

## MORTUARY RITUALS IN THE ANDES

JUAN M. OSSIO

### *Introduction*

My interest in mortuary rituals derives from my studies of the institution of *compadrazgo*, which were stimulated in their turn by an article that Peter Rivière wrote on the *couvade* (1974). Here the contrast between the ritual attention given to the father and the lack of attention received by the mother at childbirth were explained by the different responsibilities each of them had in the generation of the soul and body of the new-born child. In other words, greater ritual attention was given to the father because the soul was entrusted to him as a cultural realm, while the lack of attention given to the mother was linked with the body as a natural realm with which she was entrusted.

In addition, Rivière noticed a similar trusting of the soul and the body in different persons in a brilliant analysis of *compadrazgo* by the American anthropologist Stephen Gudeman (1972). In this study Gudeman concluded that essential to *compadrazgo*, which was derived from Catholicism, was the trusting of the soul and body of individuals to different persons—the soul to the godparent and the body to the parents. From this he suggested that all forms of *compadrazgo* were therefore conditioned by Catholicism.

Comparing these two articles made me realize that if, among Amazonian groups, a non-Catholic practice like the *couvade* entrusted the soul and body to different individuals, some types of *compadrazgo* might not be conditioned by Catholicism but by pre-conquest types of ceremonial kinship embodying a similar distribution, which might justify further investigation.

It was with this idea in mind that I have been conducting research on ceremonial kinship in the Comunidad de Andamarca, located in the Provincia de Lucanas, Departamento de Ayacucho, Peru. I approach this topic from a number of different angles. First, it is important to view this institution in relation to the kinship and alliance system. Secondly, and inspired particularly by Gudeman, is the viewpoint of baptism and the principal beliefs that surround this sacrament, namely the opposition between body and soul, and the notions of sin, redemption, and the afterlife. It is within this last context that my interest in the mortuary rituals of the Andes should be understood.

Since my aim is to suggest that an alternative cultural tradition to Catholicism that has been rooted in the Andes since pre-Columbian times might have been responsible for the form of *compadrazgo* adopted in the Andes, my analysis rests heavily on tracing continuities from this period. In this article, therefore, I shall follow this methodology, concentrating initially on a description of funeral rituals and beliefs in the afterlife before the arrival of the Spaniards and in the early days of the colonial period.

#### *Pre-Hispanic Tombs*

Tombs in the pre-Hispanic period, although mute remains, provide the most tangible evidence for the existence of some kind of mortuary ritual among Andean populations. When it is available, iconography is another important testimony, especially in this Andean area, which lacked written documents. A third source, finally, are the colonial documents which recorded Indians' oral narratives about their past and the activities they continued during the colonial period.

Of these three sources, it is the last that provides the most detailed evidence of the beliefs and practices associated with mortuary rituals in the Andes. This source enables one to make sense of the material remains and—when it is available, as in the Mochica and Chimu cases—of the iconography. It can also act as a linkage to establish continuities between the past and the contemporary period.

Evidence for the existence of some kind of mortuary rituals in the Andes can be dated to the pre-ceramic period, about 6,000 BC, which corresponds to the earliest tombs found by archaeologists (Rivera 1995: 43). It may be possible to extend this date further into the past, since human remains have been found that date from 10,000 BC. Unfortunately, nothing can be said about funerary practices from this evidence for lack of preservation.

In both the past and the present, a common trend is that there has been a great deal of variation in funerary practices. On the one hand, as can be seen specifically in the *Nueva Coronica* of the Indian chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala (1968: 287–97), there is regional variation, and on the other local variation corresponding to differences of status. But together with these variations there are also similari-

ties, such as putting certain items next to the body, suggesting a belief in some kind of existence in the afterlife. Among these items, the most common are food or drink deposited in containers of different quality (gold, silver, copper, clay, etc.), depending on the status of the deceased. To these in some cases it is possible to add human bodies of those who might have been the wives and servants of the deceased, as well as animals, frequently llamas and dogs.

But while we can be sure, from all this evidence, that a belief in life after death existed among the pre-Hispanic Andean people, the sources are not very explicit concerning the nature of the entity or entities that survived after death or the destiny it or they followed.

