From Myth to Reality: Performing the Devil and Pachamama in the Carnival of Humahuaca

By

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ON MY HONOR I HAVE NIETHER GIVEN NOR RECEIVED UNAUTHORIZED AID ON THIS THESIS

All translations from Spanish in this thesis are my own unless otherwise specified.

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I am grateful for the insightful comments of Tom, Ginny, and Shira.
Many thanks to Alan Kolata and Nicole Couture for their guidance and helping to make this a better, and more informative thesis; without their suggestions I could not have completed it.

Dedications

To my parents, for their endless support.

Quotations

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1899:213)

"…El carnaval no puede ser extinguido. Es una tradición de la humanidad, que se perpetúa a través de los siglos."

"…Carnival cannot be extinguished. It is a tradition of humanity that persists throughout the centuries.

Néstor García Canclini (2001:37)

"Quizá puede usarse este texto como una ciudad, a la que se ingresa por el camino de lo culto, el de lo popular o el de lo masivo. Adentro todo se mezcla, cada capitulo remite los otros, y entonces ya no importa saber por qué acceso se llegó."

"Perhaps you can use this text as a city, entering from the path of the cult, of the popular, or of the massive. Inside everything mixes, each chapter readdresses the other, and ultimately it does not matter from which entry you came."

Victor Turner (1987:123)

"Truly, carnival is the denizen of a place which is no place, and a time which is not time, even where that place is a city's main plaza, and that time can be found on an ecclesiastical calendar. For the squares, avenues, and streets of the city become, at carnival, the reverse of their daily selves."

Fernando Amato (2003, unpaginated)

"Hay una época del año en la que las tranquilas calles de los pueblos jujeños se llenan de jolgorio, descontrol y principalmente alegría, entremezclando la fe religiosa y el paganismo porque el carnaval ha llegado. La cita es en el mes de febrero o principios de marzo, en Tilcara (en la zona de la Quebrada de Humahuaca), una ciudad de agricultores y ganaderos, reconocida como la capital arqueológica de la provincia y donde se festeja el carnaval con mayor fervor."

"There is a yearly epoch when the tranquil town streets of Jujuy fill with jubilance, uncontrollability, and principally happiness, intermixing the religious faith with paganism because carnival has arrived. The date is in the month of February or the beginning of March, in Tilcara (in the zone of the Quebrada of Humahuaca), a city of farmers and herders, renown as the archaeological capital of the province, and where they celebrate carnival with the greatest fervor.

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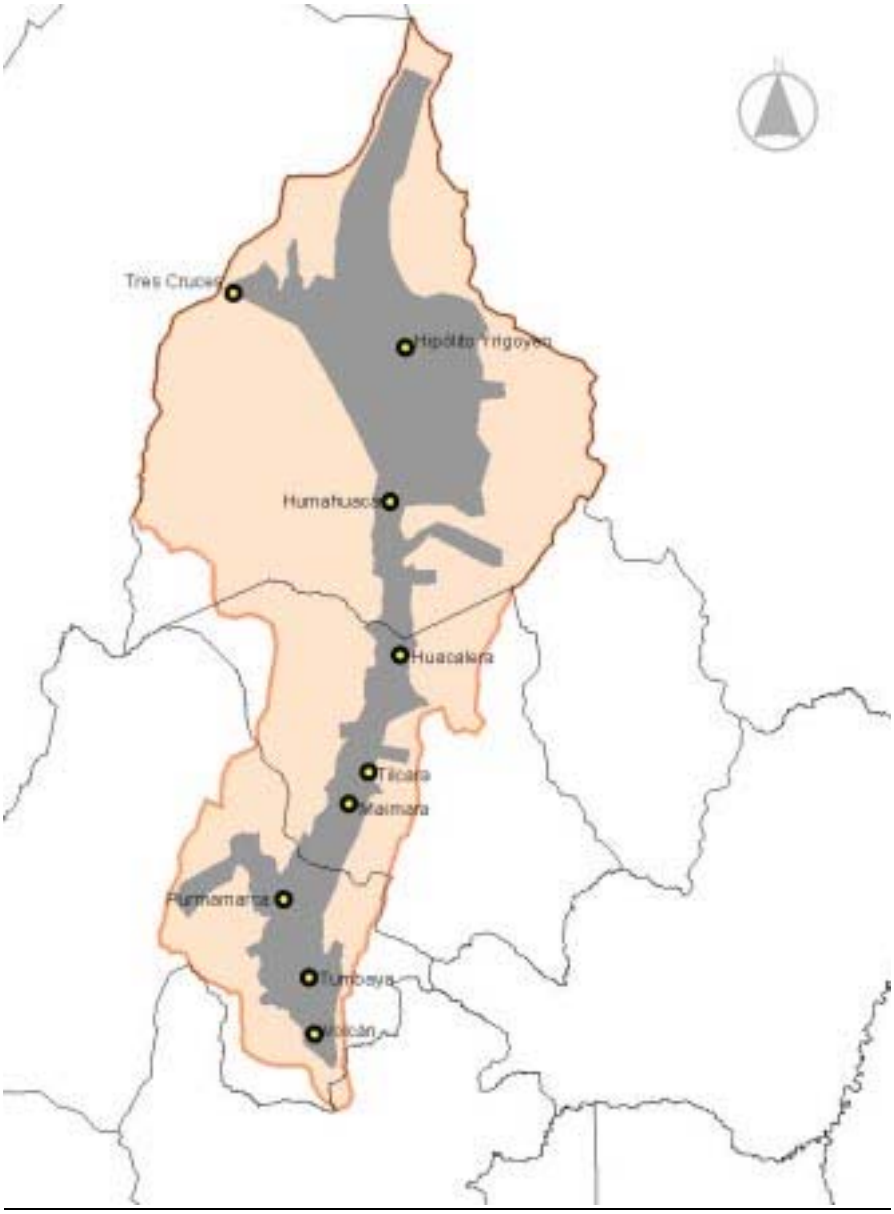
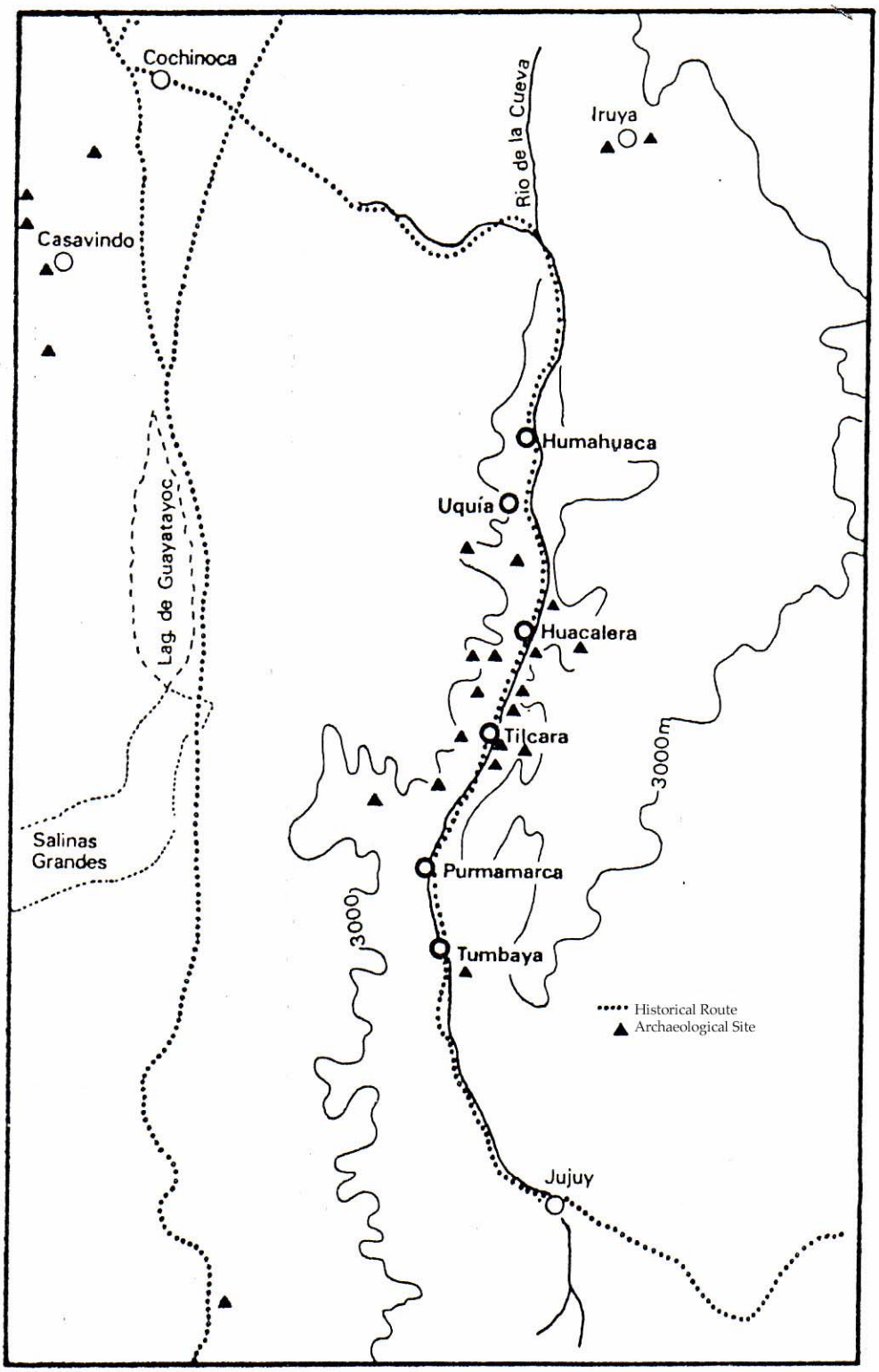


Quebrada de Humahuaca (Proyecto QH 16_1 2002).



Principal Archaeological Sites and Historical Routes in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the Rio Grande Valley (Nicolini 1981:40).

Abstract

The Carnival of Humahuaca, Jujuy, Argentina infuses indigenous customs and traditions with ecclesiastical practices and rhetoric. In this cultural performance the inhabitants project the devil from local myth to reality, and ask the mother earth goddess to sanctify the events with a ritualized ceremony of unearthing and burying. The structure of the Catholic Church provides an arena for the irony and inversion of transgressions, frustrations, and cultural expressions.

I address three reasons for the role of the devil and the earth mother in the Carnival of Humahuaca. First, the widespread myth of the devil and the earth mother transformed into lived reality; second, the ways the devil, projected from local myth to reality, manifests in the cultural performances of carnival; and third, how Andean and Spanish notions of land, god, and community become reflected and practiced in carnival. Moreover, it provides new insights, based on new observations, addressing carnival, religion, and syncretism in the Northwest of Argentina, and it enriches literature recognizing cultural performances, adding to the dearth of works addressing traditional customs and festivals in the Northwest of Argentina.

Even though, the Carnival of Humahuaca shares many salient similarities with the Carnival of Oruro, the differences are striking. Like Oruro, the mother earth goddess and the devil figure into carnivalesque rituals. Unlike Oruro, