Andean Mesas and Cosmologies*

Douglas Sharon

Reviews

Abstract

*A prior version of this paper, focused on *mesas,* is to be published in *Boletín Chileno de Arte Precolombino.* I wish to expresss my gratitude to the editors for permission to include that article in the present paper.

The purpose of the present paper is to focus on aspects of Andean culture, *mesas* or shamans' altars, demonstrating how, in ritual contexts, they effectively express grass-roots cosmological principles.

The baseline for this approach was provided by Sharon's (1976) survey of the anthropological literature on Latin American mesas and his suggestion that they often function as projections of indigenous cosmologies (Sharon 1978, 183-196). The literature on Mesoamerica was unpdated in Sharon (2003) and the information on the Central Andes was updated in Sharon, (2006). The current review is a further updating of the survey for the Central Andes. It includes ethnographic reports from Ecuador, northern Peru, southern Peru, Bolivia, and Chile.

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Mesas

For the Ecuadorian highlands, one of the earliest sources for mesas is Elsie Parsons (1945) who worked in the town of Peguche in the Imbabura Valley. Here mesas included at a bare minimum a cross, shells, quartz crystals, remedies, and stones, the latter given to the healer by the mountain spirits or *duendes*. (Throughout the Andes mesa ritruals invoke mountain spirits, also known as *apus, aukis, wamanis,* and *achachilas* to promote therarpy.)

Later work in the same valley (Peguche) was conducted by Vicente Mena. Here the healer (*Yachag Taita*), who was predestined for this highly respected profession divined and cured by talking to the mountain spirits. Mena described an initiation ceremony for the healer's successor (*Mapa Shitador)* which included twenty-four kinds of food, sugar-cane alcohol, cigarettes, and a whip. Rituals for curing sorcery added two dolls, representing the victim and his enemy, candles, and a palmwood lance.

Further to the south, Balladelli (1988) documents (in Spanish and Quichua) indigenous medicine in the town of Pesillo. His illustrations include a drawing of the mesa of a Yachac used to cure sorcery, including a rosary, candles, cigarettes, alcohol, perfume, tobacco, eggs, shells, *ayahuasca,* and a variety of bushes used to sweep or "cleanse" the patient in a ritual called *limpia* (ibid, 212). Other drawings illustrate a variety of curing techniques.

Schweitzer de Palacios (1994) documents the *mesa curandera* of a Yachac couple from San Miguel el Común near Quito (photo, p. 165). It looks like the mesa of Eduardo Calderón from the Trujillo region on the north coast of Peru, with which it is compared by the author. It contains stones, crystals, coins, figurines, magnets, shells, and crucifixes symbolizing sacred places and powers (mountains, springs, lagoons, air, storms, the rainbow, etc.) arranged around a central area containing feminine stones on the left and male stones on the right (Figure 1).

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Figure 1. Quichua Mesa from Quito area (Schweitzer de Palacios 1994:165).

For the north-Peruvian sierra, based on three decades of fieldwork with nine *curanderos*, Italian anthropologist Mario Polia (2000, 100-102,), provides a definition of the mesa, as an *imago mundi* exactly reflecting the relations between micro- and macro-cosmos as manifest in each of its objects and symbolic sectors (Figure 2).

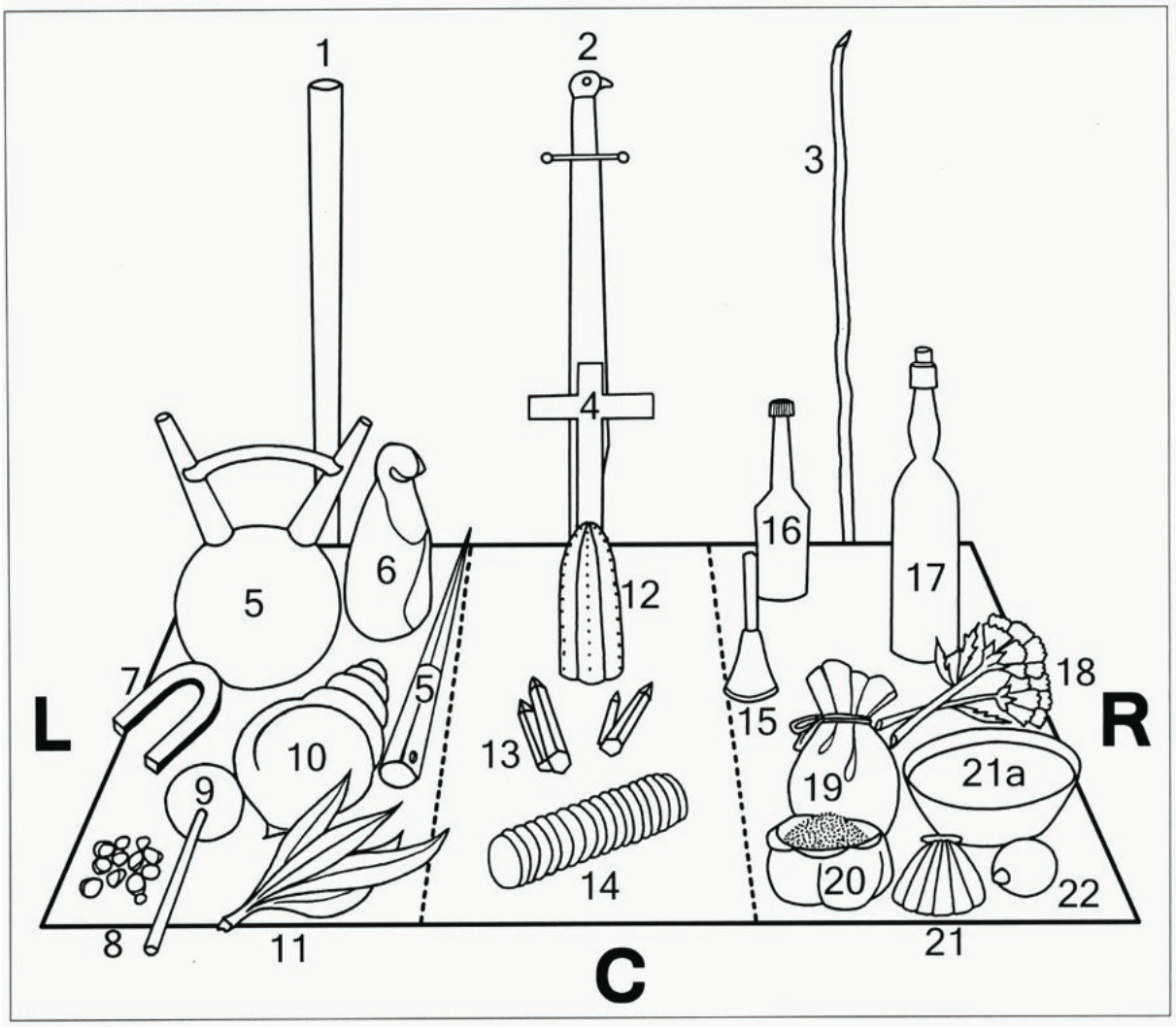
The mesa is ideally divided into three "fields," each with a specific time and ritual function intimately related to the two aspects ("hot" and "cold") of the vital energy animating the cosmos and the objects in it. Thus "hot" objects which belonged to the pagan ancestors *(gentiles*) are placed on the left side of the mesa *(mesa negra)* and are associated with the past and the undoing of acts and energies related to sickness and misfortune. The artifacts *(artes)* on the left are used in the dark hours before midnight to banish "contagion" *(contagio),* undo magical bonds, and return sorcery *(daño)* back to the one who sent it. All of the medicinal herbs on the left are wild, underscoring their relationship with the uncultivated, the savage, the time before civilization and agriculture, which was also a time when Mother Earth spontaneously gave of her fruits.

The right side of the mesa (*mesa blanca* or *curandera)* holds artifacts of a "cold" nature related to the future and used during the first light of dawn to promote good fortune and prosperity in projects and business. These objects are the result of domestication and agriculture such as maize and tobacco, white roses, hive honey, or they are industrial products such as refined sugar, wine, perfumes, talcum powder, etc. With regard to the right and left "fields," the mesa is not only a compendium of the forces at work in the cosmos, but it encapsulates the two great stages of human history, the nomadic pre-agricultural hunter-gatherer and the sedentary agricultural and industrial.

In the central part of the mesa (*mesa paradora* or *campo medio)* the powers of the objects are equilibrated and the "hot" and "cold" qualities are balanced. This is the "field" of shamanic "vision" where the past and the future coincide in the present time of oracular revelation. It is the place where the differentiation of historical time ceases and Christian and ancestral symbols come together, i.e., the tip of the psychedelic San Pedro cactus, the Christian cross, the native *chonta* staff from the jungle, the steel sword from the conquest, saints' images, and transparent crystals symbolizing the shaman' s ability to penetrate the opacity of time.

Polia's characterization of the northern mesa, based on fieldwork in the highlands, correlates well with ethnographic descriptions from the north coast of Peru by American anthropologist John Gillin (1947, 117-129) documenting a Moche-area healer's mesa, Joralemon (1983, 1984, 1985) working with a Lambayeque *curandero,* and Joralemon and Sharon (1993), working with 12 healers from the Trujillo and Chiclayo areas. It is also complemented by ethnographic work on the north coast of Peru by archaeologist César Gálvez (2014, 169-210) and Sharon and Gálvez (2009, 236-244) both working with the *curandero* Leoncio Carrión in the Chicama

Valley as well as Sharon, Glass-Coffin, and Bussmann (2009, 245-254) working with the Moche-area *curandera* Julia Calderón de Ávila, and American anthropologist Donald Skillman (1990, 2006) working with two curanderos in the famous Salas region. Additional confirmation is found in the ethographies of German anthropologist Claudius Giese (1989) working in Chiclayo and the northern sierra, Bonnie Glass-Coffin (1998) working with five *curanderas* in Chiclayo and the northern sierra, and Peruvian anthropologist Luis Millones (1996), who confirms a dualistic dynamic underlying the mesas of Túcume and links them to the archaeological sites of the area and a syncretistic cult of the Virgin María. As in Ecuador, rituals in Northern Peru invoke mountain spirits to facilitate therapy.



1. Black *hualtaco* or *chonta* rod	13. Quartz crystals
2. Large sword	14. Cultivated tobacco *(huanlla)*
3. *Membrillo* rod	15. Silver bell
4. Crucifix	16. Manufactured perfumes
5. Pre-Hispanic pottery & weapons	17. Wine
6. *Huaca*-stones	18. White roses, carnations
7. Magnet	19. White corn flour
8. Fragrant seeds (*ishpingo, ashango*)	20. White sugar
9. Rattle (*chungana)*	21. White shells
10. Seashell	21a. Spring water
11. Wild herbs (*huamingas, tabaco del Inga*, etc.)	22. Lime fruit
12. Tip of *San Pedro*	

Figure 2. Mesa fields and artifacts from the north- Peruvian sierra (Polia 2006, 37).

For the southern highlands of Peru and highland Bolivia, Luis Hurtado's (2000, 138-142) definition of the mesa encompasses the wide variety of offerings made to the deities and ancestral spirits of the Quechua and Aymara peoples. For him, this Hispanicized Quechua term in general refers to "the ensemble of objects and ingredients disposed, in accord with criteria established by tradition, either on a blanket, bedspread, poncho, etc. laid out on the ground." With regard to the origin of the term, it could come from the Spanish referring to the banquet table (many offerings are foods of the gods).

Another derivation is from ecclesiastical Latin where *mensa* means "altar" evoking the concept of the eucharistic "banquet in memory of the Last Supper." Other scholars propose that the Latin *missa* from which the Spanish *misa* is derived could have led to the curing term "mesa," pointing out that the shamanic curer operates in a bi-cultural world anchored in faith in ancestral spirits and Christian saints. Referring to Polia's (1996, II, 428-429) work, Hurtado (2000, 139) points out that "mesa" is derived from the Quechua *misa,* which means "bet," or "game," with *misay/misanakuy* meaning "to win in a gambling game." In the north "game" and "play" are used to refer to the concept that curing rituals are seen as duels between the *curandero* and the negative spiritual forces of the Andean cosmos. In Aymara curing, misa means "offering," *misani,* "to offer," while *misa lucana* means "to present an offering." The specialist in making offerings is called *misani.* Finally, "misa" is part of the title of the principal Quechua shaman, the *altomisayoq,* "the master who presents the great offerings."

Other terms in the shamanic lexicon of the South are *despacho* ("dispatch") or *pago* ("payment"). They refer not only to the offering itself, but also to the ensemble of ceremonial processes involved in the preparation of the ritual, including a variety of libations and aspertions (*t'inka* or *ch'alla)*, animal sacrifices *(wilancha),* preparation of llama fetuses *(sullu),* reading and offering of coca leaves *(k'intus),* tobacco smoke, ritual cleansings, prayers, supplications, and final burning of the offering to feed the gods invited to the ceremonial banquet. It is interesting to note that on the north coast, mesa means both "altar" and "ritual."

Besides the altar itself, the ensemble of objects on it are called "mesa." Certain objects are also called "mesa," such as limestone carvings *(mullu* in Aymara) and talismans representing ensembles of desired objects or "spirit seats" *(illas* in Aymara and Quechua), some of which include mesa symbols and are therefore called mesas. Offerings include coca, llama fat, aromatic plants, maize, potatoes, candy, figurines, gold and silver papers, llama fetuses, sea shells, mica plaques, wool yarn, red mineral powder, incense, flowers, wine, liquor, etc.

Peruvian anthropologist L. Hurtado (141-142) lists 12 types of mesas prepared for different ceremonies, i.e. *alta misa* of herbs for childbirth, *apustul misa* of coca for curing, *kuti misa* to return sorcery to its source, *chullpa misa* to cure sickness caused by spirits inhabiting ancient ruins, *chiwchi misa* with lead figurines to promote good fortune, *ñanqha misa* for sorcery or counter-sorcery, *ch'iara misa* for funerals and protection from attacks by sorcerers or evil spirits, *janq'u misa* to attract money, *insinshu misa* for protection or pacification of tutelar spirits, *muxsa misa* to protect herds, *llampu misa* to show gratitude to tutelar spirits, and *samina misa* for good luck.

Our data on Quechua beliefs and practices (Nuñez del Prado 1970, Casaverde (1970, Marzal 1971, Garr 1972, Gow 1976, Gow and Condori 1976, Gow and Gow 1976) allow us to define the stages of the mesa ritual and the paraphernalia used by Quechua shamans. As a general rule, the ritual begins with prayers and libations (*t'inka* or *ch'alla*) of alcohol in the four corners of the room, followed by censing and coca divination. Next comes the preparation of the mesa proper (also referred to as *pago* payment; *despacho*, dispatch; *ofrenda*, offering; or *alcanzo*, reaching). On a wooden box covered with a white cloth (mesa), or on a special white alpaca skin *(unkuña*) spread on the floor—in either case oriented to the east—the shaman places a sheet of white paper. The paper has a cross printed on it, the head of which is also oriented to the east. A bed of cotton is laid over the paper. Clusters of coca leaves (*k'intus*) are placed on the cotton in sets of three, often arranged in 12 pairs. The shaman lifts each set, dips it in alcohol, breathes on it, and offers it to a mountain spirit (*apu).* Then he places other ingredients on top of the coca leaves including llama fat, silver-colored paper, gold-colored paper, bits of candy, bread, wheat, barley, beans, herbs, white cornmeal, carnation petals, mint, lead figurines, and so forth. All these items are removed from a package or wrapping, also called a mesa, which has been purchased in the herb section of the local market. When the shaman has assembled all the ingredients, he folds the white paper, thus forming another package (mesa), which is tied with silk ribbons. Sometimes a llama fetus is placed in the package before folding. Once the mesa is ready, it is usually censed. Often at this time the shaman performs ritual libations with alcohol, followed by a break until about midnight. The foregoing rituals are punctuated by coca chewing, consumption of alcohol, and ritual embraces of forgiveness.

After divining with coca leaves, the shaman instructs his two assistants to prepare a bonfire. When a strong blaze has been achieved, they must place the mesa, oriented to the east, on the fire to be consumed. While the offering is burning, the shaman often instructs the participants to embrace ritually and offer pardon to each other. Once the package has been completely consumed, the shaman checks the ashes. If they are white, the ritual has been successful; black ashes indicate that the offering has not been accepted by the apus and another mesa must be performed before tragedy strikes the shaman's client. The ashes must be buried before dawn.in fertility rites performed on behalf of livestock (alpacas, llamas, sheep, cattle) every year during Carnival (in February or March) and in August, this ceremony is performed in a special ritual corral *(señal kancha*). Once the package is prepared, it is burned or deposited in a hole located in the eastern corner of the corral or in the center (*allpapa soñqon,* "heart of the earth"), covered by a huge flat stone called a mesa. Rituals involving *incaychus* (images of livestock) are performed on these stone mesas. They are also associated with a ritual "marriage" of a male and female of the species for which the rite is performed.

Cusco anthropologist Jorge Flores (1997) comments on the multi-vocal nature of the Quechua word *missa,* applied by highland pastoralists to a variety of objects which are half dark and half light-colored, e.g., camelids, maize, flags, and ceremonial textiles—the latter often divided and articulated by a central band *(chawpi).* Objects from Inca times, e.g., ceremonial ceramic plates and vases, gold-and-copper llama icons, and ritual tunics (dual-toned and checkered), were also designated by this same term which has the connotation of a dynamic magical force, the equilibrating action of which creates a sacred space conducive to fertility and regeneration. In these objects the relationship of the two colors objectifies the harmonious relation between two differentiated halves, i.e., an expression of the Andean principle of complementary opposition and its diverse connotations: man-woman, up-down, left-right, night-day, lowlands-highlands, etc. Thus, the word missa designates a religious principle, a ritually created space, the ritual itself, the objects used in the ceremony, and Quechua religious specialists *(pampa missa* and *altu missa).* Also, Flores (1976, 119), in discussing the mesa cloth (*unkuña)* used in animal-increase rituals performed by herders of southern Cusco, records a weave pattern delineating three zones, *paña* (right), *lloque* (left), and *pampa* (plain or valley).

Japanese anthropologist, Hiroyasu Tomoeda (1993) compares high-altitude pastoral *mesaqepi* (altar) and *qorikancha* (corral) rituals conducted at the end of the dry season to "feed" Pachamama and the Apus thus restoring lost vital energy and facilitating the onset of the fertilizing, pasture-regenerating rains. Purification rituals performed to restore health and lost energy—viewed as "contamination"—are compared to the Inca Citua rituals performed at Cusco's Sun Temple (*qorikancha)* to purify humans, dispatch sickness and misfortune, and prepare for the rainy season. Tomoeda demonstrates an amazing degree of continuity between the two ritual complexes. Jesus Washington and María Calderón (2002) describe similar August renovation rituals for Calca in the Cusco area.

Anthropologist Inge Bolin (2006:114-119), in a paper documenting the concept of enqaychu amongst Quechua pastoralists of the herding community of Chillihuani, documents *mesarumi* rituals including shells, coca, gourds, wooden cups for wine and corn beer, alpaca fat, ceremonial ropes, and the all-powerful enqaychu stones. She indicates that the mesa has middle, left, and right sides. Rituals addressed to the Apus involve libations to the four corners of the mesa, the four directions, and the four winds (Bolin 1998:168-170, 23, 61-63, 143). Quispe (1969, 65, 72, 82) provides drawings of man-made stone altars used for communicating with mountain spirits in Ayacucho.

Peruvian anthropologists Valderama and Escalante ((1988) show how political life and fertility rites are facilitated by a variety of mesas ranging from the domestic altar and sacred bundle (*mesa quepi*) to community (*cabildo)* mesas for men (Figure 3) and women (*mantas*) as well as stone mesas near the Colca River (Southern Peru) and at *cajas* (rectangular pits) near springs and irrigation-intake sites. Valderrama and Escalante (1976) also describe a *pacha t'inka* ritual and mesa for livestock reproduction in Cotabambas, Apurimac (Peru).