### *Soul or Souls*

Today the idea that human beings have a multiplicity of souls is widespread in the Andes. In Andamarca (Lucanas District, Ayacucho Province), a community I studied intensively in the 1970s, I was told that men had three souls and women seven, the latter being stronger than the former for this reason. For example, they were more resistant to pain, as could be seen from the fact that they deliver children.<sup>1</sup> Connected to this belief was the practice of ringing the church bells three times whenever adult men died and seven times in the case of adult women. In the case of children no difference was made in the number of rings, the bells tolling intermittently without making any distinction for either male or female children.

According to Valderrama and Escalante (1980), in the Quechua community of Aukimarka (Cotabambas District, Cusco Province) people believe that, regardless of gender, each individual has three souls. One is the *kurakaq almanchis* or main soul, another the *chaupikaq almanchis* or middle soul, and the third the *sullkakaq almanchis* or lower soul. The first is thought of as a darker shadow and is the one that departs for Qoropuna (a volcano located to the south-west in Arequipa Department) after death. The second is a lighter shadow that remains in the tomb. The third is an even lighter shadow that joins the first upon its arrival in Qoropuna.

Similarly, writing of the Aymara of southern Peru and Bolivia in his *Diccionario mitológico de Bolivia*, Paredes cites María Luisa Valda de Jaimes to the effect that: 'The human person is composed of the physical body and the psychic; this latter is divided into three, which are the *jacha ajayu* (the great spirit), the *jisja*

<sup>1</sup> According to Juvenal Casaverde, in Kuyo Grande (Cusco) it is thought that the Virgin 'was made by God from Saint Joseph's seventh rib and because of this the Virgin had seven souls and her husband only one. Corresponding to this, women also have seven souls, and they are not afraid of performing any act, however risky or fearful it might be' (Casaverde 1970: 188, my translation).

Ajayu (little spirit), [and] the Kamasa, called Chichihui, which means "shadow"...' (Paredes 1972: 20).

In these two cases, we can see that the trinitarian organization of the souls coincides with a very traditional Andean hierarchical classificatory pattern, which is applied to several contexts. Among the most relevant of these is a vertical or concentric organization of space, and the distinction of divinities such as thunder and, more commonly, the children of individuals. It seems that, since the colonial period, this pattern has become identified with those introduced by Catholicism, such as a scheme used by the Italian Joachim de Fiore, organized into ages of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Blessings and offerings follow a similar pattern. And the same happens to souls, as Fernández relates for the Bolivian Aymara. For him there is an explicit correspondence between the persons of the Holy Trinity and the souls or human shadows which emphasize the unitarian nature of the individual: 'The main shadow, the *ajayu*, is linked to the Father; its colour is dark black...the second, the *ánimo*, with the Son, and the *coraje* "courage"; also known as *espíritu* "spirit") with the Holy Ghost' (Fernández 2000: 182).

Tschopik also records this belief among the Aymaras they studied, though he reports 'great confusion concerning the nature and identity of souls and ghosts' (Tschopik 1968: 158). Nevertheless he adds an important observation, which, as we shall see, is highly relevant in explaining differences between mortuary rituals in the Andes that depend on the life stage of the individuals:

the soul is not firmly fixed in any human body, and may leave it temporarily on numerous occasions.... Whatever the genesis of the soul may be, its spiritual essence is very weak at birth, and its strength gradually grows along with physiological growth, progressively declining in later life. Thus the souls of children are not so firmly established as those of adults. (Ibid.: 161).

In Andamarca too, I noted the belief that children up to eight years of age could suffer soul loss or the sickness caused by a *susto* ('fright'). Later the soul becomes secure, so that adults very rarely suffer from this condition. This process of consolidation lasts up until seven years before a person's death, at which time the soul begins to detach itself at night and roam the sites frequented by its owner, causing *susto* to the people it meets.

It is difficult to say whether these beliefs concerning the soul correspond to those held by pre-Hispanic populations. So far we have no evidence that the idea of multiple souls might have had originated in the pre-Hispanic period. The nearest we can come to knowing how the soul was conceived is from certain ideas mentioned in vocabularies and priests' reports from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

While native terms for this concept are still in use among the Aymara Indians, the terms used by the Quechua seem to have been hispanicized very early. This may be because the Spanish priests were more severe in expunging native terms

from this dialect that might obstruct the penetration of certain vital Christian concepts. Thus in all the vocabularies that were published after the Tercer Concilio Limense of 1583, the term *alma* is translated as *ánima* (Anónimo 1951: 108; González Holguín 1952: 401). However, the vocabulary of Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, dated 1560 (see Santo Tomás 1951), this word is translated as *camaquenc*, *camainin*, or *songo*.

Consequently it is through Santo Tomás' vocabulary of 1560 that we arrive closest to the original word for soul among the Quechua people. Judging from certain other words that contain the root *cama*—such as *camac*, 'breeder, transmitter of a vital force, or maker of certain things'; *camayoc*, 'officer'; *camachicoc*, 'sustainer or somebody who gives orders'—it would seem that, as in some Amazonian groups, the word for soul stands for vital principle. This is confirmed by *songo*, another of its meanings, translated as 'heart' or 'entrails'.

According to Duviols (1978: 134), the word *camaquen* also denoted an ancestor turned divinity. Sometimes it was an equivalent to the mummy called *mallqui*, but more frequently the word designated an anthropomorphic idol or a totemic animal which was regarded as the receptacle of the ancestor. Since its essence was spiritual, 'le camaquen...peut abandonner son enveloppe pour occuper le coeur (songo) du médiateur, sur le prière de celui-ci...' (ibid.).

Another term that appears as equivalent to *camaquen* in the documents analysed by Duviols is *upani* (ibid.: 135). In some other documents investigated by this French historian, the root of this term is also associated with a realm in the afterlife located to the east in Titicaca and Yarocaca and called Upaimarca (Duviols 1986: 150). According to the Anónimo vocabulary of 1586, the root *upa* means 'fool, silly, deaf and dumb'. *Upa hacha* refers to an infertile tree. In other words, according to this connotation, in addition to being a vital principle, the soul would also figure as part of a non-living realm which is silent and sterile. This connotation would explain why today it is thought that the souls of the deceased are unable to cross flowing water, as the souls of rivers or streams, which are regarded as being alive, are incompatible with those of the dead.

In Aymara, *camasca* is the word for 'soul', and has the same connotations as *camaquen*. Ajayu, on the other hand, does not appear as such in Bertonio's seventeenth-century vocabulary (1879 [1612]). However, it does give words with the root *aha*, in all cases the connotation being 'face', which suggests a principle of individuation lying behind the Aymara notion of soul. *Chichihui*, which is mentioned as equivalent to *camasca* and translated as 'shadow', is closely associated with what Bertonio gives as *chhichhillanca*, denoting 'fly'. When written with the prefix *copa*, it denotes a green fly, which was also known as *guacanqui* and was used by men as a love charm to attract women.

The association of a fly with the soul is interesting, because there is a long-standing tradition that continues until our own days of flies being linked with death. In the seventeenth-century Huarochiri manuscript, Francisco de Avila re-

cords a tradition that 'in very ancient times...when a person died, people laid the body out until five days had gone by. The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!". When it flew away, people said, "Now he's going away to see Pariacaca, our maker and sustainer"' (Avila 1991: 129).

In the following chapter the tradition goes on to refer more specifically to the name of the flies. Here it is said that 'At Yaru Tini, as the sun was rising, the dead spirit would arrive. In olden times, two or three big flies—people call them *llacsa anapalla*—would light on the garment she brought. She'd sit there for a long while. As soon as those maggots called *huancoy* worms left the corpse, the woman would say, "Come on, let's go to the village". And as if to say, "This is him", she'd pick up a small pebble and come back' (ibid.: 130–1).

Further back in the past, the Mochicas of northern Peru have also left some evidence that a kind of fly was linked to death. Anne Marie Hocquengem tells us that 'a kind of fly features twice in a corpus over four thousand years old....' She also mentions that 'Schmidt has published the photograph of a vase that belongs to the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin which represents the scene of a *danse macabre*, where skeletons wave to the rhythm of flutes and rattles. On top of this scene, between the two joins of the vase handle, is a fly...' (1981: 63).

