliged to do personal service. (AH were obligated to pay the tasa).

Other evidence that Toledo had vacillated between two competing forms of administration are the post-visita general appointments to cacique posts that seem clearly to have been late ideas, carried out at the urging of the mallkus. Toledo named one of Juan Colque Guarache's brothers to the post of cacique gobernador of the town of San Lucas when he was in La paz after the completion of the visita general, where he had apparently been tracked down by Colque Guarache for the purpose. Toledo or his successors also named caciques of parcialidades in the rest of the reduccion towns of the Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques, such as the case of Challapata, which was not a capital of kingdom mallku. Such actions increased the number of "noble" lineages and gave rise to un-ending lawsuits among them (and among their newly created jurisdictions) in later years, when documentation of a 16th century appointment was held (by some) to be proof positive of one's right to the privileges of a "natural lord" of the the land. It is also apparent that the presence of both new and old hereditary lords in each town could have threatened the hoped-for autonomy of the new rotative and "democratic" cabildos, especially when one considers that, in the first instance, the new caciques of reduccion towns, and a good part of the cabildo, would have been close relatives of the mallkus of the (still intact) kingdoms.

But the institutional conflict introduced by Toledo was to have important consequences, which in combination with the prohibition of the old rituals through which the mallkus had been legitimated, assured the demise of the kingdom structures. By the same token, however, the new system that emerged in the reduccion towns was in some respects closer to the pre-colombian forms than to the Castillian.

In the first place, the towns were, like the kingdoms in which they were founded, divided into moieties, given hereditary lords, and became something similar to what the pre-conquest Andean population centers had been. That is, they became symbolic centers of political unity in which were carried out the public rituals through which the
"common" people recognized their authorities; which is to say, the towns became part of social domination.

Already in the 17th century the conflict implicit in the creation of two systems of authority began to generate explicit conflicts, in which the multiple reducciones of a single kingdom-cum-repartimiento with their multiplicity of new noble lineages fought among themselves over rights to land and labor, and rule. We could say that the period between the mid-17th century and the end of the colonial period constituted an intermediary stage between the pre-colombian and present-day social forms, during which the great federation and kingdom mallku progressively lost their power and legitimacy, and the expanded "nouveau riche" reduccion nobility, with control over the semi-"democratic" cabildo authorities gained in power and legitimacy. At the same time, the second century of the colony saw an expansion in the number of towns, in which small settlements--that is, those "beyond the pale," scattered settlements which the Toledan reduccion policy failed in abolishing--were recognized and given the status of "anexos," later to be converted into new towns and parishes.

Such was the case of the town of Santa Barbara de Culta. It was established (or recognized) during the 17th century as an annex of the Pueblo de Condo Condo (since it was within Asanaqi territory). We lack precise data on the exact date and circumstances of its founding, or whether, as an annex, it would have had its own cabildo authorities. But it was also an ecclesiastical annex of the doctrina and curato of Condo Condo, and as such we can suppose that some small system of sponsored fiestas (which were, after all, part of Christian indoctrination and mandated by church hierarchy) would also have been established.

We know that in that era the fiesta system in Condo Condo was already extensive and costly. Later data suggest that it was the cacique governador who named ritual sponsors (to ritual posts such as alferez, mayordomo, etc.), just as it was the cacique who appointed rotating personal servants for the priest and indoctrination duties (such as the
sacristans, cantors, etc.). When and how the cacique governador's hegemony over the rotative institutions of cabildo and fiesta sponsorship gave way to a mixed or unified system outside of any hereditary lord's control remains open to discussion. But not the fact that a unified order did emerge in the reduccion. By the end of the colonial period, when the great mallku completely disappeared, and even hereditary caciques of reduccion towns had been abolished, a system much like the present one emerged in which jilaqatas (who are, in their ayllus, also sometimes called caciques cobradores) are "elected" through the sponsorship of fiestas in a complex system of ritual careers. These jilaqatas continue to carry out the roles of their noble predecessors of collecting tribute and mediating between their political unit and the dominant state.

The object of the following chapters is to explore the question of how a small and late-established town such as Culta became a microcosm of the pre-colombian kingdom and at the same time a repository, though its institutional and ritual formations, of the whole of colonial history.

2.6. Asymmetrical Reciprocity and Social Hierarchy from Ayllu to Moiety: Some Hypotheses

2.6.1. Mallku And Moiety

I would like to raise, if only to put aside, the image drawn by Capoche (1959 [1585]), and reinforced by Espinoza (1981:234) of the 1585 Killaka lord and mita captain, Juan Collqui ("el mozo"). His residence fixed in Potosí and La Plata, Capoche has him strutting about town in all the trappings of a Spanish gentleman. He was also, of course, thoroughly identified with the mita of Potosi, that most hated of colonial institutions. I am not sure why this should appall us more than the image of his predecessor, Juan Guarache, dressed in Inka finery and dwelling in Cuzco. The image, however, may serve as an index of the duplex role served by the authority at every level of the indigenous polity. If the group comes into being through its representative, that representative—in a stratified society—forms the boundary as well as the mediating link between the group and the
dominating outside. And this is equally true of the father within the domestic group, the jiliri within the patrilocal hamlet, the jilaqata within an ayllu, or the mallku of the kingdom or federation. Each of these authorities acts as a mediator, insulating his reference group from the demands and dangers of the outside, while at the same time serving as the local representative of the next most inclusive, dominating power.

The federation mallku could not rule kingdoms other than his own except via those kingdoms' upper-moiety mallku, and the anansaya moiety mallku of a kingdom could not rule the people of the urinsaya moiety except through its mallku. In this way, in Matienzo's formulation, the mallku of a kingdom's upper moiety governed the lower moiety "in general" but did not rule "in particular." That is, the anansaya (or alaxsaya, in today's Aymara) mallku collected his "tribute" only through the urinsaya (or manxa-saya) mallku, who had previously collected it, as the "Memorial de Charcas" attests, from his ayllu jilaqatas. But this description glosses over some further complexities, which we must raise here, even if we cannot now resolve them.

A full accounting of the nature of hierarchy in Andean social structures would have to work out the relationship among the forms of reciprocity and hierarchy, and differing symbolic attributes associated therewith, at each of a number of different social-structural levels. One would have to begin with the nature of hierarchy within the ayllu, proceed to inter-ayllu ranking within a moiety, to the simultaneously symmetrical and asymmetrical relationship between the moieties of a kingdom, to the nature of hierarchy among the kingdoms of a federation, and finally, to the question of the insertion of a

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86 One thinks here of Evans-Pritchard's statement about the Shilluk king: "The king of the Shilluk reigns but does not govern." ("The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan." [1948 Frazer Lecture]). As Evans-Pritchard notes in Man (N.S., VI, no.1: 117-18 [May 1971]), he took the phrase from Comte, who had referred to the situation of the king in a parliamentary system. It is possible that Matienzo's phraseology also derives from political philosophy, though undoubtedly not from any description of the absolutist monarchy of Castille. I thank Mark Auslander for pointing out the Evans-Pritchard references to me.
federation within yet more inclusive structures of domination. I will begin with the problem of hierarchy within and among ayllus.

2.6.2. Intra- and Inter-Ayllu Hierarchy

First, we must note that not all ayllus, in the pre-conquest state of affairs, were alike. Within a moiety, ayllus formed a hierarchy—expressed in minimal form in early colonial padrones through the order in which they are recorded. In this system the "principales" or jilaqatas of the leading ayllu (such as ayllu Quillana within the Asanaqi Kingdom's anansaya moiety) was also, it appears, the mallku of the moiety.87 And if the principalazgos at the ayllu level were hereditary posts, we must also assume some kind of formalized stratification even within the ayllu, above and beyond the asymmetric (but reversible) hierarchy such as that established today through the wife-giver/wife-taker relation among an ayllu's constituent patronymic exogamous units. Presumably, as I have hinted, the ayllus making up a moiety were ordered into a consistent hierarchy. Nonetheless, the most consistent index of hierarchy in the revisita padrones is the superordinate position of the ayllu from which sprang moiety heads, particularly of the anansaya moiety. It appears that the leading ayllu of a moiety formed a kind of nobility—almost a caste-like group—differentiated from the rest of the moiety's ayllus. Consider, for example, the name of the paramount ayllu of the Killaka kingdom (and federation). It was called Mallco-oça, a term which Juan Colque glossed as "generación de señores." Clearly the members of this grouping were differentiated from those of Killaka's other ayllus by more than just contrasting ayllu names.

87That individuals could hold simultaneous posts at more than one level of social structure has been argued by Murra (1968) and Rasnake (1982). But while, in the kingdom structure, the head of the "noble" ayllu of the upper moiety may have occupied the roles of ayllu jilaqata, moiety lord, and kingdom lord, simply by virtue of the hierarchy among social units, the jilaqatas of today's reduccion-based "ethnic" groups become moiety or "ethnic group" heads by virtue of a fixed system of rotation of the highest ranking posts among ayllus and between moieties.
One is tempted here towards speculation on the possibility that marriage ties differed in meaning according to the social status of the parties to the marriage. If commoner ayllu marriages were among an ayllu's exogamous, patri-descent reckoned segments, were noble-ayllu marriages endogamous within a single patri-descent grouping (as the Inka brother-sister marriage pattern might suggest)? Or, indeed, as a series of noble-ayllu exogamous marriages in the 17th-18th centuries, and the Inka practice of the marriage of secondary Inka sisters to kingdom nobles suggest, did all the noble ayllus of a whole region constitute an endogamous elite, who may have structured relations among allied kingdoms and federations on the basis of the hierarchy of the marriage alliance tie? Without positive proof for either form (nor, for that matter, for pre-conquest commoner marriage forms), we are unable to draw any firm conclusions on the issue.

2.63. Sibling Hierarchy Among Ayllus

Given that the leading ayllu of each moiety was categorically different from the rest, how were the latter ranked? Here I can only refer to the data of ethnographic field work. Though also grouped into moieties, K'ulta's five ayllus form a single conceptual hierarchy, which for our own purposes we might arrange numerically: 1. Qullana, 2. Ala-Kawalli, 3. Manxa-Kawalli, 4. Yanaqí, 5. llawi. The problem for us is that K'ultenos do not express this relationship in terms of a continuous order such as this, but only in the terms of a repeated two-place hierarchy. That is, to Ala-Kawalli, Qullana is said to be elder brother (jileri), while to Qullana, Ala-Kawalli is younger brother (sullk'iri). The same holds, however, for the relationship between Qullana and, for example, Yanaqi. But the

Marriages between nobles of the leading ayllu of kingdoms within the Killaka Federation appear with some frequency in 18th century documents. See, for example, evidence for the marriage of Gregorio Feliz Llanquipacha (governador of Condo Condo) and Maria Lupercia Collque Guarache (daughter of the governador of Quillacas) in ANB EC 1775, No. 165, "Autos seguidos por Luis Guarcaya, Santos Gonzales, y otros ... sobre el Casicasgo de Condo Condo," t71 v. The geneologies provided by litigants in court battles for the right to assume hereditary posts -especially common proceedings in the 18th century—are rife with such evidence. But I have found no evidence that dates earlier than the 17th century.
rank of any ayllu apart from the first and the last is contextually relative: Ala-Kawalli is elder brother to Manxa-Kawalli. There is a term for the intermediate position which is simultaneously jiliri and sullk’iri; it is the *taypiri* (one in the middle). In speech the term is used by ego to refer, for example, to his sullk’iri when speaking to a yet younger brother for whom the middle brother would be jiliri. Interestingly, a parallel example of the use of the term *taypiri* is in reference to the "one in the middle" in seating arrangements figured in another two-place hierarchical system, that using the terms *klull* ("right") and *MJa* ("left"), as in the ranking system of mallku in public ritual situations.89

Clearly then, the ranking of ayllus is (and was?) performed in an idiom derived from what is, as we shall see in the next Chapter, a central and divisive cleavage in the nature of the domestic group, birth order among siblings, who are contrasted not only by age but by the their differing rights to leadership roles, fiesta-cargo offices, and property. Is it possible that relations among the kingdoms of a federation might also have been figured in such a way?

But when we tum to the symbolic markers of moieties, we find another system, alaxlmanxa, applied elsewhere only in distinguishing spatial zones. Today, in the context of the saints’ fiestas in the reduccion towns of the former Asanaqi Kingdom, aspirants to the office of jilaqata must perform rites which conjoin both the two cosmic planes and the two moieties. Such rites, of course, take place in the symbolic center of the community, at a place conceptually midway between the moieties and midway between alax-pacha and manxa-pacha. Unlike the case of siblings and seating order, however, there is no person or social group who lies midway between the two poles of the opposition (or who is both poles at the same time). There is only a moment, defined through ritual, which constitutes both social (moiety) and cosmic realms as at one and the same time differentiated and part of a single totality.

89 *Taypiri* is also a hamlet in K’u’ltu territory. It is occupied by members of Ayllu Ala-Kawalli, but is one of the "mini-archipelago" outliers near the Cachimayo river, surrounded by the territory of Ayllu Ilawi, and thus "in the midst" of potential enemies.
In the following chapters I will develop this perspective on the rites of authority while I suggest how such forms are related to Andean social dualism as much as to a propensity to conceptualize authority and social hierarchy in terms deriving from herding and siblingship.

2.6.4. Conclusions to Chapter Two

Up to this point I have treated Killaka polities primarily at the ayllu and supra-ayllu level. It is now time to return to the realm of ethnography to describe the structures and practices specific to the infra-ayllu domain of social life. We have seen that hierarchy and authority at the level of whole polities seem to be conceptualized in terms which we might refer to the semantic domains of subsistence production and family structure—or is it vice versa?

Notwithstanding our present lack of detailed references to the redistributive rites of legitimation of either the hereditary lords of the Aymara kingdoms or of the true nature of the ayllu and sub-ayllu authorities of precolombian times, we have seen that the constitution of authorities and the groups which came into being with them seems to have been through ritual. Such ritual apparently harmonized symbolic statements of the mallkus' role as, first, predatory (they are condors) herders of men (who also controlled large herds and hence large surpluses of both ordinary foodstuffs and elite goods from distant, feminine productive zones), and secondly, their role as intermediaries between their polities and outside powers, both human and "natural" "supernatural". Such authorities held great "redistributive" feasts, often in the very context of receiving the labor prestations of their subjects. They made great sacrifices of llamas, cloth, and drink, and in the context of Inca imperial rites such as the qapax jucha, sacrificed their subjects as well. In the Inca context such rites may have subordinated local mountain deities (as kinds of "ancestors") to the Inca celestial gods, just as they subordinated the local mallku to the Inka. They also, however, made the mallkus into local Inkas, and underscored the essential foreigness of these stranger kings, as well as of the powers of above and below that they commanded.
CHAPTER III

SYMBOLIC ACTIVITIES, PRACTICAL STRUCTURES:
SPACE-TIME FROM UTA TO AYLLU

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the transformation of what we might call the macro level of social relations: the hierarchical structures of social units on the grand scale of ethnic groups, kingdoms, federations, and empires. While I have examined the nature of rule and rite in Killaka and its constituent kingdoms, and even in the new polities reconstituted within the framework of imposed colonial institutions, the ethnohistorical sources are relatively unhelpful when it comes to humbler levels of social organization. While census records may list ayllus and their members, and give the names of their jilaqatas or principales, they remain silent about the nature of the scattered harnlets (which were not supposed to exist), as well as about the organization of the household or domestic group, matters of kinship and marriage, ideas about productive activities, etc.

Into this breach I offer the data of ethnography. But mindful that history is not only a matter of kings and their councillors, but of the kitchen and bedroom as well, I caution against reading this ethnographic testimony back into the precolombian past. At more than one point I will place the most clearly transformed structures into relief, but I leave the task of reconstructing earlier forms (which is not likely to reward us with significant results at this stage) to another time.

We have seen that the rule of lords of Ayrnara kingdoms such as Asanaqi (who themselves constituted the highest ranking ayllus of their kingdoms) was always mediated by the principales or jilaqatas of the kingdom's ayllus. Although just what these ayllu
offices entailed in the precolombian period is still very much open to question, I have argued that in the reconstituted social order of colonial towns, such offices (as parts of fiesta-cargo systems) rotated both within and among the ayllus of the reconstructed polity.

For the precolombian lords as for the post-conquest ayllu heads, authority was conceptualized through categories of gender, generation, and birth order, along with notions of hierarchy in the animal world and the human control over “natural” forms. Major social categories, such as provinces and moieties, were also thought through such categories, already refracted through their appearances in the astro-physical cosmos. One cannot justifiably claim that such categories have been appropriated for social purposes from presumed loci of primary reference (that is, as projections from the concrete to the abstract), but we must recognize that much of the meaning achieved by such terms in cosmos, moiety and mallku derives from the infra-ayllu realm of domestic organization, subsistence practice, and marriage alliance.

In the arenas of day-to-day social practice, of course, social categories are informed by what we might call “bundles” of extra-semantic meaning; a term such as iil.aN (“brother”) is inextricably tied to a whole range of acts (entering into systems of reciprocal action) which index it as a social relation, as well as to a semantic domain including other “kin” and “non-kin” terms. Social categories are also embodied in concrete individuals, and both category and indexical act imbued with sentiment. Astro-physical bodies and the spatial/temporal processes of cosmic scale are also concrete as well as social relations, and are multiply indexed by bundles of stereotypic action as well as invested with sentiment. As “typical” social beings and processes of a tremendously regular and predictable sort, the sun and moon, mountain and plain, day, season, and year, themselves inflect and inform the much more ephemerally embodied (since individuals have the habit of changing from

Incaic provinces below the level of the quarters of the empire were designated wamanias (Talcons’), while moieties were labeled annansaya and urinsaya, paralleling the divisions of the cosmos. Bertonio gives maycoña as the “señorío” or domain of a maycoe (mallku) (1984 [1612]; Bk. 2:220).
children into adults into ancestors) "tokens" in the meaning system of human social relations.

As such "moral types" (see Valeri 1985), cosmic social beings, or gods, are given priority in the understanding of human social categories. The human category is given meaning in reference to its "supernatural" analog, and the latter becomes a kind of first cause, a ground for the determination of all later meanings. Likewise the bundles of indexical acts by which individuals constitute themselves as human categories are viewed as iconic repetitions or tokens of the original (and calendrically repeated), world constituting and "typical" acts of the gods.

But the gods and their social (cosmic) processes are not "types" only for the "tokens" of individual social categories and interpersonal relations, but also groups and historical processes of domination and colonization. Just as the calendrical rites commemorating (and repeating) acts of cosmogeny become appropriate moments for individuals' rites of passage, in which people may appropriate powers ascribed to the gods, such rites are also the moments in which inter-group relations are (re)established and (re)ordered, as we saw in the example of the qapaxjucha and other imperial rites of subordination.

The least ephemeral of social events are processes rather than categories (and all categories, though as concretes they may be ephemeral, are embedded in processes). From conception and growth to death and decay, from the increase of the flock and household to their dispersal, from the imposition of domination to resistance to it, all such processes also have their "cosmic" types, and it is here that the ultimate sources of control over such processes is accorded. That is, social processes are from the participants point of view dependant upon the extra-social domain, from which essential powers must be regularly re-appropriated. This is true at many levels of social practice, including those in which the meaning is far from overt and conscious (such as the everyday acts of grinding corn, spinning thread, eating, defecating). In part this is so because a multitude of arenas of
social action are constituted as microcosms ordered through iconic relationship to structures and processes of the grand scale. So here I will treat the categories of person and the processes of social life as these appear in meaning producing contexts. Such contexts are never so explicitly ordered as in ritual, and it is through analysis of the constitution of social space as "sacred" ritual space that my treatment of iconic analogizing of the space of practice with that of cosmic process will be carried out.

The rest of the chapter moves from the everyday realm of productive activity, then to the intra-domestic sphere and the developmental cycle of domestic group, to matters of patriline and affinity, to a treatment of "socialized" cosmic space-time, to the explicit ordering of contexts in libation performance, and finally to schemes harmonizing social and cosmic processes in the calendar.

I will begin with a preliminary sketch of the ayllu and its constituents, as a framework which the remaining discussion may enable us to transcend.

3.2. Controversy and Confusion in Andean Kinship

3.2.1. The Nature of Ayllu

Ever since the publication of the A.A.A. volume on Andean Kinship and Marria&ce (Bolton and Mayer 1977), a landmark publication for Andean kinship studies, anthropologists of the Andes have taken care to avoid the imposition of the categories of descent theory to account for the organization of Andean social units such as ayllu and moiety, though the neat hierarchical ordering of such units in Andean ethnic groups seems often to resemble the formal diagrammatic representations of the African "segmentary lineage model."2

By and large, critiques of earlier formulations (such as Vasquez and Holmberg [1966], which claimed the existence of corporate, unilineal descent groups in the Andes) manifest the by-now expected effort to distinguish "authentic" Andean practices and

2Platt (1978a) applies the model, and its principles of fission and fusion, to the Bolivian Macha.
structures from Hispanie ones, though such formulations take two different forms. On the one hand, critics claim that unilineal descent as a recruitment criterion exists, but only as a Spanish distortion of an original parallel descent system (Belote and Belote 1977), brought about through the alienation of women’s rights to land and rule. On the other hand, the very notion of descent is held to be a Spanish imposition, and the authentic form regarded as a kind of bilateral reckoning of kindreds, in which recruitment to units such as ayllu is via a combination of residence and participation in a system of reciprocal labor prestations within a particular unit (see Isbell 1977, Guillet 1977, Lambert 1977). It may be argued that the very attempt to “disambiguate” the indigenous from the “imposed” cultural orders has been as unhelpful in kinship studies as it has been in studies of the ritual sphere, and has served merely to obscure or even preclude any effort to understand a total order as currently lived.

Another complicating factor has been a continuing failure to take both regional differences and problems of scale into account. Ayllu in a society with a total of around 350 members, such as in Q’ero (Webster 1977) or Sonqo (Wagner 1978), cannot be fruitfully compared to ayllu in a community of 1,100 such as the Chuschi case (Isbell 1977), or of 10,000, as in the Macha case (platt 1978), without specifying its place in a whole hierarchy of units, and comparing the social orders as wholes. To date, such comparisons have not been done. It is likely that when they are, we will find that bilateral inheritance and absence of descent criteria in the constitution of modern polities will be associated with regions in which agricultural production is more important than pastoral production, or where populations are particularly small. It is certain, at least, that a land-tenure pattern of minute, widely dispersed parcels is incompatible with a pastoral mode of production (obvious to anyone who has watched the farmers and ranchers square off in Hollywood Westerns), and therefore, so is any pattern of inheritance that might lead to parcelization.
In part due to distortions of the data created through interested theoretical aims (such as debunking the received wisdom of the centrality of descent), in part due to a lack of care in comparative studies, ayllu has become an extremely fuzzy category. It is often regarded as an Andean universal, but a reading of the literature will not clarify just what it is. In a single society it may refer to a number of social units at distinct levels of the social order.

In attempting to provide a definition adequate for all uses of the term in Chuschi (regardless of recruitment criteria of the "group" concerned, degree of "corporateness," presence or absence of a link to land tenure, etc.), Isbell (1977) proposed that ayllu is "a general term which denotes relative." In a statement that has entered the Andean anthropologist's repertoire of handy quotations, one of Isbell's informants concluded that ayllu refers, in fact, to "any group with a head" (ibid.:91). Webster, on the other hand, claims that

The only true corporate groups in Q'ero social organization are the domestic group and the community itself, comprising about 52 domestic groups .... The term r01ill, sometimes used, is applied more appropriately to the entire community or to its constituent hamlets rather than to kin groups, which are dispersed among these localities. The kin group holds no lien on the property of its constituent domestic groups, having no right prior to any other community members in the event that this property is deserted or without heirs. (1977:29)

In a review of the Andean literature claiming the existence of unilineal descent groups (such as Vasquez and Holmberg [1966], and Stein [1961], who claims that a bilateral kindred is superimposed upon the basic patrilineage), Webster concludes with the contention that

Most of the data given in these cases to support the usual contention of "patrilineal descent" might be sufficiently explained in terms of patronyms, patrilocal residence, and salient male roles. Tsehopik's [1946] and LaBarre's [1948] reported data are even thinner in support of their interpretations. (Ibid.; note 2:42)
3.2.2.1. Ayllu and Bilaterality.

With regard to what has become the received wisdom of the past decade's Andean kinship studies, the K'ulta case is problematic. While neither wishing to appear reactionary and sexist, nor claiming to lend support to what may indeed have been biased analyses of thin data, I must report that the case of K'ulta presents challenges to the models developed in the *Andean Kinship and Marriage* volume.

First of all, in K'ulta the term *aJllli* is not used to refer to a "kin group" (such as kindred), but is unambiguously applied at two distinct levels of the social order, both of which might be termed "corporate" groups. The "ethnic group" as a whole (also a canton) is Ayllu K'ulta. When one, as a potentially dangerous stranger, asks a person in this locale to what ayllu he or she belongs, the K'ulteño is likely to reply with the most generalized unit, that of greatest inclusion and least specificity, "Ayllu K'ulta." But Ayllu K'ulta, roughly equivalent to "Cantón Culta," is composed of aylus in the plural, and when a K'ulteño speaks of "my ayllu" to another K'ulteño, it is to this lower structural level that he most often refers.

In the previous chapter I described how K'ulta's five aylus came to be cut from their original kingdom matrix. Today these aylus are corporate land-holding units: ayllu may thus be defined as a social group (with an average population of about 800 individuals) and its corresponding territory (say, one fifth of the total area of 1,000 square kilometers, or 200 sq.kl), part of it pasture land held in common by ayllu members. One cannot, however, understand ayllu (or recruitment to it) without turning to its constituent units.

3This is a very rough estimate of territory, computed as if the area were a flat surface, which it is anything but.
3.2.2.2. Lineages, Hamlets, and Kindreds

It is here, concerning the issue of infra-ayllu units, that I was confronted with social forms for which published analyses had not prepared me. Within the territory of each ayllu, the population lives dispersed in an average of about 22 small hamlets. Given published reports, I expected these hamlets to be mere residential units, in which households with only partially overlapping kindreds held lands (inherited by both men and women) scattered in small parcels across the territory of the ayllu as a whole. The reality turned out to be quite different. In K'ult'a, the combination of a strong “agnatic” ideology with a prohibition on inheritance of land by women and a consequent near-universal adherence to a patri-virilocal post-marital residence preference has produced what have been presumed not to exist in the Andes: corporate, land-holding patrilineages, corresponding roughly with the hamlets themselves.

In the strict sense of the term, "patrilineage" may be inappropriate to describe the K'ult'a case, since it is relatively rare for a focal ancestor to be remembered by the group I would label with the term. Most hamlets, however, are occupied by men who share a single patronym, and regard themselves to be descended from a common ancestor, remembered or not. The association between patriline and hamlet is, however, only approximate. There are some patrilines with large populations and territories which occupy more than one hamlet (such as the Mamanis, with five small hamlets), and others which occupy only one part (or neighborhood) of a multi-patriline hamlet, though both neighborhood and patriline territories remain distinct and bounded (such as the Vazquez and Puma lines in Sikuyu hamlet, and the Yucras and Ocas in Vintu hamlet) (see map 3).

Like the ayllu, the patriline is a land holding unit. Rights of use to particular agricultural plots and to certain small fenced pastures are apportioned among its members (men who have reached majority), while other pasturelands remain collective holdings.

While I have used actual ayllu names in this dissertation, hamlet names and patronymics have been changed in accordance with consultants’ desires to remain anonymous.
open for the use of all patriline members. Both patriline and ayllu emerge as solidary collectivities in defense of land against incursions by "others." Just as in the Nuer case as described by Evans-Pritchard, patriline fights patriline (even within the same ayllu), but a fight over land between patriline s of different ayllus leads to an inter-ayllu land war.

3.2.2.3. Patrilineal Patronym Exogamy and Marriage Practices

The strongly enforced rule of patronym exogamy, along with the equally strictly enforced exclusion of women from heritable rights to land, means that a man must seek his spouse from another patriline, and a woman, who begins to lose use rights in her own patriline when she moves into her husband's hamlet, gains access to land through her husband and children. Notwithstanding the lack of any formal marriage prescriptions, the majority of marriages are between patriline s of the same ayllu, a type of marriage for which there is a decided preference. A careful census of the populations of most of the hamlets of ayllu Manxa Kawalli (via interviews, visits, and civil registry records), revealed that sixty-three percent of marriages were endogamous to the ayllu, while about ninety percent of marriages were endogamous to Ayllu K'ulta as a whole.

Women in fact have a right of usufruct of a portion of their fathers' lands (though they have no rights to land through their mother), but this right does not extend to their children or beyond their father's death, unless the children are formally adopted into the patriline (and given the patronym)—a rare but possible occurrence. Use rights to certain lands are also extended to DH in exchange for the brid e-service expected of a illila (DH or ZH), and temporary residence rights are also sometimes granted in the absence of actual son. But rights such as these have not been extended to the kullqa's children for the past three generations, at least. Two kullqas reside uxorilocally in one Mamani hamlet, but I have been present in gatherings of land-short Mamani men while they have planned the ejection of these interlopers (who have been prevented from paying tasa on the land) upon the death of their wives' father, the individual on whom their use rights depend. When he dies, say the Mamani, they will "say goodbye to these kullqas with stones." Matters such as this illustrate well the concept of "reversionary rights."

Based on marriages of 187 men of twelve of the patriline s of ayllu Manxa Kawalli for which I was able to obtain genealogies, 63 percent (or 119 cases) of all marriages were ayllu-endogamous, while 169 marriages, or about ninety percent, were endogamous to Ayllu K'ulta. Data for out-marrying women is considerably harder to ascertain, since these drop out of reckoning after but a few generations.
Marriage ties create not only affines for each spouse, but a kind of affinal alliance between their patrilines of origin as well. Such alliances are not, however, among equals. Wife takers (*tullqas*) enter into a life-long subservient status in their relationship with their wife givers (*Qaritas*), and the asymmetry is extended to the group-group relationship as well. The most favored type of marriage arrangement is (classificatory) sister exchange, though such exchanges must be carried out in different years so that at any one time the asymmetry of the inter-hamlet and inter-affine relationship is maintained. Over the short term, multiple exchanges between two patrilines create strong ties which may be expressed formally through the institution of inter-patriline alternation in hamlet-level fiesta sponsorship, or even lead to efforts at collective land-grabbing from other patrilines lacking such strong allies.

But other constraints on marriage intervene to prevent the emergence of a closed, two group "circulating connubium." Patronym exogamy extends to include the patronyms of bride's and groom's grandparental generation. A shorthand form employed for working out these prohibited degrees is to simply list all grandparents' full names, which in the Spanish system employed in K'ulte include both patronym and matronym. The result is a set of eight patronyms and patrilines in which marriage is prohibited, for each prospective spouse. Thus within a generation or so after a series of marriage alliances between two patrilines, re-alliance becomes impossible for an extended period.

The patronym exclusion rule, clearly stated to me by a number of collaborators, would obviously create problems if adhered to strictly. Aylu Manxa Kawailli has but fourteen patronyms, and a rigidly applied prohibition of marriage if there is a shared patronym among the eight names listed by each prospective spouse, would make marriage an impossibility if aylu endogamy were complete. One would need an absolute minimum of sixteen patrilines for the stated system to be functional.

In the Manxa Kawailli case, two patronyms are regarded as being divided into distinct, non-related patrilines. While there are Pumas in both Sikuyu and Challuta hamlets,
the Puma line of Sikuyu is regarded as derived from a foreigner who married a local and settled uxorilocally. Likewise, the Vazquez line of Sikuyu is divided in two parts, one of which is considered an interloper.

Other patrilines are also designated “outsiders.” In fact, within ayllu Manxa Kawalli, seven of the sixteen currently existing patrilines are recognized as of some non-legitimate origin. Until the early 1970’s, these lines were placed in the tax category of agregados (“added”) as opposed to originarios (“originals”). Six of the seven are categorized as tullqas, that is, their origin is in an initial uxorilocal residence, permitted to continue by their host groups. One of the agregado groups, sometimes also referred to as tullqas, are actually derived from land rights given to an illegitimate son of the host group. All of these cases date back to at least the FFF generation of living adult men. Stories of how such arrangements came to be permitted are well known in the area, and some, like the account I heard of the origin of the Carata line of Paxsi Kayu, claiming that land was given to their tullqa ancestor in exchange for serving in the Mita of Potosí in place of his WF (an Anco of Chipana hamlet), point to yet more remote origins than are actually remembered.

The Mita of Potosí was abolished at independence from Spain in the 1820’s.

As Platt (1982a) and Godoy (1982) have shown for the neighboring provinces, rights to land continue to be couched in terms of the last officially completed revisita of the late 19th century. As recognition of land rights is a crucial aspect of recruitment to both patriline and ayllu, some discussion of such rights is required here. Tullqa groups, like the “original” patrilines of the ayllu, reaffirm these rites in the yearly payment of the tasa. Patriline lands are divided into segments corresponding to the holdings of tasa payers in the 19th century, and many lines pay the tasa in the name of extinct patrilines. Problems arising from changing microregional demographics have been solved by doubling up on tasa payments (one individual paying more than one “original” tasa), or by dividing tasas.

7A copy of the locally produced padron for this revisita is reputed to be jealously guarded by the rotative ayllu heads. I was not able to see the document.
into half or quarter shares. In any case, payment in twice yearly ceremonies (one of which, occurring during the fiesta of Guadalupe, is described in section 4.3.1.4.) constitutes public acknowledgment of one's right not only to use lands, but to cede them to one's children. Consequently, first tasa payment has become a rite of passage into full adulthood, carried out after the completion of a new household and finalizing receipt of inheritance. As we shall see, it is also an initial step on the path towards patriline and ayllu office.

The admission of new patrilines within the territory does not necessarily solve the problem by providing a larger number of patrilines as possible marriage alliance partners. First, because the presumption of an initial affinal tie, leading to settlement as tullqas or in-residing "wife takers," prevents further marriages between the interloper line and the "host" patriline, regardless of the fact that all known cases of this type of residence date back a minimum of four generations in the past! Secondly, the rule of patronymy exogamy is firmly applied, in the Kawalli ayllus, at the level of zero generation patronymics, regardless of any lack of consanguinity (or "consemenity") between like-named lines. Thus when a Sikuyu Puma ran off to Potosí with a Challuta Puma girl, married, and returned to Sikuyu, disapproval was so great that they were ejected from the ayllu, despite everyone's interest in "legitimating" their seven year old daughter and the couple's attempt to validate their status by sponsoring a hamlet-level fiesta.

So how is such a high degree of ayllu-endogamy possible in an ayllu such as Manxa Kawalli, in which, in the best of all possible circumstances there are barely enough patrilines to meet the requirements of the patronym exclusion rule? One method employed is the familiar one of genealogical amnesia. Though one certainly cannot forget one's own sumames in such an effort, grandparental matronymics often go by the board, especially if grandparents are dead.

The increase is, however, in part only apparent, as some of the "tullqa" groups have simply replaced extinguished patrilines, the lack of male heirs (and labor input) in the host group providing the original motivation for permitting the tullqas residence.
Memory of the great-grandparental generation, and even of the grandparental generation is often sketchy, since the patrilines involved at this level are not part of any ongoing system of reciprocal prestations. But ongoing ritual obligations are a complicating factor in such selective amnesia, in certain cases. A man owes ritual labor to his wife's brother, to whom he plays a subordinate role, and the debt (and role) is inherited by his son as well. Thus forgetting the patronym of one's mother (in the patrilineal hamlet of whom one is frequently required to work) is a difficult task. The mother's matronym may be more forgettable, since one has no necessary enacted relationship with MM's patriline. In order to avoid the possibility of forgetting such ties, the figuring of prohibitions is done by the parents of the prospective bride and groom. Thus a non-intentional "amnesia" is likely only when one or more of these individuals is dead, a not infrequent occurrence.

Marriage between patrilines is a matter of polities, since it is a relationship involving extended reciprocal obligation between groups which are often at odds over lands and other matters. Given this fact, and the relative frequency in which some fudging of recognized marriage prohibitions occurs, it is not surprising that claims of prohibited and incestuous unions become, with some frequency, a matter of public debate and even, occasionally, litigation in the court of jilaqatas of the maximal ayllu. In cases such as this, Bolivian law, which prohibits marriage between persons related up to the third degree of consanguinity, may be invoked to argue that a marriage is permissible. If acrimony is slight, and if individuals with pertinent genealogical knowledge stay out of the fray, and hard (documentary) evidence is not forthcoming, a marriage may be allowed to proceed.

Thus far I have discussed the nature of patriline, patronym exogamy, and marriage prohibitions from the perspective of the two K'ulta ayllus with which I developed closest ties. Consideration of the remaining three ayllus of K'ulta complicate matters yet further. Given what has been stated about patronym exclusion rules, etc., I hope that the reader is not shocked to find that ayllu Qullana has less than half a dozen patronyms.
3.2.2.4. Genealogical Reckoning of Marriage Prohibitions

The Qullana poverty of patronyms is clearly incompatible with the system I have just described, and the fact is evident to members of the Kawalli ayllus who sometimes characterize the Qullanas as an incestuous lot, among whom marriages between partners with identical patronyms may even occur. Nonetheless, when such marriages do take place (say, a Fausto Chana Martinez marries a Maria Chana Oxsa), the Qullanas argue that the two patronynmics are consanguineally unrelated, and back up their assertions by altering the bride's patronynmic by adding a gender suffix to it in official documents. Thus on paper the marriage is between Fausto Chana Martinez and Maria Chanama Oxsa, and for the Qullanas, this settles the matter.

Qullanas counter any claims of incest by arguing, not from Bolivian law, but from the basis of a purely genealogical reckoning in which realliance is permissible after the lapse of not three, but four generations. The Kawalli ayllus also recognize this type of reckoning, and indeed employ it when arguing for the permissibility of marriages which might be questionable following the patronym scheme. I shall comment further on this unusual situation in the next section.

Up to this point I have discussed patrilines (often, remember, co-extensive with harnlets) without referring to corresponding Aymara terminology. The reason for this reticence is that there is no general term which could substitute for patriline; rather, such groups are referred to by their patronyms and or harnlet names: there are the Pumas, the Vazquezes, etc. In effect, the terminology of a bifurcated type of ego-centered kindred is modified by K'ulteños in order to resolve the issue. Relatives through the mother are called wila kasta (blood line), while those through the father are muju kasta (seed/semen line). I will describe below how these terms relate to notions of generative powers and the substances involved in conception. Here I will but note that the borrowed Spanish term ~ seems to be employed to differentiate the parties to the marriage alliance of ego's parents, which from ego's perspective are both kindreds and patrilines.
Though I have heard "kasta" employed with a patronymic as modifier (in order to refer to a group (i.e., patriline) which is not speaker's own kasta, I believe that pluralization of the actual patronym is a more frequent form, as is pluralization of a hamlet name (when not ambiguous because of containing more than one patronym or only part of one). The problem is a complex one, defying easy solutions. Clarification of remaining fuzziness of conception requires the embodiment of categories such as ayllu and patriline in more concrete data, the object of the remaining sections of this chapter. First, however, it may be useful to consider the issue in some historical perspective.

323. Ayllu, Patriline, and Patronym in Historical Perspective: Origins and Exceptions

The inter-ayllu variability in marriage prohibitions, and the intra-ayllu difficulties in adhering to them, must alert us to the possibility that the systems are currently undergoing change. A review of available data on naming practices in the ethnohistorical record (in marriage and baptismal records, and the more detailed census reports), reveals that surnames and their transmission are indeed an Hispanic imposition rather than an original feature of indigenous culture. Census reports before the revisita of 1735 reveal a virtual absence of transmission of surnames from parents to offspring except within noble families. The latter, who could not lay claim to heritable office without proving legitimate descent, seem to have adopted what were initially honorific titles as surnames from the end of the 16th century. But even here, 16th and early 17th century census documents show inheritance of the surname only for one son, while remaining children (both males and females) received an assortment of names/surnames. There is, in addition, the strong possibility that in the precolombian period as well as in the early days of the colony, names were changed upon initiation.

While the details and significance of naming practices are none too clear from the ethnohistorical record, we can at least surmise that patrilineages marked by transmission of

9See, for example, AGNA 13.18.5.1.
a patronym could not have existed. How then might lineages, if they existed, have been marked? Ample evidence from throughout the Andean area supports the view that corporate descent groups expressed themselves through a public cult of mummified ancestors, and we might presume that both genealogical criteria and membership in ritual organizations formed the recruitment criteria and the mode of indexical expression of descent group membership. In the Huarochari case, noble lineages (and ayllus) were high-ranking because they could claim a more direct connection with the most distant ancestors, those ancestors, that is, who were held in common by members of lower ranking ayllus. At the topmost levels of inclusion, there were no corpses to venerate and embody the ultimate unity of divergent lineages, but there were gods, former men turned to stone, the paQarinas of whole kingdoms.

It has been argued that the Spanish priests’ efforts to bury the dead in the earth, and the mummery burning efforts of the extirpators of idolatry, put an end to the focal points of such genealogically reckoned polities, though as Salomon has shown, elite-led rites of ancestor veneration continued under the very noses of Spanish authorities (in Andagua at least) until the mid-18th century.

To the best of my knowledge there are no such practices (that is of public veneration of distant apical ancestors) in K’ulta today. As we shall see in section 4, the heritage of conquest society has produced fundamental ambivalences towards the precolombian (and non-Christian) dead, and if rocks and mountain peaks are still venerated, it is because they embody a less specific sort of generative power than the seed of particular patrilines.

Nonetheless the hierarchical ordering of patriline mountain deities under ayllu mountain deities under yet more inclusive gods, and the centrality of such gods not only as sources of generative power but also as focal points for group definition, lend support to

1OSee Salomon (n.d.), which details a cacique-led ancestor/mummery cult in the mid-18th century. Numerous references to groups crystallized around public mummery and ancestor wak’a cults are also to be found in the Avila manuscript (Urioste 1983).
the idea that this system is a partially continuous transformation of a suppressed form of
descent reckoning. Although ayllo is in the present day not regarded as a descent unit per
se, it does have the character of a circulating connubium, in which common blood (wila)
and seed (m.Y.ill) are continually recycled.

The claim has been made that the very term ayllo derives from the Aymara
term for penis. The etymology may well be spurious, and to suggest it to a K’ulteno is to
provoke great mirth. It is also problematic in that, according to Bertonio (1984 [1612]; Bk.
2:124), “ayllu” is a Quechua term, only just replacing its Aymara equivalent at the
beginning of the 17th century. In its place Bertonio gives:

Hatha. Semilla de las plantas y los hombres, y todos los animales.
Hathastha. Engendrar.

Hathsiña, vel Sapae: Semen.
Hatha: Casta, familia, ayllo. Mayeo hatha, Casta de Reyes. (Iddem).

That is, in the 16th century Aymara-speaking region of Lupaqa, the groups today called
ayllu were unambiguously identified in procreative terms. The term with the equivalent
procreative reference in K’ulta is mliy, which as we have seen is applied to groups only as
these are exogamous patrilineages.

Ayllus in the present day Lupaqa region seem to lack descent status as do those
of K’ulta, but in Lupaqa even K’ulta-type patrilineages are lacking.11 Turning the more
fashionable patri-ideology debunking trend (that original forms were “bilateral”) on its
head, Hiekman and Stuart (1977: 53) argue that the absence ofsuch corporate groups as

11Hiekman & Stuart note the existence of patronymic residential clusters, which
they call “patristerns.” but as they note, they intentionally abjure the term “patriline” “to
avoid connotations of unilineal systemsies (1977: 53). In the Chinchero ease, this is a wise
manoeuvre, since such clusters can be accounted for as the exclusive product of a viri-
patrilocal residence preference. As they put it:

We agree with Tschopik that ... transmission through women triggered major
echanges in social organization and kinship terminology. Patrimonyies are routinely
segmented by inheritance rules, and resource concentrations minimized by requiring at
least a four-generational wait between patristem alliances. (Ibid.: 53-54)
And this in spite of “mechanisms to mediate this scattering” such as levirate and sororate,
and brother-sister exchanges.
"patrilines" is the result of the imposition of post-Independence legal reform enforcing bilateral inheritance, in the process of privatizing land-tenure.

3.2.4. Kinship Terminology, Past and Present

Presenting evidence (from Bertonio) of a 16th century kinship terminology (quite close to that of today's K'ulta), Hickman and Stuart contrast the system with the impoverished system in use in the Titicaca area today (and already evident in the 1940's when Tschopik worked in Chucuito in the 1940's). Two features have changed most dramatically in this region. The first is that the "aboriginally distinct terms for brother's children and sister's children are no longer used, with "son" and "daughter" terms substituted. Secondly,

"The formerly merged sets of terms F=FB=MB on the one hand, and M=MZ=MZ=MB on the other have become collaterally differentiated. Father and mother have kept the same basic terms (ID,ii,illka), while now FB=MB=ratl or tiula and MZ=F=FZ=mama or tiula. The terms \( ^*i_1, ^*i_2 \) and \( ^*i_3, ^*i_4 \) are Aymara glosses of Spanish terms for "uncle" and "aunt" (tíQ and tía). A separate term for mother's brother has been conserved (Qi), which also is applied to all of a wife's male relatives. The change from merging to collateral terminology reflects (we feel) a decline in the scale and importance of corporate groups. (Ibid.: 47)

In K'ulta, collateral merging terminology has been preserved, and in addition to the existence of a bifurcating term for "mother's brother," "father's sister" is also distinguished, as in the early terminology reported by Bertonio. As in Hickman and Stuart's data, the distinction between brother's and sister's children (in which brother's children are terminologically equated with one's own children while sister's children were distinguished) has been lost, but otherwise the K'ulta terminology (see table 6) is remarkably similar to that reported for 17th century Lupaqa.

For a brother and sister, terms for ascending and descending generation wila and muju kasta members are identical, through reciprocals are differentiated by gender terms. All muju kasta males in ascending generations are latu or awki, though the term changes to \( ^*i_3 \) when modifying prefixes are added. Such prefixes distinguish generation (+2 gen. is jach'a tala, +3 is jach'a jach'a tala/mala, ~ +4 generation = laq'a jach'a tala/mala. ~ =
TABLE 6
KIN TERMINOLOGY IN K'ULTA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Be</th>
<th>Fj</th>
<th>ZB</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>BBS</th>
<th>WBS</th>
<th>ZS</th>
<th>WZS</th>
<th>Yq</th>
<th>P'uch</th>
<th>Allch'i</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>FBS FZS MBS MZS</td>
<td>Jilata</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>WZ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>HB</td>
<td>WZ</td>
<td>HZ</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>FBD FZD MDB MZD</td>
<td>Kullaka</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>WZ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>HB</td>
<td>WZH</td>
<td>HZH</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- MF = larita
- MB = FZH = larita
- MF = larita
- MB = FZH = larita
- ZH = tullqa
- BW = yuqch'a
- HZ = ipala
- HB = yuqch'amasi
- HZH = larita

**Abbreviations:**
- FFF = FFFFB = laq'a jach'a tala
- FM = FMZ = MM = MFZ = MMZ = jach'a mala
- FF = FB = FFB = tata/awki
- M = MZ = FBW = FFBSW = mama/tayka

**Additional Information:**
- FZ = ipala
- MBW = laqui
"earth"; \(\approx\) "big," or "great"). Same-sex siblings of ascending lineal kin are assimilated to the connecting kin type, though differentiated with the addition of birth order modifiers, so that \(\text{jilir jach'a tala} = \text{"elder grandfather"}\) or FF[elder]B. Wives of ascending agnates are "mothers," and receive the generation and birth order modifiers of their husbands.

In the wila kasta (blood [maternal] line), the same sex siblings of the linking "mother" are equated with the linking relative, but, as with same-sex siblings of "fathers," are distinguished with birth order and generation prefixes.

Cross-sex siblings of ascending lineal kinsmen are differentiated from both same-sex siblings and from each other. All sisters of males called tata or \(x\) -tala are\(^\sim\), and distinguished with both generation and birth-order prefixes. Cross-sex siblings of all "mothers" (mamal\(^\sim\) or \(x\) -mala) are lari1a, again distinguished by corresponding generation and birth-order modifiers.

Husbands of ipalas are uniformly called lari1a, modified with their spouses' prefixes. In wila kasta, all same or ascending generation agnates of \(M\) are termed \(\sim\), though these are of two different types: In the +2 generation, men who are "father" to ego's "mother" are lillitas. Except for:MF, whose spouse is "jach'a mala" to ego, the wives of these laritas are uniformly termed\(\sim\), unless the larita is married to one's ipala, which is a distinct possibility.

It may be worthwhile to consider the affinal terminologies for male and female egos (see table 7). One might summarize the terminology by noting the following regularities: cross-sex siblings of ascending consanguines are distinguished, while parallel sex siblings are merged with the lineal consanguines. Non-lineal consanguines (siblings of father, mother, etc.) are distinguished, however, by the prefixing the terms with the birth order qualifiers jiliri and sullkiri. Terms for a female ego are identical to those of a male ego except in affinal relations. The Spanish collateral terms primo and prima are occasionally prefixed to the term jilaja to refer to very distant collaterals. As one consultant
## TABLE 7

**AFFINAL KIN TERMINOLOGY**

**Reference Terms for Male Ego**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BW</td>
<td>masanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZH</td>
<td>tullqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>larita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZ</td>
<td>cuñara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBW</td>
<td>laqusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZH</td>
<td>tullqamasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WF</td>
<td>awkch'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>taykch'i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reference Terms for Female Ego:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BWB</td>
<td>cuñara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BW</td>
<td>yuqch'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HZ</td>
<td>ipala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HZH</td>
<td>larita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZH</td>
<td>cuñara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBW</td>
<td>yuqch'amasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB</td>
<td>masanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>yuqch'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM</td>
<td>taykch'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HF</td>
<td>awkch'i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
put it: "pasando dos o tres abuelos, son primos ya" ("beyond two or three grandfathers [in collaterality], they are now primos"). In terminology for wila kasta kin, IJillillil/tam is applied to both M and MZ, and birth order and generation qualifiers are added to -mala in the same way that qualifiers were added to the male terms. MM and MZ respond to ego as does M. MB and MF are both called íaríia. and respond to ego with the Spanish term sobrino.

In both father's and mother's lines, lineal terms merge for same-sex siblings and collaterals within each generation, while opposite-sex siblings are distinguished. In-:

Inmarrying women are accorded the same birth order and generation status as ascending agnates, affixed ro-mala. Husbands of outmarrying ipalas are called, like MB and MF, Íaríia, and again merged in generation and birth order with their spouses. Here, however, the reciprocal term for ego (both reference and address) is sobrínú, rather than ~ or allch'i. Spouses of laritas in the mother's patriline are termed l.a.qllíi, while none but descriptive terms are used for husbands of same sex siblings in the matemalline.

Constructing a model of social organization from kinship terminology has time and again been shown to be a treacherous business. Using 16th century data on Inka kin terms, Lounsbury (1964) supposed, on the basis of the bifurcate merging terminology, the existence of marriage prescriptions involving MBD or FZD. No evidence has yet materialized which could support such a claim, and the continued importance of the bifurcate terminology in K'ulta, where such marriages are expressly prohibited, is but one more example that terminology is not a trustworthy guide to social practices. But clearly, transformations in practices can and do lead to modification of kinship terminologies over the course of decades and centuries, as the few changes noted in K'ulta and the more extreme simplification of Aymara kin terminology (towards Hispansion) in the Titicaca area indicate.

Given that K'ulta seems to have preserved both exclusive patrifilial land inheritance (and thus corporate land-holding patrilines) and the earlier terminology, while in
other areas both have changed, I would tend to allow the possibility that Hickman and Stuart are right in asserting that the terminological changes resulted from alterations in inheritance practices. Such hypotheses, however, require a great deal of future work if they are to be either proven or disproven. It is quite possible, as Earls and Silverblatt (1977) and Silverblatt (1981) have argued, that Hispanic patri-biases obscured important forms of parallel transmission of property and status. As we shall see, the idea still persists, at least, of a kind of transmission of movable property through women, as well as exclusively female ritual obligations towards matrilineally salient mountain deities.

Though firm evidence of the existence of matrilineally recruited corporate groups does not appear in the ethnohistorical record, the ritual patterns to be discussed in below can be read as evidence that lineal kinship ties of men and women are different and complimentary. Such differences are mobilized for a variety of social purposes and marked through complimentary functions in ritual occasions, but such facts should not obscure the centrality of the notion of "common seed" and the "solidarity" of the patriline in the constitution of supra-household polities from patriline and hamlet to ayllu and moiety.

325. Siblingship and Social Hierarchy in the Patriline

Patrilines are not mere aggregates of patroym possessing men and their families, juxtaposed only because of rights in land. Rather, they are structured, internally hierarchical social units, in which collective action is both enabled by, and enables the creation of, formally recognized positions of authority.

Nevertheless, in ideology if not always in practice, all men of the same generation within the patriline are equals as brothers. Thus in the first instance, hierarchy among patriline males is expressed through the hierarchy of generations. Within the household, the father is held to be the kamachiri, "he who 'gives order' or 'makes happen.'" But what about relations among patriline households? If all heads of household are equally fathers and brothers (and in address, same generation men address one another without qualification as jilatña, "my brother"), who is (or are) kamachiri in the patriline?
Given the severe stresses among households over the allocation of lands, this is no mere academic problem.

In fact, two interrelated hierarchical orders exist to resolve the problem without contravening the ideology of sibling equivalence: birth order and the "directorial" one-to-many hierarchy of the herder's relation to the herd. Within the "patristem family" -- a group of brothers who have constructed houses around the patio of their father -- authority is vested in the father until his death. Afterwards, however, it is the eldest brother, the jiliri or jilir jilata, who is regarded as becoming the kamachiri. This works out fine at the level of the sibling group ~, but what about the group of patristem units, some with nearest linking ancestors beyond the reach of memory? There exists a notion of an informal collective body of jiliris within the hamlet and patriline which can act as a sort of council of elders. On close inspection, however, it turns out that these jiliris are neither equal in status nor necessarily eldest brothers within their own patristem sibling groups! In fact, jiliri status outside the patristem unit (and this unit begins to fragment after the death of the father of the sibling group) depends on the combination of appropriate "leaderly" personal qualities and the individual's status in the "elder brother and herder-making" system of public ritual careers (discussed at length in chapter 5).

Moreover, greatest authority, that accompanied by the power to impose sanctions by force, is said to reside in a body of officials known as the jach'a jiliris, the "great eldest brothers," that is, in ayllu level authorities also known as alcaldes, al-uaciles, and liñanías. It is almost certain that the name for this last office (the highest ranking of the three), is derived from the root jila, from which both jilata ("brother") and jiliri ("eldest" or "first [born]") are derived.

The patrilinelhamlet as well as ayllu authority is also designated by terms related to herding roles. First, he is compared to the lead animal of the herd, the llantiru (from Sp. delantero, "one who goes before"). Secondly, he is known as the patriline's or ayllu's
awatiri (herder), in which capacity the group which recognizes his authority becomes his ēma (herd).

One must assume that the meanings of jiliri, llantiru, and awatiri in the collective patriline and ayllu spheres bear some relation to their significance within the patristem sibling group, and to the conceptions and practices of herding activity, as well as vice-versa. I will explore this connection in section 3.4. But before a man can become a jiliri of the patriline, a llantiru in, and awatiri of the human herd, he must become an adult within his patriline; a brother among brothers. Adult status is achieved through a series of steps in which he is progressively detached from the status of yuqalla (and the feminine productive roles attached to it), and consequently overcomes his subordination, as yuqa (son), to his own father and patriline “fathers.” The steps involved might profitably be seen as stages in the marriage process, the subject of the following section.

3.3. Marriage and Affinity, Sacrifice and Predation: Production and Reproduction of the Person, Household and Patriline

3.3.1. Wila Kasta, Muju Kasta, and Memory: Affinal Tie Between Patriline, Or Parallel Descent?

From the perspective of the children of a marriage, the affinal tie represents the union of what are, for them, two kinds of kinsmen, wila kasta and muju kasta. The terms derive from the facts of conception: blood and seed (semen) are the substances which join to produce new human life, and the identity of substances is thought to be that which most directly ties a child to his maternal and paternal kin. As we shall see, wila and muju are not only substances but fundamental generative forces which link human beings to their herds and to both the gods of the sky and of the underworld.

If ascription to the groups identified by these terms followed directly from the theory of generative substances, one might expect that wila kasta would be composed
matrilineally, that is made up exclusively of those individuals in ego's mother's "blood" line, with mother's affines and muju collaterals differentiated. Likewise, it follows that in-marrying women of muju kasta, who do not share in ego's father's muju, should be equally differentiated from both wila and muju kin. Terminology, however, reflects not only links of procreative substances, but also enacted social ties, and for ego, such ties through the mother are realized in relationships to members of mother's patriline. For both men and women, the idea of matrilineal transmission of substance (and of llamas) is attenuated by the absence of enacted relationships beyond mother's patriline.

Although it was never explicitly acknowledged by collaborators, there does seem to exist a form of parallel transmission of substances and property, as well. While not, perhaps, ideologically marked, because of the overriding importance of patrilineal recruitment to corporate groups, parallel transmission is nonetheless perceptible in two inter-related forms.

The first of these has already been touched on. I refer to the sexual division of labor in the application of the patronym marriage prohibition, in which a man figures the patrilateral degrees of prohibition for his child, and his wife figures the matrilateral ones. This is generally accounted for as a "natural" phenomenon, the result of the fact that individuals remember their own genealogies better than those of their spouses. But we need not accept this as a full explanation, because this division of the labor of memory is structurally linked to other, motivated divisions that have little to do with the practical limits of memory. In the first instance, this is apparent in the fact that, when asked to name their jach'a jach'a malas (who were identified in formal interviews as including Bvn1, FFM, M:MN1, and MFM, I found that men were satisfied at naming their own patrilateral great grandmothers (that is FMM: and FFM). Correspondingly, women tended to name ~ and MFM as their jach'a jach'a malas. Many collaborators failed to come up with more
than one or two names for the great-great grandparental generation, the laq'a jach'a malas/talas, and here the parallel skewing of memory was even more pronounced.

It is not that genealogies go unrehearsed: In alllibation performances, a ritual sponsor and his wife perform parallellibations (ch'allas) at a male and female altar. In libations, one must take care to remember not only one's own mountain gods (that is, of one's patriline's locality), but also those related through matrilateral ties. Here again, the division of labor in memory is at work: men libate male deities, and primarily those of male ancestors and near matrilateral kin, while at the women's altar, feminine deities, and deities of not only the wife's ancestors, but those of her husband's distant matrilateral ancestors may be recalled.

There is another form of genealogical reckoning which reinforces the parallel descent form of memory. A woman's "blood lines" are not only the path of transmission of wila, but also of property rights. Perhaps women do not inherit lands, but they do receive animals (in the form of periodic gifts as children, as a kind of dowry upon marriage, and in formal inheritance), and notwithstanding exceptions, there is an idea in K'ulta that the blood lines of the herds are linked to matrilineal transmission; that the animals women bring a marriage are female, and those of her husband, male. In K'ulta, the herds are an analogous species to humans, and the herd animals' seed and blood is thought to circulate in a manner quite like that of human beings. But as it is in fact women who herd, and the preponderance of a couple's animals often do come from the wife's inheritance, there is less reticence in acknowledging the importance of matrilaterally obtained females for the reproduction of the herd. Thus it is often in the context of libating the llamas' origin deities that matrilateral ties of ascending "agnates," and matrilineal ancestors, (especially of living patriline wives) are remembered.

This is not surprising, as the laq'ajach'a generation is one generation past the limit for figuring prohibited collaterals. That is, a marriage between a woman of any of that generation's patronyms (excepting that of FFFF) is considered permissible. The term \lili, in fact, means "dust" (as well as "tasteless", as in under-salted food): These are ancestors whose significance as links to other groups has disintegrated.
K'ulteños are well aware of the structured nature of genealogical memory, because it is just those forgotten, matrilaterally related deities which become most dangerous, emerging in human form to entrap one’s spirit. Without some enacted relationship to the groups from which such ancestors derived, however, memory lapses all the same.

To embody these abstractions in more intelligible concretes requires a more extended inquiry into what is, in K'ulta, an elaborately extended marriage process.

332. Multiplicity of Rites, Concatenation of Life Cycles

The complex marriage rites of the Aymara of Irpa Chico (in the vicinity of La Paz) have been elegantly described by the late William E. Carter (1977). In a re-examination of the literature on supposed "trial marriage" in the Andes (sirvinacuy), Carter concludes that the notion derives from the imposition of analysts' cultural biases, in which the many transformations in status and rights that are involved in marriage—including, especially, the legitimation of sexual intercourse—is considered completed in a single step. Concurring with Bolton (1973: 148), Carter argues that

. . . while most Andean studies refer to 'trial marriage,' it would be more appropriate to speak of consecutive states of marital development. The first is the betrothal, covering the period between the formal agreement by the two sets of parents and the actual giving over of the woman to the mano. The second, the sirvinakuy, is a period of mutual service between man and woman and between the new couple and the parents of each. The third, sealed by a civil and/or religious wedding ceremony performed in the district capital by authorities of church or state, qualifies the couple for separate residence and the assignation of lands. (Carter 1977: 211)

My treatment of marriage rites in K’ulta must be brief, because of limitations of both space and data. In spite of all efforts, I was never able to attend any of the marriage rites except, in two cases, the civil ceremony, which is the least important and elaborate of all. Part of the difficulty may be attributed to the calendric nature of weddings, as all rites of passage: most wedding rites take place around the time of carnaval. The one year in which we were present during this season, no youths in the patrilineal hamlet in which we lived passed through wedding rites. Even so, one would have to remain in (or return to)
the field numerous times to be able to follow a couple through all or even most wedding rites, as Carter did, as they are spread over a number of years. What follows is an account of the rites based on interviews with collaborators.

3.3.2.1. The Rites of Marriage in Brief

When one speaks of marriage rites in K'ulta, it is necessary first to note that, apart from a plethora of sub-parts to the total ritual form, there is a division between those rites done in the couple's harnlets, and those performed elsewhere. The former are by far more complex, and the majority of the ceremonials are over by the time the couple enters church and/or civil registry for the church and state-sanctioned aspects of marriage. The latter are nonetheless of considerable importance, since the paperwork thereby produced becomes the proof of "legitimacy" of the couple's future children.

3.3.2.1.1. Courtship and "Abduction"

Before marriage there is courtship, which I will not discuss at length here. Suffice it to say that for the most part, flirtation and courtship take place publicly during fiesta events, and privately in the pastures where the girls tend their herds. Young men spend a considerable amount of time wandering through the hills, playing mournful love songs on either charango, (a mandolin-like instrument made of an armadillo's armor) or "blaster"-type portable cassette player, while they seek potential partners. Interested girls may use their mirrors to flash reflections of the sun in the boy's eyes, and further flirtation often takes the form of hurling stones at one another with their slings.

Marriageable girls (tawa K'ul) wear numerous small mirrors, attached to watch-fob type chains dangling from shawl pins. The mirrors are said to be used not only as a kind of jewelry, but also to protect the girls from local ghosts. These ghosts, called kuntinatus (from Sp. condenados, "condemned ones") are local dead who, because of major sins (such as the neglect of their kin in funerary duties, or because they are otherwise unable to make the journey to Tata Muntu ("World Father"), the mountain home of the dead (because they died while intoxicated, for instance), walk their home territory in search of solace and redress. I am unsure whether the mirrors' effectiveness stems from the fact that they index the ghosts' insubstantiality (in non-reflection), or from the fact that mirrors resemble lakes (in producing a reflected image), which the dead are unable to cross on their own. Stories of such kuntinatus abound in K'ulta.
When the couple decide to risk marriage, the process almost invariably begins with a feigned abduction: come one evening, and often without consulting the parents of either partner, the boy starts the process by bringing the girl home with him, or the girl by following her intended home. The boy's parents are practically required to be angered by this and to oppose the union, and may force the girl to return to her hamlet. If the couple are persuasive and the match seems appropriate to the boy's parents, the boy's mother or father will carry out the coca ink'ũña churaña, C'to give an ink'ũña, [cloth] of coca”), going to the girl's hamlet at once (before morning) in order to advise her parents where she is. If it is the boy's father who goes, he immediately hands over a cloth full of coca leaves. If it is accepted, then the girl's parents have agreed to discuss the matter. Whether accepted at once or (more likely) rejected, the boy's father must beg their forgiveness on his knees until it is accepted. He may be driven off with blows, or one of the girl's parents may hide (to avoid the possibility of reaching a decision), if they are not certain of what to do. If they accept, a date is arranged, ideally on a Wednesday or Saturday (the "good days" of the moon and female saints), for the formal appeal.14

14This is but one of two types of "petition." In the other, less common, forro, a reluctant girl (or the daughter of reluctant parents) is physically carried away from her parents' hamlet in a midnight raid by a large crowd from the boy's patriline. Dynamite charges are set off, which are thought to "damage" the girl and bind her to her "suitor." Such explosions are also a part of shamanic curing: They are used to get the attention of a sick person's anirnu (a kind of "soul" attached to the chullma ["heart"] which dissappears after death) which has prematurely gone to the cemetery. After the anirnu has been distracted, it is lured back to the patient's body, like a wandering llama, by the shaman ringing the herd llantiru's bello 1am not sure whether similar devices are used in the marriage abduction, but it is likely that the dynamite blast serves also to make it clear that other "love" magic, such as placing a male lizard's courting straw in the girl's clothing, (as reported by Carter (1977: 181), has also been employed.

We were on several occasions awaleened from sleep by night-time blasts in the cemetery of Santa Barbara de K'ulta. These uses of dynamite at night contrast to the usual daytime use, which (apart from the mining uses for which it is sold) is to "announce" the presentation of a ritual banquet, and call the guests (among whom are the mountain gods or, during certain rites, the álmas (souls) of the recent dead) to partake in it Dynamite is also sometimes used to blow up houses built on disputed lands during feuding raids. In 1982, I was given the place of honor (a wooden bed) in a store-keeper's house for a few nights. During the second night, the bed collapsed, and while putting it back together by candlelight, found that a crate of dynamite was stored under the bed. In the morning I discovered that the box on which my candle was affixed contained blasting caps.
332.12. *Appeal to the Bride's Patriline*

The formal appeal, called *jak'arapi*, also takes place at night, and illustrates the patriline-patriline aspect of marriage alliance. For nearly the entire patriline accompanies the couple and the groom's parents to the bride's hamlet, carrying copious gifts of food and drink with which to beseech forgiveness. Upon arrival and initial gifts of bottles of alcohol and coca, the couple must formally ask forgiveness of the assembled hamlet. After dishing out a certain amount of abuse, the girl's parents forgive the couple in the name of the *iskin mamala* (mother comer) of their house. Afterwards the groom's entourage (including both male and female "hot water" [tea or coffee] servers) goes to each house in the hamlet and offers bread and tea, inviting all to the girl's parents' house for formal libations.

All marriage-associated libation series are complex, and the *jak'arap umañ t"ak"i* (the drinking path [rule or list] of the *jak'arapi*) ch'allas are no exception. Libations are poured by men and women in pairs, and each must pour (and drink) in pairs of libations, two draughts from a double cup (*yanan kupa*), for each salient category of altar, god, and ancestor, for the girl's paternal as well as her maternal grandparents, that is, to the sacred places and souls of those through whom marriage prohibitions are figured. When all are finished, the entourage returns (minus the girl's kin) to the groom's hamlet, where, after a breakfast of hot stone-cooked porridge, the same ch'alla list is repeated for the groom's grandparental generation.

3.32.13. *The Appeal for Wedding Godparents*

Though it may not be performed for months or even a year after the *jak'arapi*, the next stages of the process, arranging for wedding godparents and the civil marriage, are linked. The *patrin ruwíqañña* [Sp. "náe"o" of padrinos], is a rite in which the couple ask a chosen couple (of parents' generation, and frequently the ipala-larita or larita-laqusi of groom) to be godparents, presenting them with appropriate forms from the civil registry. If accepted, the *patrin ruwíqañña umañ t"aki* libation list is performed, much like the ch'allas
for the previous rite, but involving only double, not quadruple libations (the mothers of the padrinos are not libated).

3.32.1.4. State-Sanctioned Civil Wedding

The siwilat kasaraña involves reading the act of marriage and the signing and sealing of documents in the registro civil's office. After the documents are signed, ch'allas are done for the altars and mountain gods pertaining to the office, as well as to the archiwu, puntabola, makina, ìllìlì and lamìm (‘the archive of books, the pen, the typewriter, the seal, and the stamp pad’), all in pairs. The godparents present rings (with clasped hands motif) and a chain (rented in the city for the occasion), which the registro officer uses to bind the couple together. When they are unwrapped, the couple and their entourage (the groom's patriline-mates) rush home to complete another ch'alla rule. Days, weeks, or months later, the last act(s) of the wedding are held.

3.32.1.5. The Church Wedding

If it is held at all, the church wedding may be held before or after the kasaraña, the final act of marriage in the groom's hamlet. Because it is not a necessary part of the process, and when performed, may be done en masse in a pilgrimage feast in a distant town, and furthermore because I never witnessed one, I shall leave the church wedding.

15K'ulte's registro civil performed these rites in absolute earnestness. For him, libations for paired items (yanani) was clear in most cases, but he still found the ch'allas to the yanani of his typewriter (provided by the ethnographers) and seal to be a humorously mysterious. He joked that he did not know if the yanani of these items were to be found in officials’ offices in Oruro or La Paz, or perhaps in the factories where they are manufactured. The concept, treated more extensively below, is a complex one. Yanani at times seems to refer to a mirror image equivalent "token" to its mate, and at times to a complementary, opposite gender "mate" of the same species of item. It implies, it seems to me, the existence of a sign "type" (such as exist, in the case of a machined item, in the factory) to which the tokens stand in an equivalent relationship.

16As with the civil wedding, most of the ritual acts in the church wedding are performed "privately" (which is to say, in the hamlet) before and after the "official" ceremony, and include sacrifice as the sequence and form-defining actions. Some K'ulteños wait until the priest arrives for his once-yearly mass in the town of Culta during the fiesta of Santa Barbara, during which time he performs group weddings, baptisms, other "ritual godparenthood" rites, and funerals, as coda to a single mass, for which he collects a small fortune in individual fees.
aside, except to note that they seem to focus on the ability of the godparents to act as insulating intermediaries between the young couple and the dangerous church and priest.

33.2.1.6. The Kasaraña Proper

The kasaraña proper is a much more elaborate occasion than any of the foregoing. By the time a couple reach this stage of marriage, they have arrived at a point when it is very difficult indeed to end their marriage without considerable difficulty. If a couple already have children before the kasaraña who have been formally recognized by the groom, they have become part of the patriline, and their mother is bound to it by them. During the carnaval immediately following the kasaraña the bride's inheritance is usually bestowed (or at any rate, her own animals, those given to her over the years by her parents and baptismal godparents, are released into the new couple's custody). Once the herds of bride and groom have been "married" (a ritual in its own right), divorce entails litigation. In any case, the kasaraña seals what is supposed to become a long-standing alliance between the bride's and groom's patrilines, both of which participate in three days of ritual in the groom's hamlet.

3.3.2.1.6.1. Kasaraña uywa ispira and qarwa k"ari. A minimum of two days prior to the principal marriage rites of kasaraña ʊɾʊ (wedding day), the ceremonies forming part of all sacrifices (and occurring in nearly all rituals) are performed. Except for the redoubling of ch'allas common to all marriage rites, these are

While sacrifices are performed in funerary rites as well, the ch'allass forms for these sacrifices as markedly different. Indeed, there is a complementary distribution of ch'allla types according to whether libations are directed primarily towards the mountain deities (the uywiris and mallkus), or towards the dead. AH consultants agreed that it is very bad form indeed for the dead to be mixed up in the affairs of the uywiris. In fact, uywa ispira and qarwa k"ari, as well as wedding and fiesta rites, should on no account be performed on Mondays, which are reserved for funerary rites. As we shall see in chapter 4, this preoccupation with separating the two forms is fundamentally related to K'ulteños' ambivalence toward the ambiguous role of the dead in past and present social life. It must be noted that while the long dead (ancestors for whom all funerary rites are finished) are remembered in wedding and fiesta ch'alllas, but are called upon neither to attend nor to act as "sponsors" of the rites. In wedding rites as in fiestas, it is the deities which are thought to arrive as the "sponsors of honor," while in funerary rites, the dead (present in effigy) preside over the ch'alllas.
so similar to the uywa ispira and qarwa k’ari rites performed in fiestas (and described in the following chapter), that I will not here fully describe the accounts I was given of them.

Performed by the groom’s patriline and in the groom’s hamlet, the rites foreground the partial transition of the groom to adult status by including him (for the first time) in the honored group of elder men who partake in ch’allas. In fact the groom acts the role of ritual sponsor (under his father’s and godfather’s tutelage), and directs the libations, which are served by a patriline libation specialist. As in all libations, formal parallelism between the sexes is pronounced. Men, facing east, pour libations for male deities and for patriline ancestors, while women (the bride directing under the tutelage of groom’s mother, served by the wife of the male libation specialist, and with the groom’s mother and godmother in places of honor), face west and pour libations to the female counterparts of the men’s libations.

Overseeing the partía! separation of the bride and groom from their natal families, and in particular, the first stages of curtailment of their fathers’ control over them, are the marriage godparents. Godparents of marriage are selected, ideally (and frequently) from among the groom’s ascending generation ipalas and laritas, that is, from persons outside of the groom’s patriline, to whom he already stands in a relation of non-filial subordination. The exclusion of groom’s patriline males from this role is considered necessary by the bride’s kin, who expect the godparents to act in the bride’s defense, assuring that she is not mistreated in her new home. Selection of ipalas laritas for this role has the advantage not only of increasing the possibility that the groom will defer to them, but because godparenthood entails marriage prohibitions between the lines thus linked, up to two generations beyond the establishment of the tie, selection of already prohibited kinsmen tends to restrict the reach of prohibitions for one’s children.

3.3.2.1.6.2. Kasaraña uru. Most of the day of kasaraña uru is devoted to the completion of another ch’alla performance. The bride’s parents and patriline members arrive around mid-day, in time to be presented a large feast by the groom’s patriline mates.
After the meal (and completion of appropriate ch'allas for sacrificed animals, the chiwu t'aki series), marriage libations are begun. The kasaran umaña t'aki (“path of wedding drinking”) eh’allas are formally similar to those performed in bride’s and groom’s hamlets during earlier stages of marriage rites, but because the bride’s hamlet/patriline is in attendance, the stress upon ensuring completion of redoubling of libations (all in yanani cups) is great.

After dark, a bonfire is built in the center of groom’s father’s utaana (“house-outside” or patio). At this point the patrikin of bride and groom separate, and form a kind of moiety system. As they have during all of the rites, the groom’s kin address the bride’s kin as laritas, while the bride’s kin address those of the groom as ipalas.

As the bonfire begins to bum, the laritas (bride’s kin) make successive trips to a nearby river to collect smooth, rounded stones, which they throw into the fire. A series of complex dance movements are then performed around the bonfire. In the first movement the couple are carried on the crossed arms of, I believe, the groom’s sisters (carrying the groom) and the bride’s brothers (carrying the bride), who engage in competitive singing of suggestive songs while they dance. After some six revolutions

18Unfortunately, I am not sure which group supplies the firewood and lights the bonfire. Normally the sponsoring patriline, in other rites, provides this, but it would be consistent with other aspects of the marriage rite for the bride’s kin to provide the fire, in this case.

19The stones will be kept by the new couple, for use in the special kind of cooking for which they are intended. This kind of stone (which must be resistant to fire cracking) figures in some myths in competition with the trickster fox, to which the stones are "relatives". K’ultenos say that foxes (and skunks) may only be killed by hurling these cooking stones at them. Foxes, as I point out below, are termed lili:iin the region. Though the association was denied by many collaborators (and confirmed by a minority), it seems justifiable to assume an etymological connection between lan (fox) and lili:iin (lan + li!a “respect” suffix).

20I was not able to ascertain the nature or timing of the dances with great precision, and it is possible that the this dance takes place before the bonfire is built. I was not able to record or obtain reliable accounts of the words to these wedding songs. My male consultants claimed not to remember more than the chorus of the ìììììì song, and the expressiveness of women before men is so constrained that none would agree to sing them for me (nor was I able to convince women to tell myths). The singing of wedding songs, like those for the herds during carnival, is nonetheless thought to be a feminine activity. Though men will join in the singing, they do so in falsetto.
of the fire, the bride and groom are carried into the house in which they will live (often the
groom's father's storehouse), some ch'allas are performed, and the dancing continues.21

Laritas dance in an inner circle, while ipalas dance, in the opposite direction, in
an outer circle, still singing their suggestive and taunting songs, while the stones continue
to heat up in the bonfire. The dancing (as also occurs among youths in fiestas) may go on
through most of the night. Before dawn, however, the laritas are given some raw foods
(coro flour and meat) by their ipalas, and using the heated stones (rather than a cooking
fire), they cook a dish called \textit{Jala p'urka} (stone cooked). In what is undoubtedly an
allusion to both the generative transformative power of the woman they have bestowed
upon the groom's patriline, and to the bride's future cooking role (in which she practices
the transformation of raw substances into food) they serve the qala p'urka to their ipalas at
dawn of the following day.

3.3.2.1.6.3. Ch'iwuru. The fourth day of the wedding ceremony is
\textit{Ch'iwuru} ("rain cloud cooked meat/shade day"). It begins with the presentation of the qala
p'urka. Some of it is immediately put aside by the ipalas, who add to it some bread and
cooked meat (ch'iwa), and serve double bowlfuls (of what is called \textit{t'an't'a Jala pari}) to the
marriage padrinos, along with tea. Ipalas then serve laritas a tea and bread breakfast.

When all have recovered from the previous night's festivities, a rite known as the
\textit{kasaraña kawiltu kupraña} (wedding tax collection) takes place. The groom and his servers
"elect" a set of mock ayllu and canton authorities from among their patriline members.
These mock authorities (including jilaqatas, alcaldes, and corregidor) imitate the real thing
in dress and carry symbols of authority such as whip and vara. Then, blowing their bull's
horn pututus and dancing around the groom's wedding altar, in the same way that the
authorities do in twice-yearly tax collection, they call upon the laritas to pay their tasa. The
laritas actually hand over money (which, considering the small and symbolic sum actually

21Harris describes a similar dance among the Layrni, described in section
3.3.5.2.
paid in real tasa, may exceed a real payment), and an ipala acting as secretary gives each a receipt, followed by a large gourd-full of chicha, as is also the practice in the "real” tax payment.

As the tasa is collected, one payer at a time, the laritas and ipalas line up in two parallel lines, so that ipalas face laritas. Again they sing their respective wedding songs in competition. Periodically dancers at the head of the laritas line take their tums dancing with the bride and groom, so that each member of the larita group dances with the groom and each member of the ipala group dances with the bride. As they dance, each gives a gift, called a paQ’ara (flower) to the bride and groom. Gifts may be either a small denomination bill in the hat brim, or the more valued weavings (ranging from llama-hair ropes to storage bags and carrying cloths). In return, the bride's and groom's libation servers give each gift giver a finka, a pair of "repayment" drinks from an especially large double cupo.

After the kawiltu, about midday, the ipalas again serve a banquet including llama meat, and some ch'allas and dancing continue. Before dark, however, the bride's kinsmen (the laritas) as well as the couple's padrinos return to their hamlets. At this point, if possible, the bride and groom follow the padrinos to their hamlet, returning the the kasaranta isi (wedding clothes) that their padrinos have lent them, and give the padrinos gifts including large bowls full of corn flour, dried corn, hot peppers, and potatoes, and also a few bottles of alcohol.

The final day of the wedding is paQ’ara waku uru (day of handing over flowers). The couple's tispinsirus (Sp. dispenseros, or "guardians of food stores"), who had stored the wedding gifts for the night, give the bride and groom their gifts. As each item is taken out, it is given its ch'allas (there are ritual names for money and for all items of clothing). Their gifts are then heaped on husband's and wife's shoulders, and they dance around the altar of the patio. After a while, they enter their new home, and finish the rite with a single
pair of ch’allas to their house altar. With libations to \textit{ch’iwujunk’ut”api, iskiña} and \textit{ch’iwujunk’ut”api, iskiña}, the wedding rites of kasaraña are overo

3.3.2.2. Steps Towards Indepandence: Housebuilding and Inheritance.

In the marriage rites, marriage is seen to involve a relationship between groups as well as among individuals. The ritual actions of the two patrilines as ipalas and laritas seem to pose the relationship in terms of what might be called reciprocal asymmetry, wherein each group is junior to the other in a hierarchical relationship. At the same time, use of gender-related terms makes the bride's kin into a male collectivity, and the groom’s kin into a female one, feminizing wife-takers and making wife-givers masculine. But there are reversals in this asymmetry. The male laritas cook food (provided by the ipalas), in reference to the bride's future role as wife, but the cooking is marked by its "wild" form (use of heated rocks, rather than fire, to boil porridge). Indeed, laritas, and ipalas as well, seem to occupy the role of the wild, uncivilized outsider in other contexts as well, as they (as individuals in the role of godparents) mediate the transfonnation of their tullqas and yuqch’as from wild to cultural social roles.

The kawiltu kupraña rite applies another form of asymmetry to the relationship between ipalas and laritas, forcing the laritas, as tax-payers, to provide a kind of "dowry" to the ipalas, who play the role of ayllu authorities. The payment, of course, prefigures the new couple's enactment of first tasa payment, another index of adult status-and of full membership in the patriline and ayllu—which may only take place after the couple have successfully established an independant household.

Because of what (from the perspective of the junior generation) seems to be the inherent niggardliness of parents and parent's in law in ceding their property, the post-kasaraña stages in the completion of a new household are much more difficult to describe in

\textit{\textsuperscript{22}i find the terms difficult to parse, but consultants insisted that it could be translated "que todas las cosas aumentan," (let all things increase).}
chronological terms. That is, the elapsed time between kasaraña and the next marriage-related ritual may be less than a year, or may stretch to several years.

From the time a roan brings home a wife, she chafes under the authority of her husband's mother. New brides are eager to move into a house of their own (even if it is less than 20 yards away). They are also eager to cook in their own kitchens, store their food separately, keep their animals in separate corrals, and herd independently—that is, to cease to be merged within their husband's natal families as subordinates. Their husbands often express a similar, if not so desperate, desire for independance. Consultants uniformly expressed the belief that the ideal timing for this break was during the first carnaval after the kasaraña (usually about one year after the kasaraña), when (again ideally) inheritances from both husband's and wife's parents can first be given.

But there are structural reasons for this not to take place so quickly. While the couple may indeed build their own house within the year, they are neither likely to be given, nor able to independently use and care for, the land and animals which are owed to them. The reticence of the parental generation to turn over inheritance is strengthened by the fact that a young couple, chafing or not, cannot muster the labor required for the maintenance of an independent household.

Daily herding activities require a minimum of two, and ideally three or more herders, given that male and female animals must be herded separately, sheep cared for apart from camelids, and alpacas kept in wetter pastures than llamas. After he reaches marriagable age (at which point he is called IlliliX1a), a boy will refuse to do herding tasks, and a married man would never be seen herding, for fear of being called a YUQallahi (pre-marriagable boy). It is therefore incumbent on a wife, and her children, to herd. Until a couple have one or two children old enough to herd independently (six or seven years old), they must therefore keep their animals (even if bequeathed) merged with the husband's father's herd. Given that herding tasks are coordinated by the female head of household, it is a young wife's mother-in-law who will dictate which animals she will herd, and where.
The same general strictures apply as well to the new husband's desire to plant his own fields, direct his own trading expeditions, and build his own corrals. He has no possibility of doing so without the receipt of a full herd, and cannot in any case until he can build up sufficient dependant kin and reciprocal labor exchange partners.

3.3.2.1. Utachaña: Building (Roofing) a House

I will not describe the rites of housebuilding (more properly, of new house roofing) in detail, except to note that the rite again involves the rallying of wife's patriline mates, husband's laritas. Platt (1978a) and Carter (1977) describe rites similar to the K'ulTa formo What I would stress here is that a new house is also a new set of deities, and even if a couple cannot yet claim complete independance or sponsor their own collective rites, creation of house and patio deities is tantamount to autonomous existence as a social unit.

House-roofing again takes the form of a ritualized competition between ipalas and laritas, at the conclusion of which a sacrifice (termed a Yliliu:a23) is performed by the new heads of household, dedicating the iskin mama1a and house and patio altars with aspersions of blood and libations of chicha and alcohol. Such altars are not only raised "tables" of stone or adobe, but have "roots" which are "planted" even as the house's first courses of adobes are laid.

The house is given roots beneath each corner, in special bundles each containing two bowls. One bowl contains an offering known as a~, an extremely frequently performed offering type that accompanies nearly every ritual form, and is indeed prepared and offered by every household during all full and for new moons, as well as at dawn of new moons.

23Wilara sacrifices (which, unlike fiesta and Casarana sacrifices do not include Uywa Ispira ch'allas and may involve a single animal as opposed to a pair), are also performed at the conclusion of other construction projects. Wilara sacrifices also form part of certain curing rites to cleanse a person of overexposure to the saints' ~("lightning power"). The wilara form is also a part of periodic rites in which the ~ (root) of the kumpiraJmallku is "irrigated." A special form, called kuman, wilara, in which the staff of authority (the tata rey) is aspersed with blood is performed by alcaldes and jilaqatas upon entering their office.
every wilara, qarwa k’ari, etc. Prepared during the night before the dawn it is to be offered, q’uwa includes a pair of miniature llantiru llamas, made of llama fat from the chest cavity) and decorated with the bud tips of the aromatic herb, q’uwa, from which the offering takes its name. Into the q’uwa bowl go twelve coca leaves and seeds, an assortment of colored sugar balls, some cinnamon, curcin and orange seeds, paper confetti, and some misth-us (small incense cakes, impressed with symbolic designs). The other bowl contains a variety of pieces of tree and plant roots and leaves, including molle, Eucaliptus, orange, peach, and several unidentified roots of highIand herbs. Consuiitants disagreed as to whether a third bowl should be included in the house comer roots, as occurs in the "root" bundles placed under church towers. If so, the third plate is called sullu q’uwa, and instead of containing llantirus of untu, contains a pair of similarly decorated dried llama fetuses 24 These bowlIs are simply placed into the holes dug for them, and buried. In association with the burial of the q’uwa and sapi, the bones and head of the llama killed in the wilara are collected after the house-roofmg banquet, and buried near the crest of the household’s uywiri in a place called the ch’aka intrikaña (“place for giving bones”), in which bones of all wilara except for that of asintu are placed.

The house not only has roots, however, but also a flowering “crown.” In the first carnaval after the house is completed (whether before or after the herencia rite), the new couple carry out another dedication of the house, which doubles as statement of their new independance. Corresponding to rites in which every K’ulteño makes his possessions “flower,” the husband and wife each places a previously prepared crown of flowers (woven into a wreath on a frame of branches) upon his (and her) own head, dancing while the others eat of a sacrificial meal they have prepared. Such crowns, called l2llil in general, are used in many other contexts as well, but always in these other contexts are part of a

24These three kinds of offering bowls also form part of the asintu rites (wherin the mallku’s sapi is fed), performed by every household every three, six or twelve years in a sacred spot (a stone-capped hole, which is thought to be the mountain’s mouth). In the asintu, the bones and head of the Wilara llama are buried with the offering bowls, and, as with all of the sapi offerings, the q’uwas are not bumed, as is the case in other rites.
prestation from subordinates to their social superiors. That the couple crown themselves serves, then, to mark the fact that they have, as it were, pulled themselves up (towards independant adulthood) by their own bootstraps. When the machak uta piluyaña (crowning of the new house) dancing is finished, the pillu are tossed to the rooftop. As the years go by, pillu brought to them by persons they have subordinated (as tullqas, yuqch'as, etc.) collect in a heap on the rooftop.

3.322.2. Receipt of Wife's Herencia

The parents' conjoint herd already includes some animals earmarked for their children. These have been given as gifts (from parents and godparents of baptism) during earlier life crisis rites, and at times the gift animals will have multiplied well by the time a son or daughter marries. These animals and their offspring will be received by sons along with a share in the rest of the conjoint herd, or if the latter is permanently delayed by their parents, when the sons have built their own corrals. The daughter's personal animals and inheritance are also ideally ceded at the same time, but this inheritance should take place during the first carnaval after the kas araña. The girl's rightful share of the parents' animals, which should be considerably larger than the sons' share and forms a kind of dowry along with other gifts, is conceived of as deriving from the mother's "side" of the herd.

The inheritance is always given, in any case, as part of Caranaval rites, when both herds and lands are symbolically unified and special rites are performed to ensure their continued fertility. If a herd is to be divided, this takes place prior to ear-marking young animals, so that the son or daughter can perform their own ear-marking rite. This is important as the pieces of ear cut off in the marking rite are buried in the corral along with

25 I believe that in other Aymara dialects, such as that of the La paz area, lillill is used in place of the K'ulta term pac'ara, to designate gifts given to ritual sponsors (and money in the hat-band).
another q'uwa in a bundle containing small stone images of camelids, called ñlla, thought to have emerged from the same high mountain springs from which the animals originated.

The new couple does not arrive without gifts, however. The girl's parents prepare for her arrival by performing a sacrifice and preparing a banquet with a quantity of chicha, served from a storage jar sunk into the middle of their house-patio. The chicha is placed next to a tall pole covered in flowers (called jyrKa), around which dancing takes place.

When they arrive, the couple place flower and bread crowns on the girl's parents' heads, and the ipalas (husband's patriline members) who accompany them throw sugar, candies, and confetti on the laritas (the wife's kinsmen). Called awkch'ir jisk'a pilluyaña (small wife's- father crowning), the rite takes a similar (if less elaborated) form to that of the pilluyañas performed in most harnlets during carnavales. After the presentation of banquets and pillus, the girl's animals will be given, along with other items of movable property such as bowls, large jars, storage bags, etc. These are carried home by the couple and joined with the husband's animals and things, in another elaborate libation series "marrying" the herds.

26In the most complex form of pilluyaña, lower ranking sponsors who will sponsor rites in the coming year carry pillus to higher ranking ones (who are "ahead" on the "great fiesta path"), as lower ranking authorities in the "fiesta-cago system" carry them to higher ranking authorities, as part of their fiesta-year duties. In the fiesta sponsor and authority type pilluyaña, the rites include competitive dancing between bands (playing ñll flutes) from the patriline involved, taking a military form in which dancers are called "soldiers of Santa Barbara." While the jyrka poles are still standing (before they are thrown down, along with ñll, on the last day of carnaval), night visiting among patrilineharnlets takes place, with courtship dances predominating.

27My data is particularly thin for this "marriage" of the herds, which I was unable to witness. I believe that the animals are tied together in pairs (a husband's animal tied to a wife's animal), in much the same way the couple were chained together in the civil wedding ceremony.
3.3.2.3. From the Father's (and Brother's) to the Father-in-law/Brother-In-law's Subordinate, via the MB/FZ/Godparents.

As with the land inherited by the new husband, moveable property may also be held in pawn. As with the sons' share, however, the daughter's share may not be given (or given in its entirety) when it is due. In both cases, is often argued that all or a portion of the inheritance is "kept back" in order to ensure performance of (filial or tullqa/yuqch'a) obligations, whether these are care and provisioning (in case of sons/daughters) or necessary ritual duties (as in case of tullqas and yuqch'as).

Marrlage of one's child is regarded as the beginning of the progressive attenuation of the child's loyalty and obligation, which at the same time indexes the progressive decline of the parents' control over their offspring. The lapse of filial obligation28 is resisted by allowing its attenuation only in small decrements, by delaying the final prestation of inheritance as long as possible, and by replacing the lost degrees of control over offspring with increments in control over offspring's spouses.

Sons' wives become yuqch'as,29 who must serve their ipala and taykch'a with more abnegation than do unmarried daughters, assisting in cooking and herding, in addition to subservient ritual roles such as cook and food server. When the husband's sister or mother-in-law dies, her yuqch'as are the ones who help to carry her to the cemetery and carry off the death-polluted items in a whole series of funerary rites.

The tullqa's duty to his awkch'i and larita is very similar in nature, though even more demeaning, since the roles he must perform are often feminine ones, like serving food at the larita's rituals. The tullqa is indeed made to help in the butchering of his larita's

28Such loss is greatly feared. Older K'ulteños worry a great deal about how they will be cared for in future years, and are genuinely concerned that they will suffer hunger and other insults if they cede their property in full.

29Yuqch'a, incidentally, appears to be a frozen form, composed of~ (son) plus the nominal suffix ~ used to compare size or type, as for example, suffixed to the indexical ũkâ ("that"); one has ũkch'a ("the size of that"). one might think of yuqch'a, then, like the similarly composed terms for parents-in-law (taykch'a and awkch'a), as referring to a person "like, or of the son," though as a lexicalized form one is not really justified in doing so.
sacrificed llamas, but even more, must put on the animal’s pelt and act the role of a kind of feminized part of the larita's herd, as we shall see in chapter 5. Both yuqch’as and tullqas are required to labor in their superior's fields as well. In general, the amount of labor expected of them, since they must help in chicha making and firewood gathering in advance of the actual rituals which they must serve in, is extremely burdensome.

We will see below that there is not only a difference between the inheritance of sons and daughters, but that birth order, as well, determines the timing and nature of what children receive from their parents. That is, parents do not cede their control over even their sons all in the same fashion or to the same degree. Here, however, we must consider the nature of the transition in filial status enacted in marriage rites in more general terms.

An adult man's tie even to mother's patriline is severely attenuated upon the death of MF and :ME, and such subordinate roles as he plays towards his laritas are essentially transferred to WF and WB upon his marriage. In fact, as a set of socially salient relationships, one might interpret a man's ties to his MF and :ME to be inherited from his own father, for whom these ties are periodically re-enacted throughout life. While WF is usually termed awkch’i (even while the reciprocal to ego is always tullqa), he may sometimes be referred to or addressed (in ritual occasions) as jach’a lanta, the term applied to all of his same generation patriline mates. For ego's son, ego's WF is MF and is termed jach’a lanta along with all of those who ego calls jach’a larita. Obligations towards the unmarked kind of laritas (:ME and WB) and towards the unique individual who one calls awkch’i (the WF), are the most stringently enforced, especially those towards laritas who are actual:ME and WB, while laritas' patriline collaterals may receive only deferential address.

As we have seen, for a male ego, laritas fall into two types: fathers' sisters' husbands, and wife's brothers. Because of the practice of sister exchange between men of
two patrilines, both kinds of terms may sometimes refer to a single individual. Thus it appears that the relation between groom and his wife's brothers and fathers (some of whom—excluding his wife's father—may be husbands to his FZ or Z) is generalized to encompass the relationship between the two patrilines. But the reciprocal term for \( Ll'li \) is \( IIlkl \) (for a male; \( vuqch' \) for a female), and it is not by this term that the bride's group addresses the groom's group, but by the term—. This is, of course, the term by which the bride addresses her husband's sisters, but may also have a focal referent in any of bride's fathers' sisters who have previously married into groom's patriline. In any case, the patriline-patriline relationship marked by these terms is linked in its asymmetry to the gender of the bride and groom (so that bride's group is male while groom's group is female). The terms are not reciprocals, and are both respect terms used by subordinate partners towards dominant ones, handily avoiding the direct ascription of subordinate status carried in their reciprocals, \( vuqch' \) and \( tl,llqa.30 \)

The special ritual (and other) service roles assigned to \( vuqch' \) and \( tllqa \) statuses, into which the wedding transforms bride and groom, are rejected at the level of relationship between groups. In fact, the status and services required of \( vuqch' \) and \( tllqa \) stresses their "otherness": As outsiders to the patriline, they are required in the rites of transition of their respective laritas and ipalas, to fulfill polluting or demeaning roles. Every man and woman is a \( tllqa \) or \( vuqch' \) to another group, but in their own rites of passage, it is their domination of other inferior (and wild) outsiders that is stressed.

The deference which \( tllqa \) and \( vuqch' \) should display before those who call them these terms is referred to as jiwtayasiña, also a general term for fear. It is compared with another kind of restriction on expression, p'inqasiña (which we might translate as "shame"), which youths of marriagable age should feel (and express) before a possible (non-prohibited) spouse. The greatest p'inqasiña for a girl is expected before her \( vuqch' \)\( \text{pan jilatpa} \) ("her BWB"), who, since sister exchange is a frequent form of marriage, is a likely marriage partner (ZHB is a similar case). For a boy, of course, p'inqasiña is expected before the ZHZ or BWZ. While jiwtayasiña is expressed in general deference and respect (averted glance, etc.), p'inqasiña, in women at least, involves a good deal of rearranging of clothing, covering the face with the shawl, and flirtatious laughter.
But for a woman, rites of passage after marriage are always undertaken within her husband's patriline, where she is *yuqch'a*, to all but her children's generation. For women, that is, subordination to the husband's patriline is permanent, as well as collective, since they are *yuq.ch'amasí* to their husband's brothers' wives. Nonetheless, in fiesta sponsorships (in which women participate only through their husbands), they will recruit their own assortment of extra-patriline *yuqch'a* outsiders (sons' wives) to perform service roles.

The creation of an autonomous household is publicly acknowledged, after it has been fully achieved (that is, when a couple do maintain an independent household, with their own corrals, altars, etc.), by the first payment of the tasa, prefigured in the mock tasa payment of the kasaraña rite. During the twice yearly kawiltu tax collections (performed when jilaqatas enter office on January 20, and during the fiesta of Guadalupe on September 9), new full-members of patriline will pay their token sum at the kawiltu misa, before the assembled ayllus, and, wearing punchu and sometimes carrying a borrowed vara, they dance around the assembled authorities, braying like a llama. It is at this time that they are first addressed by the authorities, as well as their patriline brothers, as *llantiru* (herd leader).

Regardless of the fact that marriage has made him a subordinate member of his in-laws' "herd" (as a *jñachu* animal), and in spite of still being at least nominally subordinated to the father's authority (and altars), transformation into a "llantiru" of the patriline (as a father, "controller" of women, and "herder" of llamas) marks a man's entry into a fiesta career, through which he may become a patriline *illiri* (elder brother) and an ayllu jilaqata, that is, a herder of meno. This is accomplished in part by controlling, as larita, a herd of one's own *tullqas*, a process which is finished, like the fiesta career, only some decades after the process is begun.
It is through the symbolic transformations of the fiesta that a man, as ritual sponsor, becomes first a leader of the human herd, and then, like the gods, a herder of men. Crucial in this respect is the fact that he becomes not only leader and herder of his own patriline, but of his entire ayllu and moiety and, through the union of "herds" (in the tinku ritual battle, feast prestations and exchange of jatáchu, "llamas", as described in chapter 4), a herder of not just his own but of both moieties. This ritual conjuncture, of course, prefigures the sponsor's future role as mediator of inter-moiety disputes and conduit between the conjoined moieties and the state and cosmos. But how do these features of a sponsor's ritual role and the authorities' mediating role relate to the actual activity of herding and the facts of birth order and domestic group hierarchy, through the terms of which the collective roles are expressed?

3.3.4.1. The "Developmental Cycle of the Domestic Group" and the Division of Labor in Household Production

Two facets of the organization of production must be noted at the outset, given that they may seem to introduce serious contradictions into the model so far presented. The first is that while sponsors and authorities are described as herders (awatirinaka), in actual practice adult men do not carry out the daily herding tasks. Such tasks are left to women and children, and men who herd are despectively referred to as yugalla ("inmature and dependant boys"). That is, men do not become, but cease to be "herders" of llamas when they mature. Heads of households, however, do control their own herds, via their supposed "command" (as karnachiri) over the herding members of their families--their wives and children.

If men cannot herd animals and be mature at the same time, then complications ensue. For as we have seen, the mixed herd of camelids and sheep requires considerable
labor to be managed successfully, and a newly married couple with infant children cannot fulfill such labor requirements on their own.

As a result, a married man cannot take control of his portion of the parents' herd (conjoined with his wife's inheritance), nor build his own house or separate corrals, until after he has children old enough to assist his wife in herding.\(^{31}\) It is only at this point that a man fully enters into the status of "father." And even then, since elder men often permanently delay the division of the herd (and the formal distribution of inheritance), the full transition of a man from dependant status to that of "father" within an independent household may often wait until after his father's death.

In fact, the father with dependant married sons and grandchildren is a man at the height of his powers. Men enter sponsorship careers only after marriage and the birth of children, and the careers culminate in "civil" authority posts a few decades later—at a time when a man is likely to head a rather large extended family and a large conjoint herd. A household at this stage of development is composed of several houses around a common utaanaq'a ("house-outside," or patio), some occupied by recently married sons awaiting establishment of their own households. Older sons may already have moved out of the father's patio, and created their own altars. If so, the father's altar remains central, as the jach'a misa (great altar), at which ayllu level rites will be performed by all sons.\(^{32}\)

3.3.4.2. Sibling Birth Order, Inheritance, and Hierarchy

The second contradiction is introduced by the fact that elder brothers, the herdsmen par excellence in the rituals of authority, are in actuality disinherited, the rule of

\(^{31}\)Labor requirements in daily herding tasks are increased by the fact that the herd must be divided in the pastures, as it is also divided into separate corrals at night. Sheep and camelids are herded separately, and the male llamas and alpacas must be kept separate from the females, since repeated mounting is physically harmful to the females, and since mating is regulated for both hybridization and proper timing of birth (so that young are boro in the summer months).

\(^{32}\)This jach'a misa, nevertheless, remains subordinated to the altar of the låz'ta or Iach'a Iach'a tala who is regarded as having founded the harrilet/patiline. Certain patriline rotative rites must always be performed at this "original" altar, usually in the patio of a long fallen-down house.
ultimogeniture bequeaths the father's house, altars, corrals, and the major portion of the herd to the youngest son. Along with the father's house and corrals, the youngest son inherits what become the principal altars of the emerging sibling group (the jach'a misas of house, patio and corrals), and is the preferred inheritor of the father's social status (his position in the fiesta career, or saint-awukatu\textsuperscript{33} if the father is a \textup{\textup{\textup{awukatu}}}) as well, assuming that the youngest son has married and reached majority.

Why then should the disinherited, non-herding adult elder brother be regarded as the ideal authority/herder, as expressed in the use of terms such as jiliri and jilapata for authorities? If actual performance of herding tasks were definitive of authority, adult women and children should take authority roles. And if control of the altars and corrals were definitive, we might expect the youngest son, who actually inherits these and the greater part of the parents' herd, as well as the father's achieved status in the career system, to become the authority. Indeed, the brevity of life-expectancy, in combination with the length of fiesta careers, means that youngest sons often become authorities (and are thus addressed as illirí), and at tender ages. But here we must consider what the elder brother does inherit, and the very fact of his exclusion from the possessions of the family of origin, as keys to unravelling the mystery.

Within the domestic group and family, the father is both owner of house and corrals, the "herder" of the family, the ritual leader, and the kamachiri ("one who commands or gives order"), at least from the male perspective. Upon his death, the sullk'iri may inherit the house and herd, but it is to the eldest son, not the youngest, that the status of kamachiri falls. And his command extends into serious matters such as the allocation of lands and pastures within the sibling group, control over fallowing cycles, decisions about the opening of new fields (which may lead to warfare with neighboring groups), and the timing/itinerary of collective caravan expeditions to the valleys.

\textsuperscript{33} An awukatu (from Sp. abogado, "lawyer/solicitor") is a particular saint with whom a shaman (yatiri, "one who knows") maintains close ties as a kind of spirit familiar, capable of carrying messages between the sky and the underworld.
In addition, it is the kamachiri who controls important ritual matters (related to herd fertility) which take place at the very altars he does not inherit. But we should not conclude that the opposed attributes of jiliri and sullk'iri have survived despite seeming contradictions with actual practice because they, as categories, are permanently inscribed in some virtual cultural logic. Such a reduction, while simplifying the analyst's job, misses the point entirely: For the contradiction is only apparent, and the "leadership" qualities of eldest brothers, as well as the permanent dependency of the sullk'iri, are themselves expressed in practice. But before resolving the issue, it will be necessary to turn to the hierarchy within the herd, and the sense of the attribution of llama qualities to authorities.

3.3.4.3. Classification of Camelids and Human Hierarchy

Why should the ideal sacrificial llama be the llantiru, the adult, male "herd leader," when it is the more controllable, more fragile females on whose fertility the reproduction of the herd depends? What makes llantiru (from Sp. delantero-Eng. "leader") particularly valued is that they are thought to lead the male herd in trips away from the community: both leading males to high mountain pastures (and defending the herd there, where, unlike the females, they may on occasion be left to fend for themselves overnight), and leading the troop on caravan expeditions to valley agricultural areas during yearly provisioning trips. In the latter context, the llantiru is thought to unify the troop, which may be composed of animals from what are, during the rest of the year, separate domestic groups (and corrals). The llantiru thus possess outward facing, unifying and mediating characteristics, upon which the protection and reproduction of the herd depends, and on which humans rely for the creation of caravan herds which link them with the provisioning valleys. Llantiru are also thought to be the epitome of maleness: 34 they are the animal s

34 As result of their value, K'ulteños are reluctant to sacrifice llantiru males, so that the animals called llantiru in sacrifice are usually enfeebled males or infertile females. Nonetheless, in the public sacrifice in the town during a fiesta, sponsors try to put on a
which, during the mating of the herds (itself considered a kind of tinku) are most active in producing new animals (called paq'ara) with their seed (muju).

There is another aspect of the "maleness" of the llantiru which seems at first sight to contradict their leadership role in the herd and their caravan binding role in mediating the puna-pastoralism/valley-agriculture opposition: The herds, like humans, are conceptually (and to a degree, in actuality) patrilineal and patrilocal, wherein the husband's animals are thought of as male and the wife's, female. Given that at the dispersion of the herd (accompanying the dispersion of the family) in the herencia, it is the female animals which, with the daughters of the patriline, that leave the hamlet, the element of continuity is provided by the retention of the male animals (and their seed). These facts seem capable of redefining the females as mediating animals (which come from, and return to, the outside), and the males as the more restricted, hamlet and patriline-bound part of the herd. But it is precisely the continuity of the males which is telling. It is the male animals—the !lliU! animals, in the Aymara term—which provide the link: between particular, short lived, contingent herds of father and son, and of brother and brother. The llantiru, definitive of good show by at least sacrificing males only. They result is that in the private, hamlet sacrifice, the llantiru victims are predominantly females. Cf. Evans-Pritchard on Nuer sacrifices of cucumbers as "cows" for "relatively little moment (1956: 128 passim).

35 I here remit the reader to Capoche's characterization of the value of the urqu/urna contrast, from his description of the mines of Potosí. He wrote that "Urcusuyu" . . . quiere decir gente que habita en los altos de los cerros, que tienen este nombre urcu, y los umasuyus en lo bajo y llano, riberas de las aguas que en esta lengua llaman urna; otros dicen que significan los urcusuyus gente varonil y esforzada, porque por este nombre urcu se entiende lo masculino, y los umasuyus [lo] feminino y no para tanto. Y siempre fueron los urcusuyus de mejor presunción y mayor calidad, y el Inca les daba la mano derecha en los lugares públicos y eran preferidos a los umasuyus en reputación. (Capoche 1959 [1585]: 140)

Capoche has here conflated Quechua and Aymara meanings (as his informants might also have done): !lliU! refers to "male animals" in Aymara, but to "mountains" in Quechua. !llama, on the other hand, refers to "water" in Aymara, and to "head" in Quechua. While the Quechua meaning of !llama was left out of the text, the meanings of !lliU! are harmonious in the two languages: male animals take advantage of higher pastures, both mountains and urqu llamas are typically masculine, and the herding people who are associated with both defined themselves in opposition to water-associated autochthonous people. Cf. the characterization of chullpa/uru people offered above.
the unity of the herd and of its principle of reproduction, are appropriate emblems not only of the "herd" but of the conceptual entity which is the patriline.

3.3.4.4. The Llantiru-Jillirí and the Harnlet/Patriline

Like the llama llantiru, the role of eldest brother and the authorities who are called jillirí encode a principle of reproduction. First, as authority at the level of harnlet, patriline, ayllu, and moiety, the jillirí conjoins the particular domestic groups of a harnlet ando patriline, the patrilines of the ayllu, and the ayllus of a moiety, by standing to all in an equivalent transitive relationship. The sullk'iri, on the other hand, reaps the rewards of inheritance, but is thereby irrevocably identified with the continuity of a particular household-that of his father--rather than with its reproduction.

Like the llama-llantiru, the jilliri-llantiru owes his dominant position to control over herds, but here we refer to both animal and human ones. Unlike the youngest brother in the sibling group, who remains essentially a social extension of the father and a permanent dependant, the eldest brother receives the father's "command" (kamachiri), though he is exiled from his father's house and (to a degree) disinherited from his herd. Bis authority is, in fact, closely connected to his outward-directedness. The eldest brother could be said to be autonomous and self-generating-vestablíshing his own house and herd, he is the embodiment not of the continuity of a house and herd (like the sullk'iri), but of the principle of reproduction of - of the very unit he is excluded from. As such, within and outside the patrigroup the jilliri also embodies the fertility (that is, the expansion) and generativity of the patriline. Like the llama llantiru, the jilliri-llantiru is associated with the conjunction of disparate herds in a new, unified herd. The jilliri's actualleadership role within the sibling group and patronymic harnlet amplifies these associations.

The jilliri's "command" extends from the role of arbiter in intra-sibling group disputes, to that of leader of the conjoined brothers in disputes with other sibling groups within the harnlet or patriline. In addition, it is the jilliri who, stereotypically, decides when
and where to go on annual trading trips, and conjoins multiple herds to make up the large caravan needed for a successful trip.

335. Herding and Predation

3.3.5.1. Formation of the Caravan Herd

It is important to remember that in reality, all married men establish a "new" herd by conjoining their own with that of their wife, and all equally mediate between the patriline and the outside through their relationships to wife-givers (laritas) and wife-takers (tullqas) of other patrilines. Similarly, anyone may initiate a land war or organize a trading caravan. An elder brother's authority may in fact not extend beyond the bounds of his own (actual) sibling group, and this only if he is married with children. Likewise the hamlet-level jiliri--created through ritual activity rather than birth order--may be a youngest son within his family of orientation.

While adult men will not participate in everyday herding tasks, they play a central role in the organization and labor of periodic llama caravan trade, and it is men who are (or are becoming) jiliris who are the most likely to be able to establish a conjoint herd, garner sufficient labor, and otherwise mount a successful trade expedition. Such expeditions are crucially important source of foodstuffs, and are refracted within the collective ritual sphere in an inverse type of caravan trade (carrying foodstuffs to the ayllu-and moiety level "larder" of the town for the fiesta, and returning empty-handed to the hamlet) through which the status of jach'ajiliri is achieved.

But it is not only in his capacity to circulate foodstuffs that the stature of the jiliri is achieved, but in an attendant control over the circulation of the generative substances blood (wila) and fat (as a kind of solidified muju) among the human and animal, and the earthly and other-worldly realms.

The point is not that only jiliris establish independant, conjoint households and herds, but that the opposed attributes of youngest and eldest brothers make them appropriate vehicles for representing two opposed facets of the household and herd: the
first (typified by the youngest brother in dependant filial roles) is its continuity per se, as a particular unit; the second (typified by the eldest brother in independant founding-pater role) the general model or generative principle of the household and herd as a type of social arrangement produced by, and reproducing, the patriline.

Once he has begun his career, or continued an inherited one, the sponsor-jiliri joins the ranks of patriline-harnlet "fathers" and "elder brothers", and with it takes on, at the inter-domestic group level, what was, in the domestic group, the leadership roles of elder brother and father. This role is, of course, a function of the sponsor's "outward directedness", expressed in his ritual duties but represented as well in the terms of the asymmetric relations among exogamous patrilines within the ayIlu.

Patriline jiliris, like jilaqatas, are made, not born. But they are made in the image of the "self made man" of K'ulta society, the eldest sons, who must build their households themselves through the control they achieve of herds and alliances. Marriage is but the first step towards becoming a collective elder brother, herd-leader, and herder of men. The asymmetric nature of marriage alliances, however, does not make a man into a herder of men, but a subordinate member of the herds of his wife's brother and wife's father, and he will remain thus subordinated until he turns the relation on its head by becoming a herder of his own sisters' and daughters' husbands. Accomplishing this involves withholding one's children's inheritance and "seniority" as long as possible, just as it requires establishing oneself in the status of superior among equals among one's own sibling group.

3.3.5.2. Predation and Herding: Larita as Fox

In relationship to other patrilines, a man's control of the marriage relations of his daughters and sisters is expressed in terms of herding. But for those other lines, the larita is an outsider, a kind of predator on the patriline's herd, who not only carries off his own new llantiru (married men), but threatens to carry off its women as well.

A number of pieces of perhaps disparate data conspire to force us to consider etymology once again, this time of the term 特派  Clearly a noun, lari plus the "kinship
"respect" suffix =\il, seems quite probably to derive from an Aymara name for fox, which though no longer extant as such in K'ulta is recognized in neighboring Laymi, where the connection between MB, WB, and the herd-raiding fox is explicitly acknowledged (see Harris 1978b). Fox, indeed, is an important figure in Aymara myths, appearing as a central character--always in a buffoon/trickster capacity--in the majority of them. It is to fox that men are indebted for the origin of cultigens. There is a myth heard throughout the region, in which the mall.ku (condor) carries the lari (fox) to a banquet in the heavens, and the fox, too fat after his usual gluttony for the mallku to carry him down, falls to his death. When the fox hits the ground, he bursts, spewing out the seeds of what become man's cultivated foods. In a ritual dance (similar to that of ipalas and laritas in K'ulta) among the Laymi (a neighboring, formerly Chayanta group), the tullqa carries his larita upon his shoulders. In what appears as a clear allusion to the myth, the tullqa wears condor's wings, and is addressed as mallku as he lifts his larit off of the ground (ibid.: 1116).

Entries in Bertonio's dictionary (compiled among the Lupaqas) add yet another layer to this relationship:

Lari: Uncle, mother's brother, and almost all the male relatives through the mother are called lari. Quimsacallo, lari: all the male relatives of the wife are thus called by the husband, and by his children.

That is, though Bertonio does not directly make the connection with fox,36 the association of lari with what are clearly wild, ungoverned people of the high plains (that is, outside of the "civilized" towns) is consonant with his description of the role of the lari (and for ipa) in naming rites for their ZS/BS:

36Under ZQ%m, Bertonio gives "Camaque, Larano, Pampa ano, Suni ano" (1984[1612]; Bk. 1: 473). The first term is often used in K'ulta to refer to the animal. The remaining terms all add adjectivals to the term ña, dogo LaranO. It seems to me, is most likely composed of lar i + ña, with the normal elision of the final vowel of the first term. Yet more convincing is the entry 'suni, vel Pampa ano. Zorra, y tambien galgo con que cogen las vicuñas." ('suni [ano], see Pampa ano. Fox, and also the trap [?] with which they hunt vicuñas") (ibid.; Bk. 2: 328). The connection between foxes (and MBIFZHlWB) and vicuña hunting is brought out in the texto
Sucullu: The child who they take out to the plaza in its cradle, taken out and placed in the plaza, the young men coming from the hunt bring vicuña blood in the vicuña’s stomach, and with it, the uncle, or Lari anoints the face of the child crossing its nose from cheek to cheek, and afterwards they divide the vicuña meat among the mothers who have brought their children there for this ceremony, because ordinarily for this purpose they gathered the children born that year. They used to do this when finishing with the potato harvest, when we Christians celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi. Added to this, they dressed these children in a black shirt, what had three colored threads woven in, one in the middle, and two at the sides, running from above to below [that is, vertical], on both front and back. They did the same thing with the girls born that year, with the only difference being the name [of the clothing], because they called it Huampaña, and it had many colored threads, interwoven not from top to bottom, but around [that is, horizontally], and they fell in the middle of her vrquezillo, or fayta, [belt?] a little below where adult women belt themselves, but the girls of this age do not use the belt, which they call huaka (Ibid.; Bk. 2: 323)

I have taken the liberty of quoting this long entry in full because, as we shall see in section 4, the matter of dress, and of the orientation of design motifs, continues to be important in the attribution of gender. Here I note only that the use of the blood of the wild equivalent to the herd llarna,37 acquired in the "wild" equivalent to herding and sacrifice, by the "wild" out-law/fox/wife giver, to bring the child into a state of culture, finds its parallel today in the preference for the larita-laquisi or ipala-larita combination for both baptismal godparents (in Aymara, sutimama and sutitata, "name mother" and "name father") and marriage godparents. It will be possible to malee more of the connection between larita and "savage," extra-social space below.

3.3.5.3. Fiesta Sponsorship and the Mediation of Domination

Becoming a patriline jiliri requires the ability to form a unified herd by taking the "dominating outsider" role (as a kind of predator-herder) towards multiple other groups, but it also requires completion of what now seem like an extended continuation of rites of passage toward "completeness": sponsorship of first harnlet level, and then moiety level feasts. When aman enters into a feast career he does so as a representative of his patriline, in order to serve its interests. But this is possible only by becoming yet more of an

37Butchering assistants are similarly annointed by a sponsor with llama-blood in the sacrifices of fiestas.
outsider to his own people, by entering offices through which the relationship among patriline is ultimately mediated, via contact with dangerous and powerful extra-social forces. How such control is achieved is the subject of chapter 4. In the following section, I will explore the nature of the "extra-social forces" opposed attributes and positions in space and time, that are most directly addressed in the celebration of fiestas.
CHAPTER IV

MEMORY AND THE GODS: SPACE-TIME
AND COSMIC ZONES OF A COLONIAL SOCIETY

4.1. Libations and the Paths of Memory:
The Nature of Ch'alla Texts
and Performances

4.1.1. The Ch'alla as an Offering Form

As we shall see in the section 4.2., fundamental processes of space and time are assigned values, in the aesthetic form of myth, in terms of social processes, the causes and ultimate forces of which are nonetheless interpreted as being outside of human control. The history of conquest is present everywhere in the landscape, yet the forces set in motion in the conflict which created the present form of space-time remain, in ordinary experience, just out of one's grasp. Ritual, as another poetic form in many ways similar to that of myth, addresses this gap, and provides a manner of restructuring the context of experience so that long past and far away junctures of ordinarily non-present forces can be brought to bear on the here and now (as well as the there and then) of social relations.

Fundamental to all kinds of ritual in K'ulta, as was already evident in the discussion of marriage rites, are both llama sacrifices and dedicatory libations which (though not limited to llama sacrifices) make explicit the motivations and goals of each aspect of offering, as well as the rituals as wholes. Given their centrality in both the construction and decoding of ritual performance, it is necessary to here treat the nature of ch'allas in extenso.

A ch'alla performance involves a number of factors, each of which must form part of the following discussion. To fully understand a single ch'alla performance requires
a careful disentangling of what is involved: the recruitment of participants, the selection of a ch’alla “type,” the poetic organization of the ch’alla “text,” the constitution of the context as an embodied microcosmic iconic symbol recapitulating, in part, the features of cosmology writ large, and the influence of the symbolic particulars of specific (as opposed to “typical”) context and (role and status) identity of participants, on the text as performed.

I will begin by briefly placing ch’allas as an offering form within a field including other such forms. A ch’alla, essentially, is a libation involving the partial spilling (or flicking from the finger tips) of a liquid upon (or towards) a sacred altar (or other deity), which becomes a channel through which further ch’allas reach more distant beings. Libations are not simply poured out, however, but take place in combination with the utterance of a few words explicitly dedicating the libation to a specific deity. Other forms of offering are so numerous and varied as to defy easy description. They range from incidental offerings of eye-lashes, nail clippings, and exhausted coca quids, placed on a cross-roads or mountain pass to ensure a safe journey and rid oneself of tiredness; to simple incense offerings; to complex multi-item offering bundles which are buried or burned, in any one of a number of types of sacred places, for a variety of purposes. Each and every time a K’ulteño begins to chew coca, or exchanges coca bags with another (in a common form of polite sociality), the “chew” is dedicated to a deity. Likewise all drinking of alcoholic beverages (and some non-alcoholic ones) is done in the form of an offering.

Not all K’ulteños, however, are allowed to carry out these offerings. Only adults (which is to say, married individuals or those long beyond the usual age of marriage) chew coca or drink alcohol or chicha, and children (and marriage-age single youths) remain

In spite of stereotypes of Indian susceptibility to “drunkenness,” common in Bolivia as well as in the U.S., I was unable to identify even a single K’ulteño who drank alcoholic beverages outside of a serious ritual context. Smoking was likewise non-existent as a daily habit, and also confined to ritual occasions. The usual place for both cigarettes and alcoholic drinks is upon a consecrated altar, as part of prestations among men and gods.

For a sensitive account of the importance of these forms of sacred sociality in the daily lives of the Quechua speakers of Sonqo, Perú, see Wagner (1978).
on the periphery of the ritual performances in which these substances are used for offerings. Yet it is not that children are prohibited the substances because they are considered morally suspect, but rather that children are ineligible to address the gods. That is, even among adults, the connection between consumption of these substances and offering is always present, with consumption circumscribed within ritual performance.

Individual X, for example, pours a few drops of a cup of alcohol on an altar, saying "janQ'u nas uywiri taki." In this ch'alla, janQ'u nas is a hill (and place deity) name (‘white nose”), while uywiri is the deity type, a household or hamlet-level guardian of the herd. With the suffix :.taki added, the whole utterence can be translated as "for the herd-caretaker [named] 'white nose'." After uttering the words and pouring out a token amount, the rest of the cup is (usually) drunk in a single draught by the offering individual.

This is, however, already a simplification. For each libation is minimally a four- and usually a five-way relation, involving three persons and a variable number of gods and their intermediaries. On behalf of a ritual sponsor (A), a libation specialist (B) presents a sacramental cup to the third participant, the individual (X) whose actions were just described. Along with the dedicatory words, a small portion of the drink is poured onto the comers of the altar (misa) at which the rite takes place, which is itself a form of place deity (Y). At times the altar is the final recipient of the libation, but usually this is preparatory to a later libations for at least one other god (Z), who receives his drink through the altar’s roots.

The presentation of the libation/drink from sponsor (via specialist) to pourer is a gift form (a kind of paq’ara, literally "flower") which must be reciprocated at a later time. Similarly the utterance of the dedication to the deity incurs a debt of sponsor to pourer to be repaid in kind. The gods receive a "flower" in the libation which is the return for (and the incurrence of debt of) the kind of "flower" deities give men: continued fertility or power of

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2 nas = "domesticated grazing animal;" uywañâ = "to care for" or "raise." Adding the agentifier -iJi, "one who," we have "one who raises," or "caretaker of herds."
men, herd and field. Newborn animals and first fruits are themselves referred to as flowers in libations, and become objects of sacrifice in other rites.

In this schema an offering to a god is made via an exchange among men, or conversely, exchange among men is understood as a form of exchange between men and gods. Similarly the hierarchy of gods is called upon to pass the offering on up the line and deliver the return in reverse order (rather than in a disruptive direct form such as lightning or hail or disease). The ultimate aim of this system is, as Aymaras understand it, to provide generative forces that (in western thought) might be interpreted as biological, meteorological and social processes. This kind of fetishized understanding in which relations among men are objectified in the cosmos at large, however, is not mere mystification, as it in fact makes expressable the cultural ordering which gives specific form to the relations of social production which themselves produce the participants in the rite.

But a ch'alla, it would appear from the literature, is not merely a single draught, drunk by an individual for a single deity. As accounts have it, dedications are haphazard, at best, the purpose of drinking being to get ungodly drunk. The truth is that becoming intoxicated, which not everyone wishes to do, is a necessary part of rites, itself an offering of the body. Intoxication is but a visible sign of repletion, of having become filled with so many offerings. On the one hand, copious drinking of libations calls forth an attribute of the god (that of boundless containability, all-encompassing completeness), while on the other, one sacrifices one's body in repletion to index the generosity and earnestness of the sponsor, which is otherwise suspect. The demonstration of both repletion and of surplus (as there should always be more than enough food and drink to over-stuff all participants in a rite) also points to the desired return for the sacrifice, which is the gods' help in providing just such plenty. As the sponsor thus takes the place of the gods in provisioning this

3As a nominal suffix, -nacha indeed has always the implication of completeness and totality. Thus may-pach 'tam'a = "the whole [loaf of] bread."
demonstration of bounty, so also it is incumbent on ritual sponsors (and also their assistants, and in particular the wasuwariris) to imbibe more and longer and nonetheless to remain sober. It is bad form should a sponsor to become incapacitated before the conclusion of a rite (and worse, in consequence, should his wasuwariris "forget" their paths). As the Anonymous Jesuit chronicler put it, but remains true today, "To drink much and to still have a strong head which does not begin to spin, this they held to be great valor" (1594: ). The mallkus of the colonial period were capable of great acts of consumption. As Capoche put it (in a description of malikus including Juan Colque Guarache): "... They [the mita captains] are the ones who are first to get drunk . and ... as they are fat and heavy they are unable to get around" (1959 [1585]: 140-41). But this again is to give more weight to mere quantity consumed than one should, and we must assume that in the 16th century, as now, drinking by men (even god-like men) was but part of the sacrificial bargain, which involved the repeated reconstitution of the cosmic order (and all of its deities) in the act of "remembering."

4.12. Ch'allass in Sequence: The Amt'aña Ti'akinaka
As Texts and Performances

Ch'allass occur individually only as elements in rigidly adhered to sequences, unwritten "scripts" which mandate the order and recipients of a long series of libations. Known collectively as umañ t'akinaka (drinking paths), or amt'aña t'akinaka (amt'aña, "to remember": +t'aki, "pathroad:" +-naka, a pluralizer: "paths of memory"), there is a specific ch'alla sequence for each recognized ritual occasion in which ch'allas take place.5

It would be extremely tedious to catalogue here all of the kinds of ch'alla sequences practiced in K'ulta, much less the actual contents of such sequences. Describing just the the sequences forming part of a single fiesta performance would severely tax the

4 I am indebted here to the ongoing work of Thierry Saignes for these citations and for pointing out the importance of the mallkus' so-called "drunkeness" and size as indexes of their legitimacy (personnal communication. Nov. 1985).

5 T'aki refers to all kinds of paths and roads, as well as to the pathway of the sun through the sky, and to fiesta careers, which are jach'a q'ista t'aki.
reader.\textsuperscript{6} Suffice it to note that there are specified sequences for each stage of a sacrifice, as well as for other sub-parts of fiesta performance as practiced by sponsors as well as specialists. There are sequences connected with the calendrical rites associated with agricultura! and herding tasks, with the duties of civil authorities, with warfare, with curing and other forms of shamanism, with each of the steps of each of the marriage rites, and with a whole set of funerary rites, just to name a few. Such sequences, as ideal conventional forms (lists of generic deity types) differ in terms of the overall purpose of a particular rite and its specific relationship with aspects of cosmic processes, and beyond this, the generic types are always replaced in performance with particular, named "tokens" of the type.

In fact, however, certain ch'alla "paths," like the other ritual action sequences with which they are associated, form "modular" segments which are inserted into a particular rite when called for. To give what is perhaps the most commonly performed "paths" in example, all rites of passage (excepting death rites) including the fiesta, are built out of the stages of llama sacrifice, and each stage of the sacrifice has a corresponding ch'alla path to accompany it. Thus, whether in a marriage or a saint's feast, the segments dedicating the animals to be killed (uywa ispira), slaughtering the animals (qarwa k"ari), and dedicating the meat of the feast (ch'iwu) correspond to types of "generic" ch'alla paths which are called upon to frame and order the action.

As well as strain the available data beyond its usefulness. While I was able to obtain "generic," decontextualized ch'alla sequences for a number of rites through interviews, the fact that certain features of performance (such as appropriate liquid and identity of officiant) are not specified in the memorized form makes them relatively uninterpretable. There is also the problem, noted in the text, that while in actual performance the decontextualized forms may always be adhered to, the number and specific referents of items may vary significantly in practice according to place of performance and identity of sponsors.

I found that when I insisted on hearing the actual names of gods (which are held to be local secrets) rather than type categories, that the request was only successful when the interview turned into a performance. When the gods hear their names, they get hungry and thirsty, as one collaborator put it. Given that the average ch'alla sequence contains twenty to forty individual libations, the drawback of actual performances, for the ethnographer, is that mandatory participation makes effective note-taking increasingly difficult. The possibility of tape-recording in 1982 alleviated this problem somewhat.
To exemplify these assertions I will treat the uywa ispira t’aki sequence. Always performed when preparing for a llama sacrifice, it takes place within the home of the sponsors, during the afternoon of the day before the llamas are killed for any fiesta performance.

To begin with, a pair of altars are prepared in the house, one for men, and the other for women. (I put aside the gender parallelism of ch’alla performance for the moment, in order to emphasize here the composition of the ch’alla sequence, which is identical as to recipient types for both sexes). The altars for both men and women are simple constructions, defined in practice by the use of an altar cloth (for women, a shawl called an awayu, and for men, a punchu). The male altar is usually formed of adobes, raised a few feet above the floor, with a bench against the wall behind it, while the female altar is a cloth laid upon the center of the floor. Upon the altar is an inkuña cloth full of coca leaves, staffs of authority (if the sponsor has any), and cigarettes (if available). At the side (within the reach of the wasuwariri), is a container of diluted alcohol.

On entering the house for the performance, all participants dedicate a chew of coca (given them by the sponsors) to the sun or the moon, depending on the day of the week. When they have entered, an elder woman of the harnlet carries a bowl of incense twice around the inside of the house, encircling the altars in a counter-clockwise direction. Then

Llamas must always be sacrificed in pairs, and given uywa ispira, qarwa k”ari, and ch’iwu ch’allas, apart from certain exceptions which preclude these ch’allas, such as: wilara (when the animal and its blood are offered to dedicate an architectural form or symbol of office, and head, feet, pelt and bones are buried in the salient mallku mountain); funerary sacrifices, in which the blood must be consumed by the mourners, and the head, feet, pelt and bones burned for the use of the dead person in their journey; and curing sacrifices, in which the animal explicitly represents the patient and is given his disease before being given to the gods in lieu of the persono Sacrifice of but a single animal is acceptable in all of these exceptions, and in all but funerary rites, sheep (or lesser animals, when the occasion is slight) may be substituted. As I treat sacrifice at length in the following chapter, I will not go into detail here.

I acknowledge the guidance and inspiration of Michael Silverstein in leading me through my first attempts at understanding the poetics of ch’alla sequences, in particular in a 1982 seminar on ritual language. The approach I take here derives, in certain respects, from Silverstein (n.d.), “Metaforces of power in traditional oratory.”
ch'allas begin in earnest. Here I present a "typical" sequence for the uywa ispira ch'allas, as *(nota bene)* performed at the men's altar (see table 8).

Given that every participant should pour (or blow) a libation for each of the entities listed, the performance of the Herd Animal Vispers Path takes several hours to complete, during which there are short breaks to refill the pail of alcohol or the sponsors' bottle. Between major segments (indicated by uppercase alphabets and roman numerals), there are also pauses to dedicate and chew coca, which is presented by the sponsors to each participant, and received in cupped hands with the phrase *yuspagawaD* ("god will repay you").

As with all ch'alla performances, the first libation is for the place of performance, here, the house itself (iskin mamala) and the altar (misa). Next the personal guardian hiil (uywiri) of the sponsors (and their house), and the mallku or *kumpirira* (mallku, "male condor"; *kumpirira*, from Sp. *cumbre*, "peak") to which the uywiri is subordinate. Each compound or group of households, corresponding to a sibling group around their father's homestead) has its own uywiri, while the kumpirira is but one for the entire hamlet. Thus the ch'allas in segment A (group 1) move from near (and low) to far (and high), marking out the levels of inclusion of social units through a single line of a branching

9By "typical" I mean that these are not the exact words of an actual performance, which would employ actual place-names for many of the deity types given here. This sequence is as given in interviews by awarinti ch'alla specialists, and checked against actual performances, which were true to type, if not exact words used. But see discussion below.

1OMallku and kumpirira are alternate terms for a single entity, which is the god of (and residing in) high mountain peaks. The condor is one form which the kumpirira may take (the other being a mestizo or white human-form body, in order to deceive) when "outside" of his chamber within the mountain. In the distant past, the mallkulkumprira as the mountain itself could walk and talk, as many myths attest

11The number of uywiris in a hamlet corresponds rather well to the genealogical depth of focal ancestors linking households. Nonetheless an elder son, forming a new household "neolocally" within the hamlet, may create his own uywiri. Thus a profusion of uywiris in a hamlet may index social schisms as well as genealogy. But see chapter 5 for a discussion of the importance of nodal deities and jach'a misas in hamlet fiestas, in healing these schisms.
# TABLE 8

**LIDATIONS OF UYWA ISPIRA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>Ch'alla Words</th>
<th>Approximate Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Iskin mamala taki</td>
<td>mother &quot;corner&quot; (house itself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>misa taki</td>
<td>altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>uywiri taki</td>
<td>herd/caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kumprira [or mallku] taki</td>
<td>mountain peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>jira t'all misa taki</td>
<td>llama dung-place altar (corral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yanun jira t'all misa taki</td>
<td>&quot;mate&quot; of &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ch&quot;itan jira t'all misa taki</td>
<td>sheep dung-place altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>yanun ch&quot;itan jira t'all misa taki</td>
<td>&quot;mate&quot; of &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>jira t'all misa uywiri taki</td>
<td>dung-place altar caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>yanun &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;mate&quot; of &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>jira t'all misa kumprira taki</td>
<td>dung-place altar peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>12 warmin jira t'all misa taki</td>
<td>WF's dung-place altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 warmin jira t'all uywiri taki</td>
<td>WF's dung-place caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*14 warmin jira t'all kumprira taki</td>
<td>WF's dung-place peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>15 mamalñan jira t'all mispa taki</td>
<td>mother's dung-place altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 mamalñan jira t'all uywiri taki</td>
<td>mother's dung-place caretaker</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*17 mamalñan jira t'all kumprirataki</td>
<td>mother's dung-place peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>18 taykch'in jira t'all mispa taki</td>
<td>WM's dung-place altar</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19 taykch'in jira t'all uywiri taki</td>
<td>WM's dung-place caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*20 taykch'in jira t'all kumprirataki</td>
<td>WM's dung-place peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>21 jach'a malan jira t'all mispa taki</td>
<td>MM's dung-place altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22 jach'a malan jira t'all uywiri taki</td>
<td>MM's dung-place caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*23 jach'a malan kumprira taki</td>
<td>MM's dung-place peak</td>
</tr>
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<td>G</td>
<td>24 warmin jach'a malan jira t'all mispa taki</td>
<td>WMM's dung-place altar</td>
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<td>25 warmin jach'a malan jira t'all uywiritaki</td>
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<td></td>
<td>*26 warmin jach'a malan jira t'all kumprirataki</td>
<td>WMM's dung- peak</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Translation</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>llantiru awki taki</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>yanan llantiru awki taki</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>t'ama llantiru awki taki</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>waynapat llantiru awki taki</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>paq'ara llantiru awki taki</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>llantir awki misa taki</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>llantir awatir uywir misa taki</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lead father</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lead father caretaker altaren</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lead father peak altaren</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lead father &quot;breath&quot; altaren</td>
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</tr>
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<td>36</td>
<td>llantir muntu taki</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>sariju taki</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>sariju paq'ara taki</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>sariju mispa taki</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>sariju awatir uywiri</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ram</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ram's herder/caretaker</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;breath&quot; of ram (stone image)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>lumpri awka taki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>yanan lumpri awka taki</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>lumpri paq'ara taki</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bull</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;mate&quot; of bull</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>newborn (&quot;flower&quot;) bull</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the bull's altar</td>
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<td>the bull's herder/caretaker</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;breath&quot; of bull (a stone image)</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>awiyaru taki</td>
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<td>yanan awiyaru taki</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>paqulakutan awiyaru taki</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>tuña t'iris awiyaru taki</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>almasina taki</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>valley provider</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;mate&quot; of valley provider</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>corn silk valley provider</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>potato valley provider</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>store (where bought alcohol)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>mayruwiri [ ] taki</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>mayruwiri jach'a tala taki</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>mayruwiri jach'a mala taki</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>mayruwiri awksa taki</td>
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<td>dead geneologically near kin</td>
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<td>dead FF</td>
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<td></td>
<td>dead FM</td>
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<td></td>
<td>dead apical F (&quot;our father&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>surti taki</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>yanan surti taki</td>
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hierarchy expressed in topographic terms. Segments B-G (group IT), and H-J (group IIIT) are similarly ordered, but express the hierarchy of deities specific to corrals and herd animals.

The overall structure of the sequence, as indicated by uppercase letters, includes thirteen analytically separable groupings. These are, however, parts of larger groupings. Group I, as we have seen, treats the sacred places of the house and of persons. Group II on the other hand, contains dedications to corrals (usually located just outside, to the rear of the house).

Segment B again refers to the corrals attached to the sponsors’ household, including the altar of their male llama corral (5), the altar of the "mate" of the male corral (6), (that is, the female llama corral), the male sheep corral altar (7) and its "mate" (8), and the uywiris and kumprira (9-11) which correspond to them (shared by other patriline members’ corrals). The latter are sometimes, but not always, the same as the humans’ uywiri and kumprira; but as animals are pastured in many areas, they have need of more caretakers, not always well known by the animals’ herders. The term for corral, ~, is not employed in these ch’allas. Rather, a ritual term is employed: jira t’alla, meaning "dung-flat-female-place." 12

Segments e-G within group II also dedicate hierarchies of corral deities (misa, uywiri, and kumprira), but this time of corrals from which the sponsors’ household herd derives. The progression is the same as that used in wedding ch’allas, beginning with the "wife’s corral altar" of origin, that is, her father’s corral altar, and progressing through the wife’s mother’s, father’s mother’s, and wife’s mother’s mother’s corral deities, all from the perspective of the male sponsor. (In wedding ch’allas, however, the deities of persons...
and patrilines are given, not those of corrals). If the sponsor has not inherited his father's corrals, these will also be included, between B and C, as jach’a, iira t’alla, “great corral.”

The progression of segments B-G (within group II) moves from the corrals of the egos of the rite outward (and backwards in time) to genealogically receding branches of herd ancestral deities. As such the inter-segment order recapitulates the internal ordering of each segment but in inverse form: The first item within each segment is a single particular, subordinated to an encompassing form (uywiri) which (in segment A) relates the household to other patristem households, and the uywiri subordinated to a kumprira which encompasses all hamlet/patriline uywiris. Within segment B, differentiated corral altars and uywiris (note the plurals) of already hierarchically evaluated types of animals (first camelids, as an unmarked form, and then corrals marked "sheep"), are encompassed by a single kumprira. In the hierarchy of corrals, then, the corrals of reference (of the sponsors' herd) "encompasses" more numerous ascending generation (and territorially dispersed) herds and sets of deities, though the direction of subordination is determined by temporal priority.

Segments H-J (within group III) dedicate animals themselves rather than their corrals, and at the same time dedicate the deities of the animals themselves, that is, the deities of their pastures. Novel features (with respect to group I and II) make it necessary to consider these segments in more detail.

First of all, the herd animal segments each begin with libations to the animals themselves, beginning with the adult type, and progressing downward in age-development. This is most pronounced in segment H, and note here that the camelid sequence is always more developed than those for other, less esteemed animals. Note that llantiru (and lumnri, “bulls”) appear with yanani repetitions. Itern 29, tama llantiru awki taki, refers to the herd (tama) which the llantiru define through their totalizing practice of "leading." Iterns 30 and 31 progress downward in age-status, waynapat being a not-yet fully grown male (similar to the human youth term wayna or maxta), while paq’ara, "flower," is a term for newborn of
all species. One might argue that the more elaborated recognition of camelids reflects their greater similarity to human beings, or rather, creates a greater similarity. To sum up the hierarchical movement of items 27-31, we see that the progression is from the dominant adult males, to the herd they control, to the age/generation subordinate young who will eventually replace them. The sequence also points towards one desired result of the performance (and of the sacrifice which it initiates), which is the increase of the herd, through the reciprocation of the flowers given to the gods (drink and sacrifices) in the form of newbom animal"flowers," which are needed, in any case, to replace the llantiru males (which are the type sacrificed on the following clay of the performance).

Items 32 to 36 of the llantiru sequence form a subset which is analogous to the last four items in both the ram and bull sequences (segments I and J), and yet differs in having an extra termo The progression from misa to uywiri to kumprira repeats the form of each previous segment in the performance, but we see the deity form samiri for the first time. Samiri take two forms, collapsed here into a single entity. The term is derived from m, "breath" (samaña = "to breathe": samaraña, "to rest"), which when made agentive with the -iri suffix becomes "one who [gives] breath." The first type of samiri are large boulders in vaguely animal shape, high in the mountains, which are kinds of ideal types or ancestor forms. Secondly, samiri is the locally more common equivalent of illa, the miniature stone figurines in animal form which are kept buried in the corral with llama ear pieces from yearly marking rites (done in carnaval). Both samiri forms are repositors of the life-principle of animals, which is carefully nurtured with the aid of the animal's ultimate owners, the uywiris and kumprira.

Item 36 stands out as unique in the uywa ispira sequence. Muntu or llantiru muntu is the most mysterious of all of the deity forms, because no one is quite sure where it is. While all conceive of it as a mountain, which as the ultimate source and repository of

13Consultants told me that a few patrilines in K'ulta have their own samiris, of humans, which these lines ch'alla after their own kumprira in sequences corresponding to segment A, but I was never able to confirm this.
great camelid herds encompasses the llamas' kumpiras, it does not lie within K'ulta territory. Some say that it is "near Yura" to the south and west, while others believe it to be very far to the west, that is, not on this earth at all, but in the land of the dead. What matters is that it exists as a space (inside of the mountain) within which great herds are kept. Though analogous to the muntu (or mayuwiri qullu, "ancestors' mountain") which is given libations in funerary sacrifices, consultants were very ambivalent about making the analogy explicit, as the dead and the uywiris must not be "mixed" (see the discussion below). It is also significant that such a mountain exists for camelids, but not for sheep or cattle.

