The Powers of Hard Rock: Meaning, Transformation and Continuity in Cultural Symbols in the Andes[1]

ASTVALDUR ASTVALDSSON

Culture as Process and Practice

A lot has been written lately about writing, textuality and different kinds of knowledge—and how knowledge is stored and expressed—in the Andes.[2] This paper contributes to that discussion by looking at meaning, transformation and continuity in certain powerful cultural symbols, which are the focus point and repositories of local knowledge—religious, political, social—in native Andean communities. In an article that recently appeared on these pages, Denise Y. Arnold speaks of a new approach to Andean studies, "one that finally abandons the closed hermeneutical circle of prior theories (Ricoeur, Geertz), the thesis and peer group to focus instead on the study of native Andean discourse, native Andean texts and native Andean textual practices".[3] As Arnold points out, in the Andes, this often entails the understanding of alternative forms of communication such as weaving, rather than writing. This case study aspires to use a similar approach to look at how Andean people inscribe meaning in, interpret and reinterpret certain symbolic objects. A radical departure from some of anthropology's most influential, though long outdated, theories of the sacred (Durkheim, Eliade) is crucial here.[4] Instead we take as a guideline the idea that the symbols and meanings that characterise and constitute culture are not independent from the forms of discourse that people use.[5] Rather, it is precisely this discourse which, in a constant interaction with its sociocultural environment, expresses and actually creates and recreates these symbols and meanings. In line with this, we will discuss how Andean people conceive of, describe and relate to cultural symbols, and try to make as lucid as possible what essential qualities and attributes are required to make a powerful Andean deity.

This approach reveals some fundamental flaws in Eliade's theory regarding the sacred and the profane. He defines the sacred as a metaempirical reality, a reality that does not belong to our world and which manifests itself as something wholly different from the profane. For example, he states that "a *sacred* stone remains a *stone*; and apparently (or, more precisely, from the profane point of view), nothing distinguishes it from all other stones". However, to suggest that the many places and objects representing Andean deities are not worshipped as such (as stones, mountains, etc.), but because they manifest "something wholly different", is to misunderstand and undermine the complexity of Andean religion. On the contrary, these places and objects are

1356-9325/98/020203-21

worshipped precisely because they are seen to distinguish themselves from other places and objects, and hence thought to be powerful. While the qualities by which they are distinguished from 'similar things' can be both real and imaginary, they always have a basis in actual perceptions.

However, these perceptions change and, instead of trying to understand Andean religion in terms of an absolute division between the sacred and the profane, one should examine it in terms of the sociocultural processes that continue to shape history, by defining, modifying, obstructing and legitimating change.[6] Hence, one must break with previous definitions of religion, which have concentrated on the supernatural, and include in one's considerations materials and processes that are normally excluded from conventional discussions of religion. As Hans Mol has suggested, this requires a new kind of language. His concept of 'sacralization' differs significantly from what Eliade called the sacred (being sacred), since he emphasises 'the fluid transition from the profane to the sacred'. Hence, "sacralization is the inevitable process that safeguards identity when it is endangered by the disadvantages of the infinite adaptability of symbol-systems", and one "reason for stressing the sacralization process rather than the separateness of the sacred is that 'change' and 'process' language is more appropriate for analysing 'changing' situations".[7]

Meaning, Transformation, Continuity

How one approaches the main themes with which this study is concerned depends to some extent on the theoretical outlook regarding the concepts of transformation and continuity, since, although it may seem that these terms do not have much in common, the fact is that it is through the study and analysis of the dynamic historical processes of societies and cultures that one begins to understand how these same societies and cultures function.[8]

Although one can often talk about continuity in sociopolitical and symbolic structures and elements, over time their meaning usually changes. However, this is not always recognised, since such changes tend to be legitimised or sacralized through rituals, which often allow transformed reality to appear as continuous. In an interesting study of Fijian tradition and ritual, Christina Toren shows how present-day "kava-drinking stresses a hierarchy whose politico-economic and spiritual bases have been subject to radical change and at the same time effectively subverts the awareness that change has occurred".[9] However, as Toren shows, once one recognises 'tradition as process', one also starts to realise that ritual not so much denies the passage of time and the changes time brings but rather "incorporates change under the rubric of appropriate action".[10] Thus, the concept of continuity only becomes meaningful if we examine it in close relation to that of transformation. Continuity must be understood as a relative phenomenon, not just in relation to change but as part and parcel of all transformation processes; or as Toren notes, "if tradition is appropriate action, then the notion of transformation is contained within that of continuity".[11] Therefore, in relation to changing social and cultural life, true historical continuity is always marked by ongoing transformations.

History and the Imagination

The question of historical transformation and continuity is a complex one and different kinds of evidence have to be taken into account, studied and analysed in order to establish, as best one can, the history of Andean communities. An important aspect of these concepts is related to memory and the imagination. Part of the data that scholars study is the product of the social memory and imagination of the people of the societies studied and reflects their continued efforts to organise and understand their own society, culture and history. This material, which is often oral rather than written, forms part of the social and cultural 'facts' that scholars must study and is an essential component in understanding change and continuity in any society. However, the problems involved in using verbatim testimonies (reconstructed evidence) to establish "how things were in the past" are well established. The full meaning of such reconstructions is grounded in the fact that they are produced in the present and, therefore, may be idealisations of "how things should have been", that may tell us more about people's attitudes, values and interests in the here-and-now, than about the 'way things actually were' previously. Gary Urton notes that:

> ... there are no "innocent survivors"—institutions and practices untouched by history—in the Andes. That an institution or practice bears the name of what appears to be a similar institution or practice recorded in Inka mythohistory does not necessarily mean that there exists a continuity of structure, function, or context of action between the two examples. Any similarities between the two should be viewed rather as the subjects of analysis, taking into account the widest possible range of circumstances and contexts in which the institutions were acted on, or the practices performed, in their eras.[13]

Urton points out that it is possible to avoid the misconception that Andean communities have remained encapsulated in time from early colonial times to the present by pursuing a form of social analysis that remains within the premodern, historical time frame and simply disregarding contemporary Andean people and societies. However, he argues it is crucial to take into account social, political and ritual structures, and practices in communities from colonial through contemporary times, since the action of disregarding contemporary Andean people and societies, "whether taken out of caution or ignorance or lack of experience of life in a modern Andean community, is tantamount to the disenfranchisement of Andean people from their own history and a denial of the value and validity of their interpretations of, and action on, that history". And as he rightly adds, "we can considerably enrich our understanding of ideologies of history in the Andes by incorporating information on the contemporary practices and historical perspectives of people in Andean communities today".[14]

In an article on legal documents and historical interpretation in Cumbal, Columbia, Joanna Rappaport notes that the reading of the community's historical documents by local historians is unlikely to be identical to that of academic scholars, because of different cultural and educational backgrounds.[15] However, people and communities may also have reasons to 'manipulate' the facts and transformations in favour of 'desired continuities', and this is helped by certain conceptions inherent in their cosmology. One such case of 'manipulations' and

'imagined' facts can clearly be seen in the accounts that the people of Sullka Titi Titiri give of the traditions surrounding their most important deity, the *wak'a achachila* Turiturini. The point of studying such traditions does not just lie in trying to discover "what happened" and "how things used to be" but also represents an attempt to find out how they may be understood and how they are seen to affect the present. Nevertheless, how things are understood today may also assist us in understanding how they used to be, in particular where we have written sources about the past with which present-day ideas and practices can be compared and contrasted.