In Andamarca, one informant, apparently thinking of the soul in terms of its denotation as 'shadow', told me that children had souls only from birth, since only then they could cast a shadow. Another informant, thinking of the soul as a principle of vitality, assured me that the soul was generated together with the body in the mother's womb. Nevertheless, I have not been able to discover any evidence, either in Andamarca or in the rest of the Andean world, that pregnant women and their husbands submit themselves to any particular restrictions to avoid the loss of the unborn child. The nearest thing I came across is the fact that pregnant women do not usually attend funeral wakes for fear that their children should be born deaf (*upa*). This suggests that the unborn child is thought to have a soul and that the mother must take precautions against its loss, since for similar reasons it is considered inadvisable for a young baby to visit a cemetery.

#### *Socialization through the Lenses of Infant Mortuary Rituals and the Afterlife*

Up to a certain point there is consensus that children have a soul at birth, but beyond this its destiny and attributes after death depend on the life-stage at which a person dies. As I see it, these variations reflect the role exercised by society in the developmental cycle of the individual. The transformation undergone by the soul may thus be seen as a fairly clear expression of the process of socialization of the individual. It is within this context that certain stages become significant through association with three types of mortuary ritual.

In Andamarca there is a ritual that is common to both birth and death, suggesting that the life of an individual is literally conceived as a cycle. The ritual is called *Pichca*, which in Quechua means 'five', a reference to the fact that it takes place five days after the birth of a child and, in the past, five days after the death of an individual. It consists of washing the clothes used to receive the child at birth or the clothes the dead person used during his life. The reason given for the initial ritual is that it prevents the baby from becoming sick and possibly dying. In the case of death, it is to distance the deceased from the society of the living. Thus society both incorporates and removes individuals from it through one and the same ritual.

The rite of passage that follows *Pichca* is baptism or its provisional extension known as 'water of succour'. Although its Catholic significance is as a sacrament that incorporates individuals into the church of God by cleansing them of original sin, we shall see that for Andeans it is mostly a rite of passage by which individuals proceed a further step in the socializing process by obtaining a name. This will become clear from a comparative analysis of the beliefs and funerary practices concerning respectively babies who died unbaptized and baptized, and adults.

The young child who dies without being baptized is commonly called *malpa*, a term for which I was unable to find any other references in either contemporary Quechua culture or old vocabularies. The nearest to this term in the latter is *mapa*, which denotes wax, dirt, or menstruation and is in a sense equivalent to the idea of miscarried babies. Not being baptized also leads to them being considered dirty, not worthy of being buried in a socialized space such as a cemetery. Burying them there would be to risk dangerous storms, hail, and the destruction of crops by frost. The consequences are similar to the case of an adult being disinterred from the cemetery. As a protective device, unbaptized children are generally buried at night beneath the crosses that surround the valley of the community and are intended to protect crops from frost. Those who bury these children are usually consanguineal kinsmen, who receive the name of *contrapadrinos*. According to some informants, the fate of the soul of the child is either to remain in this world 'suckling on stones because they never suckled from their mothers' breast', or to inhabit a place called *Tutaya Ucuman*, which is believed to be a dark region where the souls, weeping, call out for their parents.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the fact that a death occurring before baptism entails such negative consequences for both the deceased and society, it is most important that the newborn child receives this sacrament as soon as possible. The 'water of succour' or *yacuchan* serves this purpose, since usually in these distant communities there is no priest continuously available. Being a stage in baptism, this ritual consists in

<sup>2</sup> According to Oscar Núñez del Prado (1952: 3), the people of Chinchero (Cuzco Province) believe that the soul of an unbaptized child goes to *Llimpu*, 'a dark place where they search for the clapper of a bell in order to make it ring, and the day they succeed will be the day of the Last Judgement...' (my translation).

the child receiving the name of the saint who is celebrated on the day it was born. This is done under the sponsorship of a *padrino*, with whom the child's parents form a *compadrazgo* relationship. From this point on, if the child dies its soul becomes an *angelito* because, due to his innocence, the only spiritual realm he can go to is *la gloria*, where children spend their time tending cultivated fields owned by God. Given this joyful destiny, wakes for these children must be happy. Their corpses are dressed in white robes to convey the image of an angel and are lain on a decorated piece of scenery. To increase the joy associated with this destiny, the attendants dance to the rhythm of musicians hired by the *padrinos*. At midnight the corpse, resting inside a small coffin, is taken by the *padrino* if male, or the *madrina* if female, to the cemetery accompanied by noisy fireworks. Burial takes place on the eastern side of the cemetery.