Indeed, it must also be remarked that both llamas and alpacas (distinct subspecies of domesticated camelids) are subsumed within a single category by metonymically inclusion of the entire herd of camelids in the term llantiru. As was pointed out in the previous chapter, llantiru in its more restricted use signifies only the leader(s) of the herd, those which are especially honored (and given bells to wear) because they actually take the lead (and unify the herd) when going to pasture or on caravan trips.

Each category of animal herd (and especially the camelid, as represented by the llantiru) is thus treated as analogous to human society, as if they have their own sets of deities, like the human ones libated in segment A. In some cases, sponsors actually name specific place deities (associated with particular pastures) here, sometimes enumerating several for each category, sometimes giving the dedication in the plural.

There is considerable variability here, and consultants were unsure, in some cases, whether the ram's uywiri, for example was the same as that of its corral. Unlike the...
human deities, in which knowing their names is crucially important, the specifics of the animals are not always attributed (they are, after all, the animals' gods). We should take this absence of specificity, I think, as an indication that what is important here is the very the enumeration of animal types as internally hierarchical (in terms of age), and related as a herd through a hierarchy of encompassment, features which make them like humans. That is, it is the establishment of the human-herd equation accomplished by the ch'alla form which is itself one of the goals of the rite.

But we have yet to finish describing the ch'alla listo. At this point I must point out some apparent irregularities in the sequence. Lumpri (bulls) for example, do not appear in the group TI segments pointing to corrals. This is a straightforward matter, as cattle, when they are kept, are not kept in corrals in the first place. Their exclusion from corrals (which they could in any case knock down in short order) is undoubtedly also related to the fact that, unlike other esteemed herd animals, they neither produce wool nor carry loads. Instead, pairs of bulls symbolize bountiful agricultural labor force and production, and as a result, cattle are libated even when a household has none.

Finally, segments K-M refer neither to human nor animal place deities, and thus form independent units of composition. Segment M remembers a set of figures controlling the production of non-animal foodstuffs, beginning with the general form awiyaru, from the archaic Spanish verb aviar (lito provision"). These are uywiri-like deities at the heads of valleys producing the bulk of vegetable food eaten in K'ulta. Here a sponsor names the deities corresponding to the valley sources of primary food items, to which he travels during the dry season. Items 52 and 53 name the awiyarus controlling com (referred to metonymically as "com silk") and potatoes (tuña t'irisa from Saint Theresa, being both patroness and ritual name for potatoes). Item 54, almasina (Sp. almacen: "storehouse")

I estimate that there are on the average less than one pair of bulls per hamlet in all of K'ulta, and even fewer cows.
records the proximal source of the alcohol, that is to say, the store in which it was purchased.

In segment L, the long-dead ancestors are remembered. In performance, actual names will again be given, when known. Depending on the circumstances, these may be drawn out to a much greater genealogical depth, back to the laq'ajach'a generation, which is to say back to the apex and limit of genealogical significance. One may not, however, ch'alla recent dead (those dead less than three years, for whom funerary rites are still ongoing) in uywa ɔspira. Recent dead are addressed only on Mondays (the day of the dead), during which no part of non-funerary sacrificial rites may take place. In any case, the dead are remembered, like the corrals, in progressive backwards steps from most recent to most distant.

In other ch'alla paths (such as those of qarwa k'ari and ch'iwu), the mayruwiri 17 ch'allas are followed by libations for money (called in libation language wilamillu, "blood mountain," in reference to the silver mountain in Potosi where generations of Aymara suffered in the mines), and for banks, the storehouse of money.

The final segment of the sequence, segment M, is more of a request than a dedication, and terminates all ch'alla sequences: "for luck" and "for the yanani of luck," (surfí, from the Sp. ~) addressing the imponderable factor (the genius vocati) which make performance of rites such as this productive for some but not for others. To paraphrase one consultant, for some people the fiesta is not their luck, and no matter what

I am unsure as to the etymology of mayruwiri. On the one hand it may frozen composite of mayura (from Sp. "great elder") + uywiri: Indeed, the insistence of consultants on imposing a complementary distribution on their rites makes a connection between them seem more, rather than less, likely. On the other hand, however, there is the much more likely source apparent in an entry in Bertonio's dictionary: "Mayruru, vel Marmuru: Kidney, and also the best of the wool; and of the earth" (1984 [1612]: Bk. 2: 220). While I cannot confirm this connection, since I never heard the term used apart from its frozen form in reference to "souls," it would be consistent as a term of respect for the dead to compare them with kidneys (where the most precious form of body fat, a kind of solidified semen, is located) and with precious constituents of the earth.
they do their children die and their herds do not increase. These have to seek their luck in other places.18

Ultimately one might conceptualize the composition of the sequence as a path which progresses ever further from the immediate concerns of the household, branching (segmentally) out into ever more distant semantic and pragmatic realms. The ch'alla path organizes space concentrically, focused always on the specific altar of performance and the social unit indexed by it. Recapitulating the internal hierarchy of inclusion of each segment, the progression of segments (and of major chunks of segments) also forros a (concentrically focused) hierarchy of inclusion. Thus the sequence moves from the deities of the humans of sponsor's patriline (segment A), to those of his corrals (segments B-G), which have a more bilateral affiliation, to the realm of herd animals (segments H-J), to the sources of vegetable food (segment K), outside of K'ulta and its eco-zone, to the ancestors of the "other world" (segment L), and finally to "luck" (segment M) most outside of the control and understanding of the sponsors.

The term t'aki (path) is an appropriate one for this progression, as what are "remembered" are actual channels of social transmission, which, like a journey, have both spatial and temporal coordinates. The idea of sequence (of a path with a beginning and an end, or of a journey between near and distant terminal points) also serves to integrate spatial and temporal hierarchies into a single order, since the "path" described by ch'allas is always simultaneously across territory and back in time. This is, however, to simplify (as does the poetics of ch'alla sequence), through juxtaposition (that is metaphorical equation) what are different forms of hierarchical diagrams, each with distinct implications. The vertical hierarchy of inclusion of misaluywiri/kumprira conforms to a principle of descent,

18Initially I thought the term to signify certain metal (copper?) balls, also called sinhi or surti wala ("luck balls/ bullets"). These are thought to be the product of lightning strikes, and are used by shamans (who are "called" to their profession by being hit by lightning) to "call" their awukatu familiars. Consultants vehemently rejected this idea, however, and not because of reticence to talk about the surti wala, which many people possess, and which lay in great numbers about the feet of certain saints in the church.
whereby a single apical "ancestor"-mountain controls and encompasses all of its "lower"
descendants. The relationship among corral deities, however, express es (in connection
with herd animals) the matrilaterralinks which multiply the number and horizontal reach of
salient kumpiras. Finally, in the latter segments of the sequence, distance is not correlated
with genealogical depth or encompassing height, but with categorial difference. The realms
of the awiyar us, city merchants, ancestral souls, and even of luck are all extra-social in a
more profound manner than are the animals and the genealogically and vertically ordered
gods. Each is also lower, more dangerous, less subject to control. But to fully understand
the methporical complexity introduced in equating (in the overall poetics of the ch'alla
sequence) what are non-equivalent fonns of hierarchy, we must turn to the features of
cosmic levels, as these are given diagrammatic sensibility in multiple forms which then
inflect the values of attributes of the terrain on which journeys travelled on ch'alla paths are
made. This I will carry out by first cataloguing the gods through the liquids given to them,
and then, by turning to myth (another form of recursive sequencing), I will discuss the
"path" which initially gave the cosmos its order.

4.1.3. Types of Libation Liquids and the Grand Cosmic Scheme

It remains to be pointed out that there is more than one liquid that may be offered
in ch'alla. In fact, we can understand the distribution of kinds of liquids in libations only
in terms of the hierarchical relations among kinds of officiants as these intersect with a
hierarchical order of deities. As it happens, officiants and recipients are categorized in three
broad types (corresponding to cosmic levels and to hierarchical relations within them)
according to whether they give and receive pure alcohol (PllIQ), diluted alcohol (awarinti),
or corn beer (Sp. chicha or Aymara kJ..s.a).

Certain ch'alla paths are limited, by both context of performance and nature of
recipient, to a single kind of liquido Types of ch'allas, however, differ not only according
to liquid, but, also by the identity of the server. As noted above, a ch'alla is first a
prestation between human individuals before it becomes one between human and godo
must remember includes the sequences of the other libation liquids, the awarint wasuwariri
is the key to the whole performance, a kind of master of ceremonies. There are many
deities, however, which are only given ch'allas in diluted alcohol, and all of these deities
are associated with manxapacha. Manxapacha deities form, then, the lowest level in a
hierarchy of distinction. Those ch'allas exclusively poured in awarinti are for the altar
(misa) at which the performance takes place, for the household level deities known as
uywiris,"herd caretakers," for the sacred places of the animals themselves, for ancestors,
money and banks, and many other kinds of subsidiary place deities (including the "seats"
and altars of deities which themselves receive other libation liquids). Awarinti libations are
always poured onto the corners of the altar of reference, through the "roots" of which they
reach their ultimate destinations.

Nowadays it is only the sky gods who receive the endogenous form of libation
liquid, fermented kūaa (chicha or com beer). The locally manufactured beer has thus been .
limited to use for the highest ranking gods. It is likely that in the past the by-products of
chicha manufacture (discussed below) were also used for libations, and that, when alcohol
did not exist, chicha was thus subdivided into its sedimentation strata (as well as by
process of manufacture) for libations for different classes of deities. With the advent of
Spaniards carne distilled spirits, and cane alcohol (in two forms) displaced the chicha by-
products from the hierarchy of libation liquids.21

While it may be ironic that the drink of precolombian Andean gods became
assigned to the sky deities of Christianity, it is doubly ironic that a distilled spirits—a
frequently proscribed drink for Indians—became the drink of choice for the prohibited,

TI In the early years of the colony, of course, wine (and spirits distilled from it)
was much more readily available than cane products, and these were very likely an
intermediate step in the process of displacement. In the 16th to 18th centuries, Aymara
lords made use of their herds to become great market intermediaries, and one of the
products thus transported was wine in quantity (see Murra 1977). Today, however, wine
and sin-ani (a type of brandy) are expensive luxuries beyond the means of mosto It also
may be, however, that the use of wine in the priest's version of the sacrament adds a layer
of meaning which restricts its use elsewhere, where it enters primarily in shamanic curing
rites.
clearly non-Christian gods. Apart from having surreptitious practice in common, the very strength of cane alcohol, which for colonial administrators made it seem dangerous in Indian hands, may have made it particularly appealing for libations of the gods who were pushed underground.

As we shall see, the most potent (highest proof) alcohol is reserved for the most powerful (and ambivalent) manxapacha deities, while k'usa and non-alcoholic liquids (when in the church, or directly manipulating saint images) are reserved for the sky gods. While it is difficult to account for the historical motivation for the assignment of liquids to particular classes of deities, it may be possible to argue that the division corresponds to other attributes associated with the production (or non-production) of substances, and the form of transformative process attributed to deities of above and below. Specifically, liquids offered to the sky gods have in common the use of a complex preparation including various forms of grinding, chewing, cooking and heating, while the potency of the alcohol offered the "savage" gods of the realm of darkness and "natural" production/consumption (where domesticates are wild, food is eaten raw, etc.), is an inherent quality of the cold liquido. There is also a diabolical quality in alcohol, deriving from being manufactured in an alien form by machines, which makes it an appropriate substance to offer to gods which are themselves sometimes diabolical, and can sometimes appear in the shape of Hispanics.

4.1.3.2. **Puro and the Mallku/Kumprira**

There is a complementary distribution between the "secondary" libation liquid types, with chicha given only to the gods of alaxpacha: the sun, moon and saints, and 22JIQ, ninety-seven percent pure cane alcohol, given to the dominating mountain gods, as well as to other maximally important deities of the underworld.

22The hispanization of the mallku in K'ulta is by no means, however, as complete as the central Peruvian equivalent, the wamani (Quechua for "falcon"), who by the accounts of several ethnographers is much more capricious and closely tied to the hierarchy of national authority (See Earls [1969], and Isbell [1978] for the best known examples).
While both dilute alcohol and chicha are served to participants by "memory path" specialists, puro is served by the sponsors themselves, from small bottles which they carry with them throughout the rites they sponsor. It is sometimes poured by the sponsor into a cup before being presented to the participant/libator, but is usually drunk straight from the bottle, after blowing (not pouring) the offering through the air toward the pre-eminent (and "high") deities which receive it.

In the uywa ispira sequence given above, asterisked items are those which are given puro from the sponsors' bottles (while also receiving cups of dilute awarinti). Puro, that is, goes to the mallku/kumprira, the samiri, and to muntu mountain; which is to say, to the most powerful and predominant manxapacha powers. What these deities have in common is genealogical depth, as links between disparate households and herds, as well as height, dominating the multiple and partial uywiris and misas under their purview. That it is the sponsor who presents the puro to the offering participant is here appropriate, as ritual sponsors in all of the events calling for libations of mallkus are on a path towards achieving a similar form of totalization of partial units (i.e., by becoming patriline/hamlet llantirus, fathers, and jiliris, and finally ayllu jilaqatas).

The sky gods are not libated in uywa ispira, but on the following day of fiesta sacrifice, qarwa k"ari, most of the ch'allas of uywa ispira are repeated with the inclusion of alaxpacha gods, libated in puro as well as in chicha. Indeed, the whole array of church-associated sacred places, such as the plaza and tower, the saints' "seats" and altars in town as well as the altars on the top of the hamlet uywiri, the "niño," a miniature tower of the hamlet chapel: all of these are given puro as well as chicha, in addition to the sun, moon, and saints themselves.

4.1.3.3. K'usa and the Gods of Alaxpacha

K.:!Wi ("corn beer"), is served by the k'usa wasuwariri from a large "cup," for the libation of sky deities. In the ch'alla sequence for uywa ispira, it was not mentioned
because, as K’ulteños have it, it is not normally served indoors, being reserved for more public occasions of sociality.

K’usa is enormously laborious to manufacture, taking at least two days and nights to prepare before it fermented. As a result, chicha making is begun several days before the first ch’alla sequence of a given rite. While I will leave full description of the chicha manufacturing process for another occasion, the importance of k’usa as the libation liquid of the highest-ranking gods makes it worthwhile to here mention briefly what is involved.

Chicha manufacture is costly in terms of labor input, ingredients, and the amount of firewood consumed. Just as a sponsor must arrange for a large number of assistants for the ritual performance itself, they are equally necessary to prepare the chicha, which becomes a kind of festive, collective labor involving not only the sponsor's entire hamlet, but also his tullqas and godchildren (especially the suyiyawas, "godchildren of baptism").

To make k’usa, large quantities of corn, the most valued of valley products, must be ground into flour in two forms: "ordinary," and sprouted. About one third of the total is sprouted before grinding. It is first soaked in water, and then warmed, sometimes by sponsors' body heat on their sleeping platform, sometimes in the heat of the sun, until it sprouts. It is then dried and ground, mixed with the plain flour, and kneaded into a dough. In alternate form, employed especially in the cold months, some of the flour is chewed by women before being added to the dough. With either form, some of the dough is saved out, and baked into small loaves of bread while the rest of the dough is mixed into warm water. The loaves are then crumbled into the urn. The chicha is then heated at controlled temperatures in large ceramic urns, stirred constantly. It is then rested, and sedimentation stratifies the product into three types of liquid: at the bottom, tiqti (thick, sweet "porridge"); in the middle, fermentable k’usa per se; and on the top, nearly clear liquid called ch’uwa.

The by-products of chicha manufacture themselves are suitable for use, with tiqti eaten by the manufacturers, and ch’uwa saved for aspersing the herd animals in preparation
for sacrifice. Tiqti is mentioned by a number of Inka sources as the "best" part of chicha for sacrifice, but seems to have been displaced by the unmarked form, k'usa, as the most exclusive libation liquid.

In any case, k'usa and its by-products are produced through the use of several types of transformative processes: cooking by heating in an um, baking (not in an oven, but directly in the fire, like the stones used by wedding laritas to malee qala p"urka), sprouted by wetting and then warming, and by being chewed, an alimentary variety of "cooking." That is, the attributes of chicha are achieved through the mediation of several forms of transformation of a raw "natural" form (though coro is the most domesticated of crops) into a processed "cultural" one, which then can be offered to the gods responsible for (and presiding over) such processes.

The chicha vessel, called a yanani turo wasu or MM, is a bowl-shaped wooden vessel about six to eight inches in diameter. At the bottom of the turu wasu is a matched pair (yanani) of carved wooden bulls, yoked together. When drinking from this double-bull cup, the bulls should always face away from the drinker, and towards the east. A less common but even more esteemed alternate form, the yanani llantir wasu, contains a pair of llamas. Whether bulls or llamas, the figures bear a marked resemblance to two other miniature forms (both llantiru): the MM (chest fat) figures standing in their q'uwa (incense) bowl, which are burned or buried at dawn in the q'uwa rite; and the illa (also called samiri), carved or natural stone figures of camelids which are buried (with llama ear-pieces) during the carnival marking rite in the center of the male-llama corral. When it is filled with chicha, the turu- or llantir-wasu becomes a lake ~), in which the yanani pair stand immersed. The camelids are held to have originated in miniature "illalsamiri" form in highland springs (which are layra ["eyes"], and as passageways to the underworld river, doorways to layra timpu), and as the chicha is drunk from the bowl, the pair of animals
within appear to emerge from such a spring.\textsuperscript{23} The bowl-full of chicha is also here called a lake úDlill), attributing to the offering (and the stored chicha) the lake's attribute of inexhaustable quantity. As the turu wasu full of chicha is also an offering to the exceptionally thirsty (and dry) sky deities, the attribution of quantity aggrandizes the offering as well as metaphorically calling forth the gods' attribute of total encompassing capacity. By the same token, the drinkers of such amounts (those who make the offering directly) attribute sufficiency to the sponsors' offering/provisioning/generosity, just as they become more godlike themselves by consuming the offerings prodigiously. At noted at the beginning of this chapter, massive consumption is itself a form of sacrifice, which is required of all participants in rituals such as these. To refuse to eat would be not only a refusal to enter into a debt relation to the sponsor and an insult to his gods, but would also deprive the sponsor of the possibility of demonstrating the abundance of the offering.\textsuperscript{24}

The importance of both the capacity for consumption and the implications of bodily sacrifice are brought home in the widely known myths of the buffoon/trickster fox (again, like the wife-giving larita). In numerous myths, he attempts to empty lakes or rivers in order to satisfy his voracious appetite. In one story type, he is tricked by a typical prey animal that the moon's reflection on a lake is a round of cheese, in another, he tries to retrieve his lost penis from a river bottom. As in the denouement of the myth of origin of cultigens, the result is a loss of control, as he is pricked by spines and bursts (cf. also the

\textsuperscript{23}One consultant recounted that his grandmother had once nearly caught some of these perfectly formed miniature llamas, which sometimes appear when the earth is "open" during February, usually in the mountain heights just after dawn when the mist is rising from the areas of springs. Unfortunately, she looked away, and the samiri dissappeared. What she should have done was immediately to have pounced upon them with her ch'uspa (coca bag), in which they might have been made into life-size animals and brought great fertility to the herd. As we shall see, llamas of all sorts, but especially samiri, find coca attractive as the human equivalent of grass. Before llamas are killed in sacrifice, they are made to breathe (samaña) into a ch'uspa of coca which is held for burial with samiri in the corral during marking rites.

\textsuperscript{24}The amount provided by sponsors must always far exceed what can possibly be consumed, or they risk public ridicule as well as personal disaster from insulted deities. I must here thank Mary Dillon for sharing her insights into the symbolism of drinking.
importance for colonial lorcls of demonstrating continued control even after massive consumption of food and drink, treated in the first section of this chapter).

The form of the chicha vessel already brings another kind of symbolic form to the libation. The yanani pair within also offer an iconic reference (that is, one of direct diagrammatic resemblance) both to the pair of sacrificial victims always offered in conjunction with chicha libations, and to the desired return for the sacrifice, which, as we shall see, is usually the transformation of the sponsor into both lead llama (llantiru) and herder of a human-herd composed of llantiru. The yoked bulls in the more commonly possessed (and manufactured) vessel have considerably more significance in polities where agriculture is paramount. There is nonetheless a certain carry-over of this significance, an allusion to the harnessing of powers (both human-labor and alaxpacha “control”) in agricultura! production, in K’ulta as well.

The deities to whom chicha is thus offered share, in the first instance, the attribute of residing in, or constituting, alaxpacha, the upper or outer space-time which dominates and encompasses manxapacha. They are of course also the deities of conquest, simultaneously of culture over nature, human beings over animals, the present over the past, and of Hispanic society over Indians. The sun is the most distant and foreign agency, a latecomer who became the first cause of a new order wrought in his struggle with the old, but, like the moon, is more distant and less accessible to humans, who must make offerings insubstantial (smoke, breath, etc.) for them to reach alaxpacha. In this respect the celestial gods are quite unlike those of manxapacha, which are everywhere perceptible.

Indeed, as Detienne tells us was also true in the sacrificial system of ancient Greece (1977), there appears to be a highly developed cede of smells in K’ulta. Incense is widely used in ritual and one of the attributes of flowers that makes them appropriate for alaxpacha consumption is precisely their pleasing smell. Manxapacha transformative processes, on the other hand, are associated with the smells of decay (t’uxsa). Mineral deposits of all sorts are held to be particularly tuxsa smelling, but also places where lightning has struck, and the things it touches. It is worthwhile, I think, to relate that the “highest” reaching of all manxapacha deities, the kumpriralmallku, are themselves t’uxsa, appearing in the form of the carrion eating condor. We may find that decay is here treated as a naturally occurring analog of cooking, as well as with digestion (so that rotten food and drink, like feces and urine, are t’uxsa, along with beings that eat them).
in the landscape (layra timpu, likewise, when all deities were embodied on this earth, lies before one's eyes [layra]), directly accessible to offering substances which, like rivers, flow down into the past. Only the saints, who are refractions of the sun and moon, are embodied on this earth, and it is through them that offerings to alaxpacha pass. Saints images are also the channels through which alaxpacha powers descend to the realm of meno. As such, they (and the churches and chapels in which they reside) are like embassies of alaxpacha, through which the vertically assigned attributes of gods can be reworked as horizontal (and concentric) relations, that is, among social groups.

Thus projected via relative diagrammatic (spatial) relations, upper/lower becomes inside/outside, north (alaxa)/south (manxa). While these relations are primarily interpreted in terms of a division of space through categorial opposition, the sequential or processual aspect of the relationship among the gods, whose modellings in the path of the sun (the t'aki of Tata Mustramu), through the sky, is associated with the cardinal directions east and west (in Aymara, the "sun rising place" and "the sun setting place"), to which other sequential processes, such as the life career, (birth-death, growth-decay) and alimentation (eating-defecation), are assimilated.

While predominantly a dry and hot male realm, dominated by the sun (Clill.a Mustramurrata, Awatir Awksa), the sky is, like the underworld, yanani: the sun shares his realm (in complementary distribution) with his feminine consort, the moon (Santisima MamalalPaxsi, MamalalWirjin, Mala), an alaxpacha refraction of the dark and wet feminine realm of manxapacha.

While I do not wish to confuse the issue by raising the matter of cultural sources for these forms of divinity, it is clear that the gods of the sky have a quite Christian character. Christ and the Virgin (though thought of as a married couple) predominate, and give rise to a host of saints, who are personal intercessors for men and women. The holy trinity makes an appearance in a figure known as Kinsa Milakru, "the miracle of three," given ch'allas and coca dedications every Friday. Looking more closely, however, Kinsa
Milakru is thought to consist of Tata Mustramu (the sun), Tata Exaltac1on (the cross of exaltation, a saint celebrated on September 14 who is also known as Tata Killakas), and Tata Santiaku (Saint James, patron of Spain and the conquest of the Indies, who is thought to command lightning). While these three figures may seem to correspond to "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," they are all evaluated as fathers, and bear as much resemblance to the Inka male sky trinity of ñti (the sun), Punehaw ("the day" and an idol carried by the Inka to battle), and Illm¿a (lightning) (see Cock and Doyle 1980).

The male and female saints (which include devotions to the Virgin and Christ, as long as there is an image, in addition to saints ~), are emissaries of the sun and moon, capable of making direct contact with this earth (akapaehaJuraqi). As such they are the alaxpacha equivalents of the mallkus, the emissaries to alaxpacha from below. Indeed, in shamanic curing (as practiced by a type of shaman known as ch'iýar yatiri, "knower of darkness") the two forms (mallku as condor and saint, as Tristan Platt has suggested, a kind of penteeost [personal communication, November 1985]) work together to make the required inter-zonal contact through which the hidden becomes manifest and the unknown given words.

4.1.3.4. Concatenation of Ch’allas and Meeting of Zones

As noted above, the uywa ispira ch’allas sequence chosen to exemplify ch’allas sequence composition, lacks the use of k’usa as well as libations for sky deities. I pointed out that consultants explained this as a result of the fact that uywa ispira is performed entirely inside of the house, and in connection with the household lardero. As an enclosed space, the house is symbolically equatable with manxapacha, becoming unsuitable for libations to sky gods, which are therefore should be performed out of doors. Many performances, however, such as the qarwa k”ari and ch’iwu sequences, involve all three distinct forms of libation, concatenated into a single order of performance. I will comment more extensively on this matter below, but here point out that the complexity of a
performance hinges crucially on whether or not a performance includes another patriline, ayllu, or moiety as an identified subset of participants.

That is, the uywa ispira sequence lacks k'usa not only because it is performed in a house, but it is performed in a house because it is a private, intra-patriline (not to say intra-household) affair. Inter-patriline rites take place at the outdoors altars of the sponsors' house patio (and the jach'a misa of the apical hamlet founder), and as these rites involve a relation between structural opposites (groups evaluated as complementary inverses, like the levels of the cosmos), the dialogue between them is phrased in terms of that between cosmic levels, and is carried out through the concatenation of libations in k'usa, puro, and awarinti.

The pair of bulls or llantiru llamas within chicha libation vessels, as well as in the q'uja incense form, takes on additional significance as an icon of the similarity and complementary opposition of like but opposed social units. In qarwa k'ari ch'allas this becomes explicit, when llantiru (that is, the paired sacrificial victims) are addressed as tinkurawki, "fathers [who gol to tinku]." The concept of tinku is treated well and at length in Platt (1978a).

Signifying fundamentally "a meeting of opposites," tinku is applied to a range of phenomena, such as the meeting (that is, forking) of rivers, of branches on a stem (cf. Urton 1984), etc. The most salient use of the term here is perhaps its application to a form of ritual battle which forms a central element of many rites. While actual ritual fighting occurs only in the ritual center town in moiety-level fiestas, it is also implicated in all inter-patriline rites (including marriage ceremonies) where the musician-dance groups exchanged by patrilines appear as "platoons" of warriors prepared for fighting, and for the "sacramental" spilling of human blood.

Both the implied tinku of inter-patriline rites and that to which the paired llantiru victims are sent are in the same moment the meeting of opposed social units and the conjunction, in sacrifice, of otherwise separate, opposed cosmic zones. But while the
conjunction may appear at first sight to be between balanced, complementary opposites, it always has the character of the conquest and subsuming of one unit by the other, just as the presence of "Christian" gods in the sky, enclosing "indigenous" gods of the below, brings these opposed realms into an asymmetrical relation. And here we must examine this relationship in terms of conquest and colonial domination. Thus in the following section I turn to a reading of a myth which accounts for the process of conquest which gave rise to the initial division between spatio-temporal realms (early, autochthonous, inferior manxapacha and late, exogenous, superior alaxpacha) which is at the same time an ongoing calendrical and diurnal "process," both linear and cyclic.

4.2. Space-Time, Social Process, and Gender in Myth, Architecture, and Weaving

4.2.1. The Myth of the Destroying Christ and the Alienation of the Sources of Human Production

I begin with a consideration of the cosmic vision forged in the context of the Spanish conquest and the forros of collective life imposed through colonial administration. There is no exegetical tradition in K'ulta which might produce an abstract model of the cosmos. Instead cosmology is embedded in the system of performance of libations, which in K'ulta is a recognized forro of collective memory. In this section I approach cosmological understanding through an examination of the poetic form of myth.

The myth to be considered, "The Solar-Christ and the ~-Chullpas," provides a narrative, dialogical account of cosmogeny in terms of conquest, by describing the alienation from this earth of the two principal kinds of "others" (formerly human, now "supernatural") which frame the contexts of K'ulta social action.26

LOFor a more detailed analysis of the myth and a consideration of its relation to both Hispanic and Andean forms of historical consciousness, see Dillon & Abercrombie (n.d.). Much of the substance of the present section derives from this co-authored article and the intellectual collaboration which produced it. I credit Mary Dillon as the source of any insight into Aymara myth which may carry over into this thesis, but must absolve her from responsibility for errors or "untamed thought" in the present formulation.
Jesucristu-stu-Tatalantix Supaytinsi- Chu Ilpantix
("Jesus Christ-Th. tall and the Supay-Chullpas")

I.at.ala. and the supay-chullpas were enemies. The chullpas chased Tatala, a foreign, old man, and finally were able to kill him because they were many and he only one. They buried him in the earth and put thorns (ch"api) on topo They waited, then went away. Later they discovered that he had escaped. They caught him and buried him again, this time putting a large stone on topo They waited and waited, but when they left, again he escaped. They went after him. While following his trail, the chullpas asked some other people if they had seen the fleeing old man. These people pointed out the ashes of his cooking fire, and from their appearance the chullpas believed that he was long gone. [Here the teller explains that this is a deceit in which the ashes (a type called Saka sunchu) only appear to be old.] Exactly at this point the chullpas become frightened. They learn (or remember) that the old man would conquer them if he got away. They frantically build strong houses, with their doors facing east, to protect themselves from the heat and light of Tatala's fire. Tatala rises into the sky as the sun from the east, and the chullpas die in their houses, burned and dried up by the heat. To this day, one can see their remains, and the sun, Tata Awatiri, continues to travel across the sky. Some of the chullpas, however, manage to escape, by diving under the water of Lake Poopo. These became the present day chullpa people [that is the Uros, Chipayas, and Moratos].

Analysis of the myth must begin by noting that it forros part of a K'ulta genre of oral narrative describing events of layra timpu, the distant past when stones and mountains could walk and talk, when animals and gods alike routinely acted as if they were human. Layra timpu has broader reference, however, than to "remote past." Layra also refers to origin places, specifically mountain-top springs from which herd animals sprang and, in the Kaata case described by Bastien (1978: 174), the place to which human souls return. I have pointed out that the term ~ is also added as a qualifier (in variation with the term "dust") to the most remote ancestors in a genealogy, the layra (or laq'a) jach'a generation, which forros the nodal apex for the application of marriage prohibitions. The term has a more mundane significance as well, meaning "eye." In the mountain-as-body metaphor recorded by Bastien (ibid.), the well-springs of human existence are the eyes of the mountain god on which the community is 10catOO.

27This free translation of "Jesucristu-Tatalantix Supaytinsi-Chullpantix" was made by Mary Dillon and the author from a version tape recorded by me in an interview with a K'ulta research consultant in September, 1982. It conforms well to versions heard in other contexts (also in K'ulta, in 1979 and 1980). The myth is well-known and widespread in the area, often told, as other myths are, after dark within the home, and during rest breaks in collective labor.
The contexts which produced tellings of (or references to) the myth may help to locate it within the K’ulta symbolic universe, as it is not just a story told to pass the time, but provides a (sometimes) satisfying account for some otherwise disturbing facts. The first time it was told was in response to questions about the origins of (Aymara) human beings. K’ulteños, it is said, are "from" and "of" the town of Condo, which my ethnohistorical work showed to be accurate. But where did the people of Condo of long ago come from? To this question, the answer was hedged: "The school teachers must know"; "It must be from Adaneva," (though no one seemed to know that story); "The layra jach'a tala's must have known"; etc. That is, there was no account, or rather, there were contradictory accounts.

K’ulteños are aware that their ancestors must have been about before the arrival of the Spaniards, and yet that idea establishes the ancestors as non-Christians, like the babies who die unbaptised, who are Moors (Moors), and this is an unacceptable conclusion, since this would link them to a class of wild, pagan, disordered humans who lived in the past (and continue in the present as hunter-gatherers on Lake Poopo), and these are held to have preceded cultivated (and cultivating) human beings, as well as the Christ. Nonetheless, the Tatala-chullpa myth was offered as an account, of sorts, of the origin of Aymara, even though Aymara do not make an appearance in the story.

It was also referred to in connection with some wild potatoes I had found. These, I was told, were not eaten by human beings (ñi, as Aymara call themselves), although children may sometimes eat them. Like other uncultivated and undomesticated plants and animals (which are edible but not food), these were presumed to be the food sources of the primitive men who did not know how to cultivate and herd. I was then told (via the myth) how these wild men (chullpas) had come to disappear, except for those who dove under water and saved themselves, today's Urus, Chipayas, and Moratos. The myth may also be told to account for origin of Christ and the sun (who are but a single person).
Viewing the myth not only as a colonial history qllil history, but also as a philosophy of conquest and the identity transformation it entails, it would seem that that the pre-conquest dead (such as the kingdom lords who were buried in the "chullpa" tombs the myth describes), have been assimilated/created as the category of "orderless" natural beings who existed in a state of natural (and cultural) lawlessness, while the great world transforming deities of Andean traditions, like Tunupa and Wiraqucha, who in myths collected just after the conquest appear as founders of modern Andeans who conquered, through similar processes, the "autochthones," have been assimilated to the Christian sky deities. Hence, there is no room for an original jaqi people in this new vision of history.

The myth is problematic as long as we seek in it an account of historical events, or of the physical descendence of its tellers. Looked at differently, however, the myth indeed accounts for Aymara culture as it exists today.

The struggle of Tatala and the chullpas in the myth transforms the antagonists, who embody opposed general forces and social values, and through their transformation, the cosmos is changed from a unidimensional, that is, unstructured state, into a pattern of cyclic repetition of the very struggle which seems to be resolved in the denouement of the story.

The chullpas of the myth are held in low esteem by K'ultenños (as were the Urus of Colonial days by Aymaras, Inkas, and Spaniards alike), because of what they do (that is, live by hunting, fishing, and eating wild plant foods) and what they do not do (cultivate and herd). As such, they are consistent with Bertonio's characterizations of ChoQuela people in the Lupaqa area (1984 [1612], Bk. 2: 89), as well as of the lan lan who, like foxes Qan and wife-giving laritas, not only live through hunting, but live in the pampa and puniTna (flat, wild, uncultivated space), which is to say, outside of the social order, and without submitting to domination by authorities of the pueblo (ibid.: 191).

The chullpas of the myth live in darkness and relative coolness, and rely on water for succour, all of which are characteristic not only of nocturnal animals like the fox, but
also of today's gods of manxapacha. But their initial realm is not manxa, but rather it is undifferentiated, lacking an above and below just as it lacks diurnal and seasonal alternations. It is only through their struggle with Tatala, in which the chullpas take the initiative in trying to encompass him within an inside-and-below space, that the human life cycle is harmonized with what become natural cycles. And it is through this harmonization of natural and social processes created in the struggle that the harnessing of now cyclically alternating, opposed forces, and the basis for agricultural and pastoral production is formed.

Tatala arrives as a lone outsider whose presence threatens the chullpas. They therefore attempt to enclose him (in a space which is like that in which they themselves will perish). But in the world of the chullpas, death is not easy to accomplish. In a myth of these pre-solar times from Huarochiri, it is made explicit that the autochthones are immortal (Urioste 1983: 211), for there is no death without cyclic process, and of that there is none in the chullpas' pre-Tatala universe.

We see then that what enables Tatala to escape the chullpas is just his control of temporality, a microcosm of which is portrayed in the deceit of the ashes. When Tatala finally rises into the sky in a monumental and triumphant sacrifice, it is the chullpas have built their own tombs. Not only his fire (and heatlight/dryness) defeat them, but also the establishment of hierarchical order and alternation itself. Tatala rises into alaxpacha, a domain of above and outside, which did not exist before, and relegates the chullpas to the past and at the same time to the inside/below (manxapacha).

4.2.2. Reprises of Mythic Struggle
In Calendar and Life Cycle

As the myth notes, not all the chullpas perished, and even in their tombs these relics of autochthonous layra timpu continue to be powerful forces in K'ult'a's landscape, different from, and yet analogous to manxapacha deities such as uywiri and mal1ku, who live enclosed within their mountain realms, living, like the condor, on the uncooked flesh.
of animals and emerging at night. Chullpas are also similar to the souls of modern dead, who are held to malee ajourney to mayruwiri qullu (the mountain of souls) somewhere to the west, where the sun sets. K'ulteños are as ambivalent about where the dead go as they are about the origin of Aymaras, and though mayruwiri qullu is quite clearly a manxapacha entity, collaborators would not have it that the dead go to manxapacha, for this is not the domain of Christians, but of powerful autogenerative forces like uywiris and mallkus, as well as of chullpas.

While Tatala triumphs in the myth, both he and the chullpas are relegated to opposed otherworldly zones, outside of this earth and the horizontal space in which the initial action of the myth takes place, and into a vertical (and spherico-concentric) opposition in complementary and mutually exclusive realms. As constituted in the denouement of the myth, Tatala's journey takes place simultaneously in both horizontal space (east to west) and vertical space (first aboye to below [the tomb], then below to above). It is in this form that Tatala recapitulates the journey along the path towards and away from the chullpas realm, every twenty four hours (in setting and rising again), as well as every six months (in ceding to the rains and then overcoming them).

As agents in the story of cosmogeny, Tatala and the chullpas carry out their struggle as a social drama, and so cosmological bodies and events continue to be invested with the creative agency and subjectivity of the people who tell the story. As gods (or analogues of gods, for the chullpas provide but a "natural" model for the caretaleers of herds and crops, which can be "controlled" only through the intervention of Tatala), the forces described in the myth become the ultimate sources of social power and limits to human action; that is, they become a humanized nature which is at the same time outside of the direct control of human agency, but to the cycles of which human social processes must of necessity conformo

Thus the rhythms of rites of passage are attuned to the change of seasons, with final funerary rites beginning at the start of the rains (todos santos period, about Nov. 1)
and carrying through to the beginning of the harvest (carnaval), and the dead, allied to the watery and autogenerative underworld, remain nearby to quicken the growth of crops, the birth of herd animals, and the successful rotation of the authorities.  

The playing of farka flutes is in complementary distribution with the pan-pipes and charanfios (mandolin-like instruments) of the rest of the year, marking out the todos santos to carnaval periodo. Marriage rites, as well, are tied to this schedule, taking place just after the carnaval ban on charangos and pan-pipes has been lifted, and after the dead have been dispatched to the nether world.

In the workings of the seasons, however, we already see that the alternation between Tatala and the time of the chullpas is no simple opposition: each realm also incorporates, as a subordinated element, a reflection of the power of the other. Thus alaxpacha is also inhabited by the moon, the sky's version of the feminine underworld, while the underworld has its gods of above in the high mountains. In diurnal alternation the relative values of above and below are partly inverted, as the darkness and cold take over alaxpacha and the sun warms the netherworld in his journey "inside." Similarly, the time when the sun is at the height of his power (in the sky the longest and higher in the sky), is precisely when the warmed earth most needs to be watered, and the dead help to bring this about, along with the intermediary saints who are called upon for just this purpose. In the dry and cold season, when K'ulteños travel to the low-lying and wet, feminized valleys, the reverse process takes place. The dead keep the rains in manxpacha world, and the weakened sun remains sufficient to desiccate the (nightly frozen) foodstuffs in order to make them storeable (as freeze-dried chuñu and jerked meat).  

As Harris (1982) has argued for the Laymi.

Freeze-drying is a critically important form of food processing in the Andes, which MUITahas lauded as the "domestication of the cold" (1984), giving rise to the possibility of long-term storage. In the manufacture of freeze-dried potatoes (chuñu) and meat (charki), the central process takes advantage of the alternation between the extreme cold of night and the temperate day-time temperatures and low humidity resulting from the strong solar radiation in the dry season. Water released from tissues through freezing is pressed and evaporated out during the day. Compare to the transformation of the chullpas from wet and dark loving "natural" men into dessicated corpses.
None of these processes are fully within human control, however, and it behooves humanity to call upon just those aspects of each zone which are nearest its opposite, in order to bring a measure of success to their endeavors. The saints, as minor refractions of sun and moon, are capable of descending to the earth in controlled or uncontrolled forms. As emissaries of human subjects, they may be made in human form and accomplish acts in horizontal, social space, while as agents of unmediated vertical contact between the above and below they may strike in the form of lightning.

Likewise in manxapacha there are the mallku, who, most like Tatala, look down on this world from lofty heights and are capable of rising into the sky in the form of predatory birds, in order to confer with the saints. Establishment of control over the relationship between these opposed forces in fact requires the human regulation of the interaction of saint and mallku, whether through shamanic sessions in which the two confer, or in fiesta rites in which the saints' images on earth (and the hierarchy pertinent to alaxpacha) communicate with the space and time of manxapacha across ritual paths (themselves icons of the paths of the cosmogeny's antagonists) which make alax- and manxa-derived diagrams of social process into icons of one another.

42.3. Microcosmos in Contexts: The Symbolic Architecture of Social Units

As the human life cycle and social processes are understood in relation to the path of the sun which first gave order to the world, the space in which people live is made to conform to this path and to its vertical, horizontal, and concentric attributes. Performances like the ch'alla sequence describe the formal relationships among "levels" of natural and social units as progressively more encompassing icons of one another, but the space within which ch'allas take place must first be constructed.

The uywa ispira sequence, for example, takes place inside the house, which is first built to be connected (via roots) to the spheres of order in which it is embedded. The space within the house is divided into opposed realms. To the right as one enters a house
is a raised sleeping platform (and near it, a raised altar) is ~ (raised flat place), and it is here that men and boys sleep (and libare). At the other end of the house (to the left as one enters the door) is a low floor and (if there is not another building for this) the fireplace for cooking. This is women's space, *pampa* (low flat plain), where women and girls sleep (on the floor) and cook. When libations are performed, the pampa, with the addition of a woman's *awayu* (carrying a cloth shawl), becomes the women's altar, while the raised altar of the pata end of the house (with a man's poncho) becomes the men's altar. As most houses face the north (to receive maximum sunlight through their doors), the men's end of the house is on the west side, and the women's on the east, as is true in all ch'alla performances. But this does not mean that east is feminine and west masculine; on the contrary, ch'alla performance demands that men face the east and women the west, and the space is correspondingly inverted to allow for this, which inversion itself corresponds to the inverted recursion characteristic of the cosmos as a whole, in which each pole incorporates a subordinated aspect of its opposite. As an enclosed space, the house is, overall, a feminine entity (*iskin mamala*), a model of *manxa pacha* enclosed by *alaxpacha* walls and roof.

The corral and house patio are also built forms, which recapitulate the cosmographic structure of the house on a larger scale. They are like houses in being enclosed spaces to the degree that they are walled, and thus are also partly feminine forms (*jira falla*, "dung-female", and *uta uyu* or *uta anqa*, "house corral" or "house outdoors"), but unlike the house they are open to the sky (and to direct contacts between *alax* and *manxa*). Corral s should ideally open to the east, and in the seating arrangements in ch'allas there the men are again assigned the west side, against the corral wall and associated with it. Women sit again on the ground in their enclosed pampa, this one made of dung. Again the men face the east and women, west. The patio configuration is much the same, though here the raised (pata) men's altar backs up against the house on the west side of the patio. Again women sit in the midst of the eastern pampa space the open space, facing the meno
Thus far these microcosms are relatively static models incorporating the abovelbelow hierarchy with a concentric insidetoutside one, just as do the cosmic zones of alaxpacha and manxapacha. Activities are aligned with the east to west path of the sun (which are also homologized with the previous oppositions. In all such structures and activities, gender is likewise made to conform to the cosmic model, so that women are (and sit) below and inside, oriented towards the west where the original past lower inside has been relegated, while men are (and sit/sleep/ch'alla towards) their opposites.

The order of the cosmos is given only through such opposition, always framed in terms of a struggle or process, and so the relationship of women to men is thought to be one of complementary opposition, through which the cosmogenic model is made to order sociallife. As a kind of ofyanani, like llantiru llamas, men and women (as husband and wife) are mutually necessary, in order to bring the mutually exclusive realms towards which they are oriented to bear on human affairs. This they do by carrying out all aspects of ritual in gender parallel, men libating male deities, altars, animals and souls, and women libating the feminine realm, always in carefully matched pairs, so that men's and women's ch'alla paths proceed apace, if in opposite directions.

The human life cycle also conforms to the process described in the Tatala-chullpa myth. When they are boro, infants are like wild animals and chullpas, eating naturally produced, unprocessed and uncooked food. The sucullu rite described by Bertonio, which makes the infant's larita the one who brings the infant into humanity (by naming it), does so through a kind of "natural" sacrifice, equating the larita to the predator/hunter gatherer, and anointing the infant, as a wild equivalent of the herd llama, with vicuña blood. It was in this rite, as Bertonio noted, that the infant was first given gender-marked clothing to wear, with vertical stripes worn by boys, and horizontal stripes by girls. The same contrast in alignment of striped outer garments is in K'ulta still a strongly marked form of gender definition (1984 [1612], Bk. 2: 323).
In the human life cycle, people originate from an enclosed, yet undifferentiated pre-manxapacha space, and only by stages along a path of progressive differentiation do they come to internalize the formal hierarchizing attributes of social process which make them finally human.

After death, they must follow a similar, if inverse path. Provisioned by their mourners for the journey with litiri llama and every kind of cooked and uncooked food, they must follow the sun's path to the west, and finally enter the mountain of souls, a manxapacha place where the seasons and rhythms of life (if any) are reversed from those of this earth.

When the dead are dispatched at the beginning of the harvest, they are sent out of the hamlet to the west. Carrying the dead person's clothing, mourners walk out of the hamlet on the east-west path which bisects all hamlets. Once outside of the hamlet, they throw the clothing, and their own grief, towards the west. Spines are then placed on the trail to prevent the dead from returning. Not only the souls of the dead, but in fact all "naturally cooked," which is to say digested and lar rotting substances (and diseases) of the sort that smell t'uxsa (fetid odor), are thrown out or taken care of on the western path out of the hamlet, if possible, in the night. The eastern path, on the other hand, is used to take sweet-smelling combustibles out of the hamlet to the high uywiri and mallku altars where they can be offered to the sun as he rises.

Thus the solar path, when projected onto horizontal space, becomes an icon of the sequence which produced the fundamental oppositions of the cosmos, and all human activity can thus be ordered. But the path can also be regarded as a dividing line. East, as origin, may be alaxpacha, and west, as destination, manxapacha, but the path between them creates a north and a south as well, though not as cardinal points connected by a path, but as moieties in horizontal space.

All of the built forms discussed so far are both alax and manxa entities, with a lower inside and a higher outside. As such, they are composed of complementary
opposites. But if the opposites are of the same kind (features defining a divided whole), they are not unranked, and the hierarchy of conquest penetrates even the household. The alax wall (which is the elaborated, built part of a house, corral, and patio) defines the unelaborated low and feminine by enclosing it, giving cultural order to the natural.

At the level of the whole harnlet, however, the pampa is not what is inside the harnlet space of houses and patios, but the wild and unordered space outside of it. From this perspective, it seems as if the harnlet becomes an alax entity, as a whole, defined through the incorporation of solar hierarchical ordering, while the surrounding territory becomes a manxa place. This fact inverts the concentric model of hierarchy established through Tatala's journey, and serves to demarcate what, on this earth, is human and cultural from what is animal and natural. At the same time, the boundary around the harnlet separates what is not yet whole (the partial, solely manxa beings and foodstuffs from outside of the harnlet, which include domesticates) from the locus of production of the whole, where such items are transformed through the solar-derived process of cooking. The pampa also separates the harnlets of distinct patrilines, which themselves are not wholes, but must maintain paths between them in order to appropriate the sources of the manxa type generative power which they cannot themselves produce: marriagable women. As we shall see, the harnlets (and patrilines) themselves are similarly partial instantiations of the totalizing town in which fiestas must be sponsored.

### 4.2.4. Weaving and Cloth in The Establishment of Identity

#### 4.2.4.1. Cloth, Gender, and the Fashions of Social Domination

The status of being complete rather than partially processed human beings, which is to say adult status achieved through the long process of marriage and household formation, is marked in everyday activity (and especially so in ritual) by the wearing of a special category of locally produced textiles. The punchu (poncho) and awayu (shawl or carrying cloth) are the outermost items of clothing of men and women, respectively.
As Bertonio noted in his description of the *sucullu* rite in which children were first "clothed," the orientation of stripes on clothing is an index of gender. In K'ulta today, men's ponchos, like women's awayus, are large square weavings composed of two separately woven pieces sewn together. Colored panels containing stripes (or bands of figures) run lengthwise on both sides of each half, so that when they are sewn together, there are two "bands" of stripes in the center (along the sewn axis), and one band on each side of the cloth, parallel to the sewn conjunction of halves.

Men's ponchos are slit in the center where the halves are joined and worn over the head, always, like the male garments of the *sucullu* rite, with the stripes running vertically; women's awayus (which are somewhat smaller and not slit) are worn around the shoulders, with the colored design bands running horizontally.

As markers of age status and gender, such weavings play an important role in both everyday activity and in ritual. Color combinations and iconographic motifs in the design bands specific to particular social units also serve to mark out the patriline, ayllu, and "ethnic" affiliations of the wearers of these weavings, in a kind of fashion system.

Such a system was even more marked in precolombian times, when the Inka state regulated the overall "fashion system" to keep its subject populations distinct and hierarchically ordered, imposing constraints on the use of certain motifs, raw materials, and weaving techniques, in order to impose a hierarchical order in which some styles were elite and others plebian. In Inka times the most elaborated and high status pieces were produced in textile workshops (always part of temples of state religion) by the so-called "virgins of the sun" or "chosen women," given in youth to the Inka as a kind of tribute by subject populations. With the Spanish conquest, such workshops were lost, and cloth production as a forro of taxation took on a new forro: men became the weavers of state-mandated cloth, and plain, undomed cloth, produced on Spanish-style vertical looms in bolts, became the cloth of choice, adequate for the production of tailored clothing and as thus as a forro of European commodity.
In K'ulta today, the old and new forms of cloth production co-exist side by side, but the labor is divided by gender. Men produce plain bolts of cloth, usually from sheep's wool, (which are not finished when they come off the 100m) on the European vertical treadle 100m, while women continue to weave the elaborated and delicate pieces, always including camelid fibres, on the horizontal 100m of the Andes. Like men's cloth, women's cloth is also in a way unfinished when it comes off of the 100m, but each item becomes whole by the simple joining of what are mirror image halves.

Tailored clothing (pants, vest, and jacket for men; dresses for women) has become the norm for K'ulteños, and though tailored in an 18th century fashion, such items are Europeanized. Although Andeans were forced to produce (and wear) such clothing in order to mark their own transition from savagery to civilization, they have resisted the process, for these items of tailored clothing are subordinated when covered by female-produced cloth as outerwear.

4.2.4.2. The Social Skin and Nakedness

It is perhaps an anthropological commonplace to note that even the most naked of so-called "savages" do not go about undressed. It seems a universal that--whether via wool textiles, animal skins, feathers, just paint, or polyester--bodily adornment is everywhere appropriated as a vehicle for signalling social identity, and changes in such adornment used to index transformations of the social person.

Why should this be so? In part, as Turner (1980) suggests, because the boundary between the physical and psychological individual and the outside world--the

301t is men who do the tailoring, cutting and sewing the bolts of cloth they produce into pants, jackets, dresses, etc. Men also do the bulk of the knitting (of sweaters, ch'ullu hats, etc.) in K'ulta.

31My approach here derives from T. Turner's (1980) treatment of the question. For helpful discussions on cloth and clothing as a symbolic vehicle, I am indebted both to Terry Turner, and to the formulations in Comaroff (1985). This treatment of clothing and bodily symbolism has also benefitted from the comments of Jean Comaroff on an earlier incarnation of this thesis, as a paper produced in her seminar on the anthropology of the body.
skin, and transformations of it via clothing—is an appropriate, natural vehicle for marking and externalizing transformations of the relation between the person and society, that is, between unsocialized nature and transformed culture.32

A good example of the cultural determination of the nakedness/clothedness opposition, and a comment on the relative value of European as opposed to Andean forros of clothing, lies in a common evaluation of Europeans by Andeans: Just as European ethnocentric evaluations of Amazonian Indians as "naked" (and of Andeans as wearing uncivilized clothing) contributed to their ascription to the category of uncivilized savages,33 something like our own uncivilized infants, so Aymara evaluate westerners as ~, literally, naked or peeled. Obviously, in this case, not in reference to an absence of clothing per se, but to a lack of proper socialization of the type indexed by the dual Andean clothing system, which "clothes" European clothing.

4.2.4.3. Cloth and the Comirmtability of Natural and Cultural Bodies

Both kinds of clothing are produced from what is the "outerwear" of domesticated animals, the wool of sheep and camelids. It is appropriate that men's cloth, as a European form, is stereotypically produced from the less valued sheep, which are also European in origin, while women's cloth comes from the "skin" of camelids, and is correspondingly tied in with the intimate relationship between camelids and the Andean gods.

32 As Turner puts it:
The surface of the body, as the common frontier of society, the social self, and the psycho-biological individual, becomes the symbolic stage upon which the drama of socialization is enacted, and bodily adornment (in all its culturally multifarious forros, from body painting to clothing and from feather head-dresses to cosmetics) becomes the language through which it is expressed. (1980: 112)

33 Anthony Pagden treats this point as well as the corollary that made the clothed Andeans something of a problem for the theologians. As not quite irrational savages (since in addition to wearing clothing they lived in cities and towns), they were not automatically reducible to slavery (1983). In the everyday practice on the encomiendas, however, such philosophical niceties may have been moot
As we shall see in greater detail in the following chapters, cloth is centrally important symbolic operator in the constitution of social identity, in both life crisis rites and in the public rituals which are the initiation rites of authorities. Their relationship, as a kind of "social skin," to the pelts of llamas and the clothing of gods alike, is worked upon through the ritual poetics of sacrifice. As a social form of skin and pelt, outerwear becomes analogous to the walls of houses, patios, and corrals. All of these are an enveloping alax boundary enclosing a manxa inside and at the same time defining a totality, like the solar encompassment of the chullpas and their alimentary form of cultural process.

Though the clothing produced by men is associated with "civilized society" (Spaniards and the state), and produced in the harnlet (usually in the corral) on a machine-like 100m, it, like "the emperors new clothes," fails to manifest distinctive social value, and marks only the social subordination which it entails. K’ulteños are marked as fully social beings only when their invisible clothes are covered by women's weavings. Unlike men, much of women's weaving is accomplished while they carry out herding tasks, outside of social space in the pampa. But that does not mean that female produced weavings are unelaborated, as the pampa is.

As both Veronica Cereceda (1978) and Lynn Meisch (1985) have shown, and as is confirmed by my own data, the textiles produced by women--constructed of two mirror image halves sewn together--are models of moieties as well as cosmic zones, and expressions of the tinku of like but opposed entities. They also, however, are bilaterally symmetrical bodies: The central design strips are the chullma ("heart"), the single-color central area of each half the puraka, "stomach" (it is also pampa), and the outermost design strips the mouths. In fact, ponchos and awayus are kinds of transformed animal bodies, into which the social diacritics, which are lacking in the pampa and animals from which the wool comes, are woven.

When brought into social space, delivered from its 100m like an infant from its maker's body, each half of the weaving is a wild (and singular) entity. When it is sewn to
its mirror image counterpart, the single body becomes a dúplex yanani, like both cosmos and married couple. Nonetheless, as products of women and the pampa, the poncho and awayu are manxa and animal beings, capable of conveying to their wearers (by "eating" them) the kind of generative power which comes from below, and from the conjunction of above and below which takes place outside of human society.

As such--perfect icons of the transformed nature (and the process of its transformation) that these complete weavings are and represent—they are well suited for their role as operators in establishing equations among herd animal and human, man and god, that are central to K'ulta ritual.

As Isbell and Franquernont (1985) have shown, the iconography of the design panels in women's weaving is produced (and learned) through a process of formal recursion of minimal units into complex ones, a process which resembles that by which ch'alla sequences and the embedded hierarchies of social space are conceived and "remembered." It should not surprise us, then, that the design stripes or bands are also a kind of t"aki, usually zigzag "paths," in which are embedded the most oft repeated iconographics element, the navra, "eye," which is also the doorway to the manxapacha past) and the wara wara "star," of alaxpacha.

The poncho and awayu do not only constitute people as social beings, but are also what makes the local representatives of the exiled powers of alaxpacha and manxapacha into social beings. Both the altars and the saints' images through which K'ulteños gain discursive control over extra-social powers are constituted as social (and thus both intelligent and intelligible) beings and cultural boches by wearing the ponchos and awayus of men and for women.

As we have seen, men's altars are complete only after they have been covered with a poncho, and women's altars are constituted by placing an awayu on the pampa. Thus the altars are invested with the bilateral symmetry and totality of the adult human being, and with such other attributes of weavings as internalized connecting paths and
inbuilt tinku of alax and manxa. As a result both the altars' and the saints' images (which also wear these weavings) which are celebrated upon them are constituted as capable of fulfilling the mediating roles they are assigned, that is, as beings through which opposed social units carry out mutually defining intercourse, with the aid of opposed extra-social powers produced only in their conjunction.
CHAPTER V

FIESTAS AND AUTHORITIES OF THE K’ULTA POLITY

S.1. The Paths of Authority

5.1.1. Fiestas, Social Dualism, and Moieties in the Definition of Polities

S.1.1.1. Preliminary Considerations

I described in chapter 2 how towns such as Santa Barbara de Culta emerged as autonomous social entities through a process in which a new rotative system developed which hannonized civil cargos (the cabildo) and the duties of the Catholic religion (fiestas), displacing the hereditary lords from their already marginalized positions. In the final chapter of this thesis I will offer some hypotheses concerning the properties of this "ethnogenesis." First it is necessary to look more closely at the new social forms characteristic of the (modern) reduccion-based polities. I will do this by focussing on a small part of the system of symbolic action in one of these colonially produced polities, that is, in K’ulta.

Chapters 3 and 4 have laid the foundation for the descriptive and analytic edifice which follows, which aims to reach a less reductionist understanding of the organization of "syncretic" public ritual than has been forthcoming in previous treatments.

Given that the total system, and the structure of a single fiesta, are in themselves extremely complex, I do not pretend to describe or analyze them in their entirety. Such an enterprise would go far beyond the practical limits of a single thesis. Rather, after sketching in some aspects of the total system of fiesta sponsorships and "civil" offices, I will focus upon the performance of a single fiesta, with the intention of bringing to the fore
the symbolic operations, grounded in and working on cultural understandings of households, herds, and the workings of the cosmos, through which K'ulta's constituent social units constitute one another, and thereby the polity as a whole.

5.1.1.2. The Meanings of T"aki in Life Career and Calendar

I have pointed out in chapter 3 that marriage is a relation among groups as well as persons, and that entailed in the completion of the marriage process was the possibility for becoming the nodal individuals who constitute, through their prototypic actions, the groups which they "represent." It is not only by successfully completing a household and a herd, but also by transforming the subordinate role of son and tullqa into the dominant one of father and wife-giving larita, that aman becomes a collective elder brother and herder of a herd composed not only of animals, but of subordinate men (sons, "younger brothers," and wife-takers).

Concommitant to this transformation is the acquisition of ritual knowledge and power, which make the private rites of herd and household into collective ones definitive of the patriline and of the social unit brought into being through the interaction of patrilines. The status of patriline jiliri, that is, accrues neither from actual birth order, nor from the fact of having acquired a large herd, many sons, and subservient tullqas, but from a host of legitimating ritual performances which makes aman an instantiation of an elevated "moral type," which is to say, like the gods.

5.1.2. Jisk'a P"ista T'aki: The Pukara and the Paths Between Patrilines

In the previous chapter we saw that harnlets, as culturally ordered spaces, are given order by alignment with the sun's path through the heavens. The east-west orientation of the harnlet, in which social processes are played out along the path from sunrise to sun-set, makes the harnlet into a kind of microcosm of the cosmos as a whole. As meaningful action within the harnlet is made to conform to the values which the sun's
action gives to social space, the goal of human society and of each social actor is to replicate the actions of the sun, whose taming of the disordered and wild nature of the previous age made cultural life possible. Thus domesticated food and drink and the fruits of the womb are dedicated to the sun and his realm, always facing the direction from whence the initial order came, while feces, death, decay and disease are relegated to the west, towards the end of the sun's path, the future past where generative but fetid manxapacha forces are predominant. Social time and social space are played out in a single arena, in the cyclic repetition of a single primordial sequence which is also the lay of the land.

It is also true, however, that these carefully maintained microcosms in social space-time are isolated in the midst of the wilderness: not only the west, but the whole periphery (the pampa or puruma) is still the domain of natural forces and presocial beings (including laritas and potential wives) which must continually be constrained and transformed by human activity to re-produce human society.

The wild space outside of the hamlet is most "disordered" in the uncultivated, unfenced empty spaces (which are also vaguely defined borders) between patriline lands. Yet these spaces are crossed by ritual paths on which people walk (and which they recreate through ch'alla performances) in the repeated inter-group visits of marriage rites.

Marriage is but the first step along what is also a kind of "path" through which individuals become most like the herder of men of the sky: authorities over the ayllu (as a collection of inter-marrying patrilines) and the polity as a whole. This path, which is the jach'a p'ista t'aki, the "great fiesta path," spans the whole life career of an individual (and a household) who once begins it, from the dawning of the power to unify a herd to the twilight of its dispersion (which is frequently at death, when the individual is sent packing to the west and the underworld with the setting sun).

In spite of the equation established between life-career and the ritual career, however, these "paths" are not properly of the individual. Rather, individual's hold ritual
careers, like their lands, in usufruct, and if it is too much for a person, it is forfeited to those who hold reversionary rights.

Such rights are vested, first, in the heir to a man's house, corral, and altars, who is the youngest son. If he is ineligible or declines, the path goes to another son, then to brothers, then any member of harnlet or patriline who will have it (and has not begun a path of his own). In rare cases (of which I found no actual occurrences) the career might pass on to another patriline, but never out of the ayllu, for that would compromise the system through which careers are concatenated.

Fundamentally, that is, ritual careers are patriline property, like the fields and pastures. As we shall see, it is the harnlet/patriline's single, predominant mallku/kurnprira who is ultimately said to sponsor the rites of patriline members, and the cleared ritual path between the harnlet's chapel (called the pukara, "fortress") and the mallku's main altar serves to emphasize this fact, as well as the connection between saint and mallku as "travelling," mediating beings.

This altar, located near the summit of the nearby hill-peak, is also the silu (Sp. cielo, "sky") of the earth-bound saint image. Nearby it is a cross erected on a rockpile, which is called niñu (Sp. niño, "child"). The historical origin of these crosses as clerical attempts to displace the Indians’ vain idols is relatively straightforward, as is the relationship between its name and the Christ child. This cross is related to both the small pillar in front of every pukara chapel, also a niñu, and both are "made to flower" during carnaval. Both are also thought to be miniature and local instantiations of the church tower in the town of Santa Barbara. The silu niñu, like the tower, is a spot where the saints' lightning bolts are thought to strike most often.

Harnlets as well as the Spanish founded town of Santa Barbara have saints in their "fortresses", and the harnlet as well as the town has a patron saint which must have its

This kind of path is a straight line, marked out like the pathways of the Nazca plain by clearing stones from a perfectly straight, one or two meter wide "trail." From a distance, the paths stand out as lighter in color than surrounding land.
fiesta. It is during the harnlet saint feast\textsuperscript{2} as well as during carnaval that the members of the patriline make the "niñus" of pukara saints and of the mallku's peak "flower" and present them with first fruits (along with the herds and fields as well as people).

Sponsorship of the harnlet fiesta rotates among all of its households, and should be sponsored by a newly married couple as their first saint ritual.\textsuperscript{3} I remarked in chapter 3 on the cyclic nature of inter-patriline alliances, which after a series of marriages become "saturated" for this kind of tie. A not infrequent replacement for marriages, between hamleVpatrilines which wish to carry on a cycle of exchanges, is the institution of a saint exchange. In the two cases of this kind of exchange which I know best, the practice was explained (away) as the result of practical considerations, such as the exhaustion of eligible sponsors within the patriline, and fear of the consequences of suspending the performance.

I note, however, that instituting a sponsorship rotation cycle imposes a similar form of alternating debt to that which results from marriage alliance. We shall see that this kind of alternating debt, though multiple and intricately counterbalanced, characterizes the relationship between moieties in the fiestas taking place in the town. The practice between patrilines, however, has the interesting consequence of constituting them, if ephemerally, as a kind of moiety system in miniature. In one such case\textsuperscript{1} the participating patrilines,

\textsuperscript{2}Harnlet fiestas are often held not on the saint's day itself, but six months to the day later, a point when ayllu-level sponsors also hold sacrifices for the "half year" of their saint. This is done, I believe, only to make the fiesta date fall during the harvest season, near to carnaval, as dates for saints which fall there naturally are not changed.

\textsuperscript{3}As one can, however, only sponsor the fiesta once, a shortage of eligible sponsors often leads to children being allowed to sponsor these fiestas. An alternate solution, however, exists (see text).

\textsuperscript{4}The existence of the new ayllu was also acted out in an attempt at land grabbing, which led to a land war in which the one was returned to a two through a thorough defeat. The two groups have since been prevented from using the common pastures which they had attempted to fence. As with many new ayllus in the surrounding region, the new pronunciation involved a (presumed) Hispanization, substituting a voiced stop "maga" for a nasal plus voiceless pharyngeal fricative "manxa" in the ayUu name. Voicing of stops is felt to be very "Hispanic" in K'ulta. One finds many ayllus in the region which differentiate themselves from their "mother" group by translating the adjetival in their name into Spanish, such as a group in Cond\'o Kawalli Arriba (Kawalli + Sp. "above") which opposes itself to Alax Kawalli (Kawalli + Aymara "above") in which the position of the adjetival relative to the noun is also changed.
exultant over a newfound solidarity, tried to make themselves into a new, bifurcated ayllu which they indexed through only slightly altering the pronunciation of the name of their "former" ayllu) in spite (and because) of there being no possibility for intra-ayllu marriages.

In this kind of inter-patriline fiesta cycle, the sponsors of the rite start off on lifelong careers which make them, first, jiliris in the patriline, and then, authorities over other patrilines. Each such first step is accomplished, in the intra-harnlet sort of fiesta, by taking the image along its path (to the silu on the mallku), and in the inter-harnlet rite, the sponsor carries the saint away from the other harnlet and to his own, also along a path which belongs to the saint (and on which it has specified samaravañas, "places to 'catch' one's breath"). Though inter-patriline exchanges do not result in the creation of authorities over both groups (as do the moiety level rites), they do bring about a form of asymmetrical relation which is analogous to that of moieties, a sort of moiety level "trial marriage" which is often fruitless.

Paths have beginnings and ends, which are at the same time earlier and later points in a sequence. The coming year's sponsor, called a machaqá ("novice"), just starting on his path (that is of his year of performance, which is the saint-centered analog of the sun's "year-path"), is always later than, and subordinate to this year's, and the groups in whose stead the rite is sponsored are similarly evaluated.

As the alphas and omegas of fiesta sponsorship, the new and old sponsors of a fiesta stand in a relation very like that of east and west as directions on the sun's path, and consequently as alax to manxa. This very semantic and pragmatic similitude may in pan motivate attempts by allied patrilines to become ayllu-moieties, as many sufficiently large groups (such as ayllus) clearly have in the past, given the frequency of bifurcated ayllus differentiated by such terms. These, indeed, are the complementary attributes of a totality, the pairing of substantially like and at least in theory independant, "stand alone" entities, which are nonetheless opposed and hierarchically ranked. Having achieved totality only
through domination by "conquest" and encompassment is also an inherent aspect of any two-part thing which can be so labelled, and (even if reversible) the conquest aspect of the relationship is always acted out in the moments of contact which define the totality. The following section concretely illustrates this with an examination of the ritual expression of moieties (and their tinkus).

The path between silu and pukara, (and those between patrilines) constitutes a kind of microcosm of the structure of the town which is the focal point of integration of patrilines into the widest-level polity. To this degree, one can see that, if the adoption of Christian deities and Hispanic forms of sponsorship and authority posts in the town represents the exercise of cultural hegemony, then the replication of those forms within the very heart of indigenous society (far from where it must face the state and its exactions) demonstrates the successful reproduction of hegemony. As should already be clear, an inverse form of argument is also possible here; that is, that Hispanic forms have been adopted and integrated into a local practice precisely to control them. In the following pages it will be well to keep both purviews in mind.

5.1.3. The Sponsorship of"Great" Fiestas: Moiety-Level Ritual Politics

5.1.3.1. Recent Transformations of K'ulta Fiesta Cycles

The territory corresponding to the colonially founded town of Santa Barbara de Culta separated five large ayllu segments from their kingdom matrix, and when the town became an independent administrative unit near the close of the 18th century, these five ayllus had already been divided into moieties. Ayllus and moieties emerged as defined entities of K'ulta (as opposed to being mere parts of other entities) out of the rotative-exchange practices through which town cabildo authorities and fiesta sponsors came to be constituted. But the mechanism by which such social units were and are constituted is also a kind of historical engine, applicable at more than one level of polity and thus capable of redefining parts as wholes.
Within the reach of consultants’ own personal experience, K’ulta’s five ayllus were divided between alax and manxa moieties, which were also each internally subdivided. Qullana (appropriately the north-eastermost ayllu, originally the ayllu of nobles in Asanaqi’s upper moiety) was grouped with Yanaqi and IIawi (from Asanaqi kingdom’s lower moiety), to form the alax (and jiliri) K’ulta moiety, while Alax- and Manxa Kawalli (originally of Asanaqi’s upper moiety), formed K’ulta’s manxa (and sullkiri) moiety. Two other internally subdivided annexes (Cahuayo of Cando and Lagunillas of Huari) were ecclesiastical annexes of the K’ulta parish, but gained independance from both civil and ecclesiastical “mothers” in the 1930’s.

In today’s system, three of K’ulta’s five ayllus have seceded from the rest in search of autonomy. The schism, which began with the consequences of the “democratization” of the 1950’s revolution and was brought to a head in a serious land war in the mid-1970’s, was along moiety lines, but fragmented the internal coherence of the “seceding” moiety as well. Thus Qullana, Yanaqi, and IIawi has each independantly initiated its own system of rotative feast sponsorship (and its own internal moiety division) through which the authorities defining them as polities are produced.

But a reduced system remains in Santa Barbara, consisting of an annual rotational cycle of major offices and fiesta sponsorship positions. The moieties now involved in the system are Alax-Kawalli and Manxa-Kawalli, which until the post-Agrarian Reform period, together had formed but K’ulta’s lower moiety. Thus in this case the ayllus and moieties are identical, and I am freed from the difficulty of describing any system of alternation among the ayllus within the moiety, such as those which still exist in other Asanaqi area towns, such as Challapata, Condo, and Kakachaka, and which also exist in the neighboring polities such as Macha and Jukumani.5

5)jun rotative fiesta systems in Macha, see Platt 1978a; for a description of the Jukumani system, see Godoy "1982.
5.1.3.2. The Hierarchy of "Civil" Ayllu Authorities

A unique type of authority in K'ulta, one most modelled on an Hispanic design, is the corregidor of the canton, which, since the beginning of the Republican era, has been the titular head of the canton and maximal ayllu of K'ulta, however the authority has changed. Until the Agrarian Reform, the post was always occupied by a "mestizo" (or "vecino") named by the provincial government, and as such served as a direct channel for various forms of social and commercial exploitation of indigenous society, of a sort at which the resident "outsider" official himself excelled.

The rise and fall of such forms of domination, tied in with the Liberal program and ideology of "civilizing" the Indian populace by privatizing land-tenure, are examined in recent studies by Platt (1982a, n.d.) and Rivera (1985). Although I here leave it out of consideration, I believe that the system that I will describe served the same ends then as it does now. The office of corregidor still exists today, but it is always filled (except for brief periods during the darkest days of governmental/military oppression) by a local man, chosen by the rotative authorities of the ayllus.

6During most of the colonial period, corregidor referred to an Hispanic administrative post at the level of the province. Such offices were sold to the highest bidder during the Bourbon era, and were worth a considerable sum due to the practice of enforced "distribution" of Spanish merchandise (the famous repartimiento, de mercancías).

7"Vecino" is the preferred term, since the racial connotations of "mestizo" carried more ideological force than described biological realities. At any rate, what was meant was "non-indigenous," which is to say, non-local, meaning from Huari.

It appears from collaborators' accounts that the elimination of this "outsider" from this office was related to the forces which split the moieties. Until that time, the Qullanajilaqata was known as jilaqata mallku, in reference to the hereditary lords (who in Asanaqi kingdom, were also from ayllu Qullana), and, as a kind of indigenous equivalent of the corregidor, according permanently highest rank in the town cabildo. The rank and institution seems to have disappeared with the foreign corregidores.

8During the Garcia Meza government, for example, the office was filled by an appointee (who had not been selected by the jilaqtas). He was the sole outsider/vecino resident (if only part of the year) in the town of Santa Barbara de Culta, and may have been the only individual who the provincial government could trust to support the military; government and help to repress campesino strikes. When I was in the town in 1981, the new corregidor complained that the job had been forced upon him, that he was suffering abuse from the canton populace, and that he wanted out as soon as possible. When I returned to K'ulta in 1982, he was dead. His wife suspected that he had been killed through witchcraft. In any case, his job had been filled by a jilaqata appointee.
As was the case for the kingdom mallkus, the corregidor can accomplish nothing without the approval and help of his jilaqatas. The interesting thing is that the man chosen for the job of canton corregidor is usually someone who has not entered a ritual career that might lead to a jilaqata or alcalde position. Thus it is assured that he will remain powerless and without influence among the people of the canton, even though the sub-delegado of the province requires the position to be filled by one who speaks Spanish well and knows how to read and write. In fact, astute and ambitious tri- and bilinguals among the population steer clear of the dubious honor and thankless responsibilities this position is well known to entail. Recent corregidores have been appointed (by jilaqatas) more because of their perceived marginality with regard to allegiance than because of any diplomatic/linguistic ability to attract broad support. In addition to the example of the appointed itinerant peddler mentioned earlier, I cite the case of one other corregidor, who as a middle-aged bachelor (and thus not fully adult) was the subject of much jest.

Apart from the cantonal corregidor and minor cargos associated with the schools (such as the escolar post, which involves making bread and mixing U.S. donated powdered milk for school children), there are three types of office in the K’ulta cabildo, namely, jilaqata, alcalde, and alguacil. Each moiety of K’ulta fields one of each of the three types of authorities each year. But while each moiety-ayllu has a jilaqata, the positions are not equivalent, for one of the officials is more highly ranked, and is called the jilaqata mavor. The same form of ranking also holds for the other two posts. The dominant position alternates yearly between the moieties, according to a complex concatenation of ritual sponsorship careers explained below.

The sub-delegado is the highest provincial official, appointed by the ruling pan’ of the department. During the field period the post was filled by men from Challapata. In current parlance, the term cabildo refers, in K’ulta, to (a), certain public functions of the authorities of the conjoined moieties (namely, tax collection), and to (b), the ritual altar at which tax collection is carried out. Elsewhere, as in Macha and Jukumani, cabildos are sub-units of the ayllu, which are also associated with tax collection and land tenure.
Jilaqatas are given the title of cacique cobrador (collecting cacique) as well, because of their role in collecting the tasa in twice yearly rites known as kawiltu kupraña. I have described the feigned kawiltu kupraña rite which takes place in the wedding ritual, and I will describe an actual collection below, since one takes place during the fiesta of Guadalupe. The other collection date is just after the investiture of new jilaqatas, which takes place on January 20, on the day of Saint Sebastian (who is not, however, celebrated as such in K'ulta). Jilaqatas also "name" the sponsors of fiestas, though all but initial sponsorships in ritual careers are predetermined. Hopeful new sponsors approach the jilaqata in a rite much like that through which wedding godparents are "appealed" to, and the naming itself takes place during one of the two yearly tax collections.

The alguaciles (Sp., "bailiffs, constables") are considered the assistants of the jilaqatas and are inaugurated on the same day. Alcaldes (Sp. "mayors, justices of the peace") who carry out many of the same duties as the jilaqatas, but must defer to them, are inaugurated on January 1st, as Viceroy Toledo mandated in the 16th century.

I will not go into great detail as to the functions of these authorities, except to note that they meet twice monthly (during the same days that the Ierea fiesta sponsors change their images' clothing) in the corregidor's office in the town of Santa Barbara, where they jointly discuss issues concerning the polity and preside over inter-patrilin and inter-ayllu litigation. Each of these meetings is itself a ritual affair, with appropriate ch'alla sequences. Investiture and tax collection are also rituals, sponsored by the civil authorities and involving sacrifices.

Before investiture, jilaqatas (with the aid of their ayllus' alguaciles) must carry out a sacrifice called the kumun kilara, "the blood [letting and aspersion] of the community," in which they dedicate their staff of authority and give its blessing to their human herd (who they address as "tarna"). On June 29th, near the midway point in their year of office, the jilaqatas are also required to carry their varas to the fiesta of San Pedro, Tata Asanaqi, in order to hear mass. All of the authorities are, additionally, required to
raise a carnaval ~ pole, and to receive the incoming authority, just as the “religious” sponsors must do so. They also must participate in each of the five principal fiestas of Santa Barbara de Culta, where they carry their whips and "keep vigil," making sure that tinkus do not turn to ch’axwas (major wars), notwithstanding their clandestine role as kinds of captains in the very land wars which they are supposed to prevent.

5.1.3.3. The Hierarchy of Ritual Sponsorship Roles

Fiesta sponsorship roles also divide into three basic types (though a set of post-civil-office roles complicate matters). The three central roles are mayordomo, (Sp. "majordomo or steward," also called turri, from Sp. "tower"), who is of least consideration; p"wira, (or "fillillil"), of intermediate rank; and alferez (Sp. "lieutenant"), the role of greatest prestige. In each of the five great-fiestas all three roles are filled, with two roles allotted to one moiety, and one role to the other.

These ritual officers, modeled (in name, at least) on those of the 16th century Spanish religious (and military) brotherhoods, or cofradías, are graded in rank terms, and they enact their asymmetrical relationship in the progressive increase in camavalpil, (crown) visits accorded to high-ranking sponsors. In addition, the lower ranking of the roles owe service duty to the higher ranking ones in the fiestas they sponsor, and in particular in the patron saint fiesta of Santa Barbara. They are not ranked, that is, so much in reference to the costliness of the corresponding fiesta performance, but as to how much and what one type of officiant gives to or receives from others, and the degree of cult that one can correspondingly pay to the saint. But the ranking of both civil and ritual offices is most directly a product of the system of concatenated careers of which they form a parto

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11 The roles of novena and capitán, both pertinent only to the fiesta of Santa Barbara, fall, like alferez roles, after all of the civil authority positions in the civil-religious careers.

12 I am uncertain as to the derivation of this term, though I hazard a guess that it is from the Spanish fuera ("outside"), in reference to this sponsor’s role in keeping the (miniature) saint image in the harnlet, which is to say, outside, of the church and the town, during his year of duty.
5.1.3.4. The Great Fiesta Paths: The Hierarchy of "Civil-Ritual" Careers

Seen as a total system, the sponsorship roles of five different major saints' feasts are intercalated with the civil offices in a predetermined order of rotation and alternation that is fixed for years in advance. From another perspective, what are concatenated are four different types of ritual careers, in each of which an individual occupies an office or feast sponsorship role every three or four years, in a fixed order. In Aymara, such careers are known as jach'a p'ista t'akinaka, or "great fiesta paths." An individual who enters one of the two careers leading, after several religious cargos, to the post of alguacil, will eventually (after more religious cargos) reach the post of Jilaqata. As it happens, the two jilaqata careers are also called tayk'una t'akinaka, or "our mother paths," since each involves sponsorship of major roles in female saint fiestas. One who wishes to become jilaqata mayor must carry out the highest ranking (and also longest and most costly) career, Santa Barbara T'aki, which takes over twenty years to finish.

Entering a great fiesta path is incumbent on any man who wishes to be well respected in his hamlet and ayllu. A man who has finished his career is also said to be finished or complete as an adult, a pasado and jach'a jiliri (great elder-brother) whose voice commands respect in public decision making, and who is regarded as having thus gained the full capacity for oratory and myth-telling, maximally free from constraint. Boys and young men may be shamed in such contexts, and when before a gathering of "finished" men they are supposed to be "fearful," which is to sal', fearful of being called yuyalla.

Such sponsorship rotation systems were at an apogee in scale in the late 18th century, when kingdom and federation ties among reduccion towns were played out in macro-cycles which included several towns. Visits of K'ult'a jilaqatas to Condo for the feast of San Pedro are most likely a remnant of such a macro-system centered in the former kingdom capital, when sponsorship roles in Condo mal' have been part of the investiture of annex cabildo officers. Such complex regional systems are best recorded for the province of Chayanta in 1793-7 (discussed in chapter 2). Fiesta systems which unite highland polities with valley outlier kinsmen are still in existence, such as that by which authorities of Ayllu Qullana are chosen today (also discussed in chapter 2).
which is not only a reference term for young boy but also a powerful insult for young men. Spoken to a man's face, the term is an open invitation to fight, and it (along with other terms comparing adversaries with women and their roles in both domestic and sexual life) is hurled with great frequency during actual fights. Thus it is no small matter that a man who has not embarked on a fiesta career is also thought to be of little weight amongst his peers, and called (usually behind the back) a yuqalla.

To begin a career entails more than a full year's worth of ritual duties during each active stage, that is during the year between the moment the sponsorship is bequeathed by the previous sponsor and the culmination of the fiesta performance one year later, when the sponsorship is given back to the opposite moiety. In between these year-long trials (and trials) of obligation are relatively quiet periods of specified length (lasting from two to four years) for recuperation and acquisition of sufficient surpluses for the next round. These "breathers," not surprisingly, are samaraña in Ayrnara, like the breathers taken on named altars by the saint image on its path to and from town.

Each of the four careers involves a different set of saints and sponsorship roles, and involves the acquisition of corresponding specialized ritual knowledge. The tayksa t'akinaka career sequences (listed from first to last) are summarized in table 9, lists A and B.

If in one year Alax-Kawalli is headed by a jilaqata mayor (who is on the Santa Barbara jach'a p'ista t'aki), then Manxa-Kawalli, in that year, would be headed by a jilaqata menor (who would be on Guadalupe T'aki). The alcalde careers alcalde Taki and San Andres Taki, which are awksa t'akinaka, "our father paths," alternate and are ranked in a similar way (see table 9, lists E and D).

In any given year, the moiety with the higher-ranking jilaqataship has the lower-ranking alcaldeship, and vice-versa for the other moiety. The net result is an alternation in the predominance of awksa and tayksa career authorities (that is, of jilaqata and alcalde) within each moiety, as well as an alternation in the two types of predominance between the...
THE FIESf A CAREERS

Tayksa T’akinaka (Jïlaqata Careers)

A. Santa Barbara Tayksa T’aki

- Escolar
- Mayordomo of Santa Barbara (Dec. 4)
- Mayordomo of Corpus (June/movable)
- Alguacil
- Fuera of Santa Barbara (Dec. 4)
- Jïlaqata Mayor (installed Jan. 28)
- Alferez of Santa Barbara (Dec. 4)
- Capitan of Santa Barbara (Dec. 4)

B. Guadalupe Tayksa T’aki

- Escolar
- Mayordomo of San Andres (Nov. 30)
- Alguacil
- Fuera of Guadalupe (Sept. 8)
- Jïlaqata
- Alferez of Corpus (June/movable)
- Novena of Santa Barbara (Dec. 4)

Awksa T’ akiinaka (Alcalde Careers)

C. San Andres Awksa T’akiin

- Fuera of San Andres (Nov. 30)
- Fuera of Corpus (June/movable)
- (Alfrez of San Andres [defunct])
- Alcalde Mayor (installed Jan. 1)
- Alfrez ofExaltacion (Sept. 14)

D. Exaltacion Awksa T’aki

- Mayordomo ofExaltacion (Sept. 14)
- Mayordomo of Guadalupe (Sept. 8)
- Fuera of Exaltacion (Sept. 14)
- Alcalde (installed Jan. 1)
- Alfrez ofGuadalupe (Sept. 8)
moieties. And while the authority types are ranked (with jilaqata considered of greater power and value), and thus as one would expect, the moiety with the jilaqata mayor position claims over-all predominance for its year, the quadripartite scheme also allows for disclaimers from the moiety with the alcalde mayor position, for as K’ulteños would say, Is not the alcalde mayor as important as any jilaqata, just as the awki saints are as important as the tayka saints? As we shall see, the saints enter into the matter in more ways than just as names of career types: they are also highly venerated and powerful wooden images, which, under the care of one of the fiesta sponsorship roles, are resident in each of the moieties in yearly alternating fashion.

5.1.4. The Nature of a Fiesta Performance

5.1.4.1. The Year’s Duties: Intra- and Inter-Saint Path Cooperation

Like the civil cargo positions, fiesta sponsorship is a year-long affair, not just a single ritual performance. In the case of the fueras, the saints’ images require bi-weekly careo Mayordomos, who keep the church keys, must spend a portion of the year in the ritual center town, safekeeping the major saint images, during their más (tum) in the division of the task among all of the year’s mayordomos. All must also carry out other rites, including a half-year feast (in the hamlet), special q’uwas at full and new moon, and the celebration of a mass in honor of the saint (which may be paid for and performed when the priest is present during the fiesta of Santa Barbara, or on another occasion in some other town).14

AH sponsors, like civil authorities, couples who have recently built a house, parents whose daughters have wed in the previous year, and inheriting sons (with their mothers) of men who have died during the previous year, must also erect a kind of maypole in their patio during carnaval, which becomes the focus for the presentation of

14The receipts for the payments for these masses are usually kept inside the hamlet pukara, where they are reviewed and remembered during carnaval rites.
quantities of chicha (and corresponding ch'allas), for a sacrificial banquet presented by the
sponsoring individual and subordinates who must deliver one. The maypole, called
jurk’" a, is covered in flowers and is also the axis for a number of special dance forros,
including the inter-harnelet night dances which are associated with courtship.

In this carnaval rite, the subordinate couple, always in the year before they begin
their year of sponsorship, travel to the patio of the dominant couple (who are in their year
of sponsorship) to bring a banquet and place pillu, crowns of flowers and bread, on their
heads. The crowns and the banquets are reciprocated, but the dominant role is to receive
a visit, not to go on one. The visits, which are received only by the novena and alferze of
Santa Barbara, the fuera and alferze of Guadalupe, and the fuera of San Andres
(sponsorships in each of the four paths) are only among sponsors within a single ayllu,

A son (or other) who inherits a dead man's status is called alma-cargo, "soul-
sponsor," whose major "fiesta" is the feeding of the dead during Todos Santos rites in the
cemetery at the beginning of November. Consequently in carnaval, in a rite calledQ'uwra,
the dead man is reconstructed in effigy out of his clothes, and, as the "actual" sponsor of
the jurk’"a feast, presented with pillu crowns as is the dominant member in the tullqawk'cha and machaka-sponsor relations.

I do not know the derivation of this term, which has, so far as I know, no
other referents apart from the poleo. It is possibly related to the Quechua term ill'ra.
applied in Macha to the mailku as condor when it descends into the shaman’s home in
curing rites (Tristan Platt, personal communication 1985).

Among fiesta sponsors, pillu carriers are as follows: During the year before
receiving the sponsorship, the fuera of Guadalupe carries pillus to the present year's alferze
of Guadalupe. In the following year's carnaval, the same fuera (now in his year of
sponsorship) receives pillus from the -1 year alferze of Guadalupe (a different man from
the same ayllu). This exchange, of course, is between role types of a single saint, but
corresponding to the B jilaqata path and the D alcalde path.

The -1 novena of Santa Barbara takes pillus to the year's alferze of Santa
Barbara, and the following year, the novena (now a sponsor) receives pillus from the -1
alferze of Santa Barbara. This exchange is between sponsorship roles of Santa Barbara,
but among men in the A and B jilaqata paths.

The -1 fuera of San Andres takes pillus to the same year's alferze of Guadalupe,
and receives pillus, the following year, from the -1 alferze of Guadalupe. Here the
exchange is between saints, and between the no. 3 and no. 4 alcalde paths.

Finally, two of the lowest ranking sponsors take pillus during their year of
sponsorship, without receiving return visits: The Mayordomo of Guadalupe (in the no. 4
alcalde path) carries crowns to the same year's alferze of Guadalupe, while the mayordomo
of Santa Barbara (in the no. 1 jilaqata path) carries pillus to the same year's alferze of Santa
Barbara, in the same no. 1 jilaqata path.
which means among co-ayllu patrilines which are also engaged in marriage alliances involving similar visits.

These visits are not individual affairs, but are between patrilines. The pillu carrying sponsors-to-be bring with them the meat of two sacrificed llamas, a quantity of food, and a large dance/warrior group, who in this rite are called the "soldiers of Santa Barbara" and carry mock rifles and flags in special dance formations. The host group also puts up a dance group, and the two carry out a competition which is not supposed to end up in real fighting. The pillu carrying duties of the presponsor also correspond to the responsibility to provide a dance group (and warriors) when the sponsor who receives the visit actually "passes" his fiesta. So in any given saint's fiesta in the town of Santa Barbara several groups of allied patrilines within each ayllu converge on the town along their ritual paths, brought together by the cross-cutting obligations among sponsorship roles and career types.

Of the three sponsors in a Guadalupe fiesta, two of them (the mayordomo and the alferez) will be from one moiety, while the fuera comes from the opposite moiety. Mayordomo, as the most subordinate role, is required to assist in the alferez's sponsorship, and his own patio and patriline thus tends to become overshadowed by that of the alferez, just as the machaka sponsors, with the jula-julas (dance groups) they must bring, are absorbed into this year's same moiety sponsor, while they oppose the old sponsor (of the same type) form the opposite moiety.

During the course of the fiesta, these same-ayllu groups (which have "practiced" their joint formations during the previous carnaval) merge into a single "army" for a ritual battle against the opposite moiety's congregation. As they merge, they become something other than an army, and something other than patrilines: they are unified as a single herd and ayllu and addressed by the sponsor (who they call "father herder," and "lead male llama") as his "herd."
5.1.4.2. Fiesta as Climax of Sponsorship

The duties of each sponsor (which last at least a full year) culminate in the sponsorship of fiesta rites in the town of Santa Barbara de Culta, of which there is one performance for each of the stages in all four fiesta path types in any given year. Part of a sponsor's duties in the culminating feast involve the transferral of the sponsorship role to the opposite moiety, in the person of the following year's sponsor. Thus in addition to the three "old" sponsors (and their "followings", mostly from their own hamlet/patrilines), there is ritual activity from three entering sponsors, called machanas (novices). Each sponsor and his co-lineage followers is met by his opposite number (a replacement from the opposed moiety).

Much of the fiesta is accordingly given over to formal visiting and reciprocal prestations among the six attending groups, who alternately come together and separate to their own ritual altars. Loud and ecstatic collective celebration and quiet, serious, private ritual wax and wane, along with mounting tension, until, in a crescendo of excitement, push comes to shove in the ritual battle known as tinku, which pits the moieties against one another, each with a set of dancers and fighters. Nonetheless, the battle is usually closely controlled, and a return of civility between the moieties is (nearly) guaranteed by the fact that the saint images, which must be passed to the machaca sponsors for the fiesta to reach its conclusion, are kept hostage until the day after the formal passing of the "mantles" of authority, meals of communion, and tinku battle.

In the following pages I will analyze the acts of a single sponsor, the fuera, and his machaca replacement, in a single fiesta, that of Guadalupe, which I have witnessed twice and in greater detail and sobriety than the others. The ritual acts of all sponsorship roles, and the symbolic qualities of all types of authorities are similar enough that the simplifications and idealizations offered here may serve as indication of what further
analysis might accomplish. The kind of micro-analysis of ritual events which I offer here is, in my view, absolutely required before the whole can be grasped.

5.2. A K'ulteño Fiesta Performance

52.1. Preparations and Recruitment of Assistants and Specialists

After a full year of small sacrifices, Carnaval pillu visits and cult before the saint's image at his hamlet home, the fuera begins preparations for the culminating ritual some weeks in advance, when large quantities of firewood (mostly the aromatic Ililà bush) are collected for the massive brewing and cooking to come. The sponsor's wife-takers (his sisters' husbands and daughters' husbands, who, as his tullqa, are beholden to him) are recruited first, as they cannot easily refuse. Then lineage-mates, sutiwawa (godchildren of baptism), and men for whom he has performed similar services are formally asked to help, each approached with an offering of coca and a drink of alcohol which are dedicated to the gods. Such reciprocal services, and the persons who carry them out (while they do so) are called ayni.18

Not all of the sponsors' fiesta aides, however, are so designated. The male sponsor's wife-takers (and godchildren), of course, are obligated to serve, and without any equivalent recompense. Like the tullqas, the four libation specialists (both male and female chicha and alcohol pourers) are also not considered ayni. These individuals are chosen for their seniority and special ritual knowledge. They are likely to be among those classified as vatirinaka ("those who know," that is shamans), and they are accorded central places of honor during the rites. These wasuwariris are rewarded with the gift of the specially valued parts of the sacrificed llarnas--the heads and pelts.

A few days before the feast begins, the fuera couple and their followers (including the women the wife has been able to gather) make quantities of chicha in festive

18Apart from indicating the labor itself and the labor-exchange partner while it is performed, the term ~ is also used to mean "revenge," the return owed in another kind of reciprocal relationship. On this point, see Murra (1968).
collective labor, and begin to assemble and measure out the food and alcohol (which have been accumulated in the previous months) to be served during the feast.