Turiturini: a Rock to be Read

Working from De Certeau's notion of history as expressed in material things and in the landscape, Rappaport has shown that, while many elements of material culture undoubtedly constitute historical evidence for the individual pasts; of the people of Cumbal, elements that encode highly-charged symbols are related to the communal past (in the case of Cumbal the most important of these elements are cabildo staffs of office and boundary ditches).[16] In Sullka Titi Titiri memories of both the individual and the communal pasts are equally inscribed in a variety of material things and in the landscape: in fact, every stone, mound, river and other landmarks seem to prompt memories of days gone by. However, the community's most powerful deities, the so-called *wak'a achachila*, are the elements encoding highly charged symbols most closely related to communal history, which explains why people generally possess more knowledge about them than about other less significant and more ambivalent deities. The *wak'a*, therefore, are a source of historical information, and are 'read' and interpreted in a similar way as colonial documents.[17] In fact most of the ethnographic and ethnohistorical data related to this study came to light as the result of discussions about the *wak'a* and other deities: they provide a focus for knowledge about sociopolitical organisation, land disputes, rituals and so forth.[18]

Turiturini is the most powerful and revered *wak'a achachila* in Sullka Titi Titiri and his image was at the centre of many of the most important rituals in the community.[19] As a religious symbol this small monolithic head (approximately fifteen centimetres in height and nine in diameter) has an important external form and observable characterstics: although the style in which it is made has not been recognised by archaeologists with whom I have spoken, they agree it must be old, probably pre-Columbian. Both the visual and textural qualities of the head were often commented on by local people and clearly form an important part of why they consider it to be exceptionally powerful. The information on Turiturini is vaster and more complex than that on any other *wak'a* in the community. It needs careful consideration, since many of the comments and interpretation offered are far from obvious. We will first examine the head itself. Then we shall consider the visual and symbolic qualities of the place where it resides, which provides a significant part of the symbolic context in which the deity is validated by the community. Finally, we will look at events which are supposed to have taken place in the past and which clearly affect the current ideological context of Turiturini. Apart from oral traditions, this involves looking at written sources related to the *wak'a*, both colonial documents and

Figure 1. The *wak'a achachila* Turiturini.

modern tales, which point to relations between the *wak'a* and certain historical characters and events.

Visual and Textural Qualities

The head's carvings can be divided into two main spheres for analytical purposes: the main physiognomy and two spirals, one on top of the head, the other at the back of the neck. The facial features are highly stylised, which is true for the head as a whole. Nevertheless, people compare the main features of the face to those of a human being. Its eyes, ears and mouth are said to be like those of a man and it is like a small, beautiful human head. However, the comments go beyond a simple comparison to a human being. Many of the elders, in particular, actually say Turiturini *"is a man"*. On the one hand, they use the expression *jaqi wak'aw*, "he is a human *wak'a*", and on the other, *jaqipiniy*, "he must be a man" (the suffix—*pini*—is an emphatic).[20] Many other indicators strongly link the identity of this and other *wak'a* to that of human beings, although they are not necessarily considered to have been humans before becoming *wak'a*.[21]

The Aymara and Quechua word for 'spiral' is *muyumuyu*, a composition derived from the root *muyu* (round, circular), also used to form verbs suggesting circular and spiral movement, e.g. rotate and revolve. In fact, the basic meaning of *muyumuyu* depicts that which goes around and around, which is borne out by the fact that *muyumuyu* is used to describe the act of turning around when dancing and that whirlwind in Aymara is *muyumuyu thaya*. When I was first allowed to see Turiturini, I asked his keeper about the Aymara word for the spirals on the head.[22] He did not just tell me it was *muyumuyu* but, simultaneously, made a clockwise movement over the head with his hand, in line with

Figure 2. The spiral at the top of Turiturini's head.

the spiral. Hence, *muyumuyu* does not portray the spiral as a passive entity but rather as a symbol of active and vigorous movement.

In fact, spiral forms and movements are widely used in the context of Andean rituals. For example, there are many spiral forms among the symbolic sugar cubes that are the basic ingredient in today's most common ritual offering, the 'dulce *misa*'. Spirals can represent serpents, which symbolise wisdom, power and lightning, a powerful celestial deity.[23] Finally, circular movements described by the term *muyumuyu* (or verbs formed from the root *muyu*) are commonly used in Aymara rituals when placing the different ingredients into the *misa* or making libations. These movements can be made clockwise or anti-clockwise and their direction, respectively, depends on whether they are supposed to symbolise positive or negative qualities, for example, whether they are designed to attract benevolent deities or thwart a potential curse.[24]

Discussing a ritual offering made to secure good luck, 'buena suerte', Girault notes that the participants used a spiral movement, denominated *muyu–muyu*, when scattering flower petals over the *misa*, whilst repeating a prayer dictated to them by the ministering *yatiri*.[25] When he asked the yatiri about the significance of this act, she told him it was made to 'better concentrate the power'.[26] Girault thought this explanation was too vague to allow him a valid interpretation and concluded that this manner of acting was probably due to a motive which remained sibylline. However, my information suggests that these spiral movements are important symbolic gestures, explicitly made to attract the 'right' deities to come and savour the offerings. Thereby establishing a reciprocal momentum through which their power is made accessible to the people offering in exchange for the food that the deities are seen to desire.[27]

The spirals on the head must be viewed in light of these observations. It is clear that their presence forms an important part of the reason why people

consider Turiturini to be exceptionally powerful.[28] Although they did not explain their thoughts in the exact analytical terms used here, the spirals were repeatedly mentioned as one of the key features of the head, a characteristic which was clearly thought to be exceptional and, thus, representative of special powers.[29]

The colour, texture and supposed hardness of the stone from which the head is made are also important. It is crucial that the colour is seen to be white or light: this varies slightly from person to person. White, as opposed to black, has positive symbolic values for the Aymara, born out by its purposeful use in rituals (e.g. ideally, the llamas sacrificed in the initiation ritual in January were white and the 'spirits' of the *wak'a* were brought back in white cloths). The texture and hardness of the stone are expressed by a single Aymara word, *qhasqha*, a very hard and finely grained stone.[30] One man who wondered how the stone had found its way to the community said this type of stone was found in Comanche, a community southeast of Jesús de Machaqa. More importantly, another man, who was present when the conversation in question took place, made this explicatory comment: *Ukat ukax ch'amanirakipachanay ukarakiy ukax qhasqachixay* (so, this [wak'a] must be powerful, since it is [made of] such fine and extremely hard stone). These words clearly associate the powers of the *wak'a* with the hardness and fine texture of the stone. A further explanation given by the same man and many others was that the stone was so hard that it could break other stones.[31] Hence the comment, "he is not just any old stone" (*janiti aliq qalakikis kunasa*), made by several people. These words show, beyond doubt, that the observable characteristics of the monolith play a decisive part in making it unique, individual and powerful. The keyword here is *aliqa*, an Aymara term that seems to have an almost elusive set of meanings. Firstly, it can mean 'quiet' or 'calm'. Secondly, it means 'common' or 'ordinary'. Finally, it also means 'without cause or justifiable reason'. However, in our context, it is best understood as simultaneously suggesting all these qualities. Hence, the phrase *janiti aliq qalakikis kunasa* not only conveys the uniqueness of the material and the carvings but also the fact that this *wak'a* is considered to be extremely powerful, which is reflected by a vigorous, dynamic and authoritative personality: he is neither 'calm' nor 'ordinary' but authoritative and often unpredictable.[32]

Turiturini's Palace and its Imagery

The visual and textural qualities of the monolith are not the only reason why Turiturini is considered to be exceptionally powerful. The place where he resides also forms part of his overall make-up and will now be examined in some detail. It is in the ravine of a river, which itself is called Turiturini at this latitude.[33] On the riverside where Turiturini is kept is a small, flat piece of ground, referred to as his 'plaza' or 'cancha', his square or yard.[34] A very steep slope rises above this ground and on the right-hand side, when facing the slope, we find two rather astonishing earth formations (mounds), which bear a remarkable resemblance to towers, projecting into the air and into the skyline at the top of the slope if one is standing below them. On the left-hand side is a pile of rocks in which another *wak'a achachila*, T'ukuri, is kept, while Turiturini is hidden in a pile of rocks near the two towers. They were always kept hidden, except when they received offerings. This place (the 'cancha', the slope with the earth

Figure 3. The *wak'a achachila* T'ukuri, Turiturini's subordinate companion.

mounds, the river and the surrounding area) is referred to as Turiturini's 'palacio' (palace) and seen to be the epicentre of his reign. When offerings were made, Turiturini and T'ukuri were taken out of their hiding places. After careful preparation, according to specific, prescribed rules, Turiturini is said to have been located between the two earth towers, where he received his honours. T'ukuri seems to have been located on the other side of the 'cancha', on top of the pile of rocks where he is hidden.

The name Turiturini is of Spanish origin, although not everyone in the community is aware of this. The name is composed of the Spanish word 'torre', tower, repeated twice, which has been phonologically aymarised and had the Aymara suffix—*ni*—, a possessive, added to it. Its meaning, therefore, is 'Owner of Two [or various] Towers'. However, when asked about the meaning of the name, and whether the *wak'a* had a proper name in Aymara, only around half of our interlocutors were definite about its Spanish origin and linked it to Turiturini's two 'towers'.[35]

This material inevitably raises several questions. Why is the *wak'a* located in this particular place? Why does he have a name that originates in the language of the Spanish invaders and their ruling descendants, rather than an Aymara name describing these kind of earth formations? One of the first images evoked by two towers is that of a church, which is certainly true for the Andes where towers are uncommonly seen in the country except on churches. Could the name Turiturini possibly be linked to this kind of imagery? And if so, how is it that a native deity, which from a Christian viewpoint symbolises everything that is contrary to Christianity, has become associated with a church?

In order to address these issues, we must examine some of the answers given to questions about the meaning of the name Turiturini. However, what is of interest are not explanations about the name itself but a set of digressions that

allow us a closer look at the symbolic and imaginary attributes of the *wak'a* and the 'towers'. While nobody came up with an alternative Aymara name for the deity, the questions sparked off a rich flow of comments and tales about the past and about how Turiturini had come to take up his current position. A detailed study of the imagery that the relationship of the *wak'a* to the towers involves and of the process through which he had to go to 'acquire' them and his current name is crucial. It will take us beyond a simple etymological explanation of the name and gradually move us into the realm of the tales and myths. Hence, the imagery that we will inspect takes us further beyond the surface of the directly visual, observable qualities of the *wak'a* and his palace, into the imaginary and creative world of Andean cosmology.

While some people quite explicitly spelled out many details of the imagery surrounding Turiturini, others were more implicit in their answers and only agreed to the kind of 'rationalised' interpretation presented below if and when the ideas were put to them. One man, in particular, gave a very clear, wide-ranging account that covers most of the visual and imaginary aspects of the imagery of the *wak'a* that we will now look at. Three things deserve special attention, because they allow us to deepen our analysis of the dramatic changes through which the *wak'a* is seen to have gone. These are changes that have clearly altered the deity's primary status, as an indigenous deity, significantly, and seem to coincide with transformations in the ideological framework of the community. First is the suggestion that the two earth towers are built (*Luratаw, sasjamakis*: they are made, they seem to say). This suggestion, almost logically, leads to a second point, an explicit comparison of the earth formations to a church. This comparison is not casual but very important. As pointed out above, the name of the *wak'a* evokes the image of a church. However, it should be added that churches throughout the Andes have not only come to symbolise the powers of the Christian God and Catholic establishment but have also come to be considered as powerful deities in their own right, often linked to individual communities or certain regions.[36] For example, the famous colonial church in Jesús de Machaqa is said to be a powerful structure built by the Inka, and its patron saint, el Niño San Salvador, by implication the church's owner, appears to be conceptually likened to a powerful *wak'a*.[37]

Finally, the soil of which the towers are made is said to be red. However, the association of this highly symbolic colour with the earth formations is by no means obvious. In fact, the colour of the soil is not red but light brown and turns beige during the dry season. Hence, the question arises whether attributing the colour red to the towers is not of specific importance. The Aymara term for red, *wila*, is also the word for blood and the symbolic qualities of the colour stem from this fact. The association of the colour with blood becomes particularly meaningful in the context of native religious ideas and ritual sacrifices. Blood is the most valued component of all sacrifices and reserved for special occasions only. In Sullka Titi Titiri blood sacrifices were made on two occasions. Firstly, *Pachamama*, as the collective representative of the fields, was offered the blood of a llama every year at the beginning of the growing season.[38] Secondly, Turiturini and T'ukuri received the blood of one llama each every three years, when the community's basic local authorities were changed.[39] The only other blood sacrifices were carried out when the community faced major crises, such as famine or intercommunal war.