Manuel Marzal (1971) depicts a two-part despacho from Taraco in the Puno area addressed to Pachamama and Ankari (wind) similar to a Quechua ritual described by Dalle (1969), the latter coinciding with other despachos in the ethnographic literature for Cusco. Wachtel (1985) documents the large and small mesas of the Chipaya of Lake Coipasa, Oruro (Bolivia) to guarantee abundant fish and de la Zerda (1993) provides similar material on the mesa for Mallku Lauca dedicated to aquatic birds and plants. Albo (1992) records the harvest mesa for the "mother seed" performed by the Aymara of Chucuito. Peru.

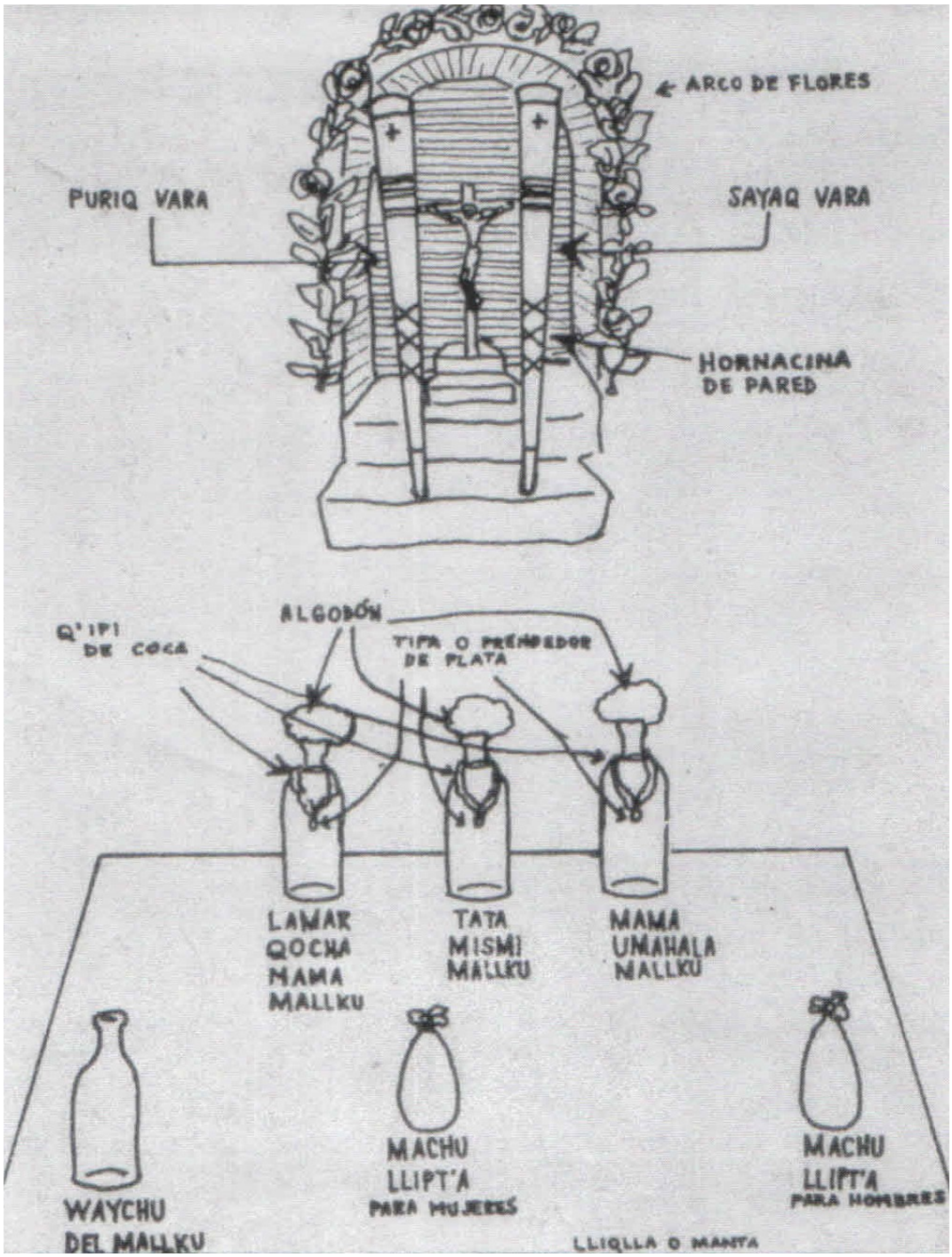


Figure 3. Quechua community mesa from the Colca Valley (Valderrama and Escalante 1988, 152).

The first major source for the Aymara is Harry Tschopik (1946, 1951), who studied the Peruvian village of Chucuito, located on Lake Titicaca. Sacrifices to the supernatural beings are restricted to rites performed (mostly at night) by white (*paqo*) and black *(laiqa*) magicians who use elaborate ritual paraphernalia, much of which shows marked similarity to the artifacts of the mesa used in northern Peru. Tschopik (1951, 262n.) states that the general structure of the séance in northern Peru reported by Gillin (1947) is similar to that of Chucuito. The term mesa is actually used by the Aymara for certain elements of their ritual complex—for example, the cloth on which the artifacts are placed, large and small stone "spirit seats" on which the spirits are supposed to rest during the session, and a square modeled lump of shaved llama fat coated with gold and silver paper, which is the major offering to the spirits. Mesa spirit seats are only a few of the numerous Aymara amulets and talismans. In Bolivia these power objects (mostly of alabaster or soapstone) are referred to generically as *khochqas* or *waqanquis.*

They are subdivided into *sepjas,* stones with geometric incisions and *illas,* mainly livestock figurines which are the equivalents of Quechua incaychus.

Tschopik documents the arrangement of ritual gear for four different kinds of mesa ceremonies: (1) summoning the spirits, (2) house dedication (including llama sacrifice), (3) offering a mesa (the most common, used in curing and in countering sorcery), and (4) animal-increase rites. Like the Quechua, the Aymara wrap the ritual equipment in bundles consisting of a ground cloth (inkuña)—oriented to the east in all rituals—holding amulets, seashells, crucifixes, a rosary, religious medals, libation bowls, an incense burner, brass bells, brass spheres (symbolizing lightning), red beans, stuffed wildcats, and a piece of glass with a silver coin on it (symbolizing Lake Titicaca). Offerings include coca, alcohol, smoke (from incense and wild tobacco), llama fat, mint, candies ají (chili peppers), salt, food, flowers, lead figurines (offered in pairs), gold foil, silver foil, and a llama fetus.

The phases of a session are almost identical to those of the Quechua ceremony, libations of alcohol (t'inka); arrangements of clusters of three coca leaves (k'intu), sometimes in groups of 12 totaling 144 *(p'awaqa*); preparation of the offering (mesa) until about midnight; burning of the offering; reading of the ashes, etc.—interspersed by consumption of alcohol, coca chewing, divination, and ritual embraces of forgiveness. Andean dualistic ideology is implied in the fact that the right side of the mesa is associated with gold and is interpreted as good, while the left side, related to silver, is viewed as evil (Tschopik 1951, 231-253; confirmed in the ethnographic film, *Magic and Catholicism* [1975], made for the American Universities Field Staff by Hubert Smith). Also, in preparing the offering, the mesa for the spirits is divided in half by scratching a line down the center and arranging pairs of lead figurines along the sides, opposite each other (1951, 252). Another manifestation of dualism is indicated by the fact that during the session women are seated to the left of the mesa, and men to the right, all facing the doorway, which is oriented to the east (1951, 236, 253).

American anthropologist Joseph Bastien (1973, 133)) illustrates a mesa curing ritual of the Bolivian community of Kaata. He reports that Kaatans use a body metaphor to conceptualize the three ecological levels of their territory, e.g., the highlands as the head, the central area as the heart and bowels, and the lowlands as the feet. Rituals seek to circulate blood and fat throughout the body. During curing rituals to facilitate this circulation the healer replicates the movement of the sun through the firmament above the earth in the daytime and through the underworld at night. During the first part of the ritual up until midnight, he offers black llama wool covered with llama fat to the dead. In the second part after midnight, white cotton covered with fat is offered to the spirits governing agriculture. After 2 A.M a staff and a llama fetus associated with the highlands are placed at the head of the mesa; coca and carnation petals associated with the lowlands are placed at the foot of the mesa; bread and eggs from the central region at the corners; and a coin in the center. Then the shaman places shells dedicated to the spirits of agriculture on the mesa, filling them with cotton, coca, carnation petals, llama fat, incense, ferns, figurines, candles, confetti, sugar, coin scrappings, and eggshells. As he fills them, he moves from west to east replicating the sun's movement through the underworld. Then he pours alcohol in each shell, moving from east to west, replicating the sun's movement during the day. At the end of each phase of the ritual the offerings are burned.

The Kaatan Day of the Dead altar, the *mesa tumbola,* brings together the allyu's ecological and cosmological concepts. It is an actual table decorated to depict three levels. The table's surface, representing the lowlands, holds typical products of this level. A platform placed on the table holds products from the central level. Next is a box supporting a basket full of figurines and products associated with the highlands. Above the table is a cross decorated with flowers and an arc of stringed oranges representing the sun journeying across the heavens inhabited by the Inca, gods, saints, and angels symbolized by the cross. Drawings associated with the Devil and the dead are attached to the tablecloth and hang over the edges of the table. Thus, in addition to depicting the three ecological niches of the community, the mesa tumbola also represents the three levels or *pachas* of Kaatan cosmology, i.e., Heaven (*Janaq Pacha),* This World *(Kay Pacha),* and the Netherworld *(Uma Pacha).*

Spanish anthropologist Gerardo Fernández Juárez (1997) provides a detailed and comprehensive study of Aymara mesas in Bolivia placing them in ethnohistorical and ethnographic context. He demonstrates that the dynamic underlying all rituals—past and present—was, and continues to be, the reciprocal etiquette of the ceremonial banquet, the goal being to appease the hunger of the tutelary spirits with *platos* (plates), i.e., offerings of their favorite foods. Today these are the *achachilas* or "grandfathers" inhabiting the mountains; *pachamama* or "mother earth"; *kunturmamani* or the

guardian of the home; *gloria* or "heaven" encompassing saints, virgins, celestial bodies, and atmospheric phenomena; *saxras* or malevolent beings who control property and wealth and are the primary causes of soul loss; and *chullpas* or g*entiles* who inhabited the altiplano before the flood and are identified with the remains and ailments associated with pre-Hispanic tombs (Fernández 1997, 77-80). In this ritual exchange (*ayni*) the supernatural guests are expected to honor the Andean principle of reciprocity by providing livestock and crop fertility, rain, protection, health or harm, and good fortune.

Fernández notes the diversity of offerings discussed above by Hurtado, particularly in regard to the ritual preferences of individual religious practitioners. To the list of mesa types Fernández (1997, 47-48, 66-68) adds a stone mesa in the center of community assemblies (*cabildos*) upon which participants place their coca bags (*tari*) as well as the arched mesa (*apxata*) for the dead similar to the *mesa tumbolo* documented by Bastien (1973, 278, 1978, 179-180). Stone cairns (*apachitas*) on mountaintops and highland passes are seen as spaces for conducting mesas. Cabildo is also the term applied to the ritual space in the home.

Fernández (1997, 95-208) documents contemporary Bolivian Aymara mesas from the altiplano around Lake Titicaca, especially the communities of Sotalaya, Cajiata, and Toque Ajllata from Omasuyo province, contrasting them with mesas prepared for clients in the city of El Alto, La Paz. He distinguishes mesas from *pagansias*, offerings made to the earth and *ispallas* (plant spirits) at Candelaria (mid-summer) when the flowering of cultivars is celebrated and again at Espiritu (Pentecost eve) in a first fruits ceremony. A pagansia can be offered by a family member whereas a mesa can only be offered by a ritual specialist. At Candelaria offerings are made in the center of the farmer's filed; at Espiritu in the center of the storage bin. In a pagansia all ingredients (including candy shavings) are ground up into an indiscriminant mass and offered in paired balls; for a mesa they maintain their separate identities within the offering packet. Mesas documented include, *pachamama mesa, gloria mesa* or *mesa blanca, mesa negra* or *chullpa mesa,* and *mesa de salud*.

Mesas play a major role in the annual reproductive cycle, for livestock on June 24th (San Juan) when illas (animal fetishes) are fed as well as during the month of Pachamama (August) and at Semana Santa or Holy Week (Easter) when rituals focus on the hosts of *alaxpacha* or gloria (heaven). These are times when the earth and heaven, respectively, are "open." This "opening" justifies a proliferation of sacrificial ceremonies in the belief that it is necessary to take advantage of the "openness" of the world and the ravenous hunger of the deities to make the appropriate offerings secure in the knowledge that they will be gratefully received by the specific numina involved. Although fertility rituals are offered throughout the year, an "open" world favors a positive response to those human needs which, as requested in the relevant ceremony, are likely to be satisfied as a result of the seduction of the sacred guests. The offerings of August, at the beginning of the agricultural cycle, ritually initiate planting.

Holy Week coincides with the maturation of the crops and the early stages of the harvest. In August, Pachamama "hungers" and needs to be fed; during Easter the culinary aspects of ritual are less important than acknowledging the death of Christ and the opening of heaven (Fernández 1997, 96-129).

Fernández (1997, 130-135) underscores the perceived danger of "openings" in Aymara culture as reflected in conceptual models for the human body, the home, the community, and the landscape. Thus, native curing rituals seek to render the human body "closed" and heretically sealed like a "stone" against the external influence of sickness. A house under construction without a roof is seen as an open and threatening mouth. There is a special etiquette for approaching nucleated communities which are turned inward vis-à-vis outsiders. Skyrockets are used to "frighten" hail-bearing clouds ritually rendering the community and its crops "closed," i.e., protected against the elements. Fields are ceremonially protected by tying wild bunch grass at the corners to enclose the plant spirits who influence germination and growth. Finally, a mesa is an enclosed paquete of symbolically significant ingredients intended to satiate Pachamama's voracious appetite and "close her." This makes it possible to prevent the potential dangers (sickness of humans and animals, bad luck, failure) deriving from her exaggerated culinary openness. Elaborate incense rituals on mountaintops during gloria are meant to protect the family from sickness and the afflictions caused by demonic saxras until Christ returns to heaven allowing it "to close" once again and reestablish the boundaries required to keep the world in balance. Thus, while heaven and earth periodically strive to become open, human beings find in the ceremonial realm the appropriate elements to reduce this openness to a scale that can be controlled. It is interesting to note parallels with north coastal mesas of Peru where the ritual involves "opening" and then "closing" the mythical "accounts" of the mesa.

In contrasting mesas from rural and urban areas Fernández (1997, 209-223) delineates an evolution from ritual bundles of sacred objects to assemblages of miniaturized icons and species which render mesa rituals more feasible and practical. Paralleling the simplification of ritual paraphernalia, sacrificial bundles have become increasingly more complex internally due to the inclusion of new materials.

One ingredient, sugar, and the way it contrasts with a traditional substance, salt, illustrates the evolution of Aymara mesas. In an article in *Revista Andina,* Fernández (1994, 176) contrasts the rural *tinku* ("encounter") with the urban *taypi* ("center"):

> *The complementary character established between the "masculine" condiments (salt, chile peppers) and the "feminine" (sugar), the confrontation of which makes up the backbone of peasant Pachamama offerings, suffers an ostensible change in the case of urban mesas. The model by which one measures the articulation between the viands of the offering is not the characteristic reciprocity of the peasant tinku; rather it is the hegemonic competition of taypi. It is in the taypi where the opposed condiments of the urban mesas (sugar/salt, culture/nature, present/past, female/male) find a solid conciliation.*

The sweet ingredients in a paquete occupy an "axial disposition" dividing the offering into "four quarters" in accord with a "double system of orthonormal axes" which defines eight sectors (four of which accentuate the "corners," four at the cardinals). This "design" is filled in with the other ritual ingredients by means of a "system of concentric circles" manifesting as "a centripetal spiral" working from the periphery to the center. The external circle is composed of a ring of unspun wool (*k'isadas*) within which is placed coca, llama fat (*llamp'u*), sweets, powdered incense, copal, metal figurines (*chiwchis*), pampas cat fur (*titi*), alabaster figures (*mullu*), gold and silver papers, and, when called for, a llama fetus (Fernández 1994, 166). Rituals involve coca divination, aspersions of alcohol to "all the directions of space," invocations of three saints (Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santiago, "brothers" associated with mediating *Kinray Gloria* in Sucre per Martínez 1987, 58) and a final burning of the offering.

Taypi contrasts with the rural concepts of *chacha/warmi* (Harris 1985:18), reflecting the complementarity of male/female in family integration, and *yanantin* or that which is naturally paired (Platt 1980:164). Fernández (1994, 166) contends that this concept of perfect symmetry that ideally defines male/female relations seems to be giving way to the urban situation of *ch'ulla* (alone, without counterpart). The struggle to dominate the "center" affects the home life of indigenous city dwellers producing maladjustment in family life and competition between men and women. However, in spite of the diverse forms that mesas assume in response to the demands of varied contexts, the "logic of sacrifice" remains, to large extent, similar throughout the South. Human needs are formulated using the sensory code that the ceremonial ingredients facilitate by activating the reciprocity between humans and deities articulated in the offering.

Fernández (1997, 222) compares southern indigenous and northern mestizo mesas showing how the latter are not banquets for the deities; rather they are ceremonial combats or power struggles waged on behalf of victims of sorcery in the contest of good versus evil:

> *The "combat" of the North between supposedly equilibrated and threatening powers—whose activation, in the opinion of the maestros [shamans], depends to a large degree on envy—openly contrasts with the pertinent mesa formats of the South in which the culinary etiquette, the ceremonial banquet constitutes the appropriate form to realize the diverse treatments necessary to resolve human afflictions.*

Over time it will be interesting to see if combative elements are accentuated in Aymara mesas influenced by the competitive urban milieu—as it appears has been the case in north- coastal Peru.

Before turning to information from Chile, two detailed studies of despachos deserve special attention. First, the symbolic analysis a la Geertz (1973) and Turner (1973) of a Peruvian Aymara despacho bundle from Puno by Mayorga, Palacios, and Samaniego (1976) describes eight phases of the ceremony which are common—with minor variations—to most southern mesas:

1) t'inka to ask permission,
2) k'intu coca leaf reading,
3) preparation and censing of offering,
4) paqo asks for pardon at midnight,
5) burning of offering,
6) paqo asks for second pardon,
7) diagnosis of results of burning,
8) disposal of ashes.

Ritual paraphernalia are laid out in three sectors. On the left (from the shaman's perspective) from top to bottom are found, a lead moon, two flags, "silver paper", a "silver" bivalve shell, unspun wool, llama

fat, and sugar-cane alcohol; on the right, a lead sun, two flags, “golden” paper, a “golden” bivalve shell, woolen fibers, and wine.

The middle zone (chawpi), referred to by the authors as the “liminal” sector (Turner 1973) contains, a crucifix, a cluster of dried foods, a river snail shell, and two lead figurines of male/female couples. Borrowing concepts from Fuenzalida (1974), the authors relate mesa divisions and associated rituals to the austral movement of the sun from solstice to solstice and its relation to the intercardinal directions, i.e., the silvery left associated with the south and the west, the moon, night, darkness, and the past; the golden right associated with the north and east, the sun, day, light, and the present time period.

The ideas of Turner are again applied in analyzing the ritual process, i.e., a sacralization process up to midnight, a liminal state during the burning of the sacrifice, and desacralization beginning with divination and ending with the dispersal of ashes beyond the area of the mesa.

With regard to the spatial arrangement of the mesa, three oganizing principles made explicit in the authors’ analysis can be seen to be held in common—in varying degrees—with the drawings of other southern mesas reviewed by Fernández, as cited earlier. Also, we have seen that these same principles are operative, for the most part, in the organization of the mesas of the North. They are:

1) bilateral symmetry,
2) pairing,
3) complementary opposites.

The authors’ drawing of this depacho bundle from the Puno area of Peru is reproduced in Figure 4. Its patterning also replicates the Inca cosmogram from the Temple of the Sun in Cusco to be discussed in the section “Pachacuti-Yamqui’s Cosmogram.”

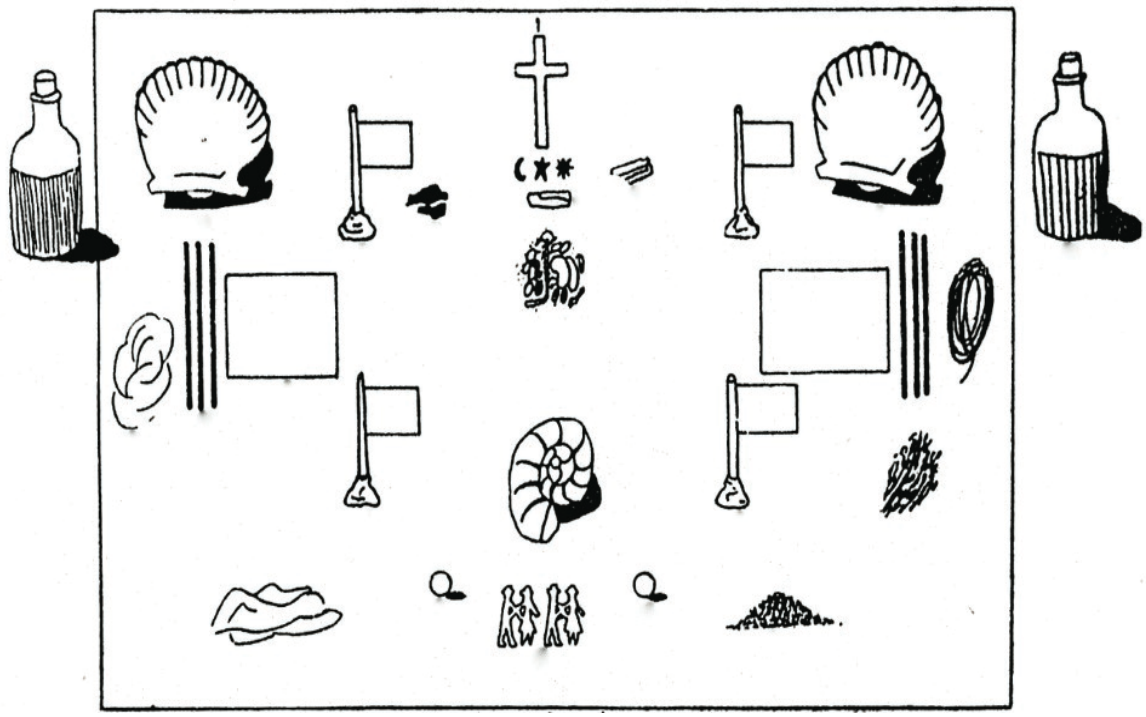


Figure 4. Aymara mesa, Puno (S. Mayorga, F. Palacios, and R. Samaniego 1976).

Raquel Ackerman (1991) analyzes ritual packets or “wrappings” as prepared for human and cattle despachos by a *mestiza* despacho-maker in Abancay (Peru). Although the cattle despacho is more complex than the one for humans, for the most part, they both have the same 30 ingredients and organization.

Packets are prepared in identical pairs using four “codes” (color, form, left-right opposition, metaphorical referents) and a syntax and meaning provided by the spatial position of each element in the layout. They have an inherent latent power activated by ritual contact with the person requesting the ceremony from a ritual specialist. This power derives from the order and combination of the packet’s ingredients. Balance among ingredients is extremely important since they must be in perfect harmony, which depends upon order, quantity, and quality.

Objects are arranged in strict order on rectangular pieces of newspaper overlaid with despacho paper of llama and silk threads. A central axis is first created, and objects are laid symmetrically along it to left and right. A combination of codes for color, form, and position creates a layout composed of two opposed extreme ends, male and female, mediated by a transitional zone in which each element partakes of male and female qualities in a scheme that progresses from hermaphroditic qualities on the lower end to male-female at the upper end. The transitional sector mediates the extremes along the central axis via sacred paraphernalia used in mediating between humans and spirits.

The fourth code complements the other three by expressing cosmological referents horizontally crossing the central axis, i.e., the celestial realm represented by the first level, the aquatic by the second, and the earth by the third horizontal layer. In the human despacho, the first two levels are dominated by water, clouds, rain, moon, sun, and stars which generate human food—represented on the third level—through the interplay of the seasons. In the cattle despacho, animal food is represented on the fourth level. Ackerman points out that food has a strong semantic content in Andean culture, not only as the source of sustenance, but also as the medium of expression for power, health, and social distance. Despachos often referred to as "dishes" constitute the main element of the diet of mountain deities.

Both the Ackerman and Samaniego et al. descriptions of despachos show remarkable similarities to the ordering and relationships expressed in Pachacuti-Yamqui's sixteenth-century depiction of Inca cosmology to be discussed later.

Turning now to northern Chile, in the 1930s in Chiu-Chiu Richard Latcham (1938, 61-63) learned that, when a family member was close to death, he or she was propped up in the mausoleum in front of a table laiden with food, drink, clothing, jewels, and personal belongings. Relatives gathered, and with weeping, dancing, and singing helped the person "to die well." Once dead, the corpse was left wrapped and seated on the table surrounded by the offerings. A year later, the sepulcher was opened to renew the offerings. In San Pedro de Atacama, the corpse was first buried in a Catholic grave. The next day, it was disinterred and carried to its home there the table rituals were performed. One to three days later it was re-buried.

María Esther Grebe (1996) delineates Atacameño cults and beliefs relating to the sidereal realm and spirits of nature. She indicates that, like the Aymara, these people use the "*mesa andina"* in a "symbolic spatial order" along with alcohol, coca, sugar, carob beer, and smoke from the aromatic *chacha* or *coba herb.* Rituals (tinkas or *convidos*) are offered by shamanic *cantales* (singers) to Pachamama*,* the mountains (*tata-mayllos* or *tata-cerros),* and subterrean water (*tata-putarajn)* on mountaintops or at unusual rock formations; for the ancestors (*tata-abuelos)* they are conducted at pre-Hispanic stone structures, using carob beer and coca. The "squared cross" related to the Southern Cross is the prototype for a wooden cross which is incinerated in the *cobero* or fire pit in rites honoring the mountains, earth, and water.

In the Araucanian region of southern Chile, similar to the function of the Andean mesa, the sacred ladder or symbolic tree (*rehue)* of the female shaman (*machi)* is the axis mundi for curing rituals. In her trance state induced through drumming she attains access to the three levels of the Mapuche cosmos to be described in the next section. In recent times there has been a progressive polarization of Mapuche cosmovision in accord with the good/evil dichotomy arising from the influence of Christianity (Bacigalupo 2001, 16).

Cosmologies

Alba Moya (1997, 196-198) delineates Sierra Quichua cosmovision as found in highland Ecuador. The Quichua have a binary view of the universe where everything has two constituent parts which are opposed and complementary, i.e., good and bad, hot and cold, male and female, up (*hanan)* and down (*urin)*. As well as being applied to the natural world, this conception is manifest in the socio-political realm with each community having hanan and urin neighborhoods and associated ritual obligations. Religious syncretism has occurred between Catholicism and the state religion of the sun imposed by the Incas. Thus, although *Inti Raymi* is a festival with Inca roots relating to the austral winter solstice, it also coincides with the ancestral celebrations of the harvest—one example of how the list of saints' days have allowed the Quichua and other ethnic groups of Ecuador to make their indigenous festivals coincide with those of the Catholic ritual calendar.

Michelle Wibbelsman (2009, 11-18) describes the contemporary Andean cosmology of Otavalo in northern Ecuador comprising four worlds or *pachas,* similar to Peruvian Quechua concepts*, Uku Pacha,* the human realm; *Jawa Pacha* occupied by saints, deities, and spirits; *Kay Pacha,* "this world" of Nature; and *Chayshuk Pacha* inhabited by the dead. In contrast to the three pachas of the Quechua view is the arrangement of these realms in concentric spheres around a vertical Andean cross (*Chakana)* and enveloped by *Pacha Mama.*

Polia (1988, 92) describes how Andean cosmology supports the curing beliefs and practices of the north-Peruvian highlands (Sierra de Piura), not only for healing but also in regard to the propitiation of the fertilizing rains essential to the reproduction of humans, plants, and animals:

> *The sacred lake as fountainhead (puquio), the brook, the cave, rock fissures are all considered to be places of communication with the World Below, the subterranean world called ukku pacha in Quechua. Life is produced by death in its incessant passage through the invisible world, from ukku pacha to the "world here," kay pacha, the world of visible experience…*
>
> *When life withdraws from the surface, it continues on, latent, pulsing in the viscera of the world from whence it re-manifests itself, surging forth as an emanation from the pakarinas, the places of the "dawn," the four mythic caves from which, in the beginning, humanity emerged and to which humans will return. Wind and hale originate in these caves, and rain is generated in the laps of the sacred lakes. The silent and potent effluvia emanating from the pakarinas can fecundate living beings and reproduce life in the "world Here."*
>
> *The mythical serpent, the Amaru, emerges from the bosom of the waters in which it is hidden. It is known as the mother of the waters from which it emerges headed for the "Upper World," toward heaven. From there the Amaru returns to earth represented in the zig-zagging of the lightning which accompanies the rain.*
>
> *Between the three "worlds"—or zones of the universe—there is an incessant circulation of energy. The curandero, in order to produce rain, must seize control of the very energy of the water, of the "fertilizing virtue" (imaymana) which is found hidden in the sacred lakes. The mother of all the waters, Mamayacu, must be captured in the cup controlled by the collective power of the maestro [curandero] and his artes [power objects of his mesa].*

In the section on mesas, we summarized Polia' s analysis of the three "fields" of microcosmic altars of the North which is confirmed by German anthropologist Claudius Giese's (1989, 148-157) descriptions of the three fields of a Chiclayo curandero as well as their correlation with the three levels (pachas) of the Andean cosmos. Elsewhere Polia (1995,1996:II, 433-468) has demonstrated how northern mesas express all of the features of Andean cosmology, especially balanced dualism or the complementarity of opposites (male/female, left/right, nature/culture, light/dark, up/down, pagan/christian, hot/cold, visible/invisible) as well as the indigenous space-time continuum (pacha). He notes the significance of the ritual phrases "half world" and "whole world" where the latter contrasts with the former by containing all the upper and lower cosmic zones, the visible and invisible aspects of life, and the two times (past and present) of the world (Polia 1996:II, 454-455). These two contrasting worlds come together in the central "field" of the mesa where the curandero's *"visión"* is expressed,

> *It is visión where the "artifacts" making up the "altar" cease to be material objects charged with a symbolism expressed in outer forms, becoming transformed into hierophanies or visible manifestations of the spiritual entities of the mythical Andean world. The symbol passes from the visual to the visionary; it no longer needs to be explained since it explains itself. Material reality is revealed to be the "half world," bodies/props for the shaman's auxiliary spirits, his "compacts." The mesa itself is transformed from an image and symbolic compendium of the world into an active microcosmos where all the forces that make up the other half of the world are present. The two worlds are united to manifest the reality of the "whole world", the unity of being, the dynamic of which is perceived through the play of distinct but complementary forces (Polia, 1996:II, 463).*

Of particular importance regarding the cosmology of the Sierra de Piura is the work *Dioses y Oratorios Andinos de Huancabamba* by Sabino Arroyo Aguilar (2004). He delineates the sacred geography of four powerful mountains oriented to the cardinal directions framing this famous pilgrimage region of purifying lagoons in the north- Peruvian highlands correlating them with local curandero lore and rituals (see Diagram 1, page 75, "Spacial Duality and Complementarity of the Divinities").

In the northern highlands of the Cajamarca Region, working with children's drawings, Ana de la Torre (1986, Láminas 3 and 4) describes the three worlds (*mundoqa*) of the indigenous cosmos of the bilingual community of Kilish. The binary hot/cold pair, Rupay (Sun)/Quella-Evan (Moon) travel above and below the "present world" of distinctions, which has emerged from the chaos and indistinction of the "ancient times" (*tiempos viejakuna*). This world and the other two ("the other world" and the "dark subterranean world") are animated by the interaction of Amito/Yaya (Father) of the zenith and Shapi (Devil) of the nadir. On the north coast Gálvez (2014) documents how the Carrión mesa—in

addition to three horizontal "fields"--is vertically conceptualized as expressing the three levels of the indigenous cosmos.

The work of Juan Nuñez del Prado (1970) in the town of Qotobamba and of Juvenal Casaverde (1970) in Kuyo Grande—both in the vicinity of Cusco—has done much to clarify our knowledge of Quechua concepts regarding the supernatural. The universe is believed to be divided into three major realms:

Hanan Pacha (Upper World). This is a region of plenty inhabited by God, Christ, the Virgin Mary, the saints, and the spirits of the dead who have led good lives on earth. Human beings can reach it only after death. They arrive by crossing a river, *jordan mayu*, on the back of a dog. Once there, they live and work just as they did on earth, except that everything is abundant and free of strife. The spirits of children cultivate gardens of flowers for God; un-baptized children go to a section called Limpu (Limbo). Animal spirits go to Animal Towns.

Kay Pacha (This World). On this level is the earth, a hierarchy of mountain spirits (apus, auquis), evil spirits, man, animals, plants, and objects. Some informants describe it as a flat platform supported by four columns that rest on the world below. Others say it is like a bowl floating on the ocean. Another version describes it as a top floating in space with man occupying the upper portion and the inhabitants of the Inner World on the lower level.

Uku Pacha (Inner World). The Underworld, or Inner Earth, is inhabited by little people whose activities are similar to those of the people in the world above them. When it is day on the earth it is night in the world below, and vice-versa. Sometimes this region is identified as the Hell of Catholicism, the domain of the Supay (Devil), which is reached through the craters of volcanoes.

The sun is considered to be masculine and is married to the moon. When it sets on This World, it passes through the firmament of the Inner World. Lightning, the sponsor of shamans is male and has two brothers, Snow and Hail. Another atmospheric phenomenon, the Rainbow, is a malevolent being inhabiting springs in the form of colored threads that are spun in the sky after it rains. Springs, rainbows, and malignant winds all cause supernatural ailments that are treated by shamans.

Roal and Pachamama: According to Nuñez del Prado (1970, 69), Quechua cosmology is structured around two principal deities, Roal and Pachamana. "The former is the creator spirit *(camac*) who occupies the top of the hierarchy, while the latter permeates the system from top to bottom, being linked with femininity and fertility." Roal "governs the forces of nature and maintains their equilibrium" (Nuñez del Prado 1970, 71), assigning supervision of specialized activities to the mountain spirits of lesser rank, the apus and aukis, who originated from him. Nuñez del Prado feels that Pachamama, who predominates in agriculture, may "have a position similar to Roal, since her powers are not subject to him nor have they been delegated by him as in the case of the great apus. She may well be, rather, a being of pan-earthly powers who intervenes as the feminine factor in the origin of things" (Nuñez del Prado 1970, 73).

Although the system exhibits a degree of syncretism with Christianity, for the most part, "there is a clear dividing line between the native structure and the coexistent one, since the native specialists cannot establish contact with or propitiate the Occidental deities and, equally, the priest who propitiates the latter cannot communicate with the native supernatural beings" (Nuñez del Prado 1970, 116).

Wamanis. Research in the Ayacucho region of Southern Peru complements the information from Cusco. Here the mountain spirits are called Wamanis. Billie Jean Isbell (1976) gives an idea of the spirits occupying the three levels of the Quechua universe through the innovative use of children's drawings collected in the village of Chuschi. At the top of the Upper World is the Sun, with his wife, the Moon, to his left (a spatial relationship recognized by men and women of the community in all ritual interaction). Below the Sun and Moon are two stars called Grandfather and Grandmother—Venus of the morning and Venus of the evening, respectively. The Wamanis, who live in gold and silver homes inside the mountains, manifest as condors, men, crosses, or mountain peaks from which flow irrigation canals. They are the owners of all animals and give shelter to the leader of the herds, a four-horned sheep called the Inca, and to the progenitor of the sheep, a bisexual animal called the Wari (or Mari). The Underworld, which is reached through springs (*puqyos*), is inhabited by the dangerous non-Christian ancestors (gentiles) a supernatural cat (the *ccoa* of the Cusco region), and a hairy snake known as the Amaru, who occasionally has two heads. This lower world also nurtures a special tree called *mallqui.*

A fine monograph by Ulpiano Quispe (1969), dealing with mesa rituals for livestock in the communities of Choque Huarcaya and Huancasancos in the Ayacucho region,

supplements the work of Isbell. Quispe (1969, 102-103) offers an explanation of the relation between the native deities who are propitiated, the Wamanis, Pachamama, and Amaru. The Wamanis are associated with the mountains, the highland pastures, the sky, livestock, and man. Pachamama is associated with the earth, agriculture, and woman. Thus there is an opposition between these two divinities. But they are related to each other through the mediation of the Amaru, who inhabits the springs and lagoons of the high pastures. From there he circulates to the valleys through streams and irrigation canals, for his principal element is water. Offerings from mesa rituals are deposited in the springs found at the foot of the mountains in the high country. Then the Amaru emerges from the Underworld to sweep the gifts of man down to the valley below. In this fashion the Wamanis (sky) communicate with Pachamama (earth) through the mediation of the Amaru (water). Once again, we find a basic dualism ubderlying Quechua religious ideology. But, as in the case of mesas in the North, it is a “mediated” dualism in which complementary opposites are brought together in a life-sustaining interation. Valderrama and Escalante (1988) document a similar cosmology in the Colca Valley.

In a seminal article ("Andean Music, Symbolic Dualism and Cosmology") based on fieldwork in Bolivia and a review of the literature, German musicologist Max Peter Baumann (1996) has developed an insightful depiction of Quechua and Aymara cosmologies. In this worldview, all creation manifests the primary principle of polar opposites. In the vertical order, above *(hanan pacha)* is masculine, below (*uju pacha*) is feminine, e.g., the complementary pair of Father Sun *(inti)* and Mother Moon *(killa).* There are masculine and feminine stars, such as the masculine morning star *(achachi ururi)* and the feminine evening star *(apachi ururi)* (Harrison 1989, 66). In the horizontal order, the earth’s surface *(kay pacha)*—between heaven and the underworld—is segmented into the masculine mountain chains (Wamanis, Apus, and Cerros) and the female plains (Pampas) (Earls and Silverblatt 1978, 319) inhabited by the human pair of man and woman *(qahri, warmi).* Ocean water is feminine, but the earth-fertilizing rain from above is not. Finally, the dark Below (uju pacha) is animated by the chthonic forces of Father and Mother Earth (Pachatata and Pachamama) who also inhabit the inner earth in mountain mines where they are known by the community as Tío and Tía (Arnold 1986, 2, 7).

Complementing the spacial dimension, past, present and future time refer to each other forming a whole, all-encompassing cosmos, *"pacha."* In a narrow sense, this term means earth including space, time, history, world; in a broader sense, cosmos. In its spatial and temporal aspects it expresses the inner connectedness of the whole on all levels of existence (Baumann 1996, 25).

A contemporary reinterpretation of the pacha space-time concept is found in a mandala-like representation of the annual calendar. Each of the four cardinal directions of the horizontal earth plane represents one of the four parts of the Inca Empire *(tawantinsuyu).* Each quarter is in turn divided at the next hierarchical level into complementary halves on the left and right sides or the upper and lower halves of the emblem. The halves are connected to form a complementary male-female pair. The entire unit opens up three-dimensionally for the observer as a view from above as well as from the front (Baumann 1996, 25-26).

The *mama* in Pachamama, refers to the "earth below" and specifies the female aspects of being, procreation, growth, and decay whereas Tatapacha or Taytacha (also Tayta Orqo, Apu, or Wamani) referring to the mountain landscape designates the male attributes to fertilize, organize, and destroy. Together they constitute the timeless characteristics of the earth, which form all existence and manifest in a multiplicity of polar opposites. These principles have predominated over the centuries, syncretizing with Christian images since the conquest. In its maternal aspect, timelessness manifests in a concrete fashion in the realm of history. In the process of historical superimposition Pachamama is reborn as Mother God (Mamita) or as the Virgin Mary *(wirjin, ñusta),* repeatedly celebrated in the annual *fiesta* cycle as an expression of a time-spanning principle of fertility and growth. Thus the numerous "Marias" emphasize local aspects of time and space and of the general female principle underlying them. However, in addition to the feminine principle of effect there also exists the masculine principle of cause. In their complementarity, both polar forces complete each other, creatively assuring the persistence of all that exists. This is particularly true of "this world" of humanity, which emerges from the encounter between the "world above" and the "world below."

Pachatata is the male counterpart in this complementary relationship, the active force interacting with the receptive Pachamama. Syncretized with Christian symbolism is Tata Krus (Father Cross), a concrete manifestation of the masculine principle in the form of Christ. The major fiestas of the dry season such as Santa Vera Cruz (May 3rd) and Corpus Christi (May-June), as well as others honoring such masculine saints as Tata San Juan, Tata Santiago, or Tata Agustín, are embedded

in local versions of the Pachatata cult. Maria and Christ are similarly raised to the level of a deity pair of the earthly numina (Baumann 1996, 26-27).

Tata Inti (Sun) of the Incas has been reinterpreted by "Christianized" peasants as Tata Santísimu (Holy Father), with Mama Killa (moon) becoming Mama Santísima (Holy Mother) (Platt 1976, 22). However, all principles represent the same basic, historically developed symbolic dualism which applies to all forms of existence, i.e., human, animal, plant, ancestral, with each ritually sub-divided into polar pairs (Andritzky 1989, 265). For example, in the plant kingdom, the potato—a tuberous root of the dark earth—expresses the feminine principle while corn—growing above ground towards the sun—expresses the masculine. However, potatoes are also sub-divided by ritual names into male and female forms, e.g., *jach'a mallku* and *imill t'alla* (van den Berg 1990, 129).

Mountains *(tata, apu, machula, achachila, wamani, mallku)* contain the life-giving principle as manifest in consecrated peaks contrasting with the feminine energies of the valleys *(awacha, awila, mamita, t'alla, pampa).* Names of deities or saints are categorized in accord with these local power centers. They are invoked on special occasions, with dancing, music, and ritual offered in thanks for a good harvest or to request a fertile year (Baumann 1996, 28).

Baumann (1996, 28-29) emphasizes that "Pachamama and Pachatata embody in a diversity of symbolic forms and variations the basic structure of Andean thinking…personifying themselves in further sub-aspects at smaller levels *(lugarniyoj).*" He uses a specific example from the Chipayas where Sajama, the male mountain deity is invoked to provide the water necessary for life in fertilizing the female principle of the fields, Mother Earth. Holy places *(wakas)* are integrated with the mountain peaks *(jurq'u*), having their counterparts in the feminine water holes (*warmi jurq'u)* from which spring water flows (Platt 1976, 22). According to an old folktale, the sun people are the progeny of the mountain Illampu and Lake Titicaca (Baumann 1996, 28-29).

Humans inhabit this dualistic cosmos in kay pacha between earth and sky. They have developed two major methods of communicating with the supernatural. First there is the wise man—*yachaj* in Quechua, *yatiri* in Aymara—who knowingly functions as an intermediary, connecting humans and the deities through prayer, songs, and ritual. Then there are the collectively celebrated musical rituals and indigenous fiestas which create, by gestures of respect and ritual offerings, a bridge between sacred and profane, above and below, growth and decay, Pachamama/Wirjin Maria and Pachatata/Tata Krus. These collective celebrations are called *tinku* or *tinka* (Spanish, *encuentro*). They include fertility rites, weddings, processions, and a variety of festivals, some showing Christian influence. Among the Quechuas, the tinku sometimes takes the form of a mock battle between two opposing groups. The tinka of the Aymara is also a meeting of contrasting groups, but it may be a peaceful event. Tinku represents a unity of complementary parts. It is a symbolic union expressing a bond of cohesion, distinction, and reciprocity, which represents a third whole unit formed through an interlocking principle and emanating power, energy, and reproduction (Baumann 1996, 29).

Baumann (1996, 30-52) demonstrates how this dualistic cosmology manifests in the *ira-arka* (male-female) pairing of panpipe ensembles and its expression in tinku-fiestas as well as pre-Hispanic iconography. He summarizes as follows,

> *(T)he uniting concept of ira (male) and arka (female) is based upon a symbolic dualism and its further division into quarters. Everything is tightly bound up with the anthropomorphic world view of the Andean cultures. According to this cosmology, everything that exists develops out of its two complementary opposites. Everything is originally rooted in a physical metaphor of the individual, of the pair, and of the interrelationships that are themselves derived, in pairs, from the original pair. The feminine and masculine elements are each opposite power poles complementing each other and belonging together like death and life. Al1 that exists shows both characteristics as aspects of a unit that belongs together. The acts of becoming and persisting in continuity define themselves through energetic tension and in the creative interchange of two basic polar energies. The proportion of one in relation to the other changes in the course of existence. "In the Andes one can understand almost everything as the collaboration of its opposites" (Duviols 1974). In addition, Bastien's research describes how the macrocosm of the Andean mountain chain is reflected symbolically in the microcosm of the human body, and vice versa. Symbolic dualism is a metaphorical way of thinking that interprets the reality of the individual, of the society, of the life cycles, of the entire universe on the basis of two opposite powers which nonetheless belong together (Baumann 1997, 54).*

Bolivian philosopher Blithz Lozada (2007) surveys the ethnographic literature relating to Andean

cosmovision, history, and politics. In a chapter (Lozada 2007, 103-116) dealing with the indigenous model of the three pachas (space-time) he outlines the pre-Hispanic precedents for triadic divisions in Inca society delineated by Zuidema (1977), i.e., a) *collana* (principal), *payan* (secondary), and *cayao* (base); b) *capac* (royal), *hatun* (great), and *huchuy* (small); and c) *allauca* (right), *chaupi* (center), and *ichoc* (left). He points out that Urbano (1986) affirms the triadic categorization of reality in pre-Hispanic culture, demonstrating that the Ayar cycle of Inca mythic origins initially was articulated in three symbolic components, referencing the three windows of Pacaritambo and the three pre-Inca *ayllus* (kinship groupings). The Catholic imposition of a tripartite universe was easily achieved given that the triadic principle was so prevalent in the Andes. However, Lozada (2007, 103) points out that Urbano (1976) also recognizes that the adoption of the rigidly delineated three-tiered universe implied a major alteration of the basic concepts of the Andean traditional imagination.

In his review of the ethnographic record Lozada (2007, 105-116) demonstrates a prevalent ambiguity of the deities inhabiting the Andean cosmos with regard to their locations, functions, symbolism, and relevance to daily life. For example, Hans van den Berg (1990) contends that the Aymara terms *alax pacha, aca pacha*, and *manqha pacha* are neologisms introduced by the sixteenth-century evangelists. However, today, among scholars, there is no clear consensus on how these names of the three worlds should be written, which is the same situation that one encounters in the literature on Quechua ethnography. Lozada (2007, 105-110) provides a graphic example from the ethnography of the Aymara of Tarapaca, Chile where trwo scholars (van Kessel and Grebe) working with these people at the same time came up with different spellings for these terms as well as divergent documentation of their cosmology.

Jan van Kessel (1992) indicates that in each “world” there are forces that govern and maintain equibrium within their own domains. The world above represents the Creation and order in an ideal cosmos inhabited by Catholic entities (God, the Virgin, and the Saints) as well as Andean numina (the Sun and Viracocha). Inversely, the world below represents chaos as maintained by the forces of destruction and disorder inhabited by demons and the “condemned” (*condenados).* In the middle of this opposition is the cultural world of natural forces influences by the *mallku,* the *Amaru,* and *Pachamama.* The mallku, represented by water, evokes the top of *aka pacha* associated with the mountains and condors and is the origin of vital force, the principle of culture. The amaru is the force of aka pacha related to rivers, serpents, and fish representing the subterraean flow of the vital force of the mountains. In the middle is Pachamama, Earth Mother, facilitating the flow of water associated with the puma, lizard, and toad. Each world is associated with specific cults and ritual specialists.

Maria Esther Grebe’s (1990) interpretation of Tarapaca Aymara cosmology varies from van Kessel’s. In Grebe’s depiction Pachamama is not found in aka pacha; she performs the function of linking the middle world (*taypi pacha*) with the lower world (*manqha pacha*). The puma, lizard, and toad—which van Kessel locates in the middle—are found below. The condor, serpent, and fish are positioned differently, and Grebe describes the upper world as more heavily populated than is the case with van Kessel. She also divides the three worlds into profane and sacred categories resulting in six scenarios that flow from the combination of hanan (upper) and hurin (lower) with the collana/payan/cayao triad identified by Zuidema (1977).

Bouysse-Cassagne and Harris (1987) indicate that the ancient Aymara term pacha did not have the abstract sense of undifferentiated universality and eternity imputed to it by Christian missionaries. Rather, in terms of space, the word implied a composition or coming together of equalized but contrary elements while, in terms of time, it referred to delineated epochs of specific duration. In order to understand how the Aymara classify and situate themselves in the world today, the authors begin by analyzing ancient Qolla mythology regarding the three ages of the world.

The majority of the colonial chroniclers associated the first of the three ages with the island of Titicaca, or Tiwanaku, the Aymara name for which, *Taypi Qala*, means central stone. The culture hero of this epoch is Tunupa, a celestial deity related to lightning, fire, and volcanic eruptions. His archetypal activities are linked to the aquatic northwest-southeast axis of the Qolla (Río Azangaro, Lake Titicaca, Desaguadero, Lake Poopó), which divided Qolla territory into two ethnic and ecological sectors, Umasuyu and Urcosuyu. The archaic aquatic cults of the lacustrine Uru and Pukina are probably cultural vestiges of this age, when Tunupa is seduced by female fish numen at Copacabana, dies in Titicaca, and disappears into the subterranean water (o*ma*) of the Desaguadero. Also, at Titicaca, the first people are created and sent underground to emerge from hills, springs, tree trunks, etc. In effect, it is a time that manifests in two phases and two spaces passing from a state of concentration in taypi as a primordial

center or potential cosmos to a state of diversity and multiplicity manifest in pacarinas of origin and ancestral huacas.

The second age of *puruma* is a dark time when Tunupa reappears to banish the uncivilized female *hapiñuños* to the high puna country. In contrast with the watery Umasuyu of taypi now the symbolic associations are with mountainous Urcosuyu and the hunting existence of the wild *chuquila* peoples of the 16th century, considered to be shamanic guardians of the cult of the huacas and the dead in the liminal interface between earth and sky.

Bouysse-Cassagne and Harris (1987, 27) describe the conceptual relation between puruma and taypi in the following manner,

> *The world in which we live is a space characterized by centrifugal forces which reach their maximum concentration in taypi and their maximum diffusion at the edges of life and death, the civilized and the savage. In discussing Tunupa, we have defined taypi as the place of seduction on the part of feminine aquatic elements and the liminal mountains as the place of repulsion of the ancient female deities. These borders are ambiguous, they can counter, stop, twist the movement which wells up from taypi. In taypi, the union of opposed entities is produced, masculine, volcanic taypi is united with the fish women; Urcosuyu, masculine and mountainous, is coupled with Umasuyu, feminine and aquatic. The contrary and extreme forces of puruma, operating at the edges, divide what normally is singular, they part the lips, engender twins, double ears of corn, and generally form symmetrical pairs.*

The third age, *awqa pacha* or *pacha kuti*, is a "time of war" between people and things which mutually reject or annul each other—in contrast to the concept of *yanantin* referring to things that always occur together, such as eyes, hands, gloves, shoes, etc. However, the central or mediating position of taypí allows it to reduce the confrontation between two awqa thus facilitating the union of contraries. Tinku ("equilibrating encounter")—as manifest in the bringing together in ritual battle of the upper and lower halves of a community as well as the male and female partners in a marriage—is one conceptual mechanism by which resolution may be achieved. Another is expressed in the terms *kuti* ("turning around," "change") and *ayni* ("reciprocal exchange"), two reiterating alternations. Ayni, reciprocal exchange of work or goods, includes an initial disequilibrium between two parties; in the first phase one gives and the other receives, but then the situation is inverted. Kuti, on the other hand, occurs during a solstice, when increasing day or night inverts to a waning state, which contrasts with the tinku of the equinoxes when day and night are equal. A pacha kuti involves the revolutionary turning of an entire world or epoch, which contrasts with the Christian concept of "final judgment." For the Aymara a pacha kuti is like turning an outstretched hand so that the reversed part that was below ends up on top.

Bouysse-Cassagne and Harris (1987, 35-56) continue their review of Aymara thinking and world view by analyzing contemporary ideas regarding the three domains of the cosmos, the *alax pacha* (heaven) of the saints and God, *aka pacha* (earth), and *manqha pacha* (hell) inhabited by the "devils." They start by contrasting the Manichaean derived Christian moral notion of a one-to-one correspondence between heaven and hell, on the one hand, and good and evil on the other. Aymara ethical and social thinking is much more ambiguous and does not place all good numen in heaven or see hell as the exclusive domain of evil. Although there are forces and beings which seek to harm others, often they are also sources of prosperity and are designated by the term *wak'a*, which, although it can be translated as "devil," has the additional meaning of "sacred."

The word most commonly used in the Andes to designate the devil is *supay* (*supaya* in Aymara). However, the authors cite linguist Gerard Taylor's (1980) study which shows that in the ancient Andean cultures the term referred to the souls of the dead, which were the subject of the cult of the dead, identified by Christian apologists as diabolic and nefarious. The contemporary linguistic derivation of both words, wak'a and supay, points to a religious politic to extirpate the ancient cults. However, identifying them with Satan did not eradicate them. Instead, it relocated them in a clandestine, internal context which radically changed the character of the Christian devil. In fact, another word used for devil is *saxra*, which although translated as "evil," has a connotation of "clandestine" alluding to its secret nature. Even the word manqha (below) has a metaphoric sense of secret and hidden. Thus, unlike the Christian hell, manqha pacha is not a realm separated from our world; rather, it is the secret, hidden part of our world. Its appropriate time is dusk, its power ambiguous. All of the individual devils of this domain are characterized by their power to perfrom good or evil and their attitude toward their devotees is driven by "hunger," not moral precepts. They need to eat, and if human offerings are insufficient, they are capable of "eating" people. Their relationship with mortals is based on reciprocity and mutual dependence, but their behavior is not

always predictible, nor is their benevolence automatic. They constitute a wild, unsocialized force which is not totally controllable, bringing to mind the puruma of the ancients, the edges of the social world inhabited by powerful, savage energies.

Regarding the dead, although the Aymara distinguish Christian souls from the ancient spirits or *chullpa jaqi*, nonetheless, there is considerable ambiguity concerning the role that both play in facilitating agricultural fertility. This situtation is most apparent during the rainy season period from germination to first fruits framed by Todos Santos in November—which initiates the time when the dead are honored, just as they were in pre-Hispanic times—and Carnaval in February, a "time of play" and danger when the corps are maturing and the dead, disguised as devils, return to the interior world below. Among the recent dead are found the *condenados*—criminals and delinquents feared as much in pre-Hispanic times as today—often associated with the malevolent *anchanchu* and *lari lari*. All of the dead, in some sense, have an earthy and "diabolic" nature, associated as they are with water and the underworld and serving as mediators between civilized society and the liminal world of savage forces resulting from their close relationships with agriculture. The relationship between the upper and lower pachas is illustrated by contrasting pairs as follows:

Manqha Pacha	Alax Pacha
Interior, clandestine, generative	Exterior, in the open, orderly
Devils (Anchanchu, Lari Lari, etc.)	Saints, Mamitas
Tío	God/Sun
Pachamama, wife of Tío	Moon, wife of the Sun
Pachamama, wife of the Achachilas	Pachamama/Wirjina, wife of the Sun
12 Achachilas/Mallkus	12 "Miracles" (Guardian Saints)
Meteorological forces	Solar and Lunar calendar
Lightning (Ekelo, Illa)	Santiago, Santa Bárbara
Lightning shaman (Ch'amakani)	Catholic priest
Mesa of blood (wild mint)	Misa of bread and wine (incense)
Absence of salt	Presence of salt
Unbaptized children	Baptized children
Dawn/Dusk	Daylight
Chullpa (ancient burial tower)	Church bell tower

At first sight these upper and lower worlds appear strongly influenced by Christian concepts regarding the categorical opposition between heaven and hell, good and evil. According to this view, saints and devils are contrary, like grace and sin. In Aymara terms, they are seen as *awqa*, entities or things that are constantly at war and cannot come together, like night and day.

However, upon closer inspection, there are a number of ways in which the two pachas come together and are equilibrated. For example, a ritual described by Rodolfo Kusch (1972) illustrates one way in which this can happen. He describes the dedication ceremony for a new truck in the Eucaliptus region in the Department of Oruro (Bolivia). The place where the ritual takes place includes a cross dedicated to Gloria and the Virgin Mary as well as a stone cairn consecrated to the anchanchu, associated in this region with meteorological forces and minerals. Three mesas are prepared, one with Christian elements for Gloria; a second with opposed elements making up a mesa negra for the anchanchu; and a third, similar to the second, placed inside the truck on the driver's seat. The first two clearly reflect the opposition between alax pacha and manqha pacha while the third represents aka pacha, the earth inhabited by human workers like the truck driver. It is pointed out that, if the mesa for the driver appears "diabolic," it is probably because the very nature of the truck shows an affinity for the forces of the lower world. Not only does it cross borders between different groups, but its purpose is to seek riches on its journeys.

To close this summary of Andean cosmologies we turn to the work in Southern Chile of Ana Mariella Bacigalupo (2001, 16-26) who delineates the three levels of the Mapuche cosmos, *Wenu Mapu*, the spiritual realm of goodness inhabited by the deities, ancestors *pullum* (sacred elemental qualities), and positive spirits associated with the sun, moon, stars, rainbow, lightning, and thunder as well as the colors white, yellow, and blue; *Munche Mapu,* the evil realm of negative spirits associated with whirlwinds, volcanoes, and the colors red and black; and *Mapu,* the human terrestial realm associated with the colors green and red where good and evil, health and sickness, the familiar and the foreign coexist and confront each other. *Mapu* , in turn, is divided into four parts correlated with the cardinal directions (*Meli Witran Mapu*), East, where the sun rises, with a benevolent connotation associated with white, fertility, abundance, good crops, and positive deities and spirits; the positive South where the Mapuche live and work amidst the confrontation between good and evil associated with health, good luck, work, and the color blue; the negative West, direction of the

ocean where earthquakes originate associated with rain, snow, death, evil spirits and the color black; and the negative North, the direction from which the invading Incas and Spaniards brought sickness and plague associated with rain, frost, and bad luck.

A major traditional notion is that the universe is organized on the basis of dichotomies in which different elements are contrasted in complementary pairs associated with left and right. The right correlates with life, a good heart, East, good healers, and the ancestors while the left correlates with death, a crazy head, West, evil spirits, and outsiders. Mapuche deities are organized in four major and four minor groupings. The pantheon is headed by *Ngunechen* or *Chau Dios* and is divided into four parts headed by an old man and woman and a young couple frequently associated with God, Mary and Jesus, and local saints and virgins.

Quechua and Inca Cosmology

In a landmark study of the community of Misminay near Cusco, American anthropologist Gary Urton (1982) has produced comprehensive documentation of Quechua stellar cosmology. In this system the Milky Way is considered to be a celestial river (*Mayu*) actively involved in the earth's hydrological cycle. The earth is like "an orange floating in a bowl of water" and surrounded by the cosmic ocean (*Mar*). Every 24 hours the Milky Way's intercardinal north-south axis tilts back and forth, tracing a cross through the zenith of the night sky. The resulting cuadripartition of the sky correlates with the same quartering of the terrestial plane, oriented to four sacred mountains and anchored by the chapel (*Crucero* or "cross") at the conjunction of the intercardinal footpaths and irrigation canals in the center of Misminay. The two solsticial/seasonal rising and setting points of the sun and Milky Way are seen as mirror images of one another as are the Milky Way and the Vilcanota River, the celestial and terrestial axes, respectively, being associated with the movement of water. For example, on the earth, the Vilcanota flows roughly from southeast to northwest (at night, in the underworld, it apparently provides the course for the sun's movement underground from west to east); in the sky, it is believed that terrestial water enters the celestial river from the cosmic ocean below the horizon in the north (or, in an alternative version, from a northern cosmic mountain), flowing southward to return to the earth in the form of rain, which is captured in community reservoirs and recirculated northward through the irrigation canals.

The center or midpoint of the Milky Way is considered to be located near the Southern Cross, i.e., Alpha and Beta Centauri the eyes of the black celestial llama or *Yaqana,* since this area separates the hemispheres of the River, i.e., rising eastern half from setting western half, with respect to the unmarked south celestial pole. One informant in Misminay even described the region of the Southern Cross as the center of the Mayu because it is the point where two celestial rivers collide. According to this theory, two Mayus have a common point or center of origin in the north from which they flow in opposite directions—one in the underworld—colliding in the southern Milky Way near the Southern Cross. The bright stellar clouds in this region represent the "foam" (*posuqu*) resulting from this collision whereas the "dark cloud" constellations of interstellar dust represent animals related to fertility of crops and herds, i.e., serpent, toad, partridge, llama, and fox, which predominate in the night sky during the rainy season, rising and setting around Salcantay, one of the principal Apus of the Cusco area.

Urton (1982, 201-202) discusses the ethnohistorical continuity of contemporary Quechua cosmology with that of Inca times. He suggests that one of the lines of the four *suyus* (quarters) of the Cuzco *ceque* (line) system radiating southeast from the Temple of the Sun and separating Cuntisuyu from Collasuyu was related to an intercardinal Milky Way orientation, i.e., the horizon rising point of the Southern Cross where the Milky Way falls nearest to and revolves around the unmarked south celestial pole. This is the southern limit of the movement of the celestial waters of the Mayu, which, in turn, suggests that the southeast-northwest line was an important cosmological axis in Incaic Cuzco.

Urton (1982, 201-202) refers to the work of early colonial-period chronicler Cristobal de Molina for ethnohistorical confirmation of the SE-NW axis in Inca cosmology. Molina describes an annual June solstice pilgrimage made by Inca priests southeast from Cusco to the temple of Vilcanota (contemporary La Raya at the source of the Vilcanota), where, in Inca mythology, the sun was believed to have been born. Once there, the priests reversed their direction, returning to Cusco by walking northwestward along the Vilcanota River. Urton proposes that the route to the southeast was "equivalent to a walk along the Milky Way to the point of terminus and origin of the universe" whereas the return to Cusco along the Vilcanota River from the temple of Vilcanota, place of origin of the sun, amounted to "an annual ritual of regeneration of the Inca [=Sun] and a reincorporation of the sun into the ritual, calendrical, and cosmological organization of the empire" as well as a reenactment of the journey of Viracocha ("sea fat" or "sea foam") out of Lake Titicaca, across the sky, and into the sea at Manta, Ecuador.

From the point of view of Cusco, Viracocha traveled from the southeast to the northwest, the orientation of the Vilcanota River and one of the two principal axes of the Milky Way. The SW-NE axis was possibly demarcated by the alignment of four sun temples near Cusco (Makowski 2001, 94-95). Urton (1982, 202) proposes that Viracocha was equated with these two cosmic rivers which are connected at the edge of the earth. The ethnographic information from Misminay shows that this is the place where the terrestial waters are taken up and circulated by the Milky Way whereas the 17th-century chronicle of Bernabé Cobo (1964, 160) confirms the belief in this same process in the early colonial period. The cosmological drawing of the native chronicler Pachacuti-Yamqui (1613) seems to provide additional support for the equivalence of Viracocha and the Milky Way. Dominating the upper central section of the drawing, Pachacuti has drawn an ellipse or ovaloid disc symbolizing Viracocha. Directly below it is the Southern Cross or, perhaps more correctly, two intersecting lines or axes (Urton 1982, 132). Urton sees this symbolic image of Viracocha as representing the ellipse of the Milky Way and its terrestial reflection, the Vilcanota River.

Ethnographic data from Tomanga in the Central Andes supports this interpretation. In February, during the cleaning of the irrigation canals, a large altar or mesa of arched boughs covered with a white construction of linked ovals is built in the plaza. The arch is called pusuqu ("foam"), the name also given to oval objects placed on the four altars dedicated to the four irrigation canals. Urton points out that pusuqu is the term used in Misminay to describe the "foam" resulting from the collision of the two rivers of the Milky Way which originate in the north and collide in the south near the Southern Cross. Thus, the same term is used for the foam resulting from the union of celestial rivers (Misminay) and the arch and oval symbolizing the unification of terrestial rivers (Tomanga). Therefore, union and foam can be symbolized by the arch, the oval, or the ellipse (Pachacuti's Viracocha). It is interesting to note that foam and moving water are cognate in Andean symbolism with fertilizing semen (Urton 1982, 202-204).

Working with ethnohistorical documents, ethnographic studies, and dictionaries of Andean languages, Robert Randall (1987) developed a model for interpreting Inca cosmology. In this view, Viracocha was considered to be the invisible vital force which permeated and fertilized the universe. This force was manifest in water and sunlight. When, as culture hero, Viracocha walked in a straight line from southeast to northwest (Lake Titicaca to Manta) he unleashed the vital waters throughout the Andes and down into the ocean. He also delineated the annual trajectory of the sun from its rising at the December summer solstice to its setting during the June winter solstice—from rainy to dry season. When the river waters filled the ocean to the point of overflowing the black celestial llama (Yaqana) in the Milky Way river in the sky drank this surfeit and then re-circulated it so that fertilizing liquid began returning to the earth as rain in December. This re-circulation was ritually enacted in space during the annual pilgrimage to Vilcanota and back tracing the route of the sun and the waters as well as in ritual battles (tinkus)—one in January when the forces of fertility associated with Viracocha would defeat those of empire associated with Inti; another in June when the opposite occurred. In this manner a balance was maintained between the two forces governing Inca society. The circulation of energy was also applied to time in cycles of four Incas, each ending with a "revolution" or pachacuti. Whenever the equilibrium between Viracocha and Inti was upset, the stage was set for a re-balancing.

At the end of the article Randall (1987, 14) states that the recirculation of water and the vital force which it bears was a natural phenomenon which was the basis of Inca cosmovision. Water flowed via terrestial rivers to the ocean and then was recirculated in the sky through the celestial river with the perpetuation of the cycle depending on human participation as symbolized by "pagos" of blood offered to the gods by Inca priests

Regarding the aquatic subterranean dimension of Andean cosmology, Sherbondy (1982, 4-5) in her article on Andean irrigation and origin myths describes it as follows:

> *A basic concept in Andean cosmology and probably in American cosmology in general is that the sea surrounds and lies underneath the world. This position of the sea…is associated with the concept of the origins of the earth and past times. The early peoples of the Andes observed the subterranean relations between lakes and springs formed by water filtration. On a practical level, they knew about these hydrological relations and developed techniques to control and take advantage of water sources, drains and subterranean canals. On the mythological level, the relations between lakes and other water sources had cosmological significance, the lake, as a manifestation of the sea, was viewed as the place of origin of water and of people. Lake Titicaca, the largest lake in the highlands, was seen as the place where Viracocha created the sun, the moon, the stars, and the ancestors of each community.*

> *The world was populated when Viracocha had the ancestors walk beneath the earth, starting at Lake Titicaca and emerging from lagoons, springs, rivers, or the roots of trees where they founded their lineages. The dead—subsequently converted into ancestors—return to the sources of their existence, which are also the sources of water. In this fashion, hydrological relations—both real and possible—are extended to include symbolic relations expressing concepts of origin and ethnicity.*

Scattered elements of contemporary Andean curanderismo are directly traceable to a pre-Hispanic aboriginal world view, the last systematic version of which was formulated by the Incas and recorded by the Spanish chroniclers. Valcárcel (1959, 136-8) gives us an insightful summary of Andean cosmology as inherited by the Incas, drawn from the ethnohistorical sources. The world (pacha, space/time) was divided into three vertical planes, the Underworld or Inner World (Uchu Pacha) of the dead and of seeds, both referred to by the term mallqui; the earth's surface (Cay Pacha), inhabited by human beings, animals, plants, and spirits; and the Upper World (Janan Pacha), occupied by the deified Sun and Moon (considered to be married siblings, like the Inca and his wife, Coya), the stars (which were the guardians of humanity, animals, and plants), the lightning, and the rainbow. Communication between the surface of the earth and the Underworld was achieved through the pacarinas—caves, volcanic craters, springs, and lagoons—which were the places of origin of all life in this world. Within the Inca Empire communication between Earth and the Upper World was realized by the Inca, son of the sun born on the earth, making him an apt intermediary between the human and the divine. His means of communication was the rainbow, represented on the Inca's royal coat of arms.

Valcárcel also relates an ancient legend referring to two mythical serpents operating on all three levels of the universe. They both began in the Underworld. When they reached this world one of them, Yacu Mama, crawled and was converted into the Ucayali River, mother of the rivers. The second serpent, Sacha Mama, had two heads, walked upright, and was like an aged tree. Upon reaching the Upper World, the first serpent turned into lightning; he was now called Illapa and was god of the storm, thunder, and rain. The two-headed serpent turned into the rainbow (Coichi), the deity that fertilizes and gives color to the earth and all living things. Thus the legend illustrates how the three worlds were united by these serpent gods of water and fertility.

Another myth inherited by the Incas, and one that supplemented the legend of the two serpents, described the activities of Viracocha, the Creator. After causing a great flood to destroy his first creation (earth and sky without light and giants fashioned from stone), Viracocha brought forth the sun, moon, and stars from an island in Lake Titicaca, the primordial pacarina (place of origin). After fashioning men and animals out of clay, he is said to have traveled north, accompanied by two sons and following the main chain of the Andes (actually this would be northwest), calling forth the people from their pacarinas. When his work was finished, he disappeared across the Pacific "like foam on the sea," promising to return. Zuidema (1971, 39) demonstrates the relationship between the legend of the two snakes and the solar myth of Viracocha,

> *Viracocha created in the East, from a lake high in the mountains, he went over the Earth to the Ocean and disappeared in the West. His movement was like water in a river from a lake in Heaven to the Ocean under the Earth . . . Viracocha was the Prime Mover in the Cosmos of the Sun's daily route through Heaven and through the Underworld back again. Water was the symbol of this movement, especially the water from Heaven that went back to the Ocean.*

It seems that the sun also provided the model for the horizontal dimension of the world, as reflected in the division of Cusco (meaning navel or center) and the empire (Tahua-ntin-suyo, "Land of the Four Parts") into four ceremonial "quarters", Antisuyo, eastern (approximately); Chinchaysuyo, northern; Contisuyo, western; and Collasuyo, southern. Religious shrines (huacas) located along lines (*ceques*) radiating out from the Temple of the Sun were assigned to each quarter. According to Valcárcel (1959, 109-110), *anti* (as in Antisuyo) refers to the region where the sun rises, and *conti* (as in Contisuyo) to the region where it sets. Chinchaysuyo received its name from the Chinchay constellation to the north (believed to be a feline that periodically devoured the sun and moon). Collasuyo was named after the Colla peoples of the south (the contemporary Aymara), but it also means "thing come out of the water." This is most appropriate since Lake Titicaca, the place where the Creator, Viracocha, brought forth the sun, moon, and stars, falls in Collasuyo. In addition, this region is the source of many major rivers. It is interesting to note that Cusco, following the Andes as did Viracocha, is built with its long axis running roughly southeast-northwest. Thus it appears that the biannual journey of Viracocha, "the Sun behind the sun," from sunrise in the southeast (site of the "thing come out of the

water") during the December 21st solstice to sunset in the northwest (where the ocean and the Chinchay feline "swallow" the sun prior to its return journey) during the June 21st solstice established the mythic paradigm for the solar cosmology of the Inca, "children of the sun," as noted earlier by Urton in the section on Quechua cosmology. Zuidema (1976) has also shown how the sun's movement from sunrise-to-sunset/solstice-to-solstice determined the intercardinal directions demarcating the four quarters of the empire.

Some support for this contention is provided by the fact that the Temple of the Sun (Coricancha, Golden Enclosure) in Lower Cusco was located near the southeast end of the southeast-northwest axis along which the city was aligned. Also, the Indian chronicler Guaman Poma (1966, 1191-1220) informs us that the Incas viewed the sun as following a circular route, starting at its southern "seat" at the beginning of the year, taking six months to its northern seat, and returning to its starting point in another six months. Thus we see that for the Incas each solar year was a reenactment of the cyclical "return to origins" as first performed by Viracocha in the beginning.

Pachacuti - Yamqui's Inca Cosmogram

Apparently there was a graphic depiction of the Inca cosmos on the back wall above the main altar in the Temple of the Sun (Figure 5). Such was the contention of the chronicler Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayo, a native *curaca* from Collasuyo who drew what he recalled in the early 1600s in his manuscript *Relación de antigüedades deste reino del Pirú,* which was found among the papers of the 17th-century "extirpator of idolatries" Francisco de Ávila. Roberto Lehmann-Nietsche (1928) analyzed this drawing, providing us with an interpretation of the cosmology portrayed in the icons on the wall of the Coricancha based upon the Quechua and Spanish notations of Pachacuti Yamqui. In the Inca cosmogram, cult objects were arranged along three vertical lines. The right line (from the point of view of the actors, in this case the deities) was composed of masculine icons. From the top of the wall to the bottom these were, the golden sun; grandfather Venus (the morning star); the stars of the clear night skies of the dry summer season; Lord Earth (Camac Pacha), including the mountains, encompassed by the rainbow and drained by the Pilcomayo River (the legendary place of origin of the Incas), with serpentine lightning off to one side; and seven "eyes of abundance" (seeds or places of origin, i.e., pacarinas) protecting the granary (colca). The left line was made up of feminine icons, the silver moon, wife of the sun; the clouds of the rainy winter season; grandmother Venus (the evening star); Mother Sea (Lake Titicaca), connected to a spring (puqyo), with the hail-causing supernatural cat (choquechinchay, the contemporary ccoa) off to one side emitting hail from his eyes; and a mallqui or mummy-tree symbolizing the ancestors growing out of the agricultural terrace (pata).

At the top of the central line were five stars (Urcorara) in the form of a cross. These were the three stars of the baldric of Orion accompanied by Rigel on the right and Betelgeuse on the left. The five stars were interpreted by the Incas as a train of three male llamas with a herder on each side. Below the stars was a golden ovaloid disk representing Viracocha—the andogynous supreme Creator, as well as a culture hero. Under the "cosmic egg" of Viracocha was the Southern Cross (Chacana), regarded as a ladder or hearth of crossed poles. It may have provided the pattern for the four quarters of Cusco and the empire. Two stars at the ends of the long diagonal axis of the cross were labeled by Pachacuti Yamqui, the one in the upper right was a pot of corn, the other in the lower left was a pot of coca. This union of food plants and magical flora dominated the central portion of the entire cosmogram. Below the Southern Cross was another union, this time between man (on the right) and woman (on the left). At the bottom of the central line was the mesa-like main altar of the temple, which symbolized both the storehouse of agricultural produce (colca) and the agricultural terrace (pata) referred to above. Thus opposite poles (sky, earth) were depicted at the top and bottom of the drawing. Androgynous Viracocha, source of the male and female hierarchies, assured the fertility of the herds, the human realm, and the plant kingdom (food and medicine). Also, in addition to establishing the celestial yearly journey of the sun, the Creator governed the end points (sowing and reaping) of the terrestrial agricultural cycle. As Billie Jean Isbell (1976, 40) expresses it, "The creator god is the origin and generator of all and the colcas are the end product of the procreative process. Together they form a closed system—the beginning and end of the reproductive cycle."

Tom Zuidema (1969, 20, 22) discusses three mediators in Pachacuti's version of Inca cosmology: (1) the choquechinchay cat, an aspect of Venus, emerging from the Underworld and ascending to the heavens to secure abundance from the Upper World; (2) the lightning, another aspect of Venus, descending from the Upper World to the earth (and, we might add, as the Yacu Mama serpent flowing back to the Underworld in the form of the Pilcomayo

or Red River); and (3) the two-headed Sacha Mama serpent-rainbow mediating between the earth and the sky. Since the rainbow emerges from springs (puqyos), entrances to the Underworld, it probably also communicates with this lower region. Thus these three supernatural entities unite the three levels of the Inca cosmos. In addition, as Isbell (1976, 40) points out, the female elements are associated with upward movement whereas the male elements relate to downward movement. Also, "movement (the lightning) is a manifestation of male energy, while a still body of water (a lake or the sea) and the inside of the earth are feminine nurturance concepts."

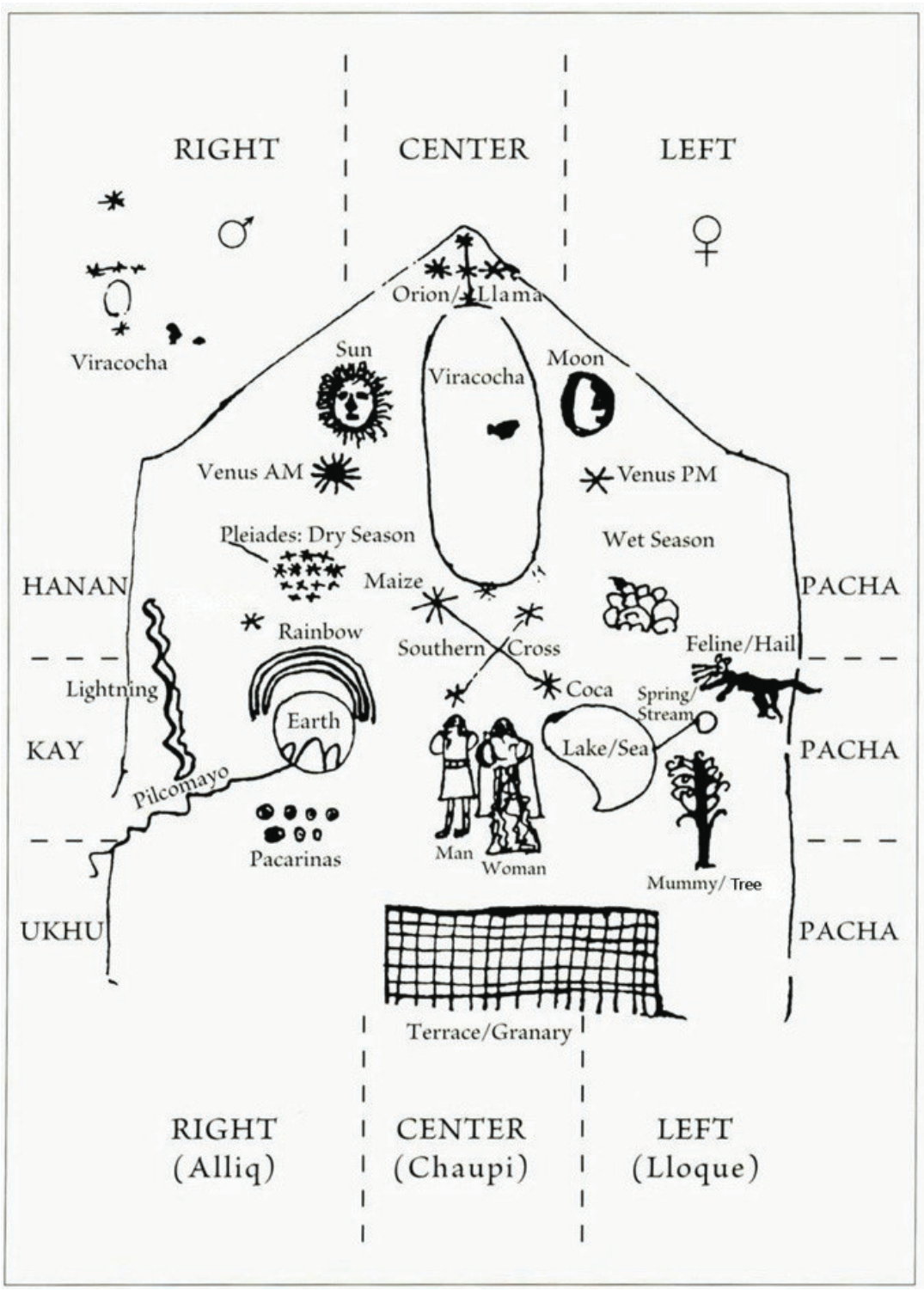


Figure 5. Drawing by native chronicler Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamaygua (1950 [1613], 80) depicting the icons on the back wall above the main altar of the Incaic Temple of the Sun in Cusco.

Earls and Silverblatt (1978) have applied five ethnographically-derived "principles of interaction" in developing an interpretative analysis of the spatio-temporal circulation of energies portrayed in Pachacuti's sketch. In the simplest terms, the principles they apply are, 1) *ayni* ("reciprocity"), 2) *mita* ("rotation"), 3) *pallqa* ("bifurcation"), 4) *tinku* ("union"), and 5) *amaru* ("revolution"). They operate horizontally and vertically in the model producing a dynamic, coherent structure. For example, ayni results in reciprocal complementarity between man and woman, water and earth, above and below, inside and outside, stars and seeds. Mita is the operational principle animating the periodicity of the meteorological and hydrological cycles. Pallqa accounts for the dualism by which the components of the model are distinguished and articulated. Tinku is the dynamic by which polar opposites, i.e., up/down, left/right, male/female, day/night, summer/winter, etc. are integrated. Finally, amaru is an ambiguous, mythological principle operating between and within worlds, i.e., the interaction between Camac Pacha and Pacha Mama mediated by the Rainbow as well as the seasonal hydrological cycle, i.e., during the rainy season, the Amaru emerges as clouds from "inside" sacred lagoons; at the end of the dry season it surges forth from springs and water holes, and as Lightning it announces the first rains. Earls and Silverblatt (1978, 316-318) explain their dialectical interpretation of amaru as follows:

> *Earlier we treated the circulation of water according to the geometric rules of the Klein bottle, which characterizes Andean cosmology in general. We indicated that water ascends along a vertical axis toward the center. But, since this was a heuristic simplification, we did not mention the possibility of natural obstacles to this hydrological circulation. Geologists and peasants alike indicate that, from time to time, new springs well up from the water table and that others dry up. The peasants also recognize that contained sub-surface water is subject to internal pressure. In particular, they are aware of the relationship between a prolonged period of heavy rains and the pressure exerted on subterranean water. When the structural limits of the geological forces of containment are reached the forceful release of this water causes flash floods and landslides…However, these natural processes by which pressure is released, although manifesting as a destructive act for society and its natural environment, bring about a new state of equilibrium. One of the causes of destructive, unexpected hail can be found in the blockage of the circulation of meteorological forces and their subsequent and sudden adjustment. An amaru condition is associated with strong hail. Also, its expression is analogous with a tinku in that social relations often are intertwined with the circulation of natural forces.*

In addition to delineating the circulation of energies manifest in the Andean cosmos, Earls and Silverblatt (1978, 318-323) contend that Pachacuti's drawing also illustrates a "scale of spacio-temporal orders of magnitude" encompassed by Viracocha symbolizing unity, totality, the whole world, and, paradoxically, the diverse space/time dimensions of the cosmos (similar to Einstein's "God-Universe" concept). Baumann (1996, 58-60) elaborates on this part of the Earls/Silverblatt interpretation, defining Viracocha as the "complementary One-Being…of dynamic balance" which "subsumes the wholeness of all complementary opposites and the unification of all time and space polarities". Everything emanates from this totality (tinku), dividing itself (pallqa) into dual masculine (ira) and feminine (arka) forms. In the interaction of these polar energies, something new is created on the next lower order which reinforces the dual aspect of reality on the higher order.

According to Earls and Silverblatt (1978, 318-323) Viracocha brings forth the first heavenly duality (Sun and Moon, the anthropomorphic great-grandparents of humanity) which dichotomizes the universe at the highest level and establishes the basic order of space and time as well as the temporal rhythm for all of humanity and nature. The interaction between the Sun and Moon produces on the next lower level their two children, the Morning and Evening Stars as grandparents of humanity. Together with the other stars, they make up the "world above" symbolically separated from the "world below" by the inter-dimensional Amaru, which, at the same time, puts the heavens in touch with the earth through a creative exchange of opposite energies such as rain and rainbows, frost and fog, lightning and hail. In the "world below," Earth (Mama Pacha) and Water (Mama Cocha) are distinguished from each other as polar elements. The earth as a whole is subdivided into masculine mountains and feminine plains. Water subdivides into feminine Lakes and Seas (Cocha) and masculine Rivers (Mayu). Humanity is in the middle of all this, between above and below, heaven and earth, left and right, sun and moon, earth and water symbolizing the dynamic balance of the social order under the heavens and over the agricultural terraces and the granaries. At the crossroads of the tinku-Cross of the South lives the First Couple, parents of humanity, nourished—body and soul—by maize and coca, respectively, while inhabiting the Sacred Center (Navel/Axis). Finally, although manifesting in "this world," the elements along the bottom of the drawing are linked to Ukhu Pacha, the

"world inside," i.e., pacarina caves or springs of origin/emergence, planting terraces on which granary seeds germinate and take root, and mummy-saplings which are also rooted in the underworld of the deceased and deified ancestors. As the authors express it,

> *On this . . . terrestrial level . . . the "parents" of humanity . . . seem to represent a concept of "Viracocha" on a minor scale. In general, particular mountains are masculine concepts (wamanis, apus, etc.) and the earth in its totality (the Pacha Mama) is feminine. . . [I]t is the circulation of water from the inside toward the outside to return inside again that unifies them in a total dynamic (Earls and Silverblatt 1998, 15).*

From the foregoing we can see that the Inca cosmogram depicted the diurnal, seasonal, and stellar rhythms of nature and the elements, along with their negative and positive effects on the interdependent network of life on sacred Pachamama by humans, plants, and animals.

Lionel Vallée (1982) has clarified the symbolic spatial zones of Pachacuti's drawing by superimposing a 3 X 3 grid over it, resulting in the following three layers, Hanan Pacha including Sun, Venus AM, and Dry Season Stars (Pleiades) on the right with Moon, Venus PM, and Wet Season Clouds/Fog on the left mediated by Orion, Viracocha, and the Southern Cross in the middle field; Kay Pacha including Earth/River on the right with Sea-Lake/Spring-Stream on the left mediated by the Male-Female Couple in the center; and Ukhu Pacha including Ancestral Pacarinas on the right with Ancestral Mummy/Tree on the left mediated by the mesa-like Granary/Terrace—beginning and end-points of the agricultural cycle—in the middle zone. Kay Pacha also shares the atmospheric, meteorological phenomena of Lightning and Rainbow as well as Hail and Clouds/Fog with Hanan Pacha. Earth/River, Ancestral Pacarinas, Sea-Lake/Spring-Stream, and Ancestral Mummy/Tree span the border between Kay Pacha and Ukhu Pacha. Cross-cutting the three vertically stacked pachas are the three horizontal dimensions of Alliq (right), Chaupi (center), and Lloque (left)—all of which correlates well with the three "fields" of the northern mesa. (Figure 3 has placed the right and left designations in accord with a correction of Vallée's schematic recognized by Lozada (2007, 119).

Max Baumann (1996, 58) applies a similar grid to Pachacuti's cosmogram, except that the three axes manifest a mediated dualism, i.e., with ira (male) icons on the right and irka (female) on the left mediated by the male-female Viracocha axis designated as tinku (dynamic equilibrium).

Jan Szeminski (1987) organizes the objects in Pachacuti's drawing into sixteen cells with the elements ordered in two juxtaposed sections mediated by a central axis. Szeminski's principal reading is structured along the central axis from above to below, abstract to concrete, offering an explanation of the Creation of an equilibrated cosmos expressed through a complementary dualism. For Szeminski, the five stars "Urcorara," (meaning "three equal stars" or "herd of male animals or men") forming a cross below the peak of the "cosmic house" constitute a double triadic order which suggests "the functions of multiplying and procreating, right-center-left and above-center-below." The symmetric disposition of the walls and roof reflects the constant expressed by the overall design, "complementary parallelism of a universe in which everything defines itself in parity and contrast with its counter-term . . . The sense of the 'cosmic house' is holistic, representing the totality that unfolds from the sidereal order to the basic units of the ayllus." The Urcorara star-cross establishes "complementary duality achieved through mediation."

Building on William Isbell's (1976) analysis of the Huacaypata Plaza in Incaic Cusco, Blithz Lozada (2007, 127-135) develops an insightful interpretation of the quadrants delineated in Pachacuti's drawing by the positioning of the Southern Cross or Chacana. Isbell applies Reichel-Dolmatoff's (1971) symbolic analysis of the ceremonial center (*maloka*) of the Colombian Desana to pre-Hispanic Chavín, Garagay, and Huacaypata showing that the inverted "U" is a frequent architectural feature in pre-Hispanic ceremonial sites dating back to the Initial Period (second millennium B.C.). It is also found in contemporary ethnography, e.g., the Aymara sociopolitical organization of space in Isluga in northern Chile (Martinez 1987), ritual movements in Yura (Rasnake 1990), mountaintop altars in Chucuito (Tschopik 1951, Figure 4) and Apurimac, Peru (Valderrama and Escalante 1976, Figure 4) as well as the seating arrangements of Quechua work parties (Urton 1992, 249-252).

Isbell's analysis outlines continuity for structural isomorphism encompassing the following features: the lateral sides of the "U" manifest the complementary opposites of male and female as well as the contrast between light and shade, passive fertility and active fecundity, the intellectual and the earthly. The space framed by the "U" delineates a center of action providing access to spiritual forces. The part of the arc that unites the

lateral sides is a space of mediation of sacred cosmic forces. The apex of the arc signifies the unification of opposed and complementary principles without which there would be no integrated cosmos.

In the case of Huacaypata the "U" is formed in two complementary ways, as the belly of the puma and through the disposition of the buildings along the sides of the plaza. Isbell cites the chroniclers Betanzos and Sarmiento who indicate that the city plan for Cusco had the shape of a puma, its head was the temple-fortress Sacsayhuaman and the different neighborhoods formed the other body parts having names such as "tail of the puma" and "arm of the puma." Rowe (1944) and the architects Gasparini and Margolies (1988) have drawn the puma formation as manifest in pre-Hispanic Cusco.

Regarding the buildings around the plaza which formed the U-shaped belly and legs of the puma, the arc of the "U" encompassed the Quishuarcancha temple located in the NE, the place of synthesis of the right and left sides of the plaza dedicated to Viracocha. If one assumes that the belly of the puma represented the center between the front and back of the animal, the place that symbolizes fecundity and the site of origin from which everything emanates, it is possible to identify Viracocha with the puma.

Isbell discusses the characteristics of the buildings that constituted the sides of the "U." The right side corresponded to the NW and the temples of Coracora and Casana associated with masculine, intellectual activities. The opposite side along the SE was the Acllahuasi, the convent of the women of the Sun, with female connotations relating to production and fertility. Outside the open end of the "U" were the Sunturhuasi and the Amarucancha, the former serving as a solar observatory. In the middle of the plaza were the ushnu-throne and golden pillar where humans drank with the gods.

After discussing Isbell's work, Lozada, following Teresa Gisbert (1980) and Carlos Milla Villena (1992), outlines the structural analogy between the "U" of Huacaypata and Pachacuti's "cosmic house" suggesting that the Chacana or Southern Cross pattern in the middle of the drawing organizes the icons into quadrants with the apex correlating with the NE and the generic sidereal dimension (male Sun, female Moon, seasonal stars, night/day, Viracocha, and Urcorara). The open SW is associated with humanity and agricultural production (man, woman, and the granary); the intellectual and masculine NW includes the genotypes and origins of all species (*Imaymana*), and the SE contains their complementary phenotypical tree of the ancestors associated with the left, femininity, and fertility.

The relationship of up with down reflects the link between the sidereal and terrestrial dimensions. The pairing of right and left illustrates the association of the earth and water with the masculine forces of emanation on the right complementing the female forces of genesis on the left. Pachamama, the Rainbow, and the Pilcomayo represent the order and equilibrium of the components in a complementary totality, integrating the abstract upper levels with the concrete lower levels. They are also the complementary components of the symbols which represent the place of origin from which life emanates, Mamacocha and Titicaca, which in turn evoke the flow of water and the generative potency of the ancestors linked with the mallqui. On the left side of the drawing, the forces of chaos (winter, hail, underworld feline) are an integral part of the mediation between the upper sidereal-abstract dimension and the lower economic-concrete realm. This aspect of the mediation emphasizes the unequivocal dependence of humans on their deities.

Following Zuidema (1976), Lozada indicates that, if the inverted "U" correlated with Huacaypata, then the intercardinal directions—whose axes intersected in the middle of the plaza—would have corresponded to the rising and setting points of the sun on the horizon during the solstices. The NE, at the apex of both configurations, would have lined up with the important Cañachuay temple, birthplace of the sun, indicating the primary role of the sun's movements in animating the sociopolitical and religious dimensions of the Inca cosmos. Finally, the stars forming the Southern Cross in the middle of Pachacuti's sketch would have delineated the four quarters of the Inca Empire, locating the mallqui tree of the ancestors in the SE quadrant

Pachacuti-Yamqui's Drawing as *Retablo*

In a rigorous ethnohistorial analysis and linguistic transcription of Pachacuti's *Relación* (Duviols and Itier 1993), French ethnohistorian Pierre Duviols asserts that the native chronicler was a thoroughly indoctrinated Christian and that his version of Inca cosmology (Duviols prefers the term cosmogony) is nothing more than a catechistic Christian reworking of randomly selected indigenous beliefs and icons that are arbitrarily forced into a universalist and monotheistic framework, a co-opting strategy applied by the Church in its missions around the world. A key tactic used in Peru involved the transformation of the

immanent Inca deity Viracocha into the transcendent creator god of Christianity.

Although Pachacuti states that he is drawing the disposition of figures as they were placed around the ovaloid image of Viracocha, Duviols contends that the native chronicler actually drew a retablo or portable altar inspired by European triptychs and depicting the Christian creator god and his creation using images from Inca state religion. Duviols thinks that Pachacuti wanted to place these figures horizontally around the Viracocha oval but, given the limitations of a one-dimensional medium, he had to place them vertically. Since he did not use perspective, the sky is shown along the vertical plane, even though it appears that Pachacuti perceived it as a dome or cone.

The vertical disposition of icons along one of the short walls of a peaked rectangular structure is derived from European religious architecture. Duviols shows that Inca buildings emphasize the transverse horizontal axis with the long walls of their rectangular structures containing doors on one side and interior niches to hold objects on the other. In effect, according to Duviols, Pachacuti drew the back wall of a church interior, with religious icons symmetrically arranged above the altar. Duviols illustrates his thesis with images of church entrances, i.e., front walls in Aix-en-Provence, Cusco, Chumbivilcas, and Pampachiri with vertical, symmetrical arrangements of columns and figures along the sides of the door and above the rectangular volume of the stairs, surmounted by a central axis containing an arc or oval and a cross or image of the Christian Trinity. In Chumbivilcas and Pampachiri images of the sun and moon are arranged on either side of the oval. Duviols provides examples of the sun and moon from native chronicler Guaman Poma's depictions of Creation and in contemporary popular art. Frontispieces from colonial documents show similar tri-axial arrangements of angels and saints.

Regarding Pachacuti's purpose in sketching the illustrations in his Relación, Duviols asserts that, as an apologist for Christian monotheism, this native author sought to contrast the oval of the Creator with the products of the Creation. The objects outside the oval were nothing more than components of the Creation, the most representative and generic or archetypal elements of earth and sky. On the first order, the examples chosen were the visibly most unique and outstanding, i.e., the sun, moon, and stars, which illustrated the causes of celestial movement. For the second order, objects and entities were selected to represent a genus or species. Thus, a spring represented all springs, three peaks stood for all mountains, the Pilcomayo for all rivers, the human couple referred to the whole human species, a particular animal to all fauna, while a sapling represented all flora. This selective distribution came directly from the ancient code of archetypes for Christian apologetics which guided all oral, written, and artistic expression. It was included in the *Doctrina Christiana* of the Third Ecumenical Council of Lima of 1584.

Duviols explains the inclusion of Pachamama and Camac Pacha in the drawing as showing that the earth was depicted as nothing more than the product of divine creation and, therefore, not deserving of any kind of cult. Likewise, the mythological feline, an object of Andean idolatry, was chosen to represent all the animals of the earth, products of divine creation. The seven pacarinas or "eyes of all things" were allusions to the ubiquity of God as referred to in the Doctrina Christiana of 1584 where God "is in the sky and on the earth and in all places…" (f. 29). The rectangular grid at the bottom of the drawing, which Pachacuti identifies as the sheets of gold that adorned the walls of Coricancha, was intended to demonstrate that man-made objects were not to be deified. The stars and constellations, from the austral sky, were samples of the celestial organization of the Creator. Since divine creation included the entire universe and its products varied according to locale, it was logical—wherever missionaries found themselves—to use local landscapes and contexts as proof of the Creation, since these were the only examples to which indigenous peoples could relate.

In an effort to discern the indigenous meaning of Viracocha, Duviols (1993, 111) offers the following:

> *Andean peoples believed that the sun shone on the earth during the day and, at night, it entered the subterranean waters to emerge again from Lake Titicaca at dawn. "Huira-cocha" seems to have evolved from the sense of "lake of the sun" to "lake from which the sun rises" and then to "Sun…," and Huari designates both the daily sun and the nocturnal sun.*

He suggests that Pachacamac, together with Huichama, might constitute the coastal day-night sun. Citing the work of linguist Cesar Itier (1993), Duviols indicates that Pachacuti's "Viracocha Pacha Yacháchic" probably had the sense of "fertilizing sun."

A Conjunction of Archetypes

Regarding the possibility that Pachacuti might have been unconsciously influenced by Andean cosmological concepts, Duviols (1993, 54) does not believe that this is the case. As we have seen above,

for him Pachacuti's drawing is simply a didactic Christian device for teaching Peruvian converts the universalist doctrine of a transcendent, monotheistic creator-god, maker of all things. In addition to not depicting icons from a wall in Coricancha, Duviols feels that this retablo is devoid of any Andean religious content, despite depictions of such thoroughly Andean icons as Pacha Camac, Pacha Mama, Mama Cocha, mountains, springs and lagoons, constellations as detailed by Urton (1982), the mythological feline, thunder and lightning, coca and maize, the rainbow and hail, pacarinas, and allusions to ukhu pacha.

Ziókowski (2001, 281-282, p. 316, n. 659) comments that, although organized as a retablo, this sketch is not lacking in Andean content, pointing out that Pachacuti frequently refers to Andean oral traditions ("*dizen que*"). Thomas Cummins (1993, 119-120), commenting of Pachacuti's drawings of the three caves of origin of the Incas elsewhere in his manuscript, points out that their formal organization is unequivocally Andean, i.e., using a bidimensional design with each element spatially stabilized according to its relation to other elements. This design derives from the "global Andean concept of representation based on geometric abstraction." In this regard, the caves are *tocapus* (abstract geometric designs within square or rectangular frames) used to this day in weavings and *keros* (wooden cups). When a recognizable form is used, the intent is to have the observer think of its metaphorical culture-specific associations, i.e., mallqui-trees representing first Inca Manco's progenitors that holistically signify the plants—roots and all—as well as the bodies of the venerated ancestors. Also, Pachacuti's drawings are integrated into the body of his narrative and explanatory words and texts are close to the images as if he were orally transmitting information and resorting to imagery as a mnemonic device.

Harrison (1989, 55-84) makes some of the same points regarding Pachacuti's drawings as Cummings pointing out that, when words are inadequate in conveying the Andean image of the cosmos, Pachacuti abandons the European script and resorts to drawing, which allows the viewer to perceive "the power of the pictorial sign to convey a message of Andean categories of thought" (Harrison 1981, 71). With regard to Pachacuti's written ritual texts, Harrison (1989, 78) contends that they consistently refer to "speaking, ordering, and existence within a cosmological system." In contrast to the God of Christianity's ordering and making, one finds "frequent references to the nature of the speech act between Creator and created human being," with the act of creating being equivalent to the act of speaking. Linguist Martin Lienhard (1992, 38) contends that Pacacuti's "linguistic strategy" tends to "save"—via syncretism—"the essential values of Andean culture" in spite of the explicit "message" of the text extolling the "spiritual benefits of the conquest."

In effect, the vertical tripartite structure and bilateral symmetry governing this retablo—in addition to being influenced by Europe triptychs—has ancient antecedents in Andean iconography, e.g., the Staff God of Chavin (Raimondi Stone) and Tiahuanaco (Sun Gate). Also, the "mediated dualism" of complementary opposites manifest in the model is thoroughly Andean; the ethnographic record is replete with examples of a "balanced dualism" of complementary oppositions as indicated in Baumann's overview presented in the section, "Cosmologies." Further, Jorge Flores Ochoa (1990, 138-145) shows that the disposition of Catholic saints, in the Cusco cathedral during the Corpus Christi festival correlates with the Andean symbols in Pachacuti's drawing.

British social anthropologist Denise Arnold (1991), in her study of gender and memory in the kinship and cosmology of Qaqachaka (Bolivia), discusses Pachacuti's two drawings as part of her thesis regarding the "architectonics of Andean principles of kinship and descent" manifest in male and female libations for the contemporary Aymara house. These libations occur when the house is first built and annually at the Feast of the Dead. Their order "reveals how the house as cosmos is perceived as a axis mundi and a vertical representation of space and time" (Arnold 1991, 14).

In Qaqachaka the perception of the house—as manifest in the vertical pathways of memory expressed in libations—is structured by a parallel and dual system of descent similar to the vertical left and right axes of Pachacuti's drawing. In the context of a vertical model of descent, the house foundations—and, by analogy, the two lines of descent—come together in the realm of the Saintly Virgin Earth, paired with the Inka, i.e. the Male/Female Couple of Pachacuti. The four corner posts, perceived as tree trunks, are linked with string; during construction, ascending walls follow this string such that the four sacred corners support the house like the four posts of a horizontal loom. The rafters, called "the four men," form the loom heddles to weave the straw twine of the rooftop nest. As the two pathways of the libations ascend, they become differentiated into two parallel male and female lines of descent, the right and left sides of the house. When the two pathways reach the peak of the roof, they are ambiguously "woven" together again, i.e., in

a dual descent system they can be perceived in terms of either a matrilinear or patrilinear ideology. The term *wiraqucha* refers to the rafters of the house, reminding us of the bisexual Viracocha oval in Pachacuti's drawing located near the summit of the gable wall at the juncture of the rafters. The final product is a woven "mother nest."

For Arnold, the ambiguous middle zone of the roof ridge in contemporary house libations suggests another way of perceiving kinship systems and the house. Qaqas insist that it is only by means of the pathways that unfold through their drinking language that they acknowledge their genealogical ties to their gods, the sun ("Our Father Pathway") and moon ("Our Mother Pathway")—both located near the top of Pachacuti's drawing:

> *It is at this central point of ambiguity, at peak and foundation, both of the house and the vertical descent formation of the ayllu kindred, where each descent line uniquely seems to represent its ancestral origins to the historical Inka gods, the sun and the moon. The two lines of double or duolineal descent then give way to the third line, and there are generated three possible lines of descent, descent through the male line, to the right of the house, descent through the female line to the left of the house, and a central and more mystical line of descent alluding to the incestuous relations of the brother-sister sibling pair, but skewed by the dominant descent ideology of either major descent line. It is this tripartite model which is also evident in the modern uxorilocal context, when the historical sister and brother founders of the panaka [kindred] are replaced by the modern daughter and an in-marrying son-in-law, adopted as a spiritual kin brother, to become the god-like spirit founders of a new* kasta *[patrilineal kin] descent group (Arnold 1991, 54).*

Arnold points out that there is historical precedent for a tripartite architectonic representation of descent in the Inka myth of the founding of Cusco as portrayed in Pachacuti's second drawing of the three windows and interspersed lineage trees of silver (mother's line) and gold (father's line). In Sarmiento's version of the myth the original four brothers and sisters had no mortal parents; they emerged from the central window by mandate of T'iqsi Wiraqocha, translated as "founder of the lineage." However, *t'iqsi (t'axsi* in Aymara) more specifically means "origin" or "foundation" as applied to the chthonic foundation of a house whereas *wiraxucha* is also associated with a rooftop and the peak of a lineage.

A perspective on the Viracocha issue is the concept held by the Colombian Tukano of Sun Father, Creator of the Universe as described by Reichel-Dolmatoff (1971, 41-42),

> *This Sun, as the creating force, was not created itself but has always existed. "It was not word or thought, but a state," our informant says…[T]he sun set conditions for his Creation; he established the cyclical patterns of the life process and instituted the norms according to which society ought to conform. The Sun thus was an organizer and a legislator. The Sun Creator, nevertheless, was not the same sun that now illuminates our earth but a creative principle that, although continuing in existence, is now invisible and can be known only by the beneficial influence that emanates from it. After the act of Creation and of the establishment of the moral norms, the Sun returned to Ahpikondiá, the region of Paradise, not to remain there as a deus otiosus but continuing to participate in his Creation. He sent on his eternal representative, this sun that we see today in the sky, and it is through it that the Creator Sun exercises his power giving his Creation light, heat, protection and, above all, fertility. [Footnote 2 at the end of this quote reads as follows, "It is characteristic in Desana thought that another personification can be substituted for the Supreme Being."]*

The confusing images of the creator-god as described by colonial chronicles—although attributable to catequistic manipulation—would seem to be congruent with this type of native religious framework.

Mountain and Water Cults

Mountain worship played a major role in pre-Hispanic Andean religion and still does today in traditional communities. Johan Reinhard (1991, 31-32, 1996a, 12-13) summarizes indigenous beliefs—past and present—relating to mountains, e.g., influence over trade, curing, weather, warfare, wildlife, ethnic identity, fertility of crops and herds, and empowerment of ritual specialists. In elaborating, Reinhard explains that traditional Andean peoples often see themselves as descendants of mountain gods (Apus, Wamanis). There was, and is, widespread belief that the souls of the dead reside in sacred mountains, possibly explaining why mummies were used as intermediaries to mountain deities. Although seen as protectors of man, they can also punish. In addition, they are the focus of special attention by ritual specialists during the construction of roads and irrigation canals or the performance of curing and fertility ceremonies.

Throughout the Andes, mountain deities are believed to control the weather and thus the fertility of crops and herds. This is based on ecological reality since such meteorological phenomena as rain, hail, frost, clouds, lightning, thunder, the rainbow, etc. often originate in the mountains as do rivers considered to be the "blood" and "veins" of the mountain deities (Arguedas 1954, 200-201, Ortiz R. 1973, 147, Valderrama and Escalante 2000, 271). As controllers of water, they have close associations with highland lakes and the ocean, ultimate source of all water. Thus sea water and sea shells play an important role in rain ceremonies addressed to mountains throughout the Andes.

Reinhard (1987a, 31-33; 1987b, 37-40; 1996, 14-21) lists some of the sacred mountains that were recorded in colonial-period chronicles, e.g., Coropuna near Arequipa, Ausangate near Cusco, Pariacaca near Huarochirí, Yerupajá (Yarobaha) near Huánuco, Mataraju (Huascarán) for the people of Huaylas, and Catequil near Huamachuco. Fernández (1997, 14-16, 20-29) indicates that mountain worship is mentioned in the early colonial period chroniclers and in later documents from idolatry trials. Mountains near major archaeological sites—often prominent in local folklore—include Illampu and Ilimani near Tiahuanaco, Cerro Blanco near Nasca and Cahuachi, Huantsan near Chavín de Huántar, and Cerro Blanco at the Moche pyramids near Trujillo. Many of these mountains are sources for sacred lagoons and streams feeding lower valleys and their complex networks of irrigation canals, some underground as at Chavin and Nasca. Others are linked in local folklore or by rivers to the major mountains and/or archaeological sites of a region.

In an appendix ("Cardinal Directions") to *Machu Picchu, The Sacred Center,* Reinhard (1991:79-83) reports offerings to the four cardinal directions to assure "completeness" based on his observations of indigenous ritual in the Cusco area and elsewhere in the Andes. Marking corners of mesas is a common practice in Quechua despachos as is the custom of censing the corners of the altar, door, and patio (Dalle 1969, 141-143). In Bolivia, Buechler and Buechler (1971, 95) describe offerings to the four directions while Riviere (1982, 164, 170, 190-191) reports cardinal orientation of shamans' mesas, communities, and social groups connecting them with ceremonial sites, including ones located on mountain tops. Fernández (1994, 179-180) indicates the importance of the "four corners" in Aymara mesas in La Paz.

For the Cusco region, Reinhard (199, 79-83) shows that, using Coricancha as the center, important mountains are located in three cardinal directions, i.e., east: Ausangate-Colquepunku and Pachatusan, north: Sahuasiray and Pitusiray, west: Tilca and Ampay. All of these are associated with prominent archaeological sites and were considered to be sacred during the pre-Hispanic era. They continue to be prominent deities in their respective regions, often as water sources (especially snow-capped peaks) and guarantors of fertility for crops and livestock. The south is the only direction which does not have a sacred mountain, but it is the location of Pacariqtambo, pacarina of the Incas, as well as important Inca ruins and a ritually carved rock formation. Also, it falls close to Anahuarque, a major water source for the pre-Inca ruins of Wimpillay and Muyuorqo. Together with Huanacauri, it was one of the most sacred sites of the Incas. It gave its name to the first ceque of Cuntisuyu, one of the four quarters of the Inca Empire. Viewed from Coricancha, this line points to the place on the horizon where the Southern Cross, along with Alpha and Beta Centauri, appear in the night sky.

Reinhard (1991:102) points out that mountain worship predates the Incas and that there is evidence that the concept of a center surrounded by four sacred mountains, manifest at Machu Picchu, may have been developed by the pre-Inca cultures of Tiwanaku (Tiahuanaco) and Wari (Huari)—lithic mesas have been excavated at both sites in recent years (Gonzalez et al. 1986, 13, 14; Isbell 2001:19). Burger (1992) has made a case for Chavín de Huántar as a sacred center and axis mundi. Reinhard (1987a) discusses the archaeology (ceremonial platforms), folklore (sacred lagoons, beings turned to stone), and ethnography (contemporary offerings at ancient sites) associated with snowcapped Huantsan, the source of the two rivers (Mosna, Wachektsa) which form a tinku at Chavín (with the Wachektsa channeled through subterranean aqueducts beneath the site, possibly to facilitate oracular communication with mountain spirits). In Moche culture, the Temple of the Moon has a symbiotic relationship with conical Cerro Blanco, which was probably a site for blood sacrifices (Bourget 1995, Sharon 2001). Pachacamac, on the central coast near Lima, was actually built on a hill overlooking the ocean near the mouth of the Lurin River, which has its source at the base of the most famous mountain deity of the region, Pariacaca (Reinhard 1987b, 46-48).

Throughout the length and breadth of the Andes, the ethnographic record is full of references to a sacred geography dominated by mountains inhabited by ancestral spirits and other numina. Ambivalent

arbiters of fertility and abundance, in exchange for their blessings these spirits require sustenance (pagos) as part of a spiritual economy of *quid pro quo.* Neglect of this obligation is the one cardinal sin in Andean religion, accounting for natural and social disasters such as drought, floods, famine, earthquakes, etc. For the individual, major concerns are disrupted social relations, sickness, accidents, misfortune, etc.

In traditional communities, the ritual specialist who bargains with the mountain spirits is the shaman (curandero, paqo, misayoc, etc.). Often the medium of communication is the mesa. This usually takes the form of a portable sacred bundle of amulets and charms stored in the straw roofs of indigenous homesteads or in covered pits in livestock corrals. The term can also be applied to shrines and community altars located in cabildos, at crossroads, water sources, the high puna, and on mountain tops.

Earlier we noted the orientation of Misminay near Cusco to four sacred mountains. The community of Moya (Huancavelica) studied by Peruvian anthropologist Alejandro Ortiz (1982) provides an example of mesas associated with sacred mountains. Here, in order to communicate with San Cristóbal via any one of three masculine mountain guardians (Wamani), it is necessary to use "pre-determined and appropriate sites called mesas" associated with each (Ortiz 1982, 190). Or one can ritually interact through the mediation of a fourth sacred mountain (Apu Yaya) conceived anthropomorphically as a male-female couple. A structurally similar "3:1 disunion" is described in the relationship between the four Apus of Misminay attributable to the structure of Andean kinship (Urton 1981, 54).

In Yanque (Colca Valley), according to Valderrama and Escalante (1988 152-154, 159), Mismi and Warankante, sources of two irrigation canals feeding the upper and lower halves of the community are the loci of water rituals and, Illustrative of the symbiotic relationship between mountains and water, these two mountains are perceived dualistically as brothers, married to two sisters (double dualism) embodied in springs at their bases. These preside over 12 cabildos of lesser deities (*awkis*) and are the subject of offerings (*irantas*) and libations (*t'inkas*) to guarantee the flow of water conducted at critical times in the reproductive annual cycle (Valderrama and Escalante 1988, 93-218). Reminiscent of the three "fields" of northern mesas, ritual assemblages often are headed by three bottles of water (from the snow cap, the springs, and the sea) representing Mismi (in the middle) with his two wives (Umahala and Marqocha) on each side; cotton balls on top of the bottles simulate rain clouds (Figure 3). This triadic division is one manifestation of the community's concept of time, others being the three parts of the agricultural cycle, three stations over three days on pilgrimages to Mismi, three irantas over three successive days in offerings to Mismi and Waranqante, etc.

Triads figure prominently in the rituals and mythic history of Sonqo near Cusco as reported by American anthropologist Catherine Allen (2002, 180). The ayllu has three sets of three ancestors while the ritual table is set with: (1) a three-pronged whip symbolizing ayllu authority, (2) three drinking vessels (two vertical keros and a horizontal *puchuela*), and (3) a coca cloth (unkuña) tied so that three tasseled corners protrude. Community festivals dominated by three ritual actors, three *taytachas*, two crosses and a painted icon of Christ, are the focus of the Santa Cruz feast and of pilgrimage, respectively. At ritual dance-battles on the high plain of Chiwchillani three districts meet in competition.

In Sucre, Bolivian anthropologist Gabriel Martínez (1987) provides a semiotic analysis of the mesa of "doña Sofía." During the preparation of the mesa an initial dualism of Gloria-Pachamama—which manifests in three circular white plates (Gloria) juxtaposed with a rectangular section of newspaper (Pachamama)—is transformed into a mediated tripartite format correlating with the three levels of the Aymara cosmos. On another level, this format manifests as the mediation of life and death similar to what Joralemon (1984, 1993, 132-146) describes for his informant's Peruvian north-coastal mesa. In Qaqachaka (Bolivia), Bastien's (1988) psychosocial analysis of an Aymara curing session demonstrates how the shaman represents Kay Pacha as a mediator between the living of this world and the dead of Urin Pacha as well as between the patient and the upper-world Condor of Janan Pacha.

A tripartite framework is recorded for mesas (*pachamamaq plato* and *alcanzo plato*) in Huaquirca, Apurimac where three stalks of maize delineate operative zones of the mesa recorded by Canadian anthropologist Peter Gose (2001, 211-249). In the high *puna* where stone altars are used, the "trinity formula" is maintained in a peaked format falling away on both sides, like the profile of the roof of a house or of a mountain. This "tripartite image" is also found in the shape of mesa icons (*kalpas*) and in human organs (heart and lungs or heart and testicles) which the Apus demand when ritual offerings are neglected (Gose 2001, 256-257). Of particular interest is a livestock ritual performed during Carnaval at Kuchillpo Lake in the puna above Huaquirca. Pairs of herders from all of the

headwaters of the region perform alpaca sacrifices at “hundreds” of stone mesas on the west bank of the lagoon looking east to Supayco, the major Apu of the area. After the ritual, the beating heart of the alpaca is thrown into the lake, which is considered to be the “heart of the mountain” (Gose 2001, 244-245). Also of note is the pairing of mountains according to symbolic functions, e.g., locally Supayco and his son-in-law Suparaura; regionally Coropuna and Solimana, realm of the dead near Arequipa as well as Sawasiray/Pitusiray, source and guardian of maize near Colca (Gose 2001, 235-237, 137-140). Regarding the regional mountains recognized throughout Southern Peru, Gose (2001, 132-133) indicates that via “subterranean canals” they facilitate the relationships between seeds and the dead, human burial and the sowing of maize, “A single hydraulic cycle unites these two pairs of mountains, where death in the west produces the germination and growth of maize in the east” (Gose 2001, 189).

As noted in the section on “Mesas,” Quispe (1969, 65, 72, 82) discusses man-made stone altars used for communicating with mountain spirits in Ayacucho. The Chipaya of Bolivia use stone mounds to represent mountain gods (Reinhard 1996, 61), while at nearby Sibaya small cones represent mountain deities on mesas (Riviere 1982, 185) similar to the numerous stones found on Peruvian north coastal altars (Joralemon and Sharon 1993, 15-156). The blood of llamas sacrificed to surrounding mountains for crop and livestock fertility is dispersed in the four cardinal directions; a mesa at the summit of Pumiri mountain and a shrine dedicated to the most powerful local mountain are divided into four quadrants (Reinhard 1996, 60). Also, flat stone altars (mesarumi) and associated rituals addressed to the Apus are documented for Chillihuani near Cusco by Canadian anthropologist Inge Bolin (1998). Rituals involve libations to the four corners of the mesa, the four directions, and the four winds (Bolin 1998, 168-170, 23, 61-63, 143).