522. Parts of the Fiesta: Parsing a Performance and Segmenting Ritual

Analysis of ritual is a tricky business. One is confronted with a complex sequence of acts (only sometimes accompanied by words) for which they may be no exegetical explanations, other than that such things are done thus and so and are customary. Suppose that if people could verbalize just why ritual acts were performed, towards what ends, and how such ends were achieved, then it would not be necessary to perform ritual at all, one could simply talle it all through, and a new set of meanings would be understood. In any case, the absence of a system for explaining ritual acts as one might, for example, define a word, leads to the possibility of one's descriptive account bearing little resemblance to what are, in the culture concerned, meaningful units.

Fortunately, however, fiesta performances, like all rituals, are not uninterrupted strings of acts without internal segmentation. A fiesta is segmented, first of all, by space and movement: Initial and concluding ritual acts are performed in the hamlet, bracketing the central rites performed in the town. Secondly, there are named chunks of action as large as a full day's events, and the names suggest that the sequence of major segments follows the logical and temporal order of two partially overlapping llama sacrifices. The major named segments of the fiesta corresponding to parts of a sacrifice, also performed on many other ritual occasions, are uywa ispira (dedication), qarwa k’ari (killing), and ch’iwu (banquet, distribution). Other major segments of the fiesta reprise these steps in condensed or expanded versions. Within each major chunk there are more numerous named events, and these are further subdivided. Within qarwa k’ari, for example, there are sub-segments

The greatest part of the chicha is carried to town (in the great ceramic vessels in which final fermentation takes place) by other ayni help some days in advance of the arrival of the sponsors’ entourage. While there, the chicha bearers also make any necessary repairs to the hamlet's ritual house (or houses) in the town, such as re-roofing with new ichu grass.
called—paq"arayaña, tinku, paxcha, ch'iwu, and jañachu, each of which recurs in other segments within the fiesta.

Certain types of named ritual action (again, those which are parts of a sacrifice) are repeated several times during the fiesta. Thus there are four events qualifying as paq"arayaña, two Q'uwas, three performances of the ch'allas called ch'iwu, etc. The multiple and overlapping repetition of the sacrificial sequence establishes "stanza"-like formal parallelisms, which repeatedly mirror in microcosm the overall structure of the fiesta as a whole. Sacrifices are carried out again and again, but the identities of sacrificer, sacrificer, victim, commensals, and deities of dedication, differ in each case.

Along with the poetic device of recursion and imbedding of microcosmic icons in macrocosmic form, other poetic forms are also employed. Metaphoric, metonymic, synecdochic, indexical, iconic, and symbolic signs amplify, modify, and refer such parallelisms to a wide range of extra-ritual referential orders, reorganizing them in a totalizing meta-communicative form. In combination, the symbols and metaphor-making structures of fiesta ritual establish equivalences and disjunctions with the power to affirm, create, and transform the social identities of participants, as their roles in the progression of sacrifices are transformed.

5.2.2.1. Spatial Segmentation

A fiesta performance in K'ulta lasts from four to six or seven days, depending on questions of scheduling. Regardless of the number of days involved, a fixed set of

2ÜMonday (mayruwiri uro) is considered the dead's day, and reserved for funerary rites. Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday are called awksa uru, "our father day," but only Thursday is considered truly propitious for male saints' feasts and sacrifices. Tuesday and Friday are the saxra uru ("evil" or "secret" days), thought most appropriate for sorcery and for rites to the mining gods of money. Friday is also called Qinsa milakru, "three miracle day," when Tata Mustramu (the sun), Tata Exaltacion (exaltation of the cross, also called Tata Killaka), and Santiago (Saint James) are unified in a kind of trinity. Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday are tavha uru (our mother day), of which only Sunday (the day of Mama Rusariu), is considered relatively unpropitious. Consideration of the qualities of these days is always brought to bear on scheduling for collective work, travel, and ritual, and each deity-form is given coca dedications during its day.
named ceremonies must be performed, in a determined order and in specific localities.
From one perspective, a fiesta works through the symbolic relations between hamlet and
town through the staging of events: libations are performed for the herd and hamlet deities
and some llamas are sacrificed in the hamlet, then the ritual participants become pilgrims in
a sacred journey to the town, where more sacrifices are performed, banquets given, a battle
fought, and sponsorship relinquished. Finally, a reverse pilgrimage takes place, bereft of
the foodstuffs expended in the town, and final libations are poured to the hamlet deities.

Such a scheme divides fiesta rites into public (town centered) and private (hamlet
centered) types. Only the former are likely to be observed by outsiders without close
familiarity with fiesta sponsors, and thus the meanings of town events (determined in
relation to hamlet ones) may be misperceived by non-participants. Numerous students of
Andean cultures have held that Andeans carry on pre-columbian cultural forms in
clandestinity while appearing to conform to Hispanic-Christian orders, and the dual nature
of K'ulteño fiesta performances, divided between private, "indigenous deity"-focused
hamlet acts and public, "Christian deity"-focused town events, seems to support this view.
But though fiesta events are separated spatially by the pilgrimage between the empty ritual
center town and hamlet residence, the nature of the rites belies such a straightforward
means of categorization.

5.2.2. The Unifying Metaphors of Herding and Sacrifice

Central to fiesta rites is sacrifice, as is demonstrated by the fact that four of the
five named days of the fiesta are derived from aspects of sacrifice. *Uwua, ispia uru*,
"animal visper day," when the sacrificial dedications (described in chapter 4) are made
comes first, followed by *qarwa k'ari uru*, "llama cutting day," when animals are
ceremonially killed. Next is *marka qarwa k'ari* or *wallpa, k'ari uru*, "town llama cutting
day" or "chicken cutting day," actually a second llama sacrifice. Finally, there are *p'isturu,
"fiesta day," and *ch'iwunl, "meat/cooked 'heart/shade/black cloudllama young" day. The
first two and last one-half days of the feast are those performed in the hamlet. Consequently, the casual (outsider) observer of public events in the town is unlikely to see the festive banquet, drunken boisterousness, and saint-image related ceremony as integral parts of an imbedded pair of llama sacrifices dedicated not only to the saint and Christian gods of the town, but primarily to a plethora of underworld deities located in the vicinity of the hamlet.

More disciplined observation, possible only through repeated and intimate participation in fiestas, reveals that each of the named days of the fiesta is segmented into a multitude of named ceremonies, the majority of which are also connected with sacrifice. As I will argue below, the central object of the sequencing of fiesta rites is to establish the formal equivalence of llamas, men, saints, and gods, to express their formal similarities in terms of the exertion of hierarchical control (via the metaphor of herding), and to create herder-authorities by infusing them with the formal properties of sacrificed llamas and deities.

What follows is an analysis of the fiesta as a whole, treating its smallest segments as parts of a coherent symbolic order in which the "indigenous" and "Christian," so obviously different for the outside observer, are seen as interdependant parts of a single cosmic order, which is given clearest expression in the over-arching (and meta-communicative), 'poetic' form which is the fiesta.

5.3. A Jach'a P'ista Performance: The Events of Guadalupe, September, 1982

5.3.1. Day 1: Uywa Ispira Uru (Herd Animal Vipers/Waiting Day)

5.3.1.1. Uywa Ispira Ch'alla Path

Serious ritual events of the fiesta proper begin in the hamlet, two or three days before leaving for the town of Santa Barbara, where the major events are to take place. With the aid of four different libation specialists (two men and two women, one each for chicha and alcoholic libations), the libation series, or ch'alla, of uywa ispira, or "herd
vispers” ~ = "domesticated ruminant animal; i.s.pīrā = "wait", or "vespers" from Sp. esperar or visperas) is performed. The ch'allas, as treated in section 4.1, are performed in the sponsors’ home, beginning during the evening, and the day of their performance is named after them, "animal vispers day" (uywa ispir uro). The performance of this libation sequence, along with others (each a named "type" of list) mark out the meaningful segments of the fiesta. As pointed out in the previous chapter, each ch'alla path is a long and internally complex enumeration of sacred places, creatures, and deities, arranged in a fixed order (though in part variable according to the context) which is "remembered" or constituted from the intersection of identity of sponsor, spatial context, and sequence type, by the libation specialists. The largest number of ch'allas, the small cups of forty percent alcohol, are presented by the awarint wasuwariri (the "aguardiente cup specialist") to, first of all, the altar and its symbolic refractions; to the gods of the house; to local herd gods (the uywiris, or "herd owner mountains"); to the herd animals; to the sponsoring couple's ancestors (and to the ancestor herds of their own herd); and to near and distant sources of foodstuffs. From a small bottle of pure alcohol, the sponsors themselves offer libations to the powerful regional and local mallkus (in this case, not hereditary lords but the highest and most powerful mountain gods). As noted in chapter 4.1., chicha is not used in uywa ispira libations, but saved for the libations beginning the next morning, when rites are carried out outside of the house and in the presence of extra-household participants.

As the ch'alla sequence is finished (with the participation of the eligible adults of the fuera couple's patriline), the fuera's assistants, who throughout the previous days have been preparing food (boiling large quantities of dried corn kernels and other foodstuffs) and making chicha, begin the preparation of the incense offering known as q'uwa.

By "next morning," I mean the next day of the ritual, which may take place two days after uywa ispira, in order to avoid performing it on a Monday, which is reserved for the rites of the dead.
5.3.1.2. The Q‘uwa

The q’uwa is a burnt incense offering made at several junctures during fiesta performance, and on many other occasions during the year as well. Throughout the year, q’uwas are prepared and burned by all heads of herding households as part of major calendrical rites, and also at full and/or new moons (depending on the customary practice of the household concerned). A special q’uwa is offered by sponsors at the new moon immediately preceding the fiesta proper, and at the full moon immediately following it. During the actual fiesta (the named rites commencing with uywa ispira and ending with chi’ivuru), two q’uwas are burned by the sponsor. The first of these is prepared in the sponsors’ home, by his assistants, during the performance of uywa ispira ch’allas, and burned by the male sponsor at dawn of qarwa k’ari uro (“llama cutting day”); the second, prepared in the sponsors’ town house during the night of ispiras, is burned at dawn of p’isturu. The preparation is the same in each case, as is the name of the place in which the q’uwa is burned, called the q’uwaña.

The centerpiece of the q’uwa offering is composed of a pair of miniature llamas (called, as one might expect, llantirus, the highly prized lead males of the herd), which the sponsors’ assistants sculpt from dried llama pectoral fat as the sponsor and ch’alla-eligible adults finish their uywa ispira libations. Such fat, called untu, is burned during many other ritual events as well, and is, along with the blood of the paxcha (the "spurting of blood" in the sacrifice, the part of the llama given directly, through destruction (as opposed to human consumption) to the gods of the sky.

22The other q’uwas are burned during the fiesta by the visiting authorities, as part of their duties.

23Since untu is held to be a form of solidified, stored male essence (a form of muiju, or "semen/seed"), and blood the female contribution to conception, we see that the gods of alaxpacha are favored, in q’uwa and paxcha, with the generative aspects of the llama’s body.
When finished, the figurines are given their own _paq’arayaña_ (are "made to flower"), as the sacrificial llamas will be during the coming day. The fuera’s assistants decorate the animals' ears and back with the flower tips of an aromatic herb which is itself called _q’uwa_ (and comes from the desert coastal region to the west of Killaka territory). Around these figures are placed twelve coca leaves, twelve coca seeds, a sprinkling of sugar, cinnamon, and other aromatic spices from the valleys. When incense is added (both chunks of "~" and pressed cakes in the form of charms, purchased in the city), the offering array is complete.

The offering is made at the break of dawn, in a spot always located on a hillside to the east of the settlement, differ from household to household, and are kept secret. The _q’uwaña_ is often the same place as the _asintu_ is buried, a place where herd fertility offerings are made during "open earth" rituals of early August and February. Aside from being located to the east of the hamlet or town, the _q’uwaña_ should also receive the rays of the rising sun, to which it is dedicated.

Just before sunrise, the male sponsor is roused from his sleep by his assistants. He carries his prepared _q’uwa_ bowl, with its special array of aromatic and inflammable ingredients, and, after a few ch’allas in puro, he dumps the contents into a pile of burning coals, as the first rays of morning sun appear on the eastern horizon.

The burning of the _q’uwa_ prefigures the sacrifice (also of a pair or pairs of llantiru) to come, but it does more than that. The _q’uwa_ llantirus are not only icons (diagrammatic representations) of the "real" llantiru, as are the yanani pair in the chicha drinking vessel and the samiri llantiru buried in the corral; _q’uwa_ llantirus are, in addition, metonymic icons, made from a part of the llantiru llama male which is its generative substance. Making the llantiru entirely from this substance and other inflammable and aromatic substances also makes the sacrifice (here, if not in the killing of flesh and blood
animals) a holocaust offering. The significance of the untu fat, as male generative substance, also points to the meaning of the sacrifice as a whole, as an offering of the “patrilineal” force by which the fertile llantiru creates and circumscribes a herd. This is the very kind of generative encompassment, of course, of which the sun erata Awatiri Awksa, as he is addressed while the pleasing fragrance of the transfonned substance rises) is the origin and prototype.

5.3.2. Day 2: Qarwa K"ari Uru ("Llama Cutting Day")

5.3.2.1. Preparation of the Altars

Once the q'uwa has been completed, the sponsor returns to his house and directs that a breakfast be served to all of his arkiri, (followers), as the herd animals which follow behind the llantiru llamas are also called. As the q'uwa ideally still burns, the sponsor next turns to the altar of his patio and to the jach'a misa altar which is the highest ranking altar in the hamlet. He brings a bottle of pure alcohol to inaugurate the altar and to call gods attention to the burning q'uwa, as well as calling the mallkus to receive their ch'allas and come to the fiesta. Six cups of puro are thrown out from each side of the altar, to the church tower (turr) mallku, the hamlet mallku, the samiri of llantiru, the samiri oframs, to the samiri of Tata Muntu (?), and to the samiri of human beings. The same series is carried out at the jach'a misa, if the sponsor's own patio altar is not the jach'a misa.

5.3.2.2. Creating the Corral Altars

At this point, and while the service personnel continue their preparations in and around the sponsors' patio, the elders of the patriline, the wasuwariris, and the sponsors move to the corral where male llamas are kept. The herd is kept inside while the altars are prepared. As in all major ch'alla sequences, two altars are "built": the men's altar is

24 Although consultants did not freely make this connection, one might also see in this holocaust at the emergence of the sun as a reference to the initial sun-rise, which burnt the autochthonous beings in a sacrifice making herding and cultural life possible.
constructed of flat stones, near the west side of the corral (opposite the eastern-opening entryway). Stones are also set up to serve as seats for the men, who always use raised altars and sit up off the ground. The men's altar is then covered with an adult man's poncho, often the one hung on the house wall as a backdrop for displaying the vara. To the east of the men's altar, the women smooth a space near the center of the corral for their altar, which is a woman's carrying cloth (awayu) spread out open on the ground, upon which the women also sit. As the altars are prepared, a member of the party (an elder woman, such as the fuera's mother) removes all "dirt" from the corral, meaning dung of non-wool bearers such as dogs, burros, and cattle (picharapana, from picharaña, "to sweep or wipe [a surface]" and apaña, "to carry"; also a type of curing rite) and throws it out towards the west. All then take their places: the fuera sits behind his altar and to the right, with his back to the corral fence, and facing his wife, who sits to the left of her altar, facing towards her husband and the west. The highest ranking individuals of each sex take places near to the sponsors. At this point, the sponsor's wife lights a double bowl of incense (like the supliku performed in the larva misa (see section 1.1.2.), and runs a right-circuit with it around the inside of the corral (counter-clockwise), eneloising the space as a sacred ground of the deities. Once coca is placed on each altar, and supplies of alcohol and chicha set on the open side of each, opposite each sponsor in the empty space between them, the first coca is distributed with dedications to the saints. The sponsor and his wife then kneel and present their respective wasuwari as with two shots of puro each, which are dedicated to the ancestors, "so that we might remember well." Finally, the ch'alla path of qarwa k’ari may begin.

The ch'alla path of qarwa k’ari is much like that of uywa ispira. The focus is, however, on the llantir tinkur awki, the "father (awki) caravan leaders (llantiru, from the Spanish delantero) who go to ritual battle" (tinku). These are the llamas which are to be

2) Though luyra misa suplikus include two pairs of bowls, for male and female saints (and sky deities) with lightning of abo ye and below.
sacrificed. Otherwise, much remains the same in the ch'alla path, except that the altar of reference differs, and consequently the altar, uywiri, and kumprira of the sponsors do not enter. Rather, along with the recalling of animals, animal's altars, and the herd's ancestry through a listing of corrals, there is the addition of ch'allas to their patron saints' towers (in chicha), especially to Saint Anthony, who is a (male saint) patron of the (male) herds. At their altar, women drink ch'allas for Guadalupe, who is a patron of the female herd. In addition, chicha is used in libations for the sun and moon, and for attributes of them and of the saints such as lightning, as well as for the saints' altars upon the hamlet's mallku hill. As the ch'allas proceed, there is also a good deal of talk, mainly about the llamas and their individual histories, about those set aside for the sponsors' daughters (which should not be killed), and about inheritance animals which have yet to be given to the sponsoring couple.

The ch'allas are served always in the same order, beginning with the sponsor and proceeding around the altar (to his left), where participants are seated in rank order. During qarwa K'ari of 1982, the fuera's larita (his FZH) arrived in the corral somewhat late, but was immediately inserted into the seating order next to the fuera himself (that is, second in line), and given a rapid series of ch'allas to catch up with the rest of the group. In the ch'alla performance, each participant must drink for each entity libated, and the wasuwariris of awarinti and chicha move around the altar in a fashion known as ~ muvuvaña (encircling with the cup). Given the seating arrangements, the male sponsor's wasuwariris move in a clockwise circle, while his wife's servers move in a counterclockwise circle. The sponsors themselves likewise moves around the altars when giving their puro libations.

They are not likely, however, to actually ~ the lead llamas of the herd, which are too valuable for sacrifice. While K'ulteños would not consider substituting vegetables or non-camelids for the required llamas (as Nuer will substitute cucumbers for oxen), they will substitute sterile females or old and weak males for sacrifices that take place in the hamlet. They are, however, concerned for appearances during public sacrifices in the town, and the animals killed there are actually males, and generally strong and large ones at that. Whether male or sterile female, however, the animals killed are called llantiru.
5.3.2.3. Paq’arayaña and Paxcha (Making Bloom and Spurting Blood)

The ch’allas and other actions surrounding the actual killing present special complexities, for interruption, competition, and humor are all built in, though unpredictably timed. When the elders have begun the wife’s and mother’s corral sequence, the service personnel, usually including tullqas and godsons of the sponsor, decorate the herd by sewing colored yarn through the animals’ ears, an action referred to as paq’arayaña (to “make flower” or “bloom”).

When all have been thus decorated, including female camelids brought to the corral for this purpose, the sponsor aids in choosing the llamas to be killed, which are tied in a kneeling position. The rest of the herd is then driven out of the corral while being aspersed with ch’uwa, the clear liquid by-product of chicha manufacture.

Then the llamas to be killed are pacified by being given chicha to drink (called their "lake", 'so that the chicha should not run out') and coca to chew (called "grass," 'so that the pastures should flourish').

When the corral sequences are finished, the llamas to be killed are directly libated, with ch’allas for tinkur llantir awki, "herd-leader father [who goes] to tinku," and for the yanani, the second such llama. Just before they are killed, the tinkur awki are made to breathe upon a bag of coca produced for the occasion, 'so that their color/pattern type will not die out in the herd'.27 Then, in a moment called the paxcha (flowing), the sacrificers throw the bound llamas to the ground, pull back their heads, and quickly cut the animals' throats through to the bone, making sure that the blood spurts toward the rising-sun side of the corral.28

27 Consultants reported that the coca bag used for this purpose is kept aside for use in the sacred bundles which all herders bury in the corral during herd fertility rites of ear-rnarking carried out during carnavales.

28 I point out again that a pair of llamas must be killed together, rather than only one. But in a major fiesta, much more meat than this is needed for the banquets to follow, and two to five pairs of llamas will actually be killed.
As the blood flows out, the sponsor (who up until this point has been leading ch'allas at the men's altar) smears blood on the cheeks of each paq’arayaña and paxcha participant, and, flicking some drops of blood towards the sun-rise point on the horizon, dedicates the blood to the sky deities Santisima Mamala (moon) and Tata Awatiri (sun). Chicha ch'allas are then given again for the patron saints of the herd, and to the sun and moon. As the animals lie upon the ground and the butchering begins, a dance group composed of patriline youths, called jula-julas, forms and then begins to play a dirge on their knees around the outside of the corral. When the butchering is finished, they disperse in order to help prepare the meat. I will discuss the jula-jula group below.

5.3.2.4. The Ch'iwu Ch'allas: Death and Resurrection of the Tinkur Awkinaka

After spilling the blood of the sacrificed llantirus, the tullqas and other low ranking followers (such as unmarried sons, younger brothers, etc.) butcher the carcasses, competing to see who finishes first. Meanwhile, the men at their altar inside the corral begin a ch'alla list called ch'iwu (meaning “meat,” “shade,” “black rain-cloud,” and “llama progeny”), which is directed to the deity-guardians and “ideal types” of all forms of

29 All consultants agreed that the entire rite of qarwa k’ari must be scheduled so that the paxcha takes place before mid-day, while Tatala’s strength is rising (and he is on the ascending part of his path), rather than in the afternoon, when Tatala begins to sink into the feminine manxapacha underworld (and is outshined by Paxsi Mamala, “Mother Moon”).

A different procedure is employed in the sacrifices performed as part of mortuary rites. For these events, in which the blood must be collected in its entirety (to be cooked in corn meal and eaten by mourners), the animals are killed while standing, by inserting a knife between the neck vertebrae. Blood is then collected in the animal’s thoracic cavity by severing the aorta while the heart still beats. In the case of mortuary sacrifices, the killing should be done after noon, on a hamlet’s western path.

30 By ideal type, I mean that a ritual name for each foodstuff is used, in some cases a metonymic reference to the food item, in others the name of the saint thought to have special power over the item. The deity-guardians of foodstuffs include the valley arca mountains called awiyaru (from the 16th century Sp. noun aviadora, “provisioner”). The cup used to serve ch’iwu ch’allas is different from that used in other alcohol ch’allas: it is larger and, if available, is a miniature copy of the wooden bowls used for chicha ch’allas. These have a pair of llantiru or liill! (“bulls”) carved in the bottom.
foodstuffs and to every desired type of herd animal (not including, however, terms for sterile males or, at the men's altar at least, females).

At the same time, the sponsor's wife's assistants (who should include her yuqch'as and godchildren, having been handed the "hearts" (lungs and liver) and stomachs of the llamas immediately after the animals were killed, rush to cut up and boil the organs as swiftly as possible. The continuation of the ch'al'a and the cooking of the "heart" are carried out in another form of competition, the object of the sponsor's wife's assistants being to interrupt the ch'al'a as quickly as possible with the presentation of small bowls of cooked pieces of liver and lung at both men's and women's altars (at times, the animals' cooked penises are also presented) After the plates of ch'iwu, bowls of potato and stomach soup are served. With this, the ch'al'a is ended at whatever point in the list has been reached, and all eat their portions in silent reverence, awaiting the next interruption.

5.3.2.5. The "Infertile Ones" (Jañachu)

Moments after the chullma has been served, that is, while the participants are still eating the internal organs (and seats of spirit) of the tinkur awkis, one or two pairs of tullqas (or those who have butchered the careasses) burst into the corral wearing the pelts, still including the heads and feet, of the sacrificed lliniri lamas, along with llama bells, and, bleating like frantic llamas, begin to attack and mount all present in feigned mating.

I use the word "heart" here advisedly, notwithstanding the fact that the organs which are cooked and eaten in the corral are the liver and lungs. When confronted with an actual eareass and the organs in question, the term chullma was unhesitatingly applied to the liver and lungs, which are considered the seat of the "animo" (Spanish term for soul) and samana (an equivalent Aymara term which also means "breath"). My K'ulteño consultants also insisted that chullma translates into Spanish as corazon (= the English "heart"). I believe that the vehemence behind this translation derives from the cultural importance of the roughly equivalent "figurative" meanings of chullma and corazon, which are used interehangably in poetie discourse, love songs, and prayer to approximately the same effect as "heart" is used in English popular music. When re-cheeking the meaning of chullma with consultants on two separate occasions (and with an array of internal organs present to index), I was unable to convince them that the blood-pumping organ was a corazon. It took a Spanish-Aymara dictionary, referring to the the action of the heart, and translating it in the physiological sense as lluau (the Aymara term for the pumping organ) to convince (rather, astonish) them that only my Aymara, not my Spanish, was faulty.
After some minutes of raucousness and laughter, the human-llamas are pacified as all give them paired draughts of chicha and mouthfuls of coca, saying "here is your lake, here is your fodder" as they do so. The jañachu, as the ersatz llamas are called, are then driven out of the corral by a whip-and-sling-wielding younger brother of the sponsor, who then throws the tullqa-llamas to the ground and mock-sacrifices them (pretending to cut their throats). After this, the fuera sponsor and his assistants (and his wife with hers) begin the ch'iwu ch'alla list anew from the beginning, this time to be carried through to the end without further interruption.

During the second and complete performance of the ch'iwu ch'alla path, the sponsor's dance group, including the tullqas, forms again and circles the corral outside the wall where its members play their instruments. When the ch'allas in the corral are finished, the group temporarily disbands, and its members (along with all other participants) are fed a banquet at the sponsors' patio altar, after some brief libations have been poured in house and patio altars.

5.3.3. Hamlet-to-Town Pilgrimage

On the afternoon of the same day (or the early morning of the next, depending on questions of distance to town and timing of ritual performances U), the sponsors load their llama troop with all necessary provisions. Dressing the lead llamas (the llantirus) with

32The term means, literally, sterile (jani = "not", achuña = "to produce" [as in young, foodstuffs, etc.]). It is also a term which can be applied both to castrated male llamas and to male alpacas, which are thought to be weak and less likely to breed successfully than male llamas. Jañachu thus differ categorically from the strong, fertile llantiru males which should be sacrificed. Indeed, the relationship of jañachu to the llantiru is much like that of the sponsor (who is also a strong, fertile, lead male) to his tullqas (who are dependant, effeminized subordinates), and of the eldest brother to the youngest brother.

33Qarwa k"ari should ideally not be performed on a Monday, Tuesday or Friday, all of which are saxra ("evil" or "dangerous") days (see note 20, this chapter). Avoidance of "increase" rites on Mondays is nearly universal. Not so, however, for Tuesdays and Fridays, the days of sorcery. The dangers of these days notwithstanding (among which are raising the suspicions of casual observers as to intent), Tuesdays and Fridays, in particular, are occasionally preferred by the younger crowd who have a greater interest in financial capital, and who argue that the "good" ritual days have become exhausted. Those who prefer the ~ days follow the example set by Bolivia's miners, with whose rites (described in detail in Taussig 1980) many have had contact.
articles of human clothing, the entire entourage begins a pilgrimage to the ritual-center
town.34 The entire herd has already been “made to flower” with colored yarn in the ears,
and the lead males are adorned in significant items of mature men's dress (taken from the
sponsor and his close followers), such as long scarves, coca bags (ch'uspas), charm
bundles (carrying cloths worn by men around the waist, containing a supply of coca and
items bringing luck in travel and fighting), and, topping it all off, monteros, battle helmets
in the conquistador style. The overall effect of these adornments is the same as that which
caravanners strive for on the last leg of their return trips from the valleys, similarly laden
with foodstuffs, after yearly winter expeditions for provisions.

On the journey to town (in some cases a full day's walk), the fuera carries the
sacred miniature image of the saint to be feted, wrapped in numerous weavings (men's or
women's outerwear, depending on the gender of the saint). After an entire year of caring
for the saint in their house, the sponsoring couple prepare to give the saint high honors,
before handing it over to the opposite moiety's incoming sponsors.

5.3.3.1. The Ritual Path into Santa Barbara

Following one of the six major ritual paths which enter K'ultu from outlying
hamlets, the sponsors stop at designated points in order to place the image upon a series of
sacred stone altars for "rests" and special libations. 35 At each stop the jula jula band of
musicians/dancers/fighters plays a tune on their octave-graded pan-pipes, and dances in a
circle around the altar, image, and libation-pouring sponsors and elders.36

34 Usually, the llama herd precedes the sponsor's entourage by up to several
hours. Even with frequent stops for ch'allas along the way, the sponsors and their
followers often overtake the slow-moving llamas before they arrive at their destination.

35 Names of these rest-stops are numerous, but several are recurrent: The most
common is samaravaña (lit., "breathe"), but g'asa (a toponym referring to a saddle-like
depression between hills, often passes with views of other sites or of the town) is also
frequent.

36 Between Todos Santos (November 1) and the end of carnaval (March-April),
the band plays carved wood recorder-type instruments called tarkas. During the tarka
season the ukelele-like charangos on which lave songs are played are put aside. A rite at
the end of carnaval enacts the throwing down of tarkas (and the maypole jark'as) and
renewed playing of charangos.
5.3.3.2. Jula Jutas

In all K'ulteño fiestas, such dance groups move in a circle, repetitively playing a short tune composed for the occasion, based upon melodies heard in the musically "avant garde" neighboring towns of Macha and Poco ata. The members of the dance group dress as for battle, with conquistador-style leather and tin helmets (called monteros), heavy shoes or boots, and matching jackets. The jula-jula group has its own structure, composed, ideally, of maxtas (mature but unmarried males) who are the sponsors' patriline mates, plus (when free of other duties) rus tullqas and sutiyuqas, "godsons". The jula julas are led by a "captain" (mayura) who "herds" the dancers with whip and sling, and they are accompanied by a pair (or pairs) of unmarried Idaughters of the sponsors, called mit'ani.

Though they do not partake of the sponsors' libations, they do perform alcohol libations, offered by the mit'ani, according to their own special ch'alla lists, as they accompany the sponsors from hamlet to town and back again. Throughout the fiesta, they play at numerous appointed moments, becoming a fighting unit in the tinku ritual battle.

We have seen that jula-jula groups "practice" their performances during the previous years' carnaval rites, in which they play t'arkas, also in military guise. In the sponsors' own hamlet and in the journey to town, the dancers are those recruited from the sponsors' patriline and subordinate individuals. Arriving in town, however, they will be challenged,

37 The jackets are made of homespun, in the style worn by all K'ulteño men. What differs is the color and design (width of stripes, size of checks, etc.). Most young men own a set of such jackets; one in a style particular to the hamlet, the patriline, the wife's and mother's patrilines, and in the most "generic" of styles (such as the common brown/white/black jackets with small pinstripes or close checks), particular to the ayllu. Some patrilines are more extravagant in this regard than others. One patriline of ayllu Alax-Kawalli fields day-glo green with a pair of pumas embroidered on the back.

38 The mit'ani may be real or classificatory daughters of the sponsors.

39 The organization of the dance group appears related not only to the generalized military form common to many aspects of ritual sponsorship (and deriving in part from the nature of 16th century cofradía organization) but also to the organization of local contingents of laborers on their way to the Potosí mita. Until abolished in the 19th century, local men were "taken" to the mita by appointed mita captains, and were accompanied by wives or women chosen to serve them while in the town. A now-defunct rite, performed during Todos Santos festivities until 1977 (and described to me by various individuals) made the connection between fiesta dance groups and the mita more explicit: in that rite,
and then joined, by the dance group of the entering sponsor who visited with pillus in the previous carnaval. The joining of same-ayllu sponsors and dance groups, as they converge on the town along their individual paths, is an important aspect of fiesta rites, leading, among other things, to a tinku (which term also refers to merging paths or rivers, as well as to inter-moiety battles).

5.3.4. Town Qarwa K"ari (Wallpa K"ari), and Ispiras

If the sponsors' entourage arrives in town before noon (and if not, on the following morning, if the next day is not yet p’isturu), another pair or pairs of llamas are killed, this time within the patio of the harnlet's house(s) in the town. After some ch'allas at altars constructed by the sponsors in the patio of their town house, they proceed on a round of visits in the town, giving special ch'allas to the church tower and plaza, and to an altar just above the plaza which is a large rectangular boulder in the hillside, called Inka Misa. The altar is not so much associated with the Inkas as given the ritual name for building (and fighting) stones, "inka": it is thought to be the saints' principal altar outside of the church, connected to the saints' silu altars in the subordinate harnlets, just as the harnlet Pukara chapels and their niñu "towers" are connected through their roots to the church and tower of the town.

After this round of visits and ch'allas, the animals are killed rather surmarnily, and in this performance of qarwa k"ari, the ch'allas seem conspicuously fewer and more those who served as Jula-Julas in the year's fiestas participated in a kind of race (from the cemetery to a pass on the path to Potosí), in which, paired with unmarried girls, they carried large stones to a large apacheta on the pass. When they returned, they would be "married" in a mock ceremony by a mock priest, with mock European officials looking on. Partly as a result of a series of especially violent inter-moiety battles (between the assembled "dance" groups of maxtas), and partly because, as one collaborator put it, "no-one knew why it was done any longer", the rite was abolished in 1978, during a general reshaping of Todos Santos ritual which now keeps the moieties and ayllus apart by scheduling them to arrive on separate days. Three large stone monuments remain, however, on the trail to Potosí, as a reminder of the abolished rites.

The town sacrifice, qarwa k"ari, is sometimes referred to as wallpa k"ari (rooster cutting), because of the former practice of killing chickens on arrival for use as gifts to the priest. Since 1932, however, there has been neither resident priest, nor need for gift chickens, in K'ulta.
haphazard. Very few of the numerous alcohol libations for uywiris and mallkus (such as those performed in the hamlet qarwa k’ari) are carried out, and in their place there is a decided predominance of chicha libations directed towards the more acceptably "Christian" saints and sky gods. Receiving special attention are the highest, most universal alaxpacha gods, Tata Awatiri Awksa ("our father shepherd", referring simultaneously to the Sun and to Jesus Christ), and Santisima Tayksa (or Paxisi Mamala), "Our Most Holy Mother" (or "Mother Moon"), referring to the moon and to the Virgin Mary, and thought of as the wife of Tatala. The contrast between the hamlet ch’allas, emphasizing the manxapacha mountain deities, and the town ch’allas, emphasizing the alaxpacha sky deities, merits further coroment.

5.3.4.1. Hamlet/Town Contrast in Ch’alla Performance

As we have seen, there are fixed rules concerning the types and order of libations for each type of ritual act, and K’ulteño libation specialists insist that the town qarwa k’ari sequence is "the same" as the list performed in the hamlet. I was initially puzzled by the fact that, specialists’ insistence notwithstanding, the actual ch’allas performed in the town, for the same purpose (dedication of sacrificial animals) differed radically from those of the hamlet. At first sight, the differences seem to spring from a conscious attempt to conceal the non-Christian identities of the gods for whom the libations are poured and animals sacrificed. To a degree this indeed seems to be the case. K’ultenos are well aware that outsiders regard rites to the mountain gods as sacrilege. Indeed, during the performance of the first fiesta that I witnessed in K’ulta, I asked another (K’ulteno) observer what was happening at a stone altar (inka misa) on a nearby hill, where a crowd had gathered. He replied that the "Indios" were drinking to the "supays." The latter term translates as "devils" in the usage of city dwellers, who apply the term to all of the mountain deities; locally, the term is applied to the dangerous and destructive forms sometimes taken by neglected mallkus. These may take the form of a vecino or city person in order to capture the unwary indian’s spirit or try to strike nasty bargains with the avaricious. Cf. Earls (1969); Isbell (1978) on the parallel wamani). The individual who, in speaking to a stranger-outsider (myself), distanced himself from "devil" worshipping "Indios" later proved to be fully involved in a fiesta career of his own.
But one does not exhaust the matter by attributing the hamlet/town contrast in ch'alla content to a conscious effort to keep local practice clandestine. Interviews with another libation specialist raised other considerations. Outside the context of an actual performance, Don Bernardo Mamani, a libation specialist and yatiri, produced another qarwa k"ari list, in which only the generic terms for each entity libated was given. Comparing this to the lists I had drawn up from observation, it was apparent that, though different on the surface, the "generic" list was, at an underlying level, isomorphic with both town and hamlet lists. In actual performance, place/deity names prefix the term for the deity type (so that a ch'alla addresses, for example, janq'u nas uywiri), and multiple tokens of each type may be libated, (with additional named uywiris, mallkus, etc.). The uncontextualized listing of ch'allas given in an interview refers only to types, and in some cases results in a much shorter list than would occur in performance. Checking the order of deity types after recognizing this fact, I found that the "type" lists—which one might think of as generic scripts—are indeed followed rigorously. It is the contrast of contexts that produces most of the performance variability within ch'alla list types.

First of all, the variation must be accounted for in terms of the type of altar at which a sequence takes place. In the town, ch'allas are distributed among several altars, none of which include corrals (of which there are few in the town). Thus the corral sequences get short shrift in the town performance, while other segments of the "type" list are greatly expanded (that is, those pertinent to sky deities and to the extra-patrilinie hierarchy of mallkus).

The town patio altar, as well, is not connected directly to the patriline uywiris and mallku, but to uywiris and a mallku of the town, which are shared by all K'ulteños and thus of a considerably higher rank than the others. Likewise, town altars, with connections to the plaza, church, etc., have a more "Hispanic" ring, and town uywiris and mallku, which are connected via "roots" to the church and tower, cabildo altar, and corregidor's office, are also the locations of silus and altars of the majo saint images. This gives the
town uywiris and mallku more than one name/aspect, and in town performance, those associated with saint and church are more likely to be employed.

The "type" ch'alla sequences boil the particularity of the gods of distinct contexts down to their essentials: the result amounts to a narrative diagram of the hierarchy of gods, the channels of power of cosmos at large as well as the channels of social hierarchy. Thus this mnemonic device serves to reproduce the underlying and resultingly shared understanding of social cosmic structure, and to metaphorically equate the hierarchies of hamlet and town, creating a basis for dialogue between local and global orders.

But differences between the hamlet and town performances of qarwa k’ari go beyond the contextually determined contrasts between the "tokens" of hamlet versus town ch'alla list "types": the timing and sequence of events also differ. In the hamlet performance (carried out in the corral of the sponsors during the day called qarwa k’ari uru), the killing of the llamas initiates the ch’iwu ch’alla list, a complex affair which itself contains embedded interruptions such as the eating of the "heart" and tumult of the mock-llamas. In contrast, in the town performance, the post-killing events (of the hamlet ritual) are temporally separated, and take place only after the banquets of p’isturu (the day after the town llama killing). Likewise, the form of these deferred events is also distinct in the town, and involves the participation of non-patriline members and a confrontation of moieties.

5.3.4.2. Formal Visiting of the Town

Qarwa K’ari (Wallpa K’ari)

Once the town qarwa k’ari has been completed, a round of formal visits begins. Just as the contextually determined spatial displacement of manxapacha deities from the Christian image dominated town implies an encompassment of hamlet (and local, "indigenous" uywiris and mallkus) by the hegemonic forces of alaxpacha in the town, I will here argue that the character of such formal visits in the town acts to foreground an
imbedded set of subordinations: the patriline is subordinated to the ayllu/moiety; each moiety is subordinated to the other; and all participants subordinated to the town's symbolic state representatives. (As we shall see, however, the fiesta structure as a whole serves to invert the direction of each of these hierarchies).

During formal visiting, the sponsors and followers proceed from altar to altar through the town, stopping to pay homage to their hamlet's places in the town; then to the church and its tata turri (father tower); the corners of the plaza (the mana t'alla), the saints' altar (inka misa) on the slope above the church; a series of altars associated with town government; the former parish house, kitchen, and corrals; and then the office (and altar, that is, the adobe desk) of the corregidor, who, along with his jilaqatas, alcaldes, and alguaciles, wait there for the sponsors' homage. After this, the entourage visits the altars of the two occasionally-resident outsider-storekeepers. Finally, the jula-julas, followed by their sponsors, visit the compounds of the other sponsors in the town.

The town as a whole is a kind of condensed diagram of the social space of the whole of Ayllu K'ultas, with separate neighborhoods divided among K'ultas' ayllus, and a line running diagonally east to west through the plaza separating the former moieties. Visits along the altar to altar paths in the town therefore become icons of visits (and the relations thereby construed) among patriline hamlets during the rest of the year. The intersponsor visits, which are initially among sponsors of the same ayllu/moiety, recapitulate the carnaval pillu visits between patriline hamlets. Once same-moiety sponsors have merged their dance groups and coordinated their activities, however, the oppositional and hierarchical form of intra-moiety (and inter-patriline) visits are generalized to the inter-ayllu/moiety level, during which the schisms among intra-ayllu patrilines are nullified. During these visits, whip wielding authorities (at times joined by armed soldiers or, as during one 1979 feast, by the sub-delegado with his pistola), are expected to keep order.

421 In 1979 the sub-delegado used his pistol trying to stop a fight that was rapidly escalating into a tinku. After firing all six shots into the air to no avail, he fled the town.
5.3.4.3. Limusna Wakll

As evening of the day before p"isturu approaches, the same-ayllu sponsors (with their own and their lent jula-julas giving musical accompaniment) carry out ch'allas for their respective images, and then, at their patio altars, prepare the money to be paid to the priest for the mass. After a set of ch'allas in the patio, all the sponsors together visit the kitchen, now eolIapsed of the parish house, repeating the ch’allas (if the priest is not present) of this rite, called limusna waku, "collection of the limosna".

Limusna waku takes place regardless of whether a priest is present, and the money is held for a future mass, sometimes in the nearby town of Challapata. The ch'allas for limusna waku, interestingly, for the first time in the fiesta include libations to the gods of money: wila qullll ("blood mountain", the famous cerro de Potosí and source of silver), wanku ("the bank"), and the ll1!Sp.1i.Q."uncle"), who is a malevolent form of mallku presiding over the extraction of minerals from the mines. Apart from their performance in the town, especially in connection with the priest's exactions, such ch'alIas are thought to be dangerous, and best restricted to rites for the increase of money, normally performed during the saxra uru days (Tuesdays and Fridays) which are the days of sorcery. We must, of course, find it ironic that the indigenous deities (or transformations of them, those associated with money and mining) find their most satanic forms only in closest proximity to the town, church, and priest. We will see in the conclusion of this thesis that the priest, and indeed all outsiders, are thought to be particularly apt at an insidious form of this "devil worship," in which the sacrificial victims are not llamas, but Indians.

Individuals, who are successful in marketing transactions involving money (which most exchanges for foodstuffs do not) are thought to practice secret rites for these infernal deities in their homes on a periodic basis, which rites always involve inversions: money which works as capital is thought to be kept in the mouth of an ancestral skull stolen from the cemetery, kept wrapped with unbaptized (and dried) human fetuses, etc., and their rituals bringing life to this money are supposed to be held always on the saxra days of sorcery.
5.3.4.4. Ispiras ("Vispers" or "Waiting")

During the night before the feast itself, called ispiras, the sponsors, guests of importance, and young people drink and dance around bon-fires in the plaza, with jula-jula groups of each sponsor encircling their sponsors in multiple and separate formations. Merging of the groups is avoided, as the tinku between conjoint groups from each moiety should not take place before the saint's mass (of the following day). Those ayni contracted for service roles spend the night preparing quantities of food for the following day's feast. When public dancing in the plaza breaks up (when the firewood is depleted or the cold too intense), the sponsors and libation specialists repair to their house to prepare another q'uwa, an offering to be burnt at dawn, this time on the uywiri to the east of the town. The authorities independently prepare similar q'uwas of their own. Young people, meanwhile, break up into small groups and couples, dancing through the streets most of the night singing popular Quechua love songs to strummed charango.

5.35. P'isturu (Fiesta Day)

P'isturu is the day of the fiesta "proper". On this day, the events held to be most important (and of most interest to non-central participants and observers) take place: the formal transferral of sponsorship from old to new alferezes and mayordomos (the fuera transfer takes place next day); the banquets offered by the sponsors of both moieties; the ritual battle; one of two annual tasa collections (held by the assembled authorities at kawiltu misa); and, if the priest comes to town (a rare occurrence apart from the patron saint feast), a procession around the plaza of the principal saint image which is normally kept in the church, and a mass held in its honor. If the priest is present, p'isturu is also a day of numerous weddings, baptisms, other rites of compadrazgo and funeral masses.

Normally, however, there is neither procession nor mass for the fiesta of Guadalupe, though this does not mean there is no cult in the church. One aspect of the mayordomo's responsibility is to care for the church (and keep the key) during a six-week period during his year of office, and during the fiesta there are numerous occasions when a
multitude fills the church for ch'allas (usually but not always made with sugared tea) to the major saint images. Similarly, incense and llama untu offerings are also made there, on a more less continuous basis, throughout the fiesta.44

5.3.5.1. The Q'uwa and Alwa

The first act of the fiesta day proper (p'isturu), is the private pre-dawn performance, by the sponsors (and authorities) individually, of the q'uwa. The town q'uwa is essentially the same as that performed in the hamlet (differing only in the place it is burnt). I refer the reader to the description above. Post q'uwa ch'allas are then performed at inka misa, kawiltu misa, and the sponsors' (and authorities') town patio altars. While the q'uwa burns, the jula-julas of each sponsor proceed from their patios to the church door for a visit known as ~ (Sp. ill.b ili "dawn") where, as dawn breaks, they play, with their hats off, a solemn tune, facing the rising sun. After this the jula-jula group by itself visits the patio of each sponsor in turno While playing a song, the visiting jula-jula

44Since, the priest--during the research period part of the regular clergy of the Obispado of Oruro--normally gives but one mass a year in K'ulte, on the day of Santa Barbara, and is not present for the fiesta of Guadalupe, it would be inappropriate to enter into great detail about his activities here. I offer but a few comments: The priest lives in his central parish, in the brewery town of Huari (part of the former Awl1aka-Urukilla kingdom), from whence he makes yearly trips to Culta, Lagunillas, Cahuayo, San Pedro de Condo, and Cacachaca. On his arrival in the town of Culta (by jeep) the day before p'isturu of Santa Barbara, the priest sets up a table in the plaza where he receives gifts (of foodstuffs, including chickens) and collects payments for his ritual services. These amount to a considerable sum, since most K'ulteños wait until this day to receive church weddings, carry out church baptisms, ask for masses for the dead, and pay for masses to the saints of the great and little fiesta careers of the area. In 1979, the priest collected over a hundred payments, averaging a few dollars each. All of the masses paid for, of course, are taken care of in a single actual mass, at the end of which the weddings and then baptisms are performed en masse. Apart from these trips to the ritual center town, he also may give masses at settlements on the road, such as the cross-roads (and district school center) town of Cruce Culta (located some 13 km. from Santa Barbara), and settlement (with church) of Thola Palea, the location of a former tambo in Alax-Kawalli territory. The priest is both feared and respected, and the services he performs considered essential. On another day when the priest's presence is thought crucial (but when he is never present), during Easter, a set of stored vestments are used to make a local man into an ersatz priest for the recitation of prayers and the "walk of the cross" performed at that time. The importance of the priest's function seem to make the severity of the priest's admonitions against local custom (delivered in sermons when he does come) more acceptable for K'ulteños. The fact that the sermons are delivered in formal Castillian Spanish, a language (and register) most K'ulteños do not understand, must also diminish their effect.
group is given (by each sponsor in turn) a bottle of alcohol and the cooked ribs (pichu) of one llama. The jula-julas then return to their sponsors' patios for breakfast.

After breakfast of tea and bread, the sponsors and their jula-jula groups make separate visits to the church (where ch'allas for tower and plaza take place), and to the corregidor's office, where the assembled authorities pour ch'allas for the sponsors. Each jula-jula group then accompanies its sponsor, in turn, in a circumambulation of the plaza and inka misa.