Blood is widely seen in the Andes as a vital life source. Its sacrifice to the deities is an essential part of society's effort to secure their benevolence: to make sure they assist with the growth of crops, the procreation of the animal herds and, ultimately, the prosperity of human beings and society. However, sacrificial blood is also seen as essential for providing structural strength to houses and other 'built' structures. In Arnold's study of the construction and symbolism of the house in Qaqachaka, she describes how the large stones denominated 'Inka'—used in the foundations of the four walls of the house—have to be joined together by a special kind of mortar in order to keep the walls of the house upright. Arnold points out how the water used in making the mortar is associated with water springs, the humid soil after rainfall, and women's blood. However, Arnold also notes that a further way of making the walls stand up vertically with blood is necessary, this time by sprinkling the sacrificial blood of a sheep over the four corners of the house: 'if the blood is not sprinkled, people say "the walls will fall down" '.[40]

While the vertical is associated with masculinity and the horizontal with feminine qualities throughout the Andes, the two notions are closely combined in a cosmology that does not accept disruptions but favours complementarity. Hence, while Arnold shows that the house and its symbolism have predominantly female qualities, this only reinforces the presence of the walls as the vertical and masculine part of the house. Similarly, scholars have shown the complementary roles of vertical masculine church towers and the flat feminine squares above which they rise.[41] Walls and towers are seen to have roots, which are 'planted' in the fertile soil and nourished by the earth, like crops and plants. These built structures are seen as living entities, which need to be fed from time to time, sometimes with simple libations and sometimes with more elaborate sacrifices that contain animal and even human blood.[42]

The explanation for why the colour of Turiturini's towers is seen to be red probably lies in an association with the symbolic qualities of blood. Aymara makes only a contextual distinction between 'red' and 'blood' and in Turiturini's case, the contextual evidence overwhelmingly points to the validity of associating the use of the term *wila* with the symbolism of blood. The phallic qualities of the erected towers can at one level be seen to symbolise the *wak'a*'s virility and the extraordinary powers that make him the primary ancestral source underpinning political authority within the community. As living structures and symbols of their owner's potential, the towers had to be nourished regularly so that their strength was not diminished and they did not fall down, just as the *wak'a* itself had to be fed so that it would continue to be powerful, and benevolent towards the community. The offering of blood played a central role in this effort. As Arnold points out, blood is associated with women and with vertical matrilineal kinship ties and descendence, while the ties of patrilineal descendence are transferred through semen, *muju* in Aymara, and symbolically through breath, *sami*.[43] Only the union of these two ancestral substances can procreate and sustain the lineage. Arnold shows how, analogically, the libations for the construction of the house represent a similar encounter between the two powerful ancestral substances and provide the house with the strength to stand upright and the potential to serve as a place were children are created, nourished and brought up. Arnold concludes that: "The reproductive analogy is here extended to include not just

the procreation of human life but also the animation of all aspects of material culture".[44]

Similarly, the rituals centred around Turiturini represented the symbolic encounter of these two ancestral substances. They served to recreate the sociopolitical structure of the community, and the ties between the community and its deities. Sacrificial blood was offered to the 'spirits' of the male ancestors in order to regenerate their powers, which are linked to the ability to fertilize the female plots and provide people with physical strength, and to political powers and the ability to govern the community. These powers were epitomised in Turiturini.

A statement made by another man strongly reinforces the argument about the important role of sacrificial blood for the preservation and maintenance of Turiturini and his towers, since it complements the notions evoked by the idea that the two towers are 'built'. This man described the earth mounds as two clay columns or towers standing upright, and which do not age but have always been the same. (*Uka janpini mirq'is jichhakamas ukhampiniskiw. Ukhampinitanaw ukax:* [The towers] do not age, until now they have been the same. This is how they have always been.) The Aymara word-root used for 'to stand upright' is *saya*, also used by the people of Qaqachaka to talk about making the walls of the house stand upright with blood. Arnold makes it clear that the house is seen by the people of Qaqachaka as a living structure, which derives its life force from sacrificial blood. In Turiturini's case, the association of the built, upright standing, living towers and sacrificial blood, which the *wak'a* and towers received regularly for their preservation, is implied by the fact that the towers are seen not to have aged but remained unaltered. When the man was asked a second time whether the towers had not in fact aged, he reiterated his previous statement, making it clear that it was the fact that the two towers remain standing which shows they have not aged. The towers are the most striking visible feature of the dwellings of the *wak'a* and it is only logical that the force required to keep them standing upright should be regularly maintained with sacrificial blood libations, just as the *wak'a* itself received regular blood sacrifices in order to preserve its power and secure its continued alliance with the community.

Tales of Change

We have seen how the visual imagery of Turiturini's palace is linked to a Christian church. However, in this context, as is often true for churches throughout the Andes, the church has taken on a set of new meanings, many of them imaginary attributes, derived from native Andean cosmology. The question we now have to address is how this happened.

One of those who did not recognise the Spanish origin of the name Turiturini, unlike most of those who did, described the earth formations using the imagery of a yoke of oxen, rather than that of a church.[45] In fact, he rejected the suggestion that the name was of Spanish origin, when this was put to him and, to underline this, opted to tell a tale about the *wak'a* that he had been told by his father. It is an account of "how things used to be", which also helps us to understand the changes that have occurred.

In a nutshell, he told us how the *wak'a achachila* Turiturini was formerly represented by two stones and was a 'twofold' *wak'a* of married couples.[46] For

this reason the *wak'a* received offerings. However, the stone representing the female, he said, had fallen into the river, although he did not tell us how, where and when in his short account.[47] It became clear that he was uncertain about many of the finer details of the story, but what he said was on other occasions corroborated and extended by other people to give a far more detailed picture. We shall now try to piece together this multivocal information, which constitutes the history of Turiturini.

The events in question are said to have taken place approximately one hundred years ago. One man named his grandfather, who is seen to be involved in the events recounted, as the source of his information. However, it must be noted that there are two versions of the tale. The first is derived from information culled from interviews and conversations conducted during my field work. The other is based on information gathered by don Felix Layme many years earlier and put together and published by Antonio Paredes Candia in his *Diccionario Mitológico de Bolivia*, 1972. Although the two differ slightly, together they offer an interesting account. Finally, some colonial documents and a tale composed by don Felix Layme, based on information he gathered prior to my field work, are related to aspects of the historical context of the *wak'a*.

Negro Ramos

'My' version of the tale recounts certain rather spectacular events, supposed to have taken place during the latter part of the last century, i.e. before the people now living in Sullka Titi Titiri were born, which is important. In essence, the story is as follows:

> Before the events took place, Turiturini was located further up the river as part of a much bigger stone structure that consisted of two monoliths and a large rock: the stone head which the community now possesses is said to have been the head of one of two monoliths that stood in the river just below a huge rock called Negro Ramos (Black Ramos). Despite the fact that two monoliths are said to have stood at the site, they are always referred to as one *wak'a*, either as *kasar qalaw*, stone or stones of married couples, or as *chachawarmpachan*, "they were man and woman" or "they were husband and wife".[48]
>
> Then, a long time ago during the rainy season, the river overflowed and the torrential waters, with their rapids and the many stones that the flood carried, knocked the two monoliths over, threw them into the river and carried them away. Some time later the stone head, Turiturini, was found and picked up by a member of the community, who recognised it, on the riverbank in front of the hillside where the two towers are found. After this the *wak'a* was put in place there and reinstated as a powerful deity. In fact, the *wak'a* himself is said to have chosen this place by the deliberate act of coming ashore there. The other monolith and Turiturini's trunk have not been seen since but are said to be lying in the river. This, in short, is the story as told to me by several people: apart from minor details, all the basic elements of the tale were repeated by those who knew the story.