It is interesting to note that in contemporary Peruvian north-coastal shamanism a four-ribbed San Pedro cactus is considered to be extremely rare and very powerful—similar to the four-leaf clover in Irish lore. It is the cosmic center for the “four winds” and “four roads,” an invocation which one curandero, Eduardo Calderón used to open and close his healing ceremonies. The four roads divided his microcosmic mesa into four quadrants like those of the Inca Empire. This is similar to the quadripartition (4x4) of major sacred images in Cuspisnique, Chavín, and Moche art as delineated by four serpents in four fields (Campana and Morales 1997, 86-91, Figures 37-40) as well as four psychedelic San Pedros with four ribs depicted in Cupisnique ceramics (Sharon 2000, Figures 1-14). (See also Guaman Poma’s drawing of a quadripartite Inca armorial device showing 16-rayed images of the Sun and Lightning deities in McCormack (1992, Figure 44].) Mesa roads radiated from the crucifix at the center (like Cusco, the “navel” of the Inca domain. This central pivot of Eduardo’s mesa allowed the shaman to perform San Pedro-induced ecstatic “magical flight” to the upper (hanan) and lower (hurin) realms (pachas) of the cosmos. Polia (1996 II, 436-440) shows that San Pedro—especially the tip—and the crucifix serve the same purpose on the mesas of shamans in the north-Peruvian highlands. In effect, the sacred cactus—like its Christian namesake—is the axis mundi uniting worlds and planes of existence. It is also found in the background of the Moche tripartite cosmogram depicted in painted reliefs at the Temple of the Moon (Sharon 2019). American archaeologist Helaine Silverman (2001, 269) indicates the presence of San Pedro in pre-Hispanic Nasca culture as does Sharon (2000, Figures 108 and 109, pp. 75-76). Bonnie Glass-Coffin (2010) describes its role in pre-Hispanic ancestor worship and water/fertility cults.

Two ethnographic facts demonstrate the role played by human agents in facilitating the circulation of water. In Socaire, Chile (Barthel 1959, 35-36 in Reinhard 1987a, 34) describes how ritual specialists learn the appropriate words and music for requesting fertility of crops and herds from mountain spirits. This is done by listening to the sounds made at night by the river which originates at the most sacred mountain in the area. Subterranean canals are especially good for this purpose, which Reinhard suggests may have been one of the functions of the underground canals beneath Chavín. The other practice mentioned by Reinhard (1996, 21) in citing Urton (1982, 11) involves the transport of sea water from the coast to sacred mountains during times of drought. Tello (1923, 187-188), Golten (in Sharon, Briceño, and Noack 2003, 13), and Valderrama and Escalante (1988, 103-104) also describe this practice.

Citing colonial sources, Reinhard (1987a, 31) points out that Lightning (Illapa) was the most important deity in the Inca Empire, and the second most important (after Inti) among the Incas themselves while mountains were the most numerous deities listed in these accounts. Combining ethnohistory, iconography, and ethnography Reinhard (1987b, 49-50) hypothesizes that deities controlling meteorological phenomena have been associated with mountains since the very beginning of Andean civilization. Specific names and myths have varied with the passage of time and in different contexts, but

this “basic concept” has persisted for thousands of years and was held in common throughout the Andes at the time of the Spanish conquest. Colonial documents and local legends predating the Incas attest to its antiquity (see Agustinos 1992 [1560], Ávila 1975, and Duviols 1967), and contemporary ethnography confirms its persistence, with minor changes, up to the present.

As noted above, this ancient concept is based on Andean ecology with the mountains being the source of meteorological phenomena as well as the rivers that are so vital to the desert coastal regions. Physically dominating the Andean landscape, mountains provide points of contact between earth and sky; their links with the subterranean realm via craters, caves, lagoons, and subsurface water are apparent. As in ancient cultures around the world, in pre-Hispanic Peru the sacred mountain was seen as an axis undi unifying the three levels of the cosmos. In terms of iconography, the relation of serpents, felines, and birds with the three levels of the world—widely diffused in pre-Hispanic times—was based on observable phenomena: serpents are associated with the subterranean world and water, felines are predators which dominate the earth, and birds—especially birds of prey—govern the sky. In the Andes, mountains are one of the most important elements in the ancient conceptual system relating to the circulation of water through the subterranean, terrestrial, and celestial regions. Regardless of where the water originated, local mountain deities normally controlled it, thereby establishing direct influence over the fertility of plants, animals, and—ultimately—humans.

Conclusion

Chiappe, Lemlij, and Millones (1985, 51-55) contrast the main cultural syndrome (*susto*, “fright sickness” or “soul loss”) treated by traditional healers in rural highland settings with daño or sorcery which is more prevalent in coastal—mainly urban and periurban—contexts. In the latter, the man vs. man relationship is the main variable while in the former it is man vs. nature. For example, in the cities of the coast where one is relatively free from the onslaughts of nature, alienation and competition engender anxieties about harm from human actors. However, in rural areas—particularly in the highlands—where the vagaries of the annual agricultural cycle pre-dominate, the forces of nature are perceived as those agents posing the most threat to humans.

With regard to the northern-southern cultural designations applied in this paper, the insights of Chiappe et al. are helpful in characterizing the differences between these two ethnic and sociological poles of the Central Andean area co-tradition encompassing Peru and Bolivia For example, the “combat” model found in the Peruvian north coastal region correlates well with the man vs. man relationship while the “banquet” model of Southern Peru and Bolivia fits well with the animistic or pantheistic man vs. nature nexus. However, upon closer inspection this contrast may be brought into sharper focus by viewing the rural-urban dynamic as the independent variable similar to the “folk-urban continuum” developed by Robert Redfield (1958) in his work among the Yukatek Maya. In looking at witchcraft, Redfield found that it seldom occurred among rural populations, but was widespread in urban settings. He attributed this to the anomie and conflict associated with acculturation.

The situation in the Andes appears to be somewhat comparable. Joralemon and Sharon (1993) provide extensive documentation of the predominance of sorcery in the shamanism of the urban areas of the north (see Schupp 1991 for Lima). As we noted in the discussion of southern mesas, Fernández documents the evolution from tinku to taypi and the emergence of alienation in response to the competitive pressures of La Paz. Also, Ina Rösing’s (1994, 207) in-depth work among the Kallawayas of Bautista Saavedra province (Bolivia), although indicating that sorcery is present in the south, shows that--unlike soul loss--it lacks a “religious substratuum” and is clearly attributed to human agents as opposed to natural forces, indicating that its causes and treatment are subordinated to the primary concern of south-Andean religion and ritual, i.e.,“debt offerings” to the supernatural realm in order to overcome or ward off misfortune.

Rösing’s definition of debt offerings as the principal dynamic in South Andean religion was published in the same issue of *Revista Andina* (1994) as Gerardo Fernández’s article on the Aymara ritual banquet cited earlier. Based on 10 years of fieldwork experience, she outlines eight aspects of Andean religion in the south which she characterizes as “amazingly pragmatic, oriented to action” in regard to the sacred permeating daily life:

1) multiplicity of numina, with Earth Mother and mountain spirits prevalent;
2) ambivalence of numina, i.e, neither “good” or “bad”;
3) site-specific numina, i.e., inhabiting mountains, lagoons, etc.;
4) reciprocity between gods and humans;
5) reciprocal dialogue via sacrifice and prayer;
6) measurable procedures and domains discernible via divination;
7) omnipresent sacrality;
8) regional variation, i.e., valley vs. puna, etc.

(Rösing, 1994, 193-195).

Rösing (1994, 195-197) next describes eight aspects of Andean religious action:

1) offering and invocation rituals;
2) sacrifices;
3) invocation as dialogue;
4) rituals addressed to the "dark world";
5) specialists at family and community levels;
6) participation mystique;
7) ritual as integral to daily life;
8) site-specific offerings.

After reviewing the different orientations of Andean ethnographers, Rösing (1994, 197-200) extracts three interpretive theoretical concepts which have emerged over six decades. These are: (1) reciprocity or the Andean value of equality in giving and receiving; (2) equilibrium as essential to a reciprocal relationship, but not always achieved in relations with the gods who also send misfortune; and (3) binary logic or a dialectic of complementary opposites as the symbolic structure underlying Andean thinking.

Rösing (1994, 200-210) discusses Andean "debt offering" in the light of the conceptual framework outlined in the foregoing. For her, this is a notion intimately related to the concept of reciprocity between humans and deities. In negative terms, it consists of non-reciprocity on the part of man. Andean gods expect reverence and offerings, delivered via sacrificial rituals. If these are not performed, or if they are insufficient a debt is incurred. This ritual burden results from an act of omission where concrete actions and offerings have been neglected. It is inevitable and often inherited from earlier generations as in the case of a boulder on one's property struck by lightning which must be regularly "fed." Or a person can unknowingly disturb one of the many sacred places. However, such omissions or accidents can be prevented or rectified by the appropriate verbal and ritual formulas. Finally, although there is no word in Quechua or Aymara for debt offering, its presence is indicated by misfortune, a sure sign that one's sacred place (cabildo) has been forgotten and is "hungry," thus requiring a "payment" of food and drink to restore equilibrium with the Andean cosmos. The absence of debt—what Rösing calls its "positive correlation"—can only be implied from the absence of misfortune or *desgracia*.

Misfortune, however, is only be one side of the coin of s*ami*, defined by Catherine Allen (2002, 33-34, 178) as "animating essence" or "life force" similar to the Polynesian concept of *mana* or our own concept of energy. Henrique Urbano (1993, 295-298) has further delineated this elusive South Andean principle, manifest in oral tradition and "defining a symbolic space in close relationship with luck, fortune, or fate." For example, the inhabitants of the mythical Inca city of Paititi are graced with Sami, a special capacity to do things well similar to a "*don de Dios*" (gift of God) which is the defining characteristic of a shaman. Following up on Roel Pineda's (1966) sense of sami as "*cuenta mágica del ganado*" (magical counting of the herd) among pastoralists of the puna, Urbano found this to be a ritual of counting flocks and herds by pairs as a way of asking God, Pachamama, and the Saints (and presumably the Apus) to guarantee good and abundant reproduction. The verb *saminchar* ("to place sami") is equivalent to placing a despacho for the herds. Earlier Urbano (1976, 9), in discussing the "minimum structure of Andean ritual gesture," defined *samincha* or *saminchay* as similar to *tinka* in designating "the totality of ritual gestures of a determined ceremony." (*Tinkar* and *challar* were described as "aspersion.") In this article, he refers to Lira's definition, "blessing liturgy," associating it with the ritual gesture of sowing. In addition, he discusses *samay* (the act of blowing), showing how it often accompanies the gesture of *alcanzar* ("to reach out"), i.e., "to ritually offer the despacho." For him, "*el soplo*" (the blowing or spraying) signals the relationship between the sender and the receiver of an offering. In this regard, ritual aspertions of alcohol, wine, perfumes, holy water, etc. regularly punctuate shamanic rituals in both the North and the South.

Urbano (1993, 298, 303) compares sami with "luck" and with the Greek and classical idea of *fortuna*. Regarding its relation to time in popular Andean discourse, sami or *suerte* or *suwirti* rejects the march of time,

> *Facts have no immediate or distant causes. What befalls us is the fruit of fate and chance. Good or bad fortune…occur without a precise or preventable logic. Facts are arbitrary, like life and our daily bread. Good and Evil intervene in the time of men and shape it without man being able to defend himself… in any way whatsoever. It is destiny. It is fate. The trickster—Tawapaca or Tarapaco, Wiracocha, Thunupa or Tunupa, Arnauan or Ayar Cachi—embodied Good and Evil in the Andean mythical cycles of the origin of the world and of the Incas, before 16th-century Spanish Catholicism transformed them into demons or Christian apostles. [Urbano 1988 adds Quilliscachi and Ecaco to the list of pre-Hispanic "makers–unmakers"—with Ecaco surviving today as patron of* alasitas*, a post-harvest fair.]*

For Fernández (1997, 130-131), the popular Aymara conception of "luck" manifests during the month of August at the beginning of a new productive cycle when Pachamama is "open" and "hungry" after her invernal sleep. This context of "openness" facilitates a "culinary reciprocity" between Pachamama and humans made possible by the general abundance and dispersed energy of the late post-harvest season—an abundance, however, which is beginning to wane. The new cycle coincides with the time of year when the human body, strengthened by the fruits of the harvest, is most threatened. Attracted by the reinforced fat and blood of the Aymara, the terrible *kharisiri*, who haunt desolate, out-of-the way places roam the byways of the countryside in search of human victims from which to extract these precious substances for use in the production of medicines.

Throughout the year up until the harvest, Pachamama gradually disperses the gifts related to fertility. However, the favors she has to offer in August fall outside the realm of a "rational reciprocity and logic of the productive cycle; it is said that they possess *encanto* [magical enchantment] and are highly capricious." Only those who have the fortune to perceive the signs related to these favors and know the stereotyped ritual formulas for achieving success can aspire to acquire them; everyone else, the ignorant, lose the unique opportunity to win easy riches, ridiculed as they are by their own ambition. Thus fate presents the chance to make an assault on fortune with a swift blow of "luck," which can alter a life of struggle and scarcity. The "opening" of the world reveals a complete spectrum of fortune which favors only a select few; it is the propitious moment to tempt fate.

Thus, in August, the earth overflows with encanto, the human body with vital fluids, and fickle fortune with tantalizing treasures. The implicit struggle for life by means of hard work and the logic of culinary responsibility and productivity is juxtaposed with the seductive quick-fix of "magical" success offered by chance and "luck." This apparent contradiction of an ambiguous fate suffered by all, regardless of demonstrated merits, is customarily shrugged off with the formula of resignation, "It's one's luck."

Allen (2002, 178-180) points out that in the Andean universe the circulation of sami underlines all aspects of culture including religion, politics, and economics. In this world view everything in existence is imbued with life force, which can be transmitted—through a material medium—from one living thing to another. Exchange is the mechanism that assures the flow, which is neutral in itself and must be channeled in such a way that all things realize a "proper mode and degree of liveliness." The central problem in all activity is to control and direct the flow of life, making reciprocity the "pumping mechanism at the heart of the Andeans' circulatory cosmos."

Two groups or individuals are needed to carry out an exchange and keep the pump of reciprocity in motion. This manifests as the "dialectical dualism" underlying all Andean activities. Processually, the numerous "pairs of dual opposition" pervading Andean culture are human endeavors "participating in a dynamic circulatory cosmos."

> *These oppositions bear witness to a pervasive Andean tendency to think and behave in terms of dialectical oppositions ingrained as "habitus" at the level of mundane…activities like farming, cooking, and coca chewing…(T)his habitus takes shape largely through daily activities that are given cultural meaning by a highly sexualized worldview. Thus, dialectical opposition in ritual draws upon tendencies of action and thought that have already been ingrained in participants living out their lives as members of Runa society. Cosmos, community, household and individual are realized through the fusion of opposites, like the warmi and qhari, each of which contains the other (Allen 2002, 179).*

Allen provides a list of "mutually enfolding oppositions" from Sonqo where she did her fieldwork, noting that the list "seems to expand ad infinitum," encompassing "fluid and context-dependent relationships."

As we noted in the section, "Mountain and Water Cults," triads figure just as prominently as dyads in Sonqo's myth and ritual. Allen (2002, 180) explains the interaction between the two as follows:

> *There is a connection between the triadic and dyadic groupings. Examined more closely, each unit of three divides into a binary opposition of two against one, in which complementary elements are nested within other oppositions of a higher order. The asymmetry—or* puchu *("too-muchness")—of the triad creates a dynamic tension of inside against outside, male against female, even against odd. Mink'a [labor debt service], the asymmetrical aspect of reciprocity, is expressed in the triads—the state of unbalance that keeps the social seesaw moving up and down.*

Allen's explanation provides insight into the dynamic underlying Andean mesas and cosmologies, which may be partially traceable to the concepts of *Collana*, *Payan*, and *Cayao* used in Inca social classification

systems (Zuidema 1964, 1992; Urbano 1987). Urbano (1980) and others contend that triads reflect Christian influences whereas Ossio (1973, xli) feels that tripartite structuring predates Christian classificatory categories.

In his discussion of the concept of *yanantin* ("man-and-woman") among the Macha of Bolivia, Tristan Platt (1986) refers to the Levi-Strauss (1966) thesis that "true duality is perpetually elusive and is to be understood as the limiting case of a triadic structure" (Platt 1986, 256). He adds that, in stressing circular models of dualism, the French structuralist overlooked predominantly "orthogonal" models typical of the Andes as manifest in the "rectilinearity" found in weaving, painting, sculpture, and masonary with the most developed example being Tiwanaku iconography (Platt 1986, 253). For the Quechua-speaking Macha of northern Potosí (Bolivia) cuadripartition divisible into subsidiary pairs associated with the man-woman dualism is the prevalent paradigm. This contrasts with their neighbors, the Aymara-speaking Laymi, who stress asymmetry in dyadic relations with tripartition providing the framework for symbolic integration (Harris 1986).

In the foregoing review of the ethnographic literature, in the section on "Mesas," we have noted a pervasive binary logic underlying Andean cosmology often expressed through the ternary and quaternary structures of the mesas of the North and the South. In the North, we have already noted Polia's ideal three "fields" for north Peruvian highland mesas; he also documents ritual orientation to the cardinal directions (Polia, 1996, II, 553), which is true for all the mesas discussed above. On the north-Peruvian coast, the 12 mesas described by Joralemon and Sharon (1993), all express a *curandero/ganadero* ("healing/winning") dualism mediated by ritual. However, within the same sample, Sharon (1993, 15-24) documents a Moche-area mesa with a third, mediating "middle field" (*campo medio)* as does Gálvez (2014, 169-210). Also, on the north coast Donald Joralemon (1983, 1984) reports the three "fields" and mediation of the forces of life and death in a Lambayeque healer's mesa, Glass-Coffin (1998) documents the balanced mesas of five female coastal and sierra *curanderas*, and R. Donald Skillman (1990)) documents the "double dualism" of a Salas-area curandero while Giese (1989) reports the three "fields" (left, right, center) and a separate *mesa ganadera* of a Chiclayo healer's mesa.

In the South, Dalle (1969) and Bolin (1998) describe a quaternary orientation of mesas from the Cusco region and (Reinhard (1996) records quadripartition of mesas in Sabaya and in the Cusco area. In Bolivia, Bastien (1973, 133) documents the ritual orientation to the sun's movements in Kaata, the Buechlers (1971, 95) describe offerings to the four cardinal directions, Martinez (1987) demonstrates how an intial dualism of Gloria-Pachamama is transformed into a mediated tripartite format correlating with the three levels of the Aymara cosmos and Riviere (1982, 164, 170, 190-191) reports a cardinal orientation of shamans' mesas, communities, and social groups connecting them with mountain-top ceremonial sites. Fernández (1994, 176) describes a "double quaternary" system in ritual packets from La Paz. The layout of the packets contrasts with the "double triaxial" wrappings of a Mestiza despacho-maker from Abancay reported by Ackerman (1991), the latter similar to the "double tripartite" structure of Pachacuti's 16th-century drawing as revealed by Vallée's (1992) 3X3 grid as well as a quadripartite orientation suggested by the Southern Cross at the center of the drawing. Gose (2001) in Apurimac, Valderrama and Escalante (1988) in the Colca Valley, and Mayorga *et al.* (1976) in Puno all document ternary structures for sacred mesa bundles.

In the section on "Cosmologies" it became apparent that, in the final analysis, what Andean mesas have in common is that, through the medium of ritual, each one is transformed into an axis mundi for a three-tiered (3 *pachas*), quartered (4 *cardinales*) micro-cosmos expressing the invisible forces at work in the Universe. From an ethnographic standpoint, the diversity of Andean mesas and associated cosmologies appears to be their most salient feature. However, ethnological comparison helps to avoid the syndrome of not seeing the forest for the trees. First of all, there is the obvious fact that all of the cases reviewed herein are syncretistic in nature blending Indigenous and Hispanic religious elements. Also, from the ethnological perspective, it can be seen that, in the Andes, ternary and quaternary structures are not mutually exclusive, as witnessed, in one case, by the fact that the reknowned Moche curandero Eduardo Calderón played both sides of the dualistic coin (Sharon 1978, 62-72) facilitating a holistic "complementarity of opposites" of impressive therapeutic value. I suspect this is a mystical feat that Andean shamans have been performing since time immemorial.

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