5.3.5.2. Kawiltu Kupraña (Tax Collection)

At about 10 A.M. the authorities (who had received visits from the jula-julas and accompanied the sponsors on their round of visits), begin their own round of conjoint visits. Assembled jilaqatas, alcaldes, and alguaciles tour the town while blowing their bulls' horn trumpets (pututus), calling the gods and the members of their ayllus to attend the kawiltu misa. Beginning with the church tower, the authorities, carrying bundles of varas wrapped in vicuña wool scarves, proceed to inka misa, then visit the patio of each sponsor where they both present and receive ch'allas while their vara bundles and pututus rest on sponsors' altars. After visiting all sponsors' altars, the authorities arrive finally at kawiltu misa, where they begin their own ch'alla sequence specific to tax collection.

Ch'allas presented by authorities, whether at sponsors' altars or at kawiltu misa, have a different character from those of fiesta sponsors, as only authorities are entitled to give ch'allas to the great extra-K'ulta mallkus to which the mallku of K'ulta is subordinated. K'ulta's mallku is named Pirwan Tata ("father storehouse," because of a rock formation on its peak) and Chun Asanací C'last-born son of Asanaqi, the predominant mallku of Condo, former capitol of the Asanaqi kingdom). The ch'alla path of kawiltu kumpraña, of course, also includes the gods of money, which the authorities begin to collect from their "subjects" when they have finished their own ch'alla sequence.

When the authorities are ready to receive payment, they set off a pair of dynamite charges. As the sponsors and their followers enter the patio in which kawiltu misa is
located, they are presented with more ch'allas of alcohol and chicha, and asked to libate the
great mallkus by the authorities, who act as their own wasuwariris. Again, a women's
altar has been laid out opposite the Kawiltu Misa, and the sponsors join the authorities and
authorities wives behind their respective altars, jointly receiving tasa payments. Authorities
and honored sponsors are here addressed by tasa payers as tata awatiri, and tata awki
("father herder" and "father-father"), and as each man pays his tasa, he is addressed by the
authorities as llantim, and dances, braying like a llama, around the altar and authorities
blowing a pututu taken from the altar.

Recently married young men paying for the first time are accorded special
respect, and may carry a patriline vara as they dance. As part of kawiltu performance (both
here and during the other collection on January 20), the authorities name the following
year's sponsors, again giving special homage to those who are just beginning their jach'a
p'ista career (who are the same young men paying for the first time).45

As the payment takes place, all of the jula-jula groups play (each their own tune)
and dance simultaneously, crowding the kawiltu patio. Each dancer wears his montera,
now decorated with greenery from the molle tree, for this performance as well as all
performances to follow. Meanwhile, the assistants of the fuera and alferez erect tents over
the men's altars of their patios, in preparation for their banquets.

5.3.5.3. Guion, Bandera, Qurpa, and Proccession

When the tax collection is finished, in the early afternoon, each sponsoring
couple and their retinues proceeds to the church, where more ch'allas are poured. If the
priest were in town, he would begin saying mass at this time, and the procession would
shortly follow. Normally, however, there is no priest and no major image procession.
The sponsors nonetheless enter the church with their small images, which they place in
front of corresponding saint elder while the jula-julas play on their knees just outside the

45Most of those "named" to sponsorships, of course, are already in the midst of
their careers, and the date of their sponsorships long been predetermined.
door. Lighting candles and llama untu for both large and small image (which visit one another briefly before another year-long separation) the sponsors offer incense and ch'allas of sugared tea, and ask the saints for a "blessing". From the alcove behind the image, the fuera (and other male sponsors) takes a kind of velvet flag on a pole, called a kiyun (Sp. guian, "guide"), as a symbol of his sponsorship of the rites of the major saint image. Sponsors' wives receive a small white flag called a pint'una (?)

When the sponsors emerge from the church, with their standards and miniature images (and if the priest is present, with the major image), the church bells are rung and all proceed in a procession around the plaza, stopping with their image bundles and standards to pour ch'allas at each corner of the plaza. As they finish this circumambulation, with jula-julas dancing in circles in the center of the plaza, their assistants throw miniature loaves of bread (Qall'alla) from the tower into the plaza, which the assembled crowd, including pilgrims from afar who have come to pay personal devotion (related to shamanism) to the saint, scrambles to pick up.

Qall'alla is a term with many meanings, most of which seem related to hospitality functions. On the one hand it refers to a guest, and on the other to a meal served a guest, or to a banquet such as that which the sponsors will soon serve. Here it refers to the small loaves which sponsors' assistants make "ejaculate" from the turri mallku. It is quite possible, as Tristan Platt suggests, that the act is also an allusion to the myth of origin of cultivens, which burst from the stomach of the over-stuffed fox (who the mallku-condor could not carry) when he hit the ground on his return to earth, after a banquet in heaven (1985: 10). It also seems that the self-multiplying host (which in Latin Catholicism is not given to participants of the mass) is alluded to in the small round loaves. Thus the

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46 One meaning of mu'lla is "boundary stone," which I take to be a homonym.
47 In towns with a resident priest the feast of Corpus (which is in honor of the host) includes a procession of the host, kept in a solar-form box which Kultenos regard as the image of Tata MusiTamu (who is Christ as well as the sun).
sacrificial sacrament is linked to the sacrificial communion about to take place in the sponsors’ patios.

S.3.5.4. Ilija (Election) of Machaqa Sponsors

After the procession and qurpa, each sponsor proceeds with his standard to the patio of the incoming machaqa sponsor of the same sponsorship role. Here they mark the formal "election" (ilija), already prefigured in the authorities' nomination, by receiving two large (2-3 liter) gourds (for each participant) of chicha, which must be dedicated to the saints and then passed by sponsors to their followers, who each say words of dedication and then drink. Not long afterwards, the machaqa sponsors visit the patio of this year's sponsors, and each is given a meaty, cooked shoulder blade (kallachi, which is the charango of the suitor-fox in another myth of the trickster cycle) from the sacrificed llantiru llamas.

5.3.5.5. The (Qurpa) Banquet(s)

When these ch'allas and visits of iliya are finished, the fueru couple serve a banquet at their patio altars, behind which they sit with their standards. The banquet is announced by the concussions of a few sticks of dynamite, and the sponsors’ arkiri ("followers," including the visiting jula-julas sent by the machaka alferez, who has just finished his "election" with the opposite moiety alferez sponsor), the authorities, and the opposite moiety contingent all descend upon the meal. An elaborate seating and serving order is observed, and specially appointed ayni, following an order of hierarchy, serve small bowls of lawa (a wheat or maize porridge), boiled maize, soup, quinua, potatoes, and meat, and sometimes exotic dishes such as rice or lentils, to the whole congregation, along with ground chili peppers as a condimento. As in the serving of ch'alJas, men serve men from supplies at the men's altar, and women serve women from bowls at the women's altar. Especially honored individuals (the authorities, those who have finished their careers, and elders in general) sit in rank order around the altar, and are served first and
given select pieces of meat, such as long rib bones. Less senior, married adults sit nearby, still within the confines of the patio, and are served next. Finally, the sponsors’ aides serve the younger people, unmaned individuals, and children, who often sit or stand outside of the patio, and have been excluded from participation in ch’allas. The cooks, food servers, jula-julas, and other contracted ayni are fed in a later meal. If the sponsors meet expectations, enough food is distributed so that all are sated and carry home hats and ponchos full of excess food. The sponsors will be condemned if the food and drink do not exceed the appetites of the crowd.

5.3.5.6. Paq”arayaña of Sponsors

After the higher ranking have been served, the sponsors themselves move to one side of the patio and begin to dance to the accompaniment of the jula-julas. This begins a ceremony called, like the decoration of llamas’ ears before the hamlet qarwa k”ari, paq”arayaña. This time, however, it is not yarn sewn into the ears. Instead, the close followers of the sponsors—especially their co-hamlet residents, brothers, sisters, etc.—give their thanks to the sponsors by dunning them with gifts. With each gift, (and one must present a gift to both the fuera and his wife), the sponsor offers a pair of especially large cups of alcohol, called a t’inka.

Gifts—called paQ”ara (flowers)—are restricted in this context to two types of objects. One may give articles of clothing such as punchus or awayus, or other woven goods such as blankets, carrying bags, belts, and twined lengths of llama-hair rope, all of which are draped over the sponsors’ shoulders; and one may substitute or add gifts of bank notes, inserted in the sponsors’ hat bands. The giver then receives the honor of dancing with each of the sponsors in turno In the act of “making the sponsors flower” an explicit as well as implicit comparison is made to the paq”arayaña of the llamas before their sacrifice.

The equation is accomplished, in part, through the name of the rites: while meaning “to make flower,” paCl”arayaña also carries the connotation of “making fertile,”
and paq‘ara is the ch’alla term for newbom camelids. The explicit equation of llamas-to-be-sacrificed and sponsors is made through the name one applies to the fuera while giving the gifts. In drinking the t’inka, the gift givers address the fuera as "llantiru" and "awatiri" (and his wife as "llantiru falla," and "awatiri falla," the feminine counterparts of the male terms), and the sponsors respond by addressing the crowd as tamaña, "my herd". When the paq’arayaña and the serving of food at the sponsors' altars are finished, the whole crowd moves on to other patios to yet further, equivalent banquets. Late in the afternoon, when all are sated, the jula-julas begin to dance and visit once again, and the sponsors return to their own patios for the performance of ch’allas.

5,3,5,7, Town Ch’iwu and Jañachu

It is at this point, when the sponsors have returned to their own patios, that the ch’iwu events, which in the hamlet qarwa k’ari took place in the corral, begin. This time, however, the libations are begun within the privacy of the sponsoring couple’s town house, and it is there that the ch’iwu (the boiled liver and lungs) is eaten. Afterwards, the ch’iwu ch’alla list is begun, preparatory to a secondary banquet eaten by the sponsoring couple’s helpers. Here, servings of ch’iwu (meat in general) are separated in the ritual sequence, but again the meals are interrupted by the appearance of the wild and uncontrollable jañachu "man camelids". First, the sponsors’ tullqas again don the pelts of the sacrificed llamas (of the town qarwa k’ari). Shortly thereafter, they are chased by their mock-shepherd into the patios of the other sponsors in the town for visits. Similarly, the jañachus of other sponsors visit the fuera’s patio. One cannot placate these jañachus, however, with individual servings of chicha and coca. Instead, an altar is set up on the ground (between the sites of the men’s and women’s patio altars), and a large bowl of chicha and quantity of coca are placed there, as if they were supplies for a libation series.

These are the same terms by which authorities and ayllu members address one another during tax payment and during the kumun wilara (the "blood for the community"), a sacrifice for the benefit of the ayllu which the jilaqata performs when he takes office.
The jañachu drink and eat on all fours, and then are driven out of the patio. When the "herder" (who, carrying a whip as well as a sling, resembles a cross between authority and herder) mocksacrificed by their . Only after this interruption can the helpers’ banquet be served, and the ch'iwu ch'alla sequence be finished.

5.3.5.8. The Tinku Battle

Large-scale tinkus are most apt to occur during the Patron Saint feast of Santa Barbara (Dec. 4), when the old moieties (including ayllu Qullana) still come together. The repeated occurrence of uncontrolled fighting during Santa Barbara has, nevertheless, led the town's authorities and the province's sub-prefecto to request soldiers from the Challapata barracks to prevent serious fighting.

During the feasts of Guadalupe and Exaltacion (and to a lesser extent, during San Andres and Corpus), tinkus take place between the "moieties" of the surviving rotative structure, the ayllus Alax-Kawalli and Manxa-Kawalli. Though these may be quite serious in their consequences, such battles are regarded as mere practice sessions for the Santa Barbara tinku, in which the two Kawalli ayllus merge to face Qullana (Yanaqi and Ilawi tend to stay clear of the Santa Barbara festivities, since their defection to the Kawalli moiety in the early 1970's precipitated Qullana's near-complete split from the rotative fiesta organization).

In many ways the tinkus of K'ulta are less formally organized than those of neighboring Macha (reported in Platt 1978a). The ayllu heads make a show of trying to break up individual fights, though some may secretly plan (with feast sponsors) for the organized fighting which often follows fistfights in an apparently unplanned way. Though often precipitated by a series of individual to individual fights in and around the plaza, the face-off between upper and lower Kawalli fighters takes place on a small plain just above the town. The core of the fighting group is made up of the jula-jula dancers of each moiety's feast sponsor. As the fiesta progresses, the dancing takes on increasingly
aggressive forms, and while all sponsors visit the church tower and authorities, their jula-
jula groups (often swollen with additional, late arriving members) compete in wide and
menacing circles, with increased jostling when the two circles meet. When fighting
actually breaks out, the groups—joined by other non-dancers—rush to the tinku pampa.
Here the battle is elevated from individual fist-fighting to an affair of strategy, in which the
two sides rush one another in turn and hurl rocks—often provided by wives and sisters—
with their fighting slings, while elders (and women in particular) shout encouragement to
their side and hurl insults at the other.49

The immediate object of each side is to cause serious injury or death to a member
of the opposed group, and if possible, to rush in and drink some of a fallen enemy's blood
in a coup de grâce. The battle ends with nightfall, serious injury, or fatality, not to be
repeated until the next major fiesta.

5.3.6. Ch'iwuru or P"wiruru (the Day After P"isturu)

The final day of ritual action in the town is a short one. Sometimes called
ch'iwuru (day of meat/cooked 'heart/young/dark clouds), and sometimes p w iruru ("day

49 It must be added that the line between tinku (a controlled form of fighting) and
ch'axwa (a more unrestricted sort that may also occur outside of calendrical
feasts, and for the control of territory) is not always clearly drawn. As Platt has pointed out for the Macha
case; long-standing feuds (usually over land) may be prosecuted in fiesta tinkus in which
one group plans in advance to exceed the bounds of tinku and raise the stakes to ch'axwa.
Tinkus between the combined Kawallis and Qullana during Santa Barbara have periodically
turned into ch'axwas, in which land issues and vengeance for previous ch'axwa deaths are
at stake, and the result has often been the withdrawal of one of the moieties from the arena
of fiesta ritual before all ceremonies are complete, as occurred during the Santa Barbara
performance of 1979 (when soldiers had not come, due to a concurrent transport strike).
Difficulties between the Kawallis and Qullana have been most severe since Qullana won a
large chunk of territory (including land on the road) in a massive ch'axwa in the early
1970's. Ever since, Qullana authorities have been seeking to build a corregimiento and
church on the newly won land (and on the road), which they hope will soon be designated
the seat of a new Cantono Qullana continues to participate in Santa Barbara, however,
in which all forms of alternation with Kawalli sponsors have been eliminated.

Whether in tinku or ch'axwa, vengeance for previous losses plays a crucial role
in the motivation of fights. As we have seen, the term for vengeance w.nD is the same as
is used to describe the exchange of labor prestations. In addition, it is used to refer to the
exchange of sponsorship which takes place during the fiesta.
of the fuera"), owing to the fact that the central acts are carried out by the outgoing and incoming fueras, the day is given over to preparations for the return trip to the hamlets, and to the passage of the saint's image from the old sponsors to the new ones, all of which is usually accomplished before midday.50

After breakfast, the outgoing and incoming sponsors begin to prepare for the saint's passage, the forroer as their last public ritual act and the latter as one of their first acts of sponsorship. At first sight, the act is straightforward enough: the outgoing sponsors demonstrate to the incoming ones that the image and all its possessions are intact, hand it over, and then alllleave town. But a closer look reveals that the saint's passage, in a rite called isi turka (changing/exchanging of clothes) follows a forro structurally parallel to that of other fiesta events. That is, it is a forro of sacrifice.

5.3.6.1. !isi Turka

Fundamentally, the ceremony of "clothes changing" (or "exchange of clothing", as the term might also be translated) is a sequence of acts among three parties: the outgoing fuera couple and their followers, the incoming (machaqa) fuera group, and the image which is passed from the former to the latter. During a round of ch'alla visits to the tower and plaza, in which the fuera carries the sacred bundle one last time, some of his lower ranking aides load the assembled herd and head off on the return trip to the hamlet. The elders, wasuwariris, and most others remain with the sponsors to depart behind the caravan, and to assist in the image's last rites. When their ch'allas are finished, the outgoing fuera returns to his patio and lays out a new misa between the men's and women's altars .51

> Other sponsors may even leave the town before fueras performro their final rites.

51The isi turka misa is placed in approximately the same spot that the jañachu misa is placed during the previous day's rites. The exact location may be unimportant, so long as it is not on either men's or women's ch'alla misas. But seating arrangements in isi turka seem to foreground the gender attributes of patio space. The first time that I saw isi turka, the rite was carried out in the church itself, and with the opposite moiety's mayordomo standing-in for a no-show fuera couple. Afterwards, the image was left in the church in the care of the mayordomo until it was reclaimed by the machaka fuera.
The saint bundle is then laid upon the altar, and a form of ch'alla served, while each piece of elothing is carefully removed.

The first articles to be removed are a dozen awayus and punchus, the decorated outerwear items worn by adult women and men, which had been wrapped about the image. When all of these have been undone (and lay beneath the wooden box containing the miniature image), the box is opened and the saint's possessions are laid out and counted (and given ch'allas). These consist, first of all, of a large number of miniature items of elothing (patterned on local dress) from which are chosen those which the saint itself wears. There is also a small box containing the saint's money, consisting of bilis and coins (primarily antiques) added to the pot over many generations. Next, the image itself is undressed, with a great deal of reverence and care.

After they have completely disrobed the image, the outgoing fuera and his wife prepare an incense offering, like the supliku of a lurya misa. They place two plain ceramic bowls filled with burning embers on each of a pair of small planks of wood. The bowls in one plank (that to the right, facing the saint) are dedicated to the sun (Tata Awatiri Awksa) and male saint, while the left hand pair of bowls are dedicated to the moon (Santísima Tayksa) and female saint (or "mate" of male saint). Then, kneeling together before the image (the fuera on the right, his wife to his left), each holds a plank and raises it.

As is also the case within the church (but not within the hamlet 'chapels', or pukaras, which also contain saint images), the ch'allas of isi turka are done neither with chicha nor with alcohol. Rather, the liquid poured and drunk, called chuwa (a term otherwise referring to the clearest, top-skirned part of a newly brewed vessel of chicha), is a sort of sugary tea.

Each saint, of course, has its own special characteristics. All have some attributes of herders, and carry small slings and the like. Male images (such as San Andres) may possess a number of miniature war helmets, coca pouches, etc. The main saint images, located permanently in the church, tend to have fewer articles of indigenous clothing, but possess other things which the miniature images lack. The main image of Guadalupe, for example, owns a herd of "toy" (under six inches tall) llamas and alpacas. All main images also possess small metallic balls (from pea to cannon ball size) which are the concrete token of saints' gifts of power to shamans. When an man chooses to reject the calling, the ball, called surti wala, (used by yatiris to call his familiar spirit/saint when needed as an intermediary between himself and the gods) is returned to the saint from whence it came, during a rite called lurya misa (the "Glory Mass" or "Lightning Altar").
repeatedly while assistants sprinkle powdered incense and small pressed incense cakes over the coals and untu. As they raise the planks, the couple intones dedications to the saint and again to the gods of the sky, in the usual gender parallel form (so that the left and bowl in the husband's plank is dedicated to the yanani of each of the deities of dedication, while the right hand bowl of his wife is for the yanani of the feminine counterparts of her husband's dedications). Asking for a bendicion ("blessing"), they put the incense bowls down and each touch a comer of their own outerwear garments (punchu for the man, awayu for the woman) to the exposed image, through which the blessing passes. The sponsors' followers then carry out the same procedure, always in pairs. When the outgoing group finishes this procedure, they wait in silence while the machaqas group takes their places before the image.

When all have finished receiving the image's blessing, the machaqas tally the articles by type and compare this to a list kept in the saint's money box. The number of articles counted should be larger than that counted the previous year, as fueras are expected to give gifts to the image (during the twice-monthly clothes-changing which is part of their year-long sponsorship). With each item enumerated, the machaqas' wasuwariris serve a round of chuwa (sugared tea), which has been provided by the outgoing fuera couple. Finally, the machakas replace the saint's clothing; first the miniature clothes, then, adding the punchus and awayus provided by their followers, they re-wrap the image's box in its outerwear. While the image is being dressed, the outgoing fueras sort out the outerwear

If an individual is not accompanied by an opposite sex companion, two men may kneel together, with the higher ranking (that is, usually, the elder) kneels on the right side.

During the twice-monthly type of isi turka, the image's miniature clothes are changed, new ones added, and the outermost punchu or awayu rotated to the inside. When new articles are given to the image, the isi turka may also be called a paqaráranya. One such paqaráranya is performed at some time just prior to, or during, the fiesta which culminates the sponsorship. I am not certain whether this paqaráranya, in which the greatest gifts are bestowed on the image, takes place during the fiesta itself or at the final hamlet isi turka (on the Wednesday or Sunday for female saints) or Thursday or Saturday (for male saints) immediately prior to uywa ispira uru. The issue is not without consequence, and will need to be resolved in future research.
weavings in which the image had been wrapped for the previous year, and drape them over their own shoulders and those of their closest followers, who had lent the weavings to begin with.

5.3.6.2. Pilgrimage From Town To Harnlet and Final Ch'iwu Meal

At this point the transaction is complete, and the both groups begin the return trips to their home harnlets. On arrival in their harnlet, the machaqas will begin the first qarwa k"ari rite of their sponsorship (the uywa ispira dedications having been performed before their trip to town). The outgoing fueras, dressed in the saint's clothing and steeped in its blessing, return to their harnlet along the same path they used to travel to the town, stopping again at the sacred places of the ritual path. But for them, their arrival at home will mark the end their year of sponsorship in a final and private ch'alla performance and banquet (called ch'iwu). The final ch'iwu ch'alla series is, like the first, directed towards the local deities of the harnlet (though performed, finally, at the harnlet patio altar rather than in the corral or town).

But the meat that is subsequently distributed among patriline members consists in part in leftovers from harnlet and town sacrifices, and in part of meat proferred to them by other sponsors in the distributions of the town. When the meal is finished, the fiesta is finished. It will be another three years before the outgoing fuera couple carry out ritual duties connected with their great fiesta path. At that time, the fuera is invested as his ayllu's jilaqata, but the harnlet and patriline is sure to be host in other career related rites in the interim (as part of the duties of the careers of other members).

The 1982 fuera of Guadalupe should have become jilaqata in January of 1985, and finish his jilaqata ship on January 20, 1986, according to the long-established timing of career sequences. I have not as yet, however, been able to confirm that he did so. As jilaqata, his first duty would have been a visit to each household within the ayllu, "begging" them with gifts of coca and alcohol to come to the kawiltu (also his installation) on January 20 in order to pay their tasa. In between the rogation of payers and the payment itself, he would have had to perform a kumun wilara sacrifice for his vara and his new ayllu-wide herd.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS: SUBORDINATION AND RESISTANCE

6.1. The Fiesta as Macro-Ritual: Alternative Interpretations

6.1.1. Gods, Men, and Llamas in Herding and Sacrifice

Two aspects of the fiesta performance deserve our immediate attention. The first is the priority given to sacrifice in both word and deed. The second, related to the first, is the expression of a profound identification between man and llama, developed through the formal parallelism among the segments of the feast, and made explicit through the repeated use of a special set of honorific terms.

The days and acts of the fiesta are in reality thought of as stages of a llama sacrifice—or, more properly speaking, of two partially overlapping sacrifices. Llamas are killed twice in the qarwa k’ari rites, once in the hamlet and once in the town. The meat of the sacrificed animals is also presented in a banquet on two different occasions, during p’isturu in the town, and during chi’iwuru/p’wiruru in the hamlet.

Apart from the fact that the majority of days and acts refer to sacrifice, it is immediately clear that there are two nearly complete sacrificial performances embedded in the total sequence. Although the rite of dedication, uywa ispura, takes place only once, in the hamlet, the act of killing (qarwa k’ari) occurs twice—once in the hamlet, inside the llamas’ corral, and once in the town patio, on arrival after the pilgrimage. Following these acts are four separate “communion” meals: two are especially sacred, in which the llamas’ chullma is eaten by a restricted group, and the other two meals are public banquets,
one taking place as the centerpiece of p”isturu and the other among patriline members on arrival at the harnlet after the fiesta proper.

Up to this point it appears that we can identify two overlapping events (see table 9-A). One sacrifice begins in the harnlet and is concluded with the distribution of meat in the town, while the second begins in the town and is concluded with a meal in the harnlet. However, one cannot assume that the sacrifices are so neatly separated, for the final ch’iwu meal does not really consist of meat from the llamas killed in the town qarwa k”ari, but of leftovers and gifts received from the distributions of other sponsors. Nonetheless, the counterpointed sequencing of the two sacrifices, and the repetition of the stereotypic acts of sacrifice, plays a crucial role in establishing the meanings, and accomplishing the desired ends, of a fiesta.

Why carry out two llama sacrifices, in such a complex form? Certainly, any explanation of the repetition must consider as primary data the clear differences between the town and harnlet gods to whom the sacrifices are dedicated, and to the different character of the "community" established through the distinct banquets. But this is but a preliminary step.

For our problem here is that there are more than two sacrifices: Complicating matters is that it is not only llamas that are sacrificed, but, in symbolic form at least, men as well, and even the honored saint (see table 9-B).

It must be noted that the sponsor does not only sacrifice his llamas (which are actually killed by his wife-takers), but also sacrifices, in symbolic form, his own followers. And this in two forms: first the jañachu, the wife-takers in llama guise, are mock-sacrificed. Then the subordinate, not-yet-adult jula jula dancers are offered, in the tinku battle between moieties. Meanwhile the followers sacrifice the sponsors themselves (carrying out their paq”arayaña during the p”isturu banquet), while exclaiming that the mallkus are the real sponsors of the feast. Finally, all together sacrifice the saint's image, doing its paq”arayaña, removing its "clothing", and receiving its substance. To complete
### TABLE 10

**FORMS OF FIESTA AND SACRIFICE**

#### A. Linear Sequence of a Fiesta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uywa ispíra</td>
<td></td>
<td>PERFORMED IN HAMLET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qarwa k'ari</td>
<td></td>
<td>(caravan to town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paxcha jañachu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallpa k'ari</td>
<td></td>
<td>PERFORMED IN TOWN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paxcha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'isturu jañachu</td>
<td></td>
<td>(caravan to hamlet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banquet</td>
<td></td>
<td>PERFORMED IN HAMLET</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### B. Concatenated Sacrifices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days of Feast</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Dance</th>
<th>Seat</th>
<th>Flowering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11amas</td>
<td>Holife-teke</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Animal vispers</td>
<td>Flowering</td>
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<td>rítiti</td>
<td>Flowering</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ch'iw u dey</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PERFORMED IN BANQUET**

**FLOWERING**

**BANQUET / CH'IWU**
the analysis it is necessary to compare the symbolic elements of the various stages of sacrifice, and of the progressive and reciprocal identifications of sponsor llama, followers llamas, gods sponsors, saint sponsors, saint llama.

The identification of man and llama begins during the rites of qarwa k’ari in the sponsors’ village corral. Here the sponsor honors the herd when his assistants decorate the animals’ ears and backs with spun and died yarn, and then asperse them with chuwa (clear chicha), an act called paq”arayaña.

Subsequently the sponsor’s wife-takers are transformed into human llamas, and demand that they themselves receive paq”arayaña, or at least part of it (the ritual food and drink). So the sponsor’s control over the herd is explicitly equated with his control over a class of men, through the similitude established by what amounts to an exchange of “pelts”: The tullqas, being an effeminized type of men, become a rather despised kind of herd animal (weak, infertile, castrated). The llantiru of the herd (that is, those which are not killed), are subsequently dressed in the clothing of an admired class of men, the tinku fighters, for their entrance into town.

Complicating matters is that the sponsor is himself equated with the llama, though unlike his wife-takers he becomes the llantiru (by being addressed as such beginning in the hamlet festivities). During the banquet of p’isturu, he and rus wife are again equated with llamas during their own paq”arayaña. Thus the sponsor is identified with the sacrificial victim and with the role of herd leader. But if the sponsor is the sacrificer in the corral, who is the sacrificer of the sponsor? The answer must be the gods, especially the sky gods (but also the major mountain gods), who are the herders of men (awatiri). Indeed during the ch’allas just prior to the ritual banquet, numerous exclamations can be heard that “the sun is sponsoring the fiesta” or “the saint is sponsoring the fiesta” or “the mallku is sponsoring the fiesta.”

But the sponsor is also addressed, during his paq”arayaña (as is the jilaqata during many of his rites, such as the kumun wilara), as “awatiri” (herder). As such, he
usurps the place of the god (who, as herder of men, should be the one to sacrifice them). Acting in loco dei, the sponsor symbolically sacrifices certain categories of followers. He is the sacrificer of the jañachu, of course, but also of the not-yet adult men of the patriline. I refer to the maxta, a category of not yet adult men. It is this category of men who are recruited to the jula jula dance group that accompanies fiesta ritual. Regardless of the type of instruments they play, this group carries out their function in competition with a counterpart group accompanying the opposite moiety sponsors.

In their roles as dancers, musicians, and warriors, the maxta group (who also come to the feast prepared for courtship), along with the tullqas, become the sponsor's human herd. And in the tinku battle, they are tacitly compared to the llantiru tinkur awki, the sacrificial llamas. The llamas are of course killed and their blood and fat offered to the gods. In the tinku battle, the maxtaljula julas seek to injure or kill an opposite moiety fighter, not to offer the blood to their gods, but to scoop it up and drink it themselves, if it can be managed.

In the distribution of meat during the day of the banquet, this equation is again stated in the nature of the jula julas' portion. In what constitutes the return of the sacrificed llamas in the form of the maxtaljula julas, the sponsors drape the boys' shoulders with the feet and tracheas of the sacrificed llamas, all the better to sing and dance, run and shout.

The "sacrifice" of the wife-takers (as jañachu) and the young men of the sponsor's own patriline (as an unspecified type of llama) marks both as members of the herd of which the sponsor is at once the lead male (the llantiru) and the herder (awatiri). So the sponsor takes both the role of the ideal sacrificial victim in the human herd, the llantiru, and that of the sacrificer of that herd, the awatiri-god. Such a dual role is consistent with

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Maxta is an age-status category between yocalla (from the term for son) and full adult status. The category includes those from adolescence (wearing most adult clothes, excluding the punchu) to married men who have not yet established independent households because their children are not yet old enough to herd. Maxta are excluded from libation performances and, except for the dance group, remain at the periphery of serious ritual events. The corresponding category of women is the t’awaqu, including unmarried but marriageable women.
both the social function of the authority, who must mediate between the group and outside
authority by being simultaneously member of both orders, and with a vision of the nature
of the internalized hegemonic relationship between the state, and its associated sky gods,
and K'ulteño society, and its local, underworld animal-herding gods.

This dual aspect of the created authority resonates not only with the
internalization of imposed structures (and reproduction of hegemony), but indicates the
degree to which such domination is thereby resisted: cooption (and the sacrificial knife)
cuts both ways. Thus it is illuminating to contrast the perceived role of the ritually
established local authority to evaluations of their direct counterparts—the state- and church-sanctioned, non-K'ulteño figures to whom the K'ulteño leaders must pay obeisance. For
these outsider authorities are also understood in terms of sacrifice, but a nefarious and
uncontrollable sort of sacrifice akin to sorcery: they slyly steal (through a kind of invisible
surgery) the body fat and blood of indigenous people, and transform these substances not
only into increased vitality (at the expense of the victim), but into specie, through their own
network of ties to the more insidious (aspects of) mountain gods.

The notion that the llamas of sacrifice are substitutes for human victims (which is
explicitly stated in curing rites) implies that humans are appropriate sacrificial victims, and
if the Spanish-associated sky gods are herdars of men, then one might assume that men are
their proper offerings as well as offerers. Human sacrifice was indeed part of the Inka
imperial rites known as qapax jucha (as described in chapter 2), and the possibility of the
sacrificial use of humans remains ever-present. As it was the foreign, dominating Inkas
who required such sacrifices of their subject polities, so it is representatives of the foreign,
dominating state who are thought to carry out such sacrifices in the present day.
Nowadays, however, one does not volunteer victims, but the sacrificers nevertheless
obtain them through magical means.

All outsiders, but especially priests and other "whites" and city people, are
thought to be potential sorcerers of this sort, called K'ari K'aris in reference to their cutting
skills. These evildoers are thought to steal up to their victims, usually while the latter are sleeping, and surgically remove their body (especially kidney) fat and blood. Such fat is also a kind of solidified miju (semen or seed), and I note that the substances stolen are precisely those responsible for human reproduction, as well as for vitality in general.

K'ulteños, of course, offer just these substances (that is, of llamas) to their gods, which I have argued is a metonymic metaphor of the return expected. In the case of the K"ari k"aris, however, what becomes of the substances, and the desired return for them, is more insidious. For what the outsiders are thought to do with them is to offer them to their own deities: on the one hand the sky gods, who all men share, and on the other to the mountain gods of the k"ari k"aris, which are precisely the indigenous gods in their most satanic forms, which is to say endowed with the qualities the priest and city people attribute to them. What the k"ari k"ari gets in return for generative substances of Indians is, first, a vitality that is otherwise inexplicable (since they use some of the blood to replace their own "weak" blood). In addition to physical well-being, however, the k"ari k"ari is also able to exchange the substances for (or transform them in machines into) money in the bank.

In this way, the wealth and power of these insidious outsiders are argued to derive from the control the outsiders exert (like the s1.y gods they are close to) over the indigenous polity, which this K'uteño political philosophy holds to be necessary for the sustenance of the dominators. Given that the outsiders are held to lack the Indians' power of productive transformation through control of manxapacha processes, their only recourse is direct appropriation of the the stored product. Dangerous as they may be, however, figures like the priest are nonetheless necessary for the proper completion of rituals with a more benign goal, for the saints and s1.y gods they are close to require their services.

6.1.2. The Changing OfClothes and the Sacrifice Ofthe Saint

The images themselves are powerful, deity-like beings; repositories of the dangerous but potentially constructive force called ~ (from Sp. gloria), produced by and productive of cosmic mediation.
Clearly, the Hispanic-derived saints perform what is in some ways a similar role for sponsors and shamans as do the priests and state bureaucrats for K'ulta's authorities. But unlike the Hispanic outsiders, who are referred to as ~ (the "undressed"), the saints-especially the miniature images held hostage by the moieties in alternation-are dressed, in a symbolic garb tying them into the cycle of exchange of substance and spirit addressed in the rituals of sacrifice.

When brought into the town by the fuera, the image is dressed in two sets of clothes. First, it is dressed in miniature clothes and accessories which always remain with it. The other set of clothes are the awayus in which the image is wrapped. The primary cult paid by a fuera during his year of possession of the image is, indeed, the "ehanging" of these outer, human clothes, initially collected for this purpose from adult patriline members.

In the twice monthly cult, the innermost shawl is rotated to the outside, and the outermost to the inside, renewing the "insulation" separating the dangerous powers of the saint from direct human contact. Such changing of clothes (isi turka) is associated with the saint's paq'arayaña.² In each of the acts referred to as paq’arayaña in the context of the fiesta, the act forms part of a sacrifice, and it is no different in the case of the saint.

In the final "sacrifice" of the fiesta, as the last act carried out in the town, the fuera gives up the image to the following year's fuera, from the opposing moiety. In this isi turka, the spatial configuration of participants neatly recapitulates both social and cosmic orders. Like the llama which gives up its blood and fat to the gods, its "heart" and breath to humanity, and its pelt and body parts to human-llamas, the saint gives up its "blessing" (bendición) after being symbolically slaughtered. And in addition to receiving the blessing, the sponsoring couple and their followers go home to their hamlet dressed in the clothes of the saint.

²It is possible that the image goes through a paqarayaña while in the town, but I am unable to clarify this.
That men thus dress in the clothing of the gods refers us back to other exchanges of clothing in the feast. Remember that the llama herd comes to the ritual center town dressed in the clothes of men, the sponsor's human herd (typified by the jañachus) dresses in the clothing of llamas, the sponsors (like the saint image) in the transformed pelts (weavings) during their paq"arayaña. AH are iconic indexes of the raising of the cloth-givers to the honored status of sacrificial victim, and an appropriation of certain of their substances and/or qualities by the wearers. In the last instance, the sponsors’ followers return from their tinku with the opposite moiety, dressed in the saint's clothes, in a transformed state, embodying the power of mediation enacted in the fiesta’s transformation of human control over llamas into authorities' control over men.

Though a great deal of cloth was produced under state directives for distribution to state functionaries--in particular to members of the growing army--the most specialized production strategies (such as the sweat shops known as aclla-wasi) produced extremely finely woven, decorated textiles. Laden with silver or gold threads, rare feathers, etc., these textiles were distributed as prestige goods to reward loyal regional nobles, and used for the adornment of idols (wak'as) and ancestral mummies. In addition, large quantities of specially made textiles were burned in sacrificial fires. As Murra puts it, "no political, military, social, or religious event was complete without textiles being volunteered or bestowed, burned, exchanged, or sacrificed" (ibid.: 722).

Without elaborating here on the niceties of Inca woven iconography or on the employment of dress as an enforced index of ethnic affiliation, I suggest that both of these

"For descriptions of the weaving activities of the so-called "virgins of the sun," see Polo (1916 [1571]). Murra cites several accounts of the importance of cloth distributions in the maintenance of the Inca's armies, including rebellions for want of them (1962).

Possession of Inca cumpi shirts became, in colonial court proceedings, a kind of proof of pre-Columbian noble status, and was frequently mentioned in legal presentations of regional nobles, such as in the probanza of Juan Colque Guarachi quoted in chapter 2.
What the Inca accomplished through such rites was the integration of two different sorts of symbolic uses of clothing: A system of clothing differences signalling "ethnicity" was linked to another, intra-ethnic group system indexing stages of the life career.

As MUI Tahas shown (ibid.), the distribution of prestige cloth was a central aspect of imperial rituals, such as the qapax jucha, in which the nature of hierarchical relations of conquered groups to the state could be reaffirmed or redefined. In that rite, in which representatives of subordinated polities from throughout the empire converged on Cuzco bearing their idols and their gifts for sacrifice to imperial sky deities, the elevation in rank of a regional kuraka would be demonstrated through the bestowal of clothing of ethnic Incas, and with it some of the privileges enjoyed by the wearers of such clothing. At the same time, we must not forget that the object of qapax-jucha was a systematic and simultaneous sacrifice to all the gods of the realm: the elevation in rank of an ethnic noblerman went hand-in-hand with the elevation of his group's chief wak'a. In the most detailed description collected by the extirpator of idolatry, Hernandez Principe (1923 [1624]), the rise in status of wak'a and kuraka was connected with the willingness of the kuraka to sacrifice his own daughter, after her consecration in Cuzco. She was dressed in Inca finery, and became an intermediary, through spirit mediums, between her father's people and their own gods. The girl herself was then called qapax jucha, as were the fine woven pieces (gifts of the Inca) in which the elevated wak'a, girl, and kuraka were now dressed.

What the Inca accomplished through such rites was the integration of two different sorts of symbolic uses of clothing: A system of clothing differences signalling "ethnicity" was linked to another, intra-ethnic group system indexing stages of the life career.

When a boy underwent the warachiku rite, upon receiving adult clothing, he also received a new social identity, including a new name. In the same way, the gods too received gifts of clothing and sacrifices of cloth, through which they mediated the clothing-

JMolina (1943: 69-78) gives a vivid but Inka-centric description of the rites.
indexed transformations of their adherents. As Francisco de Avila discovered in his persecution of idolators in Huarochirí, the wak’a of Pariacaca had been given a quantity of prestige cloth by the Inca, probably as part of qapax jucha rites (see Urioste 1983). The extirpators of idolatry also discovered that the wak’as had large numbers of priests in their service whose duties included the performance of sacrifices and maintenance of the shrines. Among such duties was the upkeep of the idol’s clothing, which had to be periodically changed.

In their instruction manuals for carrying out raids on idolatry, both Arriaga (1968) and Alboméz (1967) warned the would-be priest-plunderer that it was not enough to destroy the idols: one also had to bum their clothing, including that stored away in care of the idols’ priests, lest the wak’a be reconstituted. Such facts point toward an identification of the wak’a with its clothing of a sort that the ethnographer who has witnessed Andean mortuary rites can well understand.

Like the priests of wak’as, the specialists devoted to the care of images in K’ulta must care for the image, sacrifice to it, and change its clothing twice monthly, in addition lo directing its annual feast. The images, however, are small wooden saint figurines, and their priests offer only a rotative year of service to a particular image, as part of a career of ritual service leading to their investment as the jilaqatas of the community. The ancestral shrines and mountain gods still persist, but their visible, touchable, portable manifestations have been taken over by the saint images, who now serve as the intermediaries through which men can speak with the gods inside the mountains. And it is only through being clothed in the "skin" of the saints that men become authorities capable of bridging the gap between the gods of the conquerers, inhabiting the sky, men, and mountains.

6.1.3. The Diacriticals of Domination and Their Inversion

At first blush, the relationship of the town, as the locus of state and alaxpacha intervention and of social domination, to the harnlets, in which manxapacha gods are "surreptitiously" honored, seems clearly to be one of formal vertical hierarchy, so that
Town : harnlet :: aboye : below :: outside : inside :: whole : part :: center :

periphery.

But by quarantining the sky gods and state apparatus within the town, surrounded by the space of harnlets, and incorporating the sky gods' hierarchizing power within the elder brothers and father-herders of the patrilines and ayllus, the poetic devices of the fiesta performance reverse the direction of encompassment and domination.

This, it might be argued, is a fundamental kind of resistance, a sort that can be practiced by any polity which seeks to define itself as an independant entity while nonetheless dominated by an unyielding colonial/neo-colonial power. Defining the colonizers themselves as the embodiments of the blacker side of their own religion—as the very kind of evil that the priests and city people attribute to the Indians, (and making the priests the culprits of the devil worship priests think Indians carry out in the harnlets)—is a part of this resistance too.

Domination is (and has long been) an inescapable reality, made into an integral part of Ayrmara polities like K'ulta, and not only as an external force impinging into the center of the territory. It is a truism to say that without the forces of alaxpacha, there could be no human society as envisioned in K'ulta, and no manxapacha to oppose itself to the gods and men of the conquest. But much more fundamentally, such polities have internalized the form and processes of conquest into their very hearts; the relationship of adult to child, man to wife, father to son, elder to junior, wife-giver to wife-taker, all are construed in terms of the imposition of a form of hierarchical control appropriated from without, as a species of self conquest. This is never so explicit as in the relationship between the moieties, between which there are no (structurally motivated) ameliorating "cross cutting ties" of personal affiliation to soften the tinku. As Turner (n.d.) has argued, one might see in the straightforward alax to manxa ranking of moieties a form of internalization of domination by extra-polity society, regardless of the periodic (and partial) reversals of polarity accomplished by rotational cycles and tinku victories.
As we shall see in the next section, it is nonetheless true that since the mid-eighteenth century the confrontation of moieties in the Spanish founded towns has provided the basis through which indigenous polities have confronted their oppressors through not just symbolic resistance, but direct combato.

6.2. The Role of Doctrina and Reduccion in the Reformation of Andean Polities: A Research Trajectory

6.2.1. Cabildo, Cofradía, and Fiesta Cargo Systems in Colonial Times

By the early 18th century, rotative authorities in new Spanish-founded towns in Alto Peru began to challenge the authority of the mallku, the hereditary lords of precolumbian Aymara-speaking Andean kingdoms. It is also in this period that cofradia-type rotative festival cycles6 are first fully in evidence in the new towns. 1will here explore the little studied question of the merger of cabildo (rotative offices) and cofradia (saint ritual organizations), and the role of such new institutions in undermining the kingdom 10rds.7 Here suggest that fiesta-cargo organizations provided new channels for the reproduction of colonial hegemony, at the same time that they provided an institutional framework for the articulation of resistance to Hispanic hegemony, and for the rejection of the old kingdom structures through which the Spanish had ruled the Andean ayllus.8

In this endeavor 1draw upon recent studies, including the foregoing, which provide analyses of modern fiesta-cargo systems as synthetic structures which reproduce intra-ethnic group cultural forms as well as the modus vivendi of cultural subordination to national culture, and which create authorities who serve both local ends and underworld gods, and those of the state and Christian deities of the sky. From this perspective, 6For an institutional study of cofradías in Peru, see Celestino and Meyers (1981).

7To date no studies treating the question of the merger of civil and ritual hierarchies have been published for the Andean area. The recent works of Chance and Taylor (1985) and Farriss (1984) for the Mesoamerican area provide useful guides to the methodological and historiographic problems encountered in such an exercise.

8Spalding (1984), Stern (1982) and MUTa (1968) provide analyses of the role of the alliance between Spanish colonials and hereditary elites in the expropriation of labor and rents, and the subsequent change in the relationship between the latter and their subjects.
involving a rethinking of the concept of "syncretism", it becomes possible to overcome the limitations of earlier approaches, which treated so-called "syncretic" forms as fiesta-cargo systems as confrontations of opposed cultural systems. Such approaches suppose that an indigenous system with precolumbian roots persists in clandestinity behind a facade of token religious conversion, which gradually displaces weakened precolumbian forms. On the contrary, I would argue that fiesta-cargo systems are total cultural orders, often misinterpreted because they incorporate what has become a cosmological split between a relatively hidden underworld sharing many characteristics with precolumbian religion, addressed largely out of view in the hamlet, and the Hispanic-associated heavens (and public saint-associated ritual in towns). Though divided into separate spheres of the cosmos, the two orders of deities and ritual performance are inextricably linked as complementary parts of a single cultural system, one which addresses (as it is addressed in social practice) the facts of cultural subordination to the colonial, now Republican, state. Such a synthetic system, which developed, I hypothesize, during the late 17th-18th centuries, and continues today, is uniquely capable of sustaining itself by accommodating to, while resisting, state depradations. It is from this perspective, I suggest, that we will be able to see the eventually suppressed mass uprisings of the 1780's, and the contemporaneous collapse of the hereditary kingdoms, not as evidence of collapse of an Andean order, but as an index of the success of Andeans in creation of new, synthetic, polity-creating social forms.9

The present project, and the future research for which this section can be no more than an introduction, draws on reconstructions of precolumbian social forms.10 But the approach which I suggest here can only be fully tested through the analysis of what is a massive documentation on the transitional period, so far not viewed from the perspective to

9 I would here like to thank the participants in the 1985 American Society for Ethnohistory symposium on "Civil Administration, Religious Indoctrination, and the Transformation of Polities in Colonial Peru," for many helpful comments on a presentation of the central hypothesis of this section.

10 Such as those of MUITa(1968), Platt (n.d.), and chapter 2.
be taken here. Such documentation includes not only sources on missionization process, town foundation, etc., but also a wealth of both published and unpublished documents on colonial rebellions and contemporaneous litigation among the principal actors in the colonial enterprise. The most important sources for the kind of reanalysis I suggest are the thousands of pages of trial records for the 1780 rebellions, and a unique four-way legal battle over access to Indian labor in the period immediately following, 1793-7, which provides detailed accounts of fiesta organizations and the day-to-day functioning of town, parish, and kingdom.