Axat Qamaqi

In order to allow comparison, the version published by Paredes will now be cited in full:

> AJJAT-KHAMAKHE.-Grupo Aimará.
>
> Nombre de un individo legendario, de carácter audaz, inteligente, visionario, perteneciente a la comunidad de Jesús de Machaca, parcialidad *Sullka-titi*, que salvó a su pueblo de la esclavitud española durante la conquista.
>
> Se cuenta que compró la libertad de su comunidad, con ingentes cantidades de oro que guardaba en un manantial cercano.
>
> Dicen de él que era un príncipe o gran dignatario kolla de la circunscripción de Tiahuanacu, cuyos antepasados, huyendo también de la conquista y dominación Inca, se refugiaron en las montañas más altas de la cordillera que existe en la región, llevando consigo un ídolo pétreo.
>
> De este ídolo al que aún reverencian y en la actualidad, cada tres años, le ofrecen el sacrificio de una llama, sólo queda la cabeza guardada en celoso secreto por un miembro escogido de la comunidad.
>
> Hasta muy avanzado de la colonia, el ídolo se encontraba intacto sobre un pedestal erigido a la orilla del río *Sullka-titi-titiri*. Un día, un rayo lo partió, desapareciendo en el lecho del río. Los nativos, frente a la desgracia resolvieron esperar. Pacientemente, por turno, aguardaban que las aguas arrojaran a la orilla el ídolo o parte de él. Un día se realizó el milagro; después de una fuerte lluvia afloró a la orilla la cabeza de ídolo.
>
> *Ajjat-khamakhe*, traducido al español dice: *el zorro del rayo* o *el zorro refulgente*.[49]

The Cacique and his Double?

The two tales have much in common and, if one takes into account that over twenty years lapsed between the time they were recorded and that they were told by successive generations, it seems only logical that some variations occur. However, while the differences we encounter are significant, the two seem to complement rather than contradict each other. Let us first look at the similarities. Where both tales agree is that the monolith (idol) used to be found upstream until one day it was cast into the river, washed away and later only the head was found. Although the summary I gave did not include this detail, current oral traditions confirm that the stone head was kept hidden, guarded by a member of the community and that the *wak'a* continued to be revered and offered sacrifices by the community every three years until 1973.

Now the differences. Paredes' version mentions only one monolith and does not refer to the fact that the deity was considered to be a *wak'a* of married couples. However this detail was not available to him, since don Felix did not learn of it until our first field trip in 1990.[50] Another difference concerns the way in which the monolith was brought down and later found. Firstly, Paredes relates that the idol was struck by lightning and the head later washed ashore by a flood, while my version says the two monoliths were brought down by a

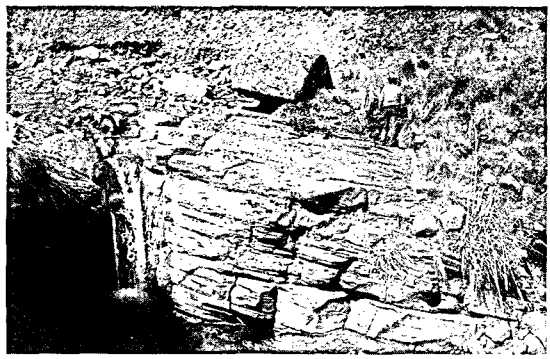

Figure 4. Negro Ramos: the small waterfall can be seen on the left of the picture.

flood and the head later washed ashore by the river. However, since torrential rain and heavy flooding are usually accompanied by lightning in the Andes, this could be considered as a minor detail were it not for the fact that in Paredes' tale the name Axata Qamaqi is related to lightning. This adds considerable complexity to the matter, as we will see. Secondly, Paredes relates that the community organised a guard on the river, while my version says that a certain individual found the head by chance. My version emphasises that the place where the head was found and reinstated was chosen by the *wak'a* itself: no attempt seems to have been made to take it back to its original location, which is quite crucial because of the symbolic context that the new place provides. Paredes' version does not mention this last detail.

The two tales also differ in the timing of the main events. Paredes' version places them in the late colonial period, while people nowadays say they happened about a hundred years ago: the grandfather of one of the consultants is said to be the man who found the head on the riverbank. However, the most significant difference between the tales is that the version published by Paredes includes historical material related to events that took place in the early colonial period, while my consultants did not seem to be able to make this connection in the same way that their forefathers had done twenty years earlier. These events concern the caciques of the region and the purchase of the lands of all the communities of Jesús de Machaqa in 1645. The lands of Jesús de Machaqa were bought from the Spanish Crown in 1645 by don Gabriel Fernández Guarachi, whereas the tale published by Paredes attributes this purchase to the legendary cacique Axata Qamaqi, who was don Gabriel's predecessor and, according to local oral traditions, his father-in-law.[51]

Although it seems clear that Axata Qamaqi was a real-life cacique of Jesús de Machaqa, he and his life have acquired a potent aura of mythical qualities, both in oral traditions and colonial documents.[52] Axata Qamaqi is today recognised by local people as a real ancestor and, according to them, is supposed to be the forefather of three extended families in three different parts of Jesús de Machaqa; the Ajacopa in Sullka Titi Titiri, the Ramos in Sullka Titi Arriba and the Axata in Kalla.[53] This is also maintained by a tale composed by don Felix.[54] However, we only have to look at this tale, and the one published by Paredes, to realise that the abilities and exploits of the cacique far surpass those of real human beings. In fact, the tales serve to identify him firmly as a culture hero, to whom

are ascribed superhuman feats and attributes, and it is in this context that he seems to become intrinsically associated with the *wak'a achachila* Turiturini.

As we have seen, people were unable to give an alternative Aymara name for Turiturini and the events they related are hence seen to have happened to the *wak'a* Turiturini. However, it has also been made clear that the name Turiturini is derived from the special circumstances of the place where the stone head was found after being washed down river by the flood. And since it is not until after these events that the *wak'a* acquired the two towers, it is obvious that he could hardly have been called 'Owner of Two Towers' until after they took place. This means he must have had a different name when and if he was located further upriver. The place where he is said to have resided before is called Negro Ramos. This name refers to the place itself, the river that runs through it (the same river that runs past Turiturini) and a huge rock located on the riverbank. However, this name is not recognised by anyone as the name the *wak'a* had before.

Paredes' tale does not actually give a specific name for the idol itself, and the names Negro Ramos and Turiturini are not mentioned. The only name mentioned is Axata Qamaqi, and that name is at the end of the tale related to lightning: it can mean the 'Fox of the Lightning'. This adds considerable complexity to the tale, since it can be seen to relate the cacique to the events in which the idol was struck by lightning. In fact, it would be logical that the idol was called the 'Fox of the Lightning' after having been struck by lightning and then resurrected—in a similar way that ritual specialists are seen to be revived after being killed by lightning: they are said to have been struck or touched by lightning.[55] However, the problem with suggesting Axata Qamaqi as the old name of the *wak'a* is twofold. Firstly, this goes against the information, which tells us that the name of the *wak'a* is Turiturini. Secondly, it goes against the fact that the name of the cacique, Axata Qamaqi, appears in colonial documents as early as 1608, long before the events described in the tales are supposed to have taken place. It remains, however, that the cacique and the *wak'a* are strongly linked in Paredes' tale and the fact that no specific name is given to the 'idol' only underscores this point.