When I asked one informant what the age limit was for this kind of funeral, I was told that it was up to twelve, after which children would be buried like adults. Casaverde notes of Kuyo Grande (Cuzco Province) that 'The souls of children who have not known the world (have not had sexual experiences) have the right to fly directly to Heaven...' (1970: 202). In other words, it would seem that children are buried as adults once they develop their sexual potential. However, as we shall see, it would appear that it is not the sexual act itself which is considered significant, but rather the possibility of incestuous relationships developing.

Throughout the Andes incest is considered to be the most serious offence. It is widely believed that if somebody commits this fault, different punishments may fall on him or her and on society. If the members of a community find somebody guilty of this transgression, the sentence is expulsion. However, even if those responsible are not discovered, there is still a belief that supernatural sanctions may fall upon them. One very widespread belief is that incestuous people turn into *qar-qachas* while still alive, and into *condenados* when they die. The term *qarqacha* is an onomatopoeic derivation from *qar-qar*, the sound emitted by these incestuous beings, who adopt an animal form as dogs, pigs, llamas, giraffes, etc., all with the peculiarity of having disproportionately long necks or flying heads. At night they roam the isolated parts surrounding the villages causing *susto* to those who meet them. Since *susto* may be overcome, it is said that some people take a chance, and instead of running away from these beings they seek to injure them with a knife, so that when they return to their normal condition they might be recognized and possibly blackmailed. *Condenados*, on the other hand, are unanimously regarded as being more dangerous because one of their means of obtaining salvation is to eat three human beings. They are generally thought of as wandering at the edge of communities wearing iron sandals from which sparks fly. Since no adult is free from having committed incest, funerals associated with this stage of life have to be understood in terms of this ideology, which emphasizes the protection of the living and therefore of society more than the destiny of the deceased's soul.



Although, following the conquest, Spanish priests persistently tried to impose the Catholic ideas of sin, punishment, and reward in the afterlife, and the most basic notion of Christ's redemption (narrowly associated with baptism) on the Indians of the Andes, after nearly five hundred years, we can see that none of them has rooted very deeply. Christ came to be understood more as a divine king like the Inca than as a redeemer. Sin, on the other hand, was thought of more as a fault whose consequences were paid for in this life rather than in the afterlife. Hell became understood as a dangerous non-social realm located underground or on the edge of the world, and the devil became imagined as a trickster who had the power to upset order or to entrust creative abilities to those who established pacts with him. Heaven became the realm of the souls of children, and at the end of the world eventually of those of all human beings.

In the past the *upaimarca* or 'silent world' of the Cajatambo Indians (Departament of Lima) was located in Titicaca or Yarocaca, which also was the place or *pacarina* from where they originated. To arrive there, the soul of the deceased had to cross a bridge made of hair called *achacaca* (Duviols 1986: 150). In another part of the same document transcribed by Pierre Duviols, it states that there were many plots of lands in this place, and that, given that so many Indians had died, these plots were the size of a fingernail (ibid.: 171). Other final destinations are mentioned in Avila's traditions (1991). It seems that, in the past as today, each different group had their own final destinations in the afterlife that coincided with their *pacarina*. Today one that is acknowledged in many areas is the volcano of Coropuna, located in the Departament of Arequipa. In Andamarca people say that the souls in this place spend their time endlessly building a tower that collapses when it is about to be finished and has to be begun all over again. The day it is finished will be the day of the Last Judgement. In other parts, it is said that the souls endlessly push a snowball up Mount Sallcantay in Cusco Province; once they are about to reach the very top it falls down, and they have to begin again. This closely resembles the Sisifo myth.