Ethnographies and histories of Andean culture have long tended to fall prey to one of two theoretical astigmatisms deriving from certain historical or ethnographic perspectives. On the one hand, there is what we might call the romanticist or "continuities" approach, grounded in the ethnographic tradition, which seeks to describe what is uniquely Andean in the societies of the region. At its reductionist worst, this approach claims that the impact of conquest, and of both civil rule and religious indoctrination, has been slight, and the traceably European "elements" of Andean societies but a thin veneer. The approach tends to make its best case, of course, when the supposedly thin veneer of western cultural forms is stripped away in the process of description. Another school, which for want of a better term I will call "disjuncture," asserts precisely the opposite, that the alien, western social forms and ideas imposed on Andean societies have all but displaced or "destructured" the original forms. This perspective ultimately appeals to those who would prefer to employ a class or dependancy theory, in which Andean societies become a uniform peasantry, self-defined only in juxtaposition to the culture of their oppressors. These are, of course, caricatures of theoretical types into which very few actual studies

12] See, for example, Wachtel (1977).
neatly fall, though both types may occasionally be found uneasily coexisting in the same historical or ethnographic study.

The study of Andean cultural systems has now, however, arrived at a turning point. No longer will historians or anthropologists of the Andes be able to be satisfied with the "continuities" approach (the truly Andean hiding behind a facade of imposed hispanic traditions), nor with the world-systems approach (the destructured andean populace incorporated as peasants into a straightforwardly western derived economic-political order). But alternative formulations seem always to be just over the horizon. At bottom the problem derives from an inadequate terminology for conceptualizing what might be called "active cultural synthesis", the process through which modern Andean societies, which are neither "destructured" nor continuous with precolombian forros in a clandestine way, have synthesized a new forro, in which a dialectic of opposition between the Hispanic and the indigenous has made room for two forros of misinterpretation.

A recent article reviewing the past few scholarly generations of research on fiesta-cargo systems in Mesoamerica suggests, in my view rightly, that the incomensurable approaches both derive in part from a single, fatal error. Until recently, the socio-ritual-political forros held to be central in the constitution of the indigenous "ethnic groups" and communities of Spanish-America--fiesta-cargo systems--were studied in the harsh light of direct comparison with historical reconstructions of golden age, pre-colombian social forros, without having worked through the successive, and telling, interroediate forros of the colonial period (Chance and Taylor 1985).

We are now inclined to treat Andeans as active builders of social forros and cultural systems; as intellectual synthesizers, not passive receivers of an imposed alien forro. Such approaches have also benefitted from simultaneous advances in our knowledge of the events and processes of the four and a half centuries which separate the ethnographic present from the "pristine" pre-conquest past.
It is not surprising that even my initial observations of the fiesta-cargo complex in K'ulta Ayllu, Bolivia, confirmed that Andean Catholicism differed radically from the canonical form, and it became increasingly clear that even in the rites of the saints, an Andeanized Christian pantheon shared the limelight with a more immediate set of earth-bound, non-Christian deities, but not as a token acceptance of the Hispanic order, behind which the indigenous form continues in clandestinity. We have seen (in chapter 4) that the Christian gods and the indigenous ones rather neatly divide up the cosmos in a kind of complementary opposition, between a foreign, dominating order (the sky gods) and an autochthonous one (the underworld gods). And the rituals which address them are, precisely, concerned with the problem of political, economic, and cultural hegemony, when through the idiom of the dual cosmos, they constitute the individuals who mediate between their own society and that of the state.

The hypothesis argued here is that modern Andean polities as we know them are the product of a successful indigenous synthesis of received and original structures, which reached essentially modern form around the end of the 18th century. The completion of this synthesis involved the merging of two imposed systems of local administration—already much transformed in their uptake by Andeans— the cabildo Casystem of local governance based on that of 16th century Spanish towns) and an offshoot of the Spanish cofradía, a system of rotative fiesta sponsorship. By the time of their merger, the two systems had already passed through two centuries of Andeanization, and each was the product of indigenous purposes as well as those of the colonizers.

At this point it is impossible to assert just when cabildo and cofradía became a single order in the reduction towns. Nonetheless, I have argued that it was this merger which provided a means of legitimating the cabildo officials so that they could, by the end of the 18th century, completely supplant the hereditary kingdom lords who had until then monopolized the civil administration of their subject towns.
The emergence of "fiesta-cargo" systems, as means of producing legitimate mediators between state and new polities focused upon reduccion towns, would help to account for some notable features of the mass uprisings of the 1780's. Hereditary lords were targets of rebellion as well as Spanish officials. And among the latter, there is the at-first-sight curious exemption of one class of colonial officers from the violence. Mean, of course, the priests, who in many cases enjoyed relative immunity from immediate execution, and were later to be tried for collaborating with rebel leaders, who spared them because priests, like the cult of the saints, were a fundamental part of the new order. As Nancy Farriss so aptly put it in addressing colonial transformations in Yucatan Mayan polities, the priests had become not so much directors of Christian cult in which Indians participated, but a kind of honored part of the hired staff, required for certain functions in the Indians' own cosmos and polity-sustaining ritual system (1984:343).

More evidence for the centrality of this reduccion-based synthetic ritual-political order comes from descriptions of the actual fighting in the 1780 uprising as well as in earlier rebellions. For Andeans used the fiesta performances to overwhelm their enemies in a Trojan horse manner, arriving in traditional moiety groups to perform a ritual battle in the saint's honor, the moieties (in some cases actually from different kingdoms) would unite and transform the ritual fighting into a rout of Hispanic observers.

6.2.2. *Repartimiento* and *Reduccion*: Initial Effects

When the Spanish first invaded the area in which K'ulta is now located, the town did not yet exist. The people--and the phratry-like groupings called ayllus--which would eventually be transformed into a new polity called Ayllu K'ulta--were integrated into the large, dual organized kingdom of Asanaqi, ruled by complementary houses of hereditary lords in each moiety. Successively imposed resettlement policies divided the original Kingdom of Asanaqi into separate administrative districts (with a nucleated town--modelled on the Spanish pueblo--at the center of each) called reducciones. After Toledo, each reduccion had its own set of supposedly elected local officials, and in each there resided a
priest, who was to enlighten the natives of his doctrina Caneclesiastical district corresponding to the reduccion civil district). It is of course these towns, and not the hereditary kingdom, which has perdured to the present.

Nonetheless, many of the structures of the kingdom were recreated in microcosm in each of the districts into which it was cut. The old kingdom structures proved too useful to the colonial administrators to justify their abolition, and the two forms coexisted for 250 years before the lords and their transformed realms ceased to be.

The establishment of the Repartimiento de Quillacasy Asanaques created a colonial administrative unit which excluded subjects and territories of both kingdoms as it lumped the distinct precolombian entities together. As of the visita general of Viceroy Toledo (in the 1570's), the precolombian structures were yet further violated. First, the population of the two kingdoms, which had lived dispersed in small hamlets throughout the territory, were concentrated in four new towns, designed on a grid plan and made to conform to 16th c. Spanish ideals of "civitas". Each of the towns, however, contained but fragments of the constituent ayllus of the kingdoms from which they were cut.

6.2.3. Competing Structures of Authority: Mallku and Cabildo Officers

How to govern these groupings of arbitrarily cut-up ayllu segments? Here the Toledan policies were at the same time of momentous significance and indecisive. In each of the towns, Toledo implanted a form of government--the cabildo-- based on the ideal of the Spanish Pueblo, which was undoubtedly intended to eventually supplant the kingdom structures, "civilizing" the indians in the process. Roger Rasnake has argued that in establishing reduccion elected authorities (alcaldes, etc.), Toledo intended to offset or undermine the authority of the hereditary kingdom lords (1982). Certainly the role of the new ritual institutions of the doctrinas was intended to replace the role of the lords in former idolatrous practices. Eventually, of course, and in spite of resistance on the part of

I4See Cook (1975).
mallkus who appointed their agnates and segundas personas to governorships in the new towns, such policies were successful: the salient power of the reduccion-cabildo authority structure waxed at the expense of the kingdom authorities.\textsuperscript{15}

One could say that the period between the mid-17th century and the end of the colonial period constituted an intermediary stage between the pre-colombian and present-day social forms, during which the great federation and kingdom mallku progressively lost their power and legitimacy, and the expanded "nouveau riche" reduccion nobility, with control over the semi-"democratic" cabildo authorities gained in power and legitimacy. At the same time, the second century of the colony saw an expansion in the number of towns, in which small settlements—that is, those "beyond the pale", scattered settlements which the Toledan reduccion policy failed in abolishing—were recognized and given the status of "anexos," later to be converted into new towns and parishes.

6.2.4. Conversion and Legitimation of Office

Once the competition between the old guard and town authority structures had begun, the eventual outcome seems to have hinged on how the two kinds of reduccion authorities intersected with the possibilities for performance of legitimating ritual functions. And in this, Toledo's changes went decisively (though unintentionally) in favor of the "commoner", cabildo officials.

The conditions imposed by Spanish colonialism upon federation and kingdom lords, which the latter had to meet in order to retain their offices, created great stresses between lord and subject (including the little-known lower level authorities). Eventually, suppressing the lords' ritual functions (ceded to the priest and his reduccion cabildo functionaries), while increasing the tribute burdens on their subjects, meant the loss of any

\textit{bWhile} modelled on the Spanish system, the officials of the reduccion towns, of course, became part of the parallel administrative structure of the "Republica de Indios," and were thought of as something quite different from the formally similar cabildo organizations of the Spanish towns.
appearance of parity in the reciprocal relations between lord and subject. And with that loss, the mallkus lost their subjects’ good will and their own legitimacy.

But if the abolition of mallku-led public ritual, or much of it, at any rate, led to a de-legitimation of the federation and kingdom lords, this was not necessarily true of lower level authorities. Indeed, ayllu heads and the “new” reduccion authorities were doubly “blessed”: They were less conspicuous (making it easier, perhaps, to continue to perform “idolatrous” custom unnoticed), and they were within the jurisdiction of the reduccion priest. This may seem a contradiction. But the kind of public feasting which was not abolished—that approved by the priests for the celebration of fiestas—provided the forum (if not the form) for just the sort of rites of validation denied to the mallku. It is difficult to determine just when the fiesta cycles of the towns merged with the system of yearly rotating “cabildo” posts to form an integrated civic ritual system. Such a merging probably began quite early, given that almost from their founding the reducciones may have been inhabited only by the priest and cabildo officers, but it was almost certainly in place by the late 18th century, when it was to become the principal link between the colonial (and then republican) state and the indigenous community.

By the late 18th century, the hereditary lords had outlived their usefulness to both the colonial administration and to their own subjects. I would suggest that the uprisings of this period might be better understood, however, not as the dying gasp of a hereditary nobility, but as the first breath of a new order capable of replacing it. Without addressing the phenomena of the 1780’s uprisings (and I am here referring primarily to that of the Catari brothers in and around the province of Chayanta) with the attention that their complexity demands, I will sketch in some of their more curious features and suggest how they might be approached in future research.
6.2.5.1. Moieties, Fiestas, and Rebellion: The Potosí Capchas of 1752

I have already noted that, if nothing else, moiety structures remained intact throughout the colonial period, aided by being institutionalized in the Toledan cabildo. Moiety structures surged to the fore in Spanish dominated towns, as well. Among them, Potosi seems to have developed some kind of moiety structure, dividing indigenous workers in the mita labor draft and other displaced repartimiento emigrants.

Associated with the moieties were ritual functions. Among them, the common Andean practice of performing a ritual battle (tinku) as part of Catholic feasts. Legal documents from 1752 describe carnaval-associated rites in which the social cohesion and polity-defining power of the ritual-political conjunct became terrifyingly clear to the non-indigenous residents of Potosí, presaging what was to become a much feared pattern in the indians’ efforts at resistance to domination.16

As part of a packet of income-generating, rational economic reforms, the colonial supervisor of mining activities apparently decreed the abolition of a long practiced custom. Every weekend, and for longer periods during religious holidays, the indian mine workers had been given free access to the mineshafts to amass ore, later sold back to the mine owners (the azogueros or "Quicksilver Guild"), in what was, for the mine workers, a most lucrative affair. Hearing of the prohibition, the indian miners began to dismantle newly installed barriers at the mineshaft entrances. They were soon overpowered. But taking advantage of the proximity of carnaval, the populace prepared for an unusual ritual battle, and instead of fighting one another, began to do in the mine-owning elite and their families. Though the rebellion was soon put down (and the prohibition lifted), ranking Potosinos would have been well advised to take note of the novel strategy.

16The events are described in AGNA 9.6.2.5. and AGNA 9.5.1.2. For a discussion of the institution of Capchas (or k'ajchas), see Mendoza L. 1983:XLI.
6.2.5.2. The Priest in the Rebellion of Condocondo in 1774

In a 1774 rebellion which began a long wave of resistance culminating, six years later, in a region-wide mass uprising, the ayllus of Condocondo summarily disposed of the caciques governadores of the town (descended from a Toledan era mallku of the Asanaqi kingdom). According to the testimony of the accused assassins and witnesses (including the cantor of the local church), the murders were carried out as a result of an affair concerning the local priest. According to these accounts, the murderous crowd had just finished accompanying the priest to the edge of the parish, from which they believed he had been expelled by the moiety lords. Outraged and pained that they had to lose "such a fine priest, who had done them so much good," there was nothing left but to avenge the insult. Whatever the antecedents to the act (none too clear from the document at hand), it is clear that a pre-existing rivalry between the indigenous elite and the priest (common during the period) was partly to blame, but also, a clear identification on the part of the ayllu members of the priest's interests with their own. Though it must remain at this point speculation, I propose that two factors help to account for this sympathy: first, the by-then acceptance of Christianity and Christian institutions as necessary for the well-being and defense of the community; and second, the role of priest-affiliated ritual in the production of infra-kingdom authorities and definition of polity. These two factors, of course, amount to but a single complex, recognizable in the synthetic political-cosmologies inherent in modern fiesta-cargo systems, in which, to again paraphrase Farriss (1984), the priests had become respected "hired help" in locally constituted ritual systems. Quite apart from their utility as advocates for the protection of indigenous people from the depredations of the corregidores or caciques (with whom the priests were in competition for scarce

See ANB EC 1781 no. 83, "Autos formados sobre el tumulto que acaecio en el pueblo de Condo Condo; y muertes que ejecutaron en los Llanquipachas," D6r.
surpluses to exploit), they had become, unlike the civil authorities, necessary for the
definition and reproduction of the community.

6.2.5.3. Ritual battles and uprisings:
Aullagas in 1781

The outright pro-cleríc and anti-mallku sentiment expressed in Condocondo,
incidentally, was not an isolated case, but is repeated over and over again in the trial
record s of all of the major late-18th century uprisings. This may come as a surprise to
those accustomed to reports of the rebellions as an anti-Spanish phenomenon, but as much
recent research has shown, the rebels only attempted the destruction of Spaniards, not
necessarily all of the institutions of the Spanish colony.

I cannot here recite the litany of pro-Christian (or better put, pro-fiesta) evidence
in the 18th century revolts (such as the capture of priests by rebelleaders for the
performance of masses). Such evidence is ample enough, especially in the trials of the
"collaborationist" priests who seem to have (at least initially) supported the rebels' causes.
What I prefer to emphasize is the probable basis for the organization of local level
resistance to hegemony, as well as local acts of rebellion.

One such case is reported in September of 1780 by the Coronel of the militia of
the mining town of Aullagas (within the province of Chayanta). As in Potosí in 1752, the
problem was the celebration of a fiesta.

. . . Rumor has it that the assault of this mining town is planned for the twenty-ninth
of this month, which is the day of the celebration of the feast of the Patron [of the
town], the Archangel Saint Michael, with the naturales' plan being to come to the feast
for their customary rack throwing between the naturales of the towns of Pocoata and
Macha, uniting on this occasion to do away with all the Spaniards and mestizos who
are the objects of their insolence. (AGNA 9.5.2.1. Intendencia de La Plata 1780-81,
"Copiador de cartas") (My translation)

Taking all of these cases together, we may note a conjunction of Hispanic and
Andean forms emerging which provided the organizational forms through which a rebellion
rejecting the kingdom lords became possible. That the priests and the institutions they
fostered (such as systems of rotative fiesta sponsorship) were not rejected, but on the
contrary were a necessary part of the emergent synthetic order, is but one index of this emergence, perhaps better viewed as an attempt to displace the old order. But it also shows that we are not dealing with a "millenial" attempt to return to a prehispanic past, regardless of the Incaic epithets taken on by many rebelleaders (along with titles deriving from the colonial order such as "virrey"). Such a possibility was probably already past when the taki onqoy revolt—which explicitly called for rejection of all things Spanish, took place in the 1560's. At the very least, a restudy of the documents on the 1780 rebellions from this perspective might prove more fruitful than the more usual attempts to reduce them to one or another economic determinist theory. Efforts to answer the usual historian's question of why the rebellions should have occurred when they did have generally urged that evasion of some form of increased oppression (such as the repartimiento de mercancias) was the motivating factor. But it would not be difficult to provide examples of equivalent or greater hardship caused by earlier forms of exploitation. I think that we are likely to find that the limiting factor on the organization of rebellion before the end of the 18th century was the role of the mallkus (or caciques gobernadores) as at one and the same time mediators of colonial domination and foci of "ethnic group" (that is, kingdom) definition. It is only when the lords could be circumvented that general (that is, cross-kingdom) uprisings became possible.

Though I hope that the potential utility of the approach I have outlined is clear, it is equally clear that many questions remain unanswered. Full illumination of the transformations of Andean societies involved in the process of ethnogenesis requires a full-scale restudy of not only the rebellions themselves, but of the nature of everyday social practice in the reducciones/doctrinas over the centuries between their foundation as islands of Hispanic domination in a sea of Andean kingdoms, and their emergence as the very foci of self-defined, autonomous ethnic groups.

18 On Taki Onqoy, see Stern (1982), among others.
Fortunately there is a great deal of so-far unexploited documentation through which such a study might be made. And recent analyses (such as Rasnake 1982; Salomon 1981) of fiesta-cargo systems as totalizing systems founded on a synthetic cultural order and a synthetic cosmology give us, finally, a new set of questions to be posed to the documents which go far beyond those of the old approaches. Beginning from this kind of perspective, which amounts to a re-formulation of a theory of culture as a dynamic, historical process, a re-examination of the colonial-Andean order, from resettlement and early efforts at conversion to the late 18th century upheavals, should lead to a new understanding of the genesis of modern Andean polities,
APPENDIX 1

THE ARAKAPI KINGDOM, "(;IBARUYOS y HARACAPIS"

From the "Tasa" of Toledo (AGNA version) we learn that the population of the Repartimiento de Puna (5,968 persons of which 292 were designated "Huros") was "reduced," in the visita general, from "twenty eight towns within a distance of thirty leagues" (f129v) to two Pueblos: Talavera de Puna and Todos Santos de Quiocalla. A quite large and unusual outlier of the Killaka federation, as well as one of the four kingdoms of that federation, the territory of the Repartimiento de Puna lies to the south-east of Potosí, in a low puna zone, wedged between the territory of the Karakara (to the south, west and north of Puna), and the San Lucas area valley lands of the other three Killaka groups (to the south-east).

Early information on the group is sparse. We have seen that Arakapis were grouped with the other four kingdoms of the Killaka in Wayna Qapax's settlement of the Cochabamba valley. Together with the "Sibaroyos," "Haracapis" were claimed as a subject population in the Colque Guarache probanza (ATP, Exp. 12). The "Tasa," unfortunately, does not give evidence of any connection between the two groups, though the full protocols would undoubtedly enlighten us here. Both copies of the "Tasa" tell us only that six caciques were appointed, and paid a salary totally 350 pesos. But what was the internal structure of the Repartimiento Kingdom? Over what groups did the six caciques have charge?

I have not been able to firmly establish the location of Todos Santos de Quiocalla. It is possible that this is the present-day town of Vilacaya, located just to the South of Puna.

I realized the importance of the Siwaruyu Arakapi kingdom as part of the Killaka federation only after finishing work in the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia. It is likely that much more yet be learned about the kingdom there.

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The visitas of 1645 and 1683 amplify the picture.Enumerating lands at the kingdom level, Francisco Choqueticllla, "cacique principal and governor of the Pueblo of Atun Quillacas and its anexes in different corregimientos (AGNA 13.18.5.1. "Padron del ... Atun Quillacas [1683]")", asserted that he possessed a" ... parcialidad of Indians in the Pueblo de Puna ... parcialidad of the Marca Soragas ... in their own lands with their principal and second person ... (ibid.). This appears to account for two of the six caciques recognized in the Toledan tasa. Could the other caciques have been "principal and segunda persona" of an additional two parcialidades, the Sibaroyos and Haracapis claimed as subjects by Juan Colque Guarache?

Indeed, the tri-partite division and the presence of Killaka kingdom ayllus are confirmed in the 1645 padron of the town of Talavera de Puna (Quiocalla goes unmentioned): After listing two other parcialidades (Cibaroyos and Aracapis), the priest added that:

In the town of Puna in the first visita general certain indians were visited to whom a neighborhood and lands were given. They are from the corregimiento of Paria, and they recognize and pay mita and tasa to the governors and principales of the province of Quillacas since they are naturales of the said province. This ayllu or parcialidad is called Marca Suraga and it is composed of the following ayllos:
--Ayllu Collana [don Pedro Vilcata, principal of the parcialidad]
--Ayllu Sinago
--Ayllu Coroga
--Ayllu Caracara
--Ayllu Suraga
--Ayllu Mamanoca and Ayllu Malcooca ... "these two ayllos for being Quillacas are mued in with the others although they have no lands or neighborhood in this tOOn through the visita general" (AGNA 9.20.4.4. "Padron del Pueblo de Talavera de PUlla [1645] [without foliation]."

The tripartition of Puna, then, appears to have been the result of the settlement in the visita general, of Killaka kingdom ayllus in the midst of another dual-organized kingdom, the Siwaruyu-Arakapi. By 1831, Marca Suraga was but one ayllu of the parcialidad of Cibaruyos (ANB Revisitas, Book 104, Porco 1831). But the kingdom seems to have been yet more complesxo

Figure 11 provides a breakdown of ayllu composition in the Repartimiento de Puna's three parcialidades as evidenced from the 1645 padron. What is startling in this list!
of ayllu names is that most of the ayllus of the parcialidad of Siwaruyu correspond to ayllu names in the kingdom of Killaka, while none of the Arakapi ayllus do. Yet unlike the ayllu of Marca Suraga, the Siwaruyus did not form part of the Killaka kingdom proper, at least as of the Toledan visita. If they had, then the ayllus of Marca Suraga should have been added to the parcialidad of Siwaruyu. These data seem to point to a pre-conquest presence of Killaka ayllus in the region of Puna in two different forms: one thoroughly integrated into the host kingdom and alienated from its "parent" kingdom of Killaka; the other, new arrivals with strong ties to their home kingdom. Many historical hypotheses could account for this pattern, but there is evidence to prove none.

It only remains to note that the territory inhabited by the residents of the Repartimiento de Puna was probably more extensive than that described by the uncertain boundaries shown on map 2, and may have included a valley extension. It is doubtful, though not impossible, that the space inhabited by the Siwaruyu-Arakapi kingdom extended so far west as to share a border with the ayllus of the Repartimiento de Quillacas y Asanaques. One is tempted towards such speculation by the presence, on later maps, of a town called Marcasoraga in the south-eastern part of the latter Repartimiento, and of the modern town of Sevaruyo in the same region. Nonetheless, this may be no more than coincidence based on the identity of ayllu names and the commonality of the place names involved. Again, we lack sufficient data on the region to settle the matter.

31n 1708 the Killaka based authorities still held sway in Puna, such as one Juan Francisco ChoquetiClla, "... casique principal del repartimiento de Hatun Quillacas, Hasanaques y Governador actual de la parcialidad de los Sibaroyos de ese Pueblo de Puna ...."

4More research is needed in communities such as Sevaruyo and Marcasoraga, as well as Tomave and Coroma. Forasteros from those towns were listed as arrenderos in Killaka territory, and vice-versa (See AGNA 13.18.5.1. Padrones La Plata 1725-1754, [unordered cuadernos], "Padron de Hatun Quillacas [1683]," f19).
TABLE 11
AYLLUS OF THE KINGDOM OF SIWARUYU-ARAKAPI

Source: AGNA 9.20.4.4.

Reduced to Puna by Toledo but part of the Rep. of Quillacas y Asanaques
The capitol of the Awllaka-Urukilla kingdom, Villa Real de Aullaga (San Miguel de Aullagas), was located on the south-western shore of Lake Poopó, quite close to the town of Hatun Quillacas. The kingdom of Awllaka-Urukilla became, under the impact of colonial administration, the Repartimiento de Aullagas y Uruquillas. From the published "Tasa," (Cook 1975) we learn that its people were divided between the customary pair of moieties, Hanansaya and Hurinsaya, over each of which stood a cacique principal and segunda persona. Apart from these moieties and caciques, Toledo confirmed "don Diego Chavi cacique principal de los huros .... " Don Diego was paid fifty pesos for rus work, as were the second persons, while the caciques principales of the two moieties received 100 pesos each (ibid.: 7). The population totalled some 4,851 persons, 1,748 of them classified as "huros." From an original nineteen towns spread over an area 20 leagues across, these people were moved into three newly constituted towns: the already mentioned Villa Real de Aullaga (moderno Pampa Aullagas), containing the bulk of the population: Salinas de Tunopa (moderno Salinas de Garci Mendoza), near the Uyuni salt flats: and Sanctiago de Guari (moderno Huari), a scant few kilometers to the north of San Pedro de Condo (ibid.: 5).

The Toledan "Tasa" (Cook 1975:6) also mentions Awllaka-Urukilla maize fields in "Popo" (Pocpo or POQpo), but does not constitute this town as a reducción of the Killaka federation.
Reconstructing the pre-conquest structure of Awllaka-Urukilla is more difficult than was the case for the other three component kingdoms of the Killaka federation. Figure 12 depicts what can be surmised about the ayllu composition of the kingdom from 17th century padron sources. Unlike the Killaka and Asanaqi kingdoms, in which reduplication of ayllu names and identification of kingdom moiety affiliation in the new towns makes the pre-existing structure stand out from the reducción organization, each of the three towns of Awllaka-Urukilla contains a different set of ayllus, and without further documentation it is impossible to see how these might have fit into the kingdom's moieties. Furthermore, the existence of the moieties themselves is none too clear. First, it does not appear that Awllaka and Urukilla were the names of distinct social entities (such as moieties or "ethnic groups"), but rather the two terms appear a conjuncture of a place name (Awllaka) and a social category (Urukilla). Sometimes, such as in the Cochabamba litigation records, this is made clear by a reference to the "Uruquillas de Aullaga." Further problems stem from the fact that the ayllu composition for a single reducción changes from one visita to the next: In 1645, only two ayllus were listed for the Pueblo of S.M. de Aullagas, Hilasaeatiri and "ayllu de Uros" (AGNA 9.17.1.4. Alto Peru Padrones 1645-1686, "Padron de San Miguel de Aullagas"). In 1683, the Hilasaeatiri ayllu goes unmentioned, while "Aylo Anansaya," "Aylo Urinsaya," and "Aylo Aullagas" (with a total population of 28 tributaries) are joined by six named Uru ayllus (totalling 84 tributaries) (AGNA 13.18.5.1.Padrones La Plata 1725-1754, "Padron del Pueblo de Aullagas [1683]," f1-r-11v).

The earliest "complete" ayllu list for the town of Aullagas comes only in 1726 (AGNA 13.18.4.3. Padrones La Plata 1616-1725, Legajo 57, "Informes y Sumarios de Retasas de Paria [1726]." Padron de Aullagas"), by which date the ayllu hierarchy may have changed considerably. In Huari, on the other hand, two ayllus (Guari and Uycasa) are consistently named in all padrones, from 1645 on, until that of 1795 (published by Cajías de la Vega [1978:62ff] under the date 1785, from a different copy). In that padron,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 12</th>
<th>AYLLU STRUCTURE OF THE AULLA KA URUKILLA KINGDOM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilasacatiri</td>
<td>Hanansaya l casique,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulcasacatiri</td>
<td>l segunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urumayo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogtita</td>
<td>l casique de &quot;huros&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sato</td>
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<td>Choro</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Taca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higuapacha</td>
<td>Hurinsaya l casique, l segunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aullagas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yucasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcoca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cochoca</td>
<td>Santiago de Huari (casique by 1683)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaguara</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gualca</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sullea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampari</td>
<td>Salinas de Tunopa ? (casique by 1683)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruquillas del Anejode Challacota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pre-1795 ayllus present in San Lucas

Present only as of 1785
five so-far unmentioned ayllus appear in place of ayllu Guari. At the head of the list, where ayllu Guari had always been, ayllu Maleoca appears. By 1795, this namesake of Juan Colque Guarache's Killaka ayllu contains the cacique principal of the town of Huari. There is similar confusion in the data for Salinas de Garci Mendoza. No ayllu names were given in the 1646 padron, though that source made it clear that the annex of Challacata was inhabited entirely by "uruquillas." In 1683, ayllu Guatari, Sampari, and the annex of Challacota were vastly out-numbered by a large population of forasteros (from many areas of Alto Peru) affiliated with the by-then developed mines of the town of Salinas. By 1726 (Joc. cit.), and in all later padrones, the ayllus were Culle and Guatare.

As with the Asanaqi kingdom, Awllaka-Urukilla ayllus also maintained outlier settlements. A substantial portion of the members of ayllu Yucasa of Huari resided in the area of the Tambo of Lagunillas, surrounded by Asanaqi territory. Further to the east, natives of Huari occupied a settlement in the multi-ayllu zone near Cahuayo—in an estancia called Cachimayo (cf. Cajías 1978).

As part of the 1683 visita, the governor and cacique principal of the Repartimiento de Aullagas y Uruquillas, like his Killaka and Asanaqi counterparts, produced a list of tierras de comunidad:

"Don Andres Caio Copa governor and principal cacique of the town of San Miguel de Aullagas and uruquillas and of San Pedro de las Salinas and Villa de Garcimendoza and surrounding areas= ...

--The lands of Sauze that are in the province of Yamparaes=
--The lands and valley of Cainaca in the said province of Yamparaes [a field in Poqpo]=
--The lands of Chulilla in the valley of Cochabamba=

--Moreover I declare the lands of Tugtapari in the province of Porco where I have a parcialidad of Indians with their principal and segunda persona, and the Corregidor of Porco takes care of it, and the lands of these my towns of Aullagas and Uruquillas and the said Salinas de Garzimendoza and as well the lands of the town of Santiago de Guari ... And thus I swear it .... " (AGNA 13.18.5.1. Padrones La Plata 1725-54, "Padron del Pueblo de Aullagas 1683," f15r)

Among the most notable lacunae of the list is the Awllaka-Urukilla population in the San Lucas region. In that area, Awllaka-Urukilla subjects formed one of three
parcialidades, along with those of the Killaka and Asanaqi kingdoms. The Awllaka-Urukilla parcialidad, however, is titled "Parsialidad de los Yucassas" in the 1646 padrón of San Lucas (AGNA 9.17.1.4. Alto Peru Padrones 1645-86, "Padron ... del Pueblo de San Lucas de Payacollo [1646J," but the parcialidad contained only one ayllu, ayllu Guari! It is possible that the only Awllaka-Urukilla subjects resident in San Lucas were from the reducción town of Santiago de Guari, where Guari and Yucasa were the sole ayllus/moieties. Or were these actually kingdom-level moiety terms?

Also missing from the list is the Urukilla contingent resident in the Repartimiento de Puna (47 tributaries in 1574, according to the "Tasa" [Cook 1975:5]). But in a manner reminiscent of that claim (as well as the Killaka kingdom lord’s claim on the parcialidad of Marca Soraga in the Repartimiento de Puna), the Awllaka Urukilla lord also claimed, in the 1683 list, a parcialidad with "principal and segunda persona," but in the estancia of Tugtapari in the province of Porco. Located just south of the town of Talavera de Puna itself (and just west of San Lucas), Tugtapari and its "Uruquillas" formed an annex of the post-Toledan town of Caisa, a reducción of the kingdom and Repartimiento of the Wisixsa (Rasnake 1982: 154). Like the Awllaka-Urukilla contingent (and the Killaka one) in Puna, they were welllocated to provide a highland base for activity between the San Lucas valleys and Potosí or the Lake Poopó core area. Other evidence suggests that the "Uruquilla" presence in the area is indeed early. Describing the road between the city of La Plata and the "Rio de la Plata" (then being considered as an alternative supply route to the Pacific ports), Matienzo noted "Calacala, pueblo de Indios Uruquillas" between the Yarnparaes town of Chacabuco and the Chichas town of Calcha (Matienzo [1567]: 182). Here, however, we must heed a note of caution, as we can by no means be certain that the designation "Indios Uruquillas" was meant to refer to members of the kingdom of Awllaka-Urukilla. Here it behooves us to consider the Uru/Urukilla issue in somewhat more detail.
The Urullruquillas Question

Space docs not permit a full treatment of what is an extremely complex issue. Wachtel (1978) deals with the multi-faceted issue at length, and many of his strictures apply equally to the present case. Here, however, there is even more confusion, for instead of being faced with the dichotomy (applied by both indigenous commentators and Spanish ones) between Ilm and Aymara, we are faced with another category which seems to overlap both: Urquilla.

Where terms like Asanaques and Ollillakas and Aracapis seem in the documents to clearly designate political units (kingdoms or parts of them), without reference to language and other cultural difference, the term Urquillas was used to refer not only to a political unit (the Repartimiento de Aullagas y Urquillas, or the Urquillas de Aullagas), but also to an "ethnic group" or social status and to a language. Just what was meant in any particular usage is usually not clear. In all post-Toledan padrones, Urquillas appears as part of the name of the kingdom or repartimiento, while the term Uru distinguishes what is clearly a subordinated (though initially quite large) group. Matienzo's use of the term "Indios Urquillas" may have referred any one of these things. In 1684, individuals from the Pueblo de Toledo (largely peopled by "Uruses") occupied lands in the province of Porco, in Vaicaya and Lapeara (which I have not located) and also in Colome, near the Visixsa reducción of Toropalca (AGNA 13.18.4.3. Padrones La Plata, "Padron de Toledo," f65r &ff). Bouysse-Cassagne (1975) cites a document (AGI, Indiferente General 532, "Reparticion de las Lenguas en 1580") pertaining to a project of the Arzobispado de la Plata to send multilingual priests to reducción towns. The document clearly identifies Uruquilla as the language spoken by Indians classified as "Uros," except in the case of the Repartimiento de Puna, where the ethnic categories of Aymara and Uru are accompanied by the language designations of Aymara and Puquina, though for all we know it was not the Urus but the Arakapis who spoke the latter language, if indeed we can believe the language identifications at all.
Nonetheless, the "Tasa" of Toledo indicates that of the total Killaka federation population of 22,345 persons, fully 3,559, or nearly 16 percent, were classified as Urus in 1574, with the largest percentage living in the Repartimiento de Aullagas y Uruquillas. We also know that the Urus constituted, in the main, a subordinated group, brought under the rule of Aymara lords even as they were independently ruled by their own caciques, in their own ayllu. Their caciques, of course, held a relatively low status, equated with that of the second persons of the regular moiety organizations. But as Wachtel (1978) points out, they were a highly mobile population, in two senses: socially mobile, since many of them seem to have become "Aymaras," accepting the higher tax burden in return for greater social status; and physically mobile, rather indominate folk who, having apparently been settled in many cases only under Inka and then Spanish administration, and capable of subsisting solely from lake resources, could have simply escaped domination in the reducción towns by returning to a mobile life on the lake (as many of their latter day descendants--such as the Moratos still do) (ibid.: 1134, 1140).

I have mentioned that the Uru ayllus reduced to Condocondo and incorporated into the Asanaqi kingdom, evident in the "Tasa" and in the parish records of Condo, were no longer listed by 1645. Similarly, the only Uru listed in 1645 for the Killaka kingdom formed an un-taxed ayllu (ayllu Vichaque), labelled ~maCOnas(personal retainers) of the Killaka lord. As Wachtel (ibid.) points out, comparing tributary figures from the Toledan "Tasa" to the Duque de la Palata visita of 1684, the Uru population appears to have utterly collapsed from one visita to the other, a span of just over a century. Against a total population decrease of nearly 55 percent for the eight corregimientos with significant Uru populations, (from 69,664 to 31,669), Urus registered a population loss of 92.6 percent (from 16,950 to only 1,243 in 1684) (Wachtel 1978:1138). Wachtel suggests two of the probable causes for this extreme decline: acculturation (to Aymara language/culture) and escape to the difficult-to-reach interior of the lake. Wachtel also mentions another likely cause: Urus may have simply moved in larger numbers than Aymaras into neighboring
regions, to become forasteros exempted from the mita of Potosí. This would have certainly have made it easier for them to make simultaneous cultural transformations as well.

Nevertheless, two other possibilities stand out: Urus may have moved to distant valley areas where the mita was unknown (such as the San Lucas region), perhaps with the aid of their own caciques, or they may, conversely, have entered the labor force of the mines in large numbers, doing the dirty work of their Aymara counterparts, under the direction of the Aymara lords who held them in thrall.

The latter possibility is not to be lightly dismissed, especially given the surprisingly high proportion of Urus resident in Potosí as of 1686 (AGNA 13.18.4.3. Padrones La Plata 1616-1725, Legajo 57, "Padron ... del Pueblo de Condocondo residentes en Potosí," and other padrones). In chapter 6 I have discussed the 1751 uprising in Potosí of a category of miner known as Capchas, workers who gathered minerals outside of normal working hours (in fact, during the hours they should have spent in Christian ritual) (see section 6.2). Such labor was considered barbaric by the mine owners. As Gunnar Mendoza has shown, the Capchas (also written as Cagchas or Cacchas) seem to have derived from a group of Uruquillas who lived outside of the town itself, on the very slope of the Cerro de Potosí (Mendoza 1983:XLI, LXIX). According to Thierry Saignes (1986), Uruquillas (those from Aulíagas, at least) were specialists in their mining labors. They worked exclusively as palliris (ore collectors who worked the tailings and scraps, that is, gatherers). That is, their function in the mines followed both Aymara and Spanish stereotypes of Urus/Uruquillas as savage hunter/gatherers, unfit for agricultural (or mining?) labor. So perhaps the connection between the Capcha rebellion and a rising in Talavera de Puna was an ethnic/linguistic one?
GLOSSARY

Alax Kawalli. Ay. a K'ulta aylu of the upper moiety

Alaxpacha I Above space/time; upper world

Alaxsayay. Ay. Upper moiety

Alcalde. Sp. Mayor; one of the three civil authority types in K'ulta

Alferez. Sp. (16th c.) Standard-bearer, lieutenant; fiesta career post

Alguacil. Sp. (16th c.) Bailiff, constable; assistants to the jilaqatas, one of the three civil authority types in K'ulta

Alch'i. Ay. Grandchild

Almaca-garo. Sp. "Soul sponsor," one who inherits a dead man's status

Arkiri. Ay. Followers who give gifts to fiesta sponsor


Awatiri. Ay. Herder

Awayu. Ay. Carrying cloth, shawl

Awiyaru. Ay. < Sp. Ayiar, provider. Uywiri-like deities at the heads of valleys producing the bulk of vegetable food eaten in K'ulta

Awki. Ay. Father

Ayllu. Ay. Polity self-formulated through ritual

Ayni. Ay. Q. Reciprocal aid, labor exchange; revenge

Cabildo. Sp. Civil offices, town council

Cacique. Sp. "Chief" < Carib), word used generically in place of local words for "chief

Cacique cobrador. Sp. "Collecting cacique," a role jilaqatas fill as tax collectors

Casta. Sp. Lineage

Chakra. Ay. Field
Charango. Mandolin-like instrument played during the dry season, used by young men in courtship.

Chicha. Sp. Com beer

Chullma. Ay. "Heart," metaphorically; Lit.: liver

Chullpas. Ay. Preconquest tombs, autochthonous people

Ch'ulla. Ay. Libation

Ch'arki. Ay. Freeze-dried meat

Ch'axwa. Ay. Freeze-dried potatoes

Ch'alla. Ay. Land war

Ch'iwu. Ay. Meat, shade, black rain cloud, llama progeny

Cofradía. Sp. Sixteenth century Spanish religious and military confraternity

Corregidor. Sp. Royal/state authority in province (16th c.), canton authority (modern)

Doctrina. Sp. Colonial Spanish religious district

Encomienda. Sp. Grant of Indian labor to a Spanish conquistador

(Hianansaya. Q. Upper moiety

Herencia. Sp. Inheritance;

(H)urinsaya. Q. Lower moiety

Ilawi. Ay. K'ul'ta ayllu

Inkuña. Ay. Coca carrying cloth

Ipala. Ay. Father's sister (male ego), husband's sister (male ego)

Isi turka. Ay. Clothes changing

Iskin mamala. Ay. Comer mother, house deity

Jach'a jiliri. Ay. "Great elder brother," one who has completed a fiesta career

Jach'a misa. Ay. "Great altar," patio altar of a founding ancestor of hamlet/patri line

Jak'arapi. Ay. Formal marriage appeal

Jañachu. Ay. Male alpaca. Lit. "Sterile male"; name tullqas are called during their ritual role as mock llamas

Jilata. Ay. Brother
Jilaqata. Ay. Chief, Highest level authority of major ayllu
Jiliri. Ay. Elder
Jira t'alla. Ay. "Dung female," libation term for corral
Jisk'a pista tak"i. Ay. "Great fiesta path," a fiesta-cargo career
Jula jula. Ay. Dance group
Jurk'a. Ay. Pole covered with flowers and erected in carnaval rite
Karnachiri. Ay. One who commands or rules
Kawiltu. Ay. <Sp. Cabildo
Kumun wilara. Ay. "The bloodletting, aspersion of the community"; sacrifice to dedicate the staff of authority
Kuraka. Q. Chief. = Ay. jilaqata
K'usa. Ay. Corn beer, chicha
Layra timpu. Ay. An earlier age, a long past time. Lit. "eye space-time"
Laq'a, Ay. Dust, tasteless food
Laq'a jach'atala/mala. Ay. Great-great grandparents
Laqusi. Ay. Spouses of laritas in the mother's patriline
Larita. Ay. Wife givers. Mother's brother, wife's brother, father's sister's husband
Limusna waku. Ay. Fiesta sponsors' payment to priest for mass
Lurya. Ay. <Sp. Gloria, glory, heaven. Lightening, uncontrollable product of contact with the sacred
Lurya misa. Ay. Rite aimed at channeling ~
Machaka. Ay. New, novice; incoming fiesta sponsor
Maliku. Ay. Mountain peak, mountain spirit, condor, hereditary authority
Mama t'alla. Ay. Town plaza
Manxa Kawalli. Ay. K'ulta ayllu, lower moiety
Manxapacha. Ay. Below space/time; under world
Manxasaya. Ay. Lower moiety
Maxta. Ay. Youth, maniagable young man
Mayruwiri qullu. Ay. Mountain of souls, ancestors' mountain
Mit'a. Ay. Turn of duty
Mitimaes. Q, Sp. Permanent settlers from far-tlung home regions, resettled by the Incas
Muju. Ay. Semen, seed
Muntu. Ay. < Sp. World mountain, afterworld
Niñu. Ay. <Sp. Niño, child. Cross erected at hill-peak altar or silu belonging to a saint image; also, front pillar of a pubra chapel
Padron. Sp. Locally produced census list
Pampa. Ay. Low tlat plain
Paq’ara. Ay. Flower, flowering
Paq’arayaña. Ay. To make flower
Pasado. Sp. "Passed," one who has completed his fiesta career
Pata. Ay. Raised tlat place
Paxcha. Ay. Flowing, spurting; sacrifice of llamas by cutting their throats
Pillu. Ay. Flower or bread wreath; crown
Principal. Sp. Colonial term used for ayllu jilaqata
Pukara. Ay. Fortress; hamlet chapel
Puro. Sp. Pure distilled cane alcohol
Q’ala. Ay. Naked, incompletely dressed
Qapax jucha. Q. Inka rite of human sacrifice and reordering of regional shrines
Qarwa. Ay. Llama
Qarwa k’ari. Ay. Llama cutting, part of the llama sacrifice
Qullana. Ay. K’ulta ayllu
Qurpa. Ay. Miniature loaves of bread thrown from church tower during fiesta; banquet

Q'uwa. Ay. Resinous herb used for incense; incense offering including

Reducción. Sp. A new town within which a scattered population of Indians was to be concentrated

Repartamiento. Sp. Ten replacing encomienda; colonial administrative district

Revisita. Sp. Census, formal census record

Samaraña. Ay. Rest stop during saint's ceremonial procession; alternate "resting" years of a ceremonial career

Samarayaña. Ay. Places to catch one's breath along ceremonial mute between hamlet and town

Samiri. Ay. Deity form, "one who gives breath": 1) high mountain boulders that are ideal types or ancestor forms; 2) miniature stone figurine in animal form that is the repositor of the life principle of animals

Santisima Paxsi Mamala. Ay. Holy moon mother; the virgin, the moon

Sapi. Ay. "Root" of an altar, house, church tower or mountain deity

Segunda persona. Sp. Second in command; Spanish designation for the indigenous lord of the lower moiety


Sirvinacuy. Q. Stage in the marriage process when service is performed for in-laws by the young couple

Subdelgado. Sp. Maximal provincial authority

Sucullu (Bertonio) or sukullu. Ay. Narning rite

Sullk'iri. Ay. Younger one

Sullu. Ay. Dried llama fetus

Supay. Ay. Devil or evil spirit (meaning forged in colonial period)

Surti wala. Ay. Metallic balls belonging to shamans and saints

Sutiyuqa. Ay. Godson. Lit. "name son"

Tak"i. Ay. Path

Tama. Ay. Herd

T'arka. Ay. Flutes played during the rainy season

Tasa. Sp. An assignment of tribute resulting from a census
Tata Awatir Awksa. Ay. Our father herder, Jesus Christ, the sun
Tata Exaltacion. Ay. The cross of exaltation, also, Tata Killakas
Tata Mustramu. Ay. < L.(?) Mostramo, soliform monstrance. The sun
Tata Rey. Ay. Libation term for vara, "staff of office"
Tata Santyaku. Ay. Saint James, commander of lightening
Tawaqu. Ay. Young marriageable woman
Tinka. Ay. Ceremonial pair of repayment drinks, ceremonial return gifts
Tinku. Ay. A meeting of opposites; ritual battle
Tullqa. Ay. Wife takers
Turri. Ay. -cSp. torre, tower. Mayordomo
Turri mallku. Ay. Church tower
Tuxsa. Ay. Rotten, smells of decay
Untu. Ay. Llama fat from the chest cavity
Urqu. Ay. Male.; Q. Mountain
Urus. Ay. Ethnic group thought of as lake dwelling fishers and gatherers
Uywa. Ay. Domesticated animal
Uywa ispira. Ay. Part of a llama sacrifice, "animal vispers"
Uywiri. Ay. Type of chthonic power, "those who own/raise the herds"
Vara. Sp. Staff of office
Visita. Sp. Land tenure litigation
Wak'a. Ay. Sacred place/place spirit
Wamani. Ay. Q. Falcon; Inka province below the level of quarter empire
Wasuwariri. Ay. Drink server
Wila. Ay. Blood
Wilara. Ay. Sacrificial rite which contrasts with fiesta type rites in form and occasion of performance

Yanani. Ay. Dual, symmetrical, paired

Yanaqi. Ay. K'ulta ayllu, now succeeded

Yatiri. Ay. Sharnan

Yuqa. Ay. Son
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