In Paredes' tale, the idol is said to be older than the cacique, brought to Sullka Titi by his ancestors. This leads me to suggest that the stone head may have been a special repository of the ancestral spirit[s] of the powerful caciques of Jesús de Machaqa, who before the Conquest and in the early stages of the colonial era may well have resided in Sullka Titi Titiri. If I am right, this would attribute to the *wak'a* the same qualities that Duviols discusses in the case of the *huaca* in central Peru: they were the object of the cult of the colonising hero and constituted his mythical double, the conquering ancestor, founder of the *ayllu* (Andean community).[56] Viewed in this context, the tales seem to place the stone head Turiturini firmly within the conceptual framework of the *'huauque'*, brother in Quechua, who were effigies made of stone and other materials considered to be the brothers, doubles, of the Inka. My data suggest that other, i.e. non-Inka, dignitaries of the old cultures of the Andes may also have had their doubles.[57]

Conclusions: Cultural Resistance and Reinterpretation

We have looked at the visual and imaginary qualities of the *wak'a achachila*

Turiturini and of the 'palace' where he resides, and it has been argued that they form an important part of the reason why he is believed to be extraordinarily powerful. It has also been pointed out that the imagery of the *wak'a*'s 'palace' is reminiscent of that of a church and that this is in fact recognised by local people. Hence, it is interesting to note that the anecdotal material regarding the deity consistently relates that it is only relatively recently that it came to 'occupy' this place and that before it was part of a more elaborate stone complex further upriver, which gave its former existence a very different symbolic context. The two tales derived from local oral tradition fail to provide an alternative name for the *wak'a*, which poses a serious problem since its current name is clearly related to the place in which it became relocated and, hence, could not have been its name before. Finally, I have suggested that the stone head and its essential qualities are conceptually closely linked to the community's colonial cacique and ancestor Axata Qamaqi, and the feats and attributes ascribed to him. So what can we make of the events that brought the *wak'a* into his new symbolic context, the fact that his name before these events seems to be a mystery, and the complication regarding the question of whether one or two monoliths used to exist?

Turiturini is said to have resided in a place called Negro Ramos, although this name is not recognised as the *wak'a*'s former name. The name Ramos, however, is the surname of one of the extended families claiming descent from the cacique Axata Qamaqi. This points to an association between the name and the cacique, although it is difficult to sustain an argument proposing that the cacique and the *wak'a* used to share the same name. The real name of the deity before it came to be called Turiturini remains a mystery. However, 'negro' (black), the word qualifying Ramos, is a colour which in Aymara cosmology denotes malicious, uncontrolled powers that spell danger to human beings and society and its symbolism is in stark contrast to the white colour of Turiturini. Thus, it must be said that this place has rather ambivalent connotations for one that is supposed to have been 'home' to the community's most powerful and benevolent deity. This ambivalence is again borne out by the fact that the place is one of the sites where musical instruments are now taken to be tuned. Such places are usually associated with dangerous beings and often openly designated as devils ('diablos'). How can this be?

One of my oldest consultants seemed to provide an answer to this question. Talking about when the *wak'a* had been located in the place called Negro Ramos, he told us that the people who now pray to God, which in this context has to be interpreted as devoted Catholics, had cursed this place, claiming it had an *anchanchu* (a malicious being or devil) and brought to a halt the worship, *ch'alla*, that used to take place there. In fact he used the Aymara verb *apsuña*, to take something away from a place. This appears to refer to the *wak'a*, although his words are ambiguous and it is difficult to know exactly what he meant. However, this leads us back to the question regarding the events that served to relocate the stone head in a new and different context.

One detail that I have mentioned but not yet discussed is that the stone head is supposed to have been part of a larger stone structure, i.e. the head of large monolith. The fact is, however, that its design and physical appearance belie this possibility, which again puts a serious question mark over the suggestion that the events related by the two tales recounted above actually took place. It also

calls into question the existence of more than one monolith, although this does not diminish the importance of Turiturini as a *wak'a* of married couples. It is interesting how all this relates to the question of the gender identity of the deities called *wak'a*. In Sullka Titi Titiri all *wak'a* are generally considered to be masculine, which contradicts both colonial and contemporary information, and indeed what we are told about the existence of two monoliths, male and female, by most versions of the tale of Turiturini. However, we note that the events related by the legend actually led to the elimination of the female side, which never emerged from the river. Hence, the legend mirrors what has happened in the context of collective memory: the *wak'a achachila* now represent masculinity, and femininity has come to be associated, almost exclusively, with the earth and with the catholic saints of the churches.

It is of course difficult to decide what is true and false in the tales and this, perhaps is not the real issue. What is important is that, together, the tales tell a story which recounts interesting transformations in the symbolic context of an important local deity. Transferred by divine will and power (Andean lightning and other climatic forces) from a site now considered dangerous and which is associated with the Devil, it is relocated and reinstated in a new place and context, associated with imagery related to the coercive God and religion inimical to (in fact trying to do away with) the cult of the ancient ancestral spirits of the community. The different symbolic contexts of the two sites are striking. However, while there are clearly certain transformations in the 'traditional' culture, we also note important continuities in the cult of the *wak'a* (e.g., he, as the main embodiment of the ancient ancestral spirits, remains a source of authority and receives honours as before): at the same time as new elements are incorporated into an ancient symbolic system, old ones are redefined. Thus, we seem to be faced with a rather special defiance to the extirpation of idolatry. What we see is not a case of passive resistance by the Aymara community but a highly creative redefinition of its symbolic panorama. Confronted by hostile external forces, the community manages to relocate its 'traditional' symbols and practices within a new and far wider context than the one it had known before. This is a good example, therefore, of how it is necessary to study the different 'elements' in order to understand fully the complexities of the continuities and transformations in the meaning of symbolic orders. It also shows the important role that the imagination often plays in the totality of processes whereby individuals and communities experience, interpret and create changes within social orders; re-invent their traditions. Finally, this is a case which aptly illustrates the importance of Mol's point, that one "reason for stressing the sacralization process rather than the separateness of the sacred is that 'change' and 'progress' language is more appropriate for analysing 'changing' situations". The Turiturini tradition highlights how the meaning of cultural symbols (or the sacred) often changes, primarily because 'sacralization is the inevitable process that safeguards identity when it is endangered by the disadvantages of the infinite adaptability of symbol-systems".[58]

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and of the logic of practice can help us to deepen our understanding of this situation. In his discussion of the limitations of objectivism [structuralism], Bourdieu insists that, while models and structures can help to explain practice, they do not govern it.[59] As Bourdieu points out, it is actually only when the legitimacy of the power base (what he calls symbolic

capital) is acknowledged in accordance with the categories it imposes, that the symbolic power relations tend to reproduce and reinforce the power relations which constitute the structure of the social space.[60] Hence all symbolic power has to be based on the possession of symbolic capital, and symbolic effectiveness depends on the degree to which the vision imposed is based on 'reality', that is, whether it represents an adequate description of things. 'In this sense, symbolic power is a power of consecration and revelation, a power to conceal or reveal things which are already there'.[61] As Bourdieu notes, ritual practices are logical, but only up to a certain point, since their logic is practical logic: it is the logic of practices that have emerged in response to particular situations and which have proved adequate for those situations.[62] However, such practices are always liable to incur negative sanctions when the environment with which they are actually confronted becomes too distant from that to which they were originally and objectively fitted.[63] This is what has happened in the case of the *wak'a* Turiturini; the logic of earlier practices and ideas surrounding him clearly emerged in response to particular situations for which they were adequate. However, with changing times and particularly with the advent of the intrusive religion of the Spanish conquerors, they proved at fault and required radical transformation in order to be able to continue to protect the community and its 'unique' identity.[64]

Notes and References

1. The ethnographic and ethnohistorical information on which this study draws was gathered during field work in Jesús de Machaqa, Department La Paz, Bolivia, mainly in the neo-community of Sullka Titi Titiri.
2. Good recent examples of such work can be found in two collections of essays, Boone, E. H. and Mignolo, W. (eds), *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994) and Howard-Malverde (ed.), *Creating Context in Andean Cultures* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). Many other seminal studies are cited below.
3. Denise Y. Arnold, 'Using Ethnography to Unravel Different Kinds of Knowledge in the Andes', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 6(1), June (1997), pp. 33-50 (p. 33).
4. Eliade, in particular, seems to continue to hold great sway among Andeanists, e.g., see Maarten J.D. Van de Guchte, *Carving the World: Inca Monumental Sculpture and Landscape* (PhD Thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1990) and Verónica Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana: Representation of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).
5. For example, see Joel Sherzer and Greg Urban (eds), *Native South American Discourse* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986).
6. Although this is slowly changing, anthropology is still rife with definite categories rather than interest in 'processes', since it has tended to be an objective discipline of "outsiders looking in". To overcome this problem, one must work with native speakers on their own practices, e.g., processes of acquiring knowledge and sacred power. Such an approach requires the study, analysis and understanding of native ideas and concepts, rather than imposing objective categories on living practices.
7. Hans Mol, *Identity and the Sacred: A sketch for a new social-scientific theory of religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1976), pp. 5–7.
8. One's approach to these themes also depends a lot on particular practices of interpretation, which again depend on the material with which one works: e.g., texts, ethnographic data, documents.
9. Christina Toren, 'Making the Present, Revealing the Past: The Mutability and Continuity of Tradition as Process', *Man* (New Series), 23 (1988), pp. 696–717 (p. 704).
10. Toren, *op. cit.*, p. 713.

11. Toren, *op. cit.*, p. 714.
12. The idea comes close to what Platt has called "una *continuidad transformacional*"; see Tristan Platt, 'Conciencia andina y conciencia proletaria: Qhuyaruna y ayllu en el norte de Potosí', *HISLA: Revista Latinoamericana de Historia Económica y Social*, II (1983), pp. 47–73 (p. 48).
13. Gary Urton, *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the origin of the Inkas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), p. 15.
14. Urton, *op. cit.*, p. 16. For a similar view, see Thérèse Bouysse Cassagne, *La Identidad Aymara: Aproximación histórica (Siglo XV, Siglo XVII)* (La Paz: Hisbol, 1987), p. 16.
15. Joanna Rappaport, 'Textos legales e interpretación histórica: una etnografía andina de la lectura, *Iberoamericana*, 16: 314 (47/48) (1992), p. 67–81 (p. 73).
16. Joanna Rappaport, 'History and Everyday Life in the Colombian Andes', *Man* (New Series), 23 (1988), pp. 718–39 (p. 724).
17. Although there are of course obvious differences between written texts and symbolic objects such as the *wak'a*, legal documents are nevertheless often symbolic items and their 'reading' involves interpretations which is not just based on 'what the text says'.
18. See Astvaldur Astvaldsson, *Wak'a: an Andean Religious Concept in the Context of Aymara Social and Political Life* (PhD thesis, University of London, 1994).
19. For example, in the initiation ritual that took place in mid-January every three years, when the community changed its basic authorities, the heads (*p'iqi*), the main offerings, pledges and designations were centred around Turiturini. The same is true of many other rituals, especially those related to communal authority; for details, see Astvaldsson, *op. cit.*
20. *Jaqi* means people, but can also denote man or male. Here, the context makes it clear that the reference is to Turiturini as a male.
21. Another feature of the *wak'a*'s face worth mentioning is its chin: it has three pronounced dimples, one in the middle and one on each side, which might help to determine its origin.
22. The obsolete Spanish word 'preste' (literally priest) is used to describe the men who guard *wak'a* and prepare them for rituals.
23. An important *wak'a* in Sullka Titi Titiri is called *Palli Marka*, 'town of serpents'. Another, which has now been destroyed, was called *Asirun Qala*, 'stone of serpent': it was a stone that had an image of a serpent carved on it.
24. In *Raza de Bronze* (La Paz: 1919), Alcides Arguedas describes *muyumuyu* as a terrible epidemic which affects livestock, especially sheep, killing them in great numbers.
25. Luis Girault, *Rituales en las Religiones Andinas de Bolivia y Peru* (La Paz: Ceres-Musef-Quipus, 1988), p. 300. Girault holds that this spiral movement appears to have a meaning only during certain practices, e.g., some exceptional *ch'alla*. However, my experience is that the movement is commonly used in most rituals, both simple and elaborate ones.
26. "Es para concentrar mejor el poder", *ibid.*
27. Astvaldsson, *op. cit.*
28. My assistant, don Felix, suggested that the spiral on the top of the *wak'a*'s head was like a crown. The crown is of course an important symbolic item, that forms part of the attires of kings and saints alike and symbolises prestige and power. Spanish words and imagery have been widely adopted into Andean languages and are not only used to refer to things of Spanish but also of Andean origin. The Spanish 'palacio', palace, is used to refer to the places where the *wak'a* reside and the term 'rey', king, is commonly used to refer to the *wak'a*, e.g., to translate the term *apu*, a word used to refer to the most powerful local and regional deities. The conceptual links between these terms are obvious. They all evoke clear notions of divine and political power and have to be understood in the context of a long-standing dialectical interaction between Spanish and Andean languages and ideas.
29. One of the key meanings of the term *wak'a* is 'being of higher power', and the presence of such beings is normally marked by exceptional and extraordinary things and features, e.g., see Garcilaso de la Vega, *Commentarios Reales de los Incas* (Lima: Banco de Credito del Perú, 1985) and Astvaldsson, *op. cit.*
30. *Qhasqha* is translated into Spanish as 'piedra fina y durísima'.
31. Breaking a powerful stone means killing the deity. Hence, 'hardness' must be seen as an important asset of a powerful *wak'a*, especially in the context of intercommunal disputes which are thought to be resolved in favour of those who have the most powerful deities, capable of overcoming those of the opponents.
32. The Aymara term *munañani* (literally: 'to have will'), which is used to describe those who are powerful, is probably best translated as 'unpredictable'.

33. Rivers usually derive their names from and are closely associated with the different places through which they run. Thus, what one would usually consider one and the same river appears to be regarded as many different rivers by the Aymara. The reason why many names are given to one particular flow of water is linked to the fact that the river's course is seen to be divided into many individual entities in much the same way as terrain is divided into individual plots (*wirjina* or virgins). Hence, it appears that running water is seen as a product of or to belong to a particular place in the same way as the plants that grow out of the fertile soil of fields. Running water from the hills is considered to have masculine qualities and to fertilise the *Pachamama*. Ultimately, therefore, the provision of water is seen as an attribute of the male deities, particularly some of the high mountains where certain pools, said to contain different types of water (rain, snow, hail), are found. Rain rituals are important crisis rituals, still carried out in many areas of modern Bolivia. They involve offerings and fetching water to high places, bringing it to the communal fields.
34. This is where the main sacrifices were made during the mid-January ritual and where many other important libations were carried out (for details, see Astvaldsson, *op. cit.*).
35. An untypically straightforward answer to the question about Turiturini's name was given by the *yatiri* who last ministered the January ritual. Interestingly, this man hardly spoke any Spanish at all and awareness of the meaning of the name did not seem to depend as much on people's mastery of Spanish as on their familiarity with the *wak'a*'s residence and the ritual practices surrounding it. On another occasion, when this man was asked how the stone head had become a *wak'a*, he said it had existed from the time of his ancestors and that he did not know from where they might have brought it. He then explained its name by referring to the fact that it was located near the two earth formations and finally added: *"Turituriniw, sas, pä turinjam'*, "He is Turiturini, they say, as if he owned the two towers". This was corroborated by others, who linked the name to the two earth mounds, which they said were the property of the deity.
36. For example, see Tristan Platt, 'The Andean Soldiers of Christ. Confraternity Organization, the Mass of the Sun and Regenerative Warfare in Rural Potosi (18–20th Centuries)', *Journal de la Societe des Americanistes*, LXXIII (1987), pp. 139–192.
37. This is an impression that I got from discussions with people in the town of Jesús. Within Sullka Titi Titiri there are two specific *wak'a* associated with 'Inka churches': one church is supposed to be underground and the other inside a hill. The two *wak'a* and Inka churches are close to the two community chapels and, hence, by implication each chapel and its saint are associated with a *wak'a achachila*, an Inka church, and their powers.
38. This tradition continues today, though without the sacrifice of real blood. The sacrifice is carried out at the end of a twenty-four hour fast during the fiesta of Santa Bárbara in the beginning of December.
39. The initiation ritual last took place in 1973.
40. Denise Arnold, 'La casa de adobes y piedras del Inca: género, memoria y cosmos en Qaqachaca', in *Hacia un orden andino de las cosas*, ed. by Denise Arnold *et al.* (La Paz: Hisbol/ICLA, 1992), pp. 31–108 (p. 54; my translation).
41. For example, see Platt, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–146.
42. For example, see Thomas A. Abercrombie, *The Politics of Sacrifice: An Aymara Cosmology in Action* (PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1986), pp. 142–143.
43. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 and 104–105. Also, see Abercrombie, *op. cit.*, Chapter III.
44. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 105, my translation.
45. This man was alone in using an original Aymara word-root, *khula* (clod or lump of earth) when referring to the earth formations.
46. *... nayrax kasar qalaw ukä siy, tatajaw kuwintitu. Karsaru ukax, jach'a warmi wak'amp chachawak'ampiw sï ukax. Paya. Ukat uk waxt'xña utj, sipï. ... Turiturinix chachamp warmimpiw, siw.* (... antes era piedra de casados dice, mi padre ha contado. De casado es eso, gran wak'a de mujer con wak'a de hombre, dice eso es. Dos. Por eso eso hay que alcanzar, dice. ... El Turiturini dice que es hombre y mujer).
47. Ukat uka mayast kawkinkarak... Kawkirirak ukat uka mayast, warmi ukasti. Jani. Parispachaski. Jichhax. Mä jall akhama, maysa: Mayasti aka manqhatuqin maya, aksan paypachaskarakisä. Ukaw siwa. Uka paypachaw siw, ukax. (¿Entonces, y ese otro dónde estará...? ¿Cuál será luego ese otro, esa mujer? No. Los dos pués. Ahora. Uno sí así, al otro lado. El otro por aquí adentro [en el río], por aquí están también los dos. Eso es dice. Esos dos son dice, eso es).
48. *Chacha* and *warmi* mean man and woman, respectively, and *chachawarmi* is matrimony. Although

some people only mentioned one monolith, the notion of a *wak'a* of married couples was always implicit in their accounts.

49. Antonio Paredes, *Diccionario mitológico de Bolivia* (La Paz: Puerta del Sol, 1972), pp. 21–22. It must be noted that Paredes does not acknowledge that his account is based on information provided by don Felix Layme, and it is in fact to some extent the result of his own interpretation.
50. Don Felix's information regarding Turiturini was in fact very patchy when we first met. This was probably due to the secrecy surrounding the *wak'a*, which he has not seen except in a photograph. However, now that the deity is not revered by the community as before, the secrecy surrounding it seems to have diminished and don Felix was just as astonished as I at the wealth of information laid before us.
51. See Astvaldsson, *op. cit.*, Chapter III and Appendix III.
52. Axata Qamaqi was probably a contemporary of the Spanish viceroy Francisco de Toledo, but according to a document published by Marta Urioste he was present at the foundation of the city of La Paz in 1548. The genealogy of the Guarachi caciques provided by this document is highly suspicious and seems to contribute an unrealistic longevity to Axata Qamaqi; Marta Urioste de Aguirre, 'Los Caciques Guarache', in *Estudios en Homenaje a Gunnar Mendoza* (La Paz, 1978), pp. 131–140. The evidence shows that important interactions between local oral traditions and colonial documents have been taking place since the early part of the Spanish Colony until the present day.
53. A document dated 1807 mentions don Jacinto Roque Ramos Axata Camaqui 'principal del pueblo de Jesús de Machaqa'.
54. Felix Layme Pairumani, 'Axata Qamaqi', in Astvaldsson, *op. cit.*, Appendix III.
55. For example, see Tomás L. Huanca, *El yatiri en la comunidad aymara* (La Paz: CADA, 1989), in particular Chapter II.
56. Pierre Duviols, 'Un symbolisme andin du double: la litomorphose de l'acëtre', *Actes du XVII Congrès international de americanistes*, IV, pp. 359–364.
57. The *huauque* are mentioned and described by many of the chroniclers (e g., Cobo and Sarmiento). They have also been discussed by Duviols, *ibid*, and more recently by Van de Guchte, *op. cit.*, who offers an extended and interesting analysis of these images.
58. Mol, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
59. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of the Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: University Press, 1977), pp. 29–30).
60. Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, in association with Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1990), p. 135.
61. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–138.
62. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
63. Bourdieu (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 78.
64. There is of course no evidence to prove that native religion is somehow less logical and more superstitious and absurd than the Christian tradition.