The itinerary followed by the souls before they arrive at their final destination is very frequently ascending in direction and at some point includes a bridge or a river that has to be crossed, as in the document cited above. Francisca Chaqiri of Tomanga (Ayacucho Province), aged 70, gave Zuidema and Quispe the itinerary that her soul followed when, at the age of 20, after dying of influenza, God ordered her to go back. She said that it 'was as if I was sleeping, like when you dream—I don't know what it was—I died...'. In her afterlife voyage she first passed a flower garden, then through a thorny village, and climbing still further she came to a place with different kinds of dogs; further up still, she passed over a dry and hot plateau, until finally she arrived to a church where Our Lord was sitting surrounded by four beautiful girls oriented to his left and four gentlemen to his right (Zuidema and Quispe 1973: 359).

In a version recorded by Ricardo Valderrama and Carmen Escalante (1980) in Aukimarca (Cotabambas, Apurímac Province), the afterlife is presented in terms very similar to those of Francisca Chaqiri, although instead of having Hanaq Pacha Dios-ninchis Intitayta (Sun God of Heaven) as the god of our world, they have an equivalent known as Qepa Dios (God of the Afterworld). In addition, the other world has a different sun and moon from ours, so that when it is day in this world it is night in the other world and vice versa. Also, one year for us is equivalent to one day for the inhabitants of the other world. Once the soul arrives in the dog village, to continue they have to cross a river known as the 'dirty river' (Map'a Mayu). In other versions it is called Jordán or Yawar Mayu ('blood river'). For the soul this is a wide and rough river, whereas for the living it is just an small stream. In order to pass it, they request the help of dogs generally known as Lázaro. White dogs refuse to assist because they are afraid of becoming dirty. Only those who have been raised kindly by the soul when alive and are preferably black in colour offer their help. This belief explains why, in many areas, hanging a dog is a very important step in the mortuary ritual.

Once on the other side of the river, the soul still needs to pass over the hot plateau already mentioned and through villages populated by cats, guinea pigs, and pots. Finally it arrives at Qoropuna, whose doors are guarded by St. Francis, where it is greeted by its white or *misti* compadres.

From these different versions, which are quite representative of the Andean conception of the afterlife, it is clear that, regardless of their behaviour while living, all humans have the same destiny after death. Although there are certainly references to a final judgement and to sins having been weighed by God to determine the fate of the soul, these statements seem to be merely repetitions of the preaching of Catholicism, without their conceptual implications being fully absorbed. Moreover, it is clear that for Andeans the notion of the final judgement became equivalent to that of the end of the world, and that sins were paid for in one's earthly existence. However, the *condenado* seems to be an exception to the latter, because it represents punishment in the afterlife: ultimately the sanction is not for the soul, that it might eventually attain salvation, but for living mortals, who have to suffer the threat of being eaten by this monstrous being, and whose society, which based on reciprocity, has been endangered by incest or greed.

It is within this ideology, which rests on a social system where kinship and marriage relationships are extremely important, and where a dialectic between endogamy and exogamy shapes the world of exchanges (cf. Ossio 1992), that mortuary rituals attain their meaning.

*Adult Mortuary Rituals*

Corresponding to this ideology, the aim of holding mortuary rituals for adults in the Andes is to avoid the return of the dead because of the negative consequences this might produce. Since adulthood presupposes the ability to mate, as we have seen, a distinction is made for gender when ringing the bells to announce someone's death. This distinction is pursued further in the fact that, at least in Andamarca, men dress in a Franciscan robe, women in one associated with the Virgin of Carmen. Beyond this, everything looks much alike. Corpses are now called *almas* ('souls') and are washed with water mixed with myrtle flowers and dressed in these robes. The corpse is then placed in a coffin if one is available or just on top of a table. Relatives, neighbours, and other visitors start arriving, each carrying a lit candle that is placed on a box lying at the foot of the deceased. In contrast to the wake of a baptized child, the atmosphere here is one of sadness, which is increased by the chants of very sad songs, like the Aya Taquis or the San Gregorio. No one is allowed to sleep. If anyone fails to resist sleeping, the oldest of the group gently whips him. Sometimes jokes are played on the son-in-law, who looks after the visitors. In other areas, as in some communities in Cusco Province, a game is played with a pre-Hispanic dice called *pichca* ('five') or *chunca* ('ten'). Drinks of sugar-cane alcohol are generously poured, and on occasion some food is also provided. The following day, generally at noon, the corpse is taken to the cemetery to be buried. Those in charge of carrying it are the sons-in-law. In Andamarca those responsible for digging the grave and escorting the corpse were the *previstes* (ritual attendants) of the most important saints. In Cotabambas, once the corpse is buried, each son-in-law must throw a heavy stone known as a *fábrica* three times on top of the tomb. The reason for this is to avoid one of the souls coming out. Later, a meal is served as reciprocity for all those attending.

Washing and burning the clothes of the deceased takes place the day after the burial in many areas—or five, eight, or ten days later, as is mentioned in old documents. For this occasion one of the deceased's dogs is also hanged to help the soul in the afterlife to cross the dirty river and to deal with the dogs that are trying to harm the soul.<sup>3</sup> In Andamarca the dice game, which consists of saying a prayer according to the number that is thrown, is reserved for this occasion.

<sup>3</sup> In Cotabambas (Apurímac Province), those who look after the dogs are affinal relatives. The daughters-in-law feed the animal at the deceased's house with large quantities of food, making its belly look very swollen. This is because the route in the afterlife is very long. Afterwards it is taken by other classificatory sons-in-law to where the clothes are being washed. This place is one of two used by all Cotabambinos, having the peculiarity of being where two streams meet. Once they have finished washing the clothes and burning those that are too old to be used further, they proceed to lead the dog over an small symbolic bridge made from *waylla ichu* (a grass that grows in the *puna*) and *raki-raki* (a type of bracken that grows in the valley) laid across one of the streams. Building this bridge is also the responsibility of the sons-in-law. Having been taken across the bridge, the dog is

After this, the group that has performed this ceremony returns to the deceased's home, where a ritual meal will take place in the evening in the room where the corpse rested. Before entering, a portion of flour or sand that has been spread at the entrance is examined to see if any traces have been left in it. This is a kind of reading where, according to what is seen, specialists can predict who might follow the deceased to the afterlife.

In Cotabambas, at about 8.00 p.m., a gathering is organized in the room where the wake took place. On top of the table where the corpse had been, different kinds of food are laid out that the deceased had enjoyed in life. These are distributed by his daughter-in-law among those attending, starting with those which had a dry quality and continuing with those of a wetter nature. At a particular moment a pair of miniature sacks are filled with tiny portions of the different varieties of food. These are destined to feed the soul on its way to the afterlife. Once this task is completed, noises are heard at the entrance door, which had been closed. Those responsible are some of the sons-in-law, who are holding a model llama and imitating the sounds of this animal attempting to enter. Inside the house, other relatives of the deceased hold the door to stop them entering. Finally they manage to enter, and spitting like the llamas (but this time with sugar-cane alcohol) at the whole audience, they provoke a reaction of hilarity. The model llama is loaded with the sacks and taken outside to a point where two paths meet. Meanwhile, a couple of elderly men proceed to whip the air, ordering the soul to go away. The moment to dispatch the soul has come. Once at the paths' intersection, the sons-in-law proceed to burn the model llama. They wait until it is extinguished because, just before the fire dies out, they can see certain signs indicating the departure of the soul. If the deceased had been male, the sign is an elongated flame, if female a sudden blow of air, as if a woman were waving her skirt to extinguish the fire.

From this moment a kind of relief comes over the participants, because the soul is already on its way to the afterlife. A year later another meal will be prepared in its honour, on which occasion the mourners remove their black dresses and return to those of ordinary life. Further on in time, the deceased will be remembered every November 2nd, which in Catholicism is All Souls' Day, and its relatives will visit its tomb. In addition to cleaning it and hiring musicians to please the soul, the latter is made to partake in the food and drinks they consume. Up to a certain point, this kind of worship is not very far from that dedicated to the ancestors, either *mallqui* or *camaquen*, in the pre-Hispanic period.

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hanged from a bush that is near to other bushes where it is possible to see the remains of other dogs which have been hanged for other funerals. Before this final act the main son-in-law gently implores the puppy to lead the soul of the deceased carefully in the afterlife.

### Conclusion

From all that has been said, it is clear that the sense of individual punishment in the afterlife and notions of sin in the Catholic sense are quite alien to Andean society. Moreover, death is not thought of as a permanent state but as a transitory period that will end on the day of the Last Judgement. Nor is the soul thought of in terms similar to Christianity. If these ingredients, which are central to baptism, have been interpreted in a different way, how have Andeans interpreted this sacrament and those who become responsible for their sponsorship?

To approach this question, we need to return to the variations expressed in the sequence of funerary practices and beliefs concerning the fate of the soul. Through this description it becomes apparent that there is a process by which the soul becomes attached in a stable way to the body. Thus we may say that, just as the individual is thought to have more than one soul, the soul itself is not conceived of as a static entity but rather in dynamic terms. I therefore do not believe it is possible to draw, as Gudeman (1972) does, a radical opposition between birth and baptism (these being identified with nature and culture respectively), since they are both merely stages within a single process. Equally, it is not possible to maintain that the state of nature ends at the very moment of birth, nor that full integration into culture or society is only achieved through baptism, for as we have seen the soul acquires new potentiality when the individual becomes capable of sexual activity.

To return to beliefs about the fate of the soul and funerary rites in the three stages of the developmental cycle, we may say that this material reveals a process that leads from the asocial or non-social to the more social. Thus it departs from the pre-baptismal stage, in which babies who die may not be buried in social places. The cemetery, with its dual division into east and west sides, is such a social place. Their proper burial ground is beneath the crosses or calvaries, which are generally to be found on the edges of communities or in high places where, according to Isbell (1978), they mark the boundaries between different ecological levels. As we have seen, the peripheral position of these Christian symbols relates to the protection they are thought to offer crops from hail, frost, etc.

Moreover, like cattle-stealing, witchcraft, and other illegal activities that are conceived as asocial, the corpses of pre-baptismal children also have to be buried at night. To mark this situation, the name given to the person in charge of the burial is *contrapadrino*.

An infant who dies in the following stage of life, after baptism, will still be buried at night. The ringing of bells for such an infant is not distinguished for gender, though the body is still carried by an individual who, as a *padrino*, enjoys a recognized social position, and it will be buried in the cemetery, though the appropriate part is the eastern side. This makes the intermediate position of this state between the pre-baptismal and adult stages abundantly clear: the corpse is buried at night, as it would have been before baptism, but in the cemetery, as is appropriate after baptism, though to the east, not the west.

The beginning of the stage in which an individual is buried as an adult was defined to me not in terms of a rite of passage but in terms of age. Twelve was stated as being significant. Since Andeans are not very accurate in keeping account of ages, this age has to be taken merely as an index which coincides approximately with the time at which young people develop their sexual drives.

As we have seen, with the awakening of sexual powers, the fear that emerges is of incest. The importance accorded to sanctions against incest relates directly to the importance of kinship relations in the Andes, in terms of both extended family ties and ties of ceremonial kinship, and in relation to the importance of circumscribing marriage exchanges within the limits of the communities. In Andamarca there seems to be a conflict between an exogamous principle delimited by incest prohibitions and an endogamous principle restricting the choice of spouse to the community. Sanctions against incest play an important role in this conflict, especially at a spiritual level.

It is therefore appropriate that the spiritual sanctions that apply to incest should define the third stage of the developmental cycle—which is, compared to the previous stages, one of the full socialization of the individual—since the relationships of reciprocity that form the basis upon which society sustains itself are themselves founded on the incest prohibition. In assuming that the relationship between the principle of reciprocity and incest established by Lévi-Strauss (1969) also holds for the Andes, I am relying heavily on the striking fact that in this area it is not only incestuous people who become *condenados* after death, but also those who are greedy or extremely rich. In other words, all those who interrupt the reproduction of the social order that is maintained through reciprocal exchanges of human beings or of material goods are susceptible of becoming *condenados*.

The social nature of the adult stage is also emphasized in the mortuary rites by the distinction according to sex which is made in the tolling of bells and by the side in the cemetery selected for the burial which in this case is the west.

Finally, the fact that affines have to accomplish prescribed roles in relation to the funeral of adults is a further evidence of the importance attached to the union of opposite sexes as a sign of a full socialization associated with reciprocal exchanges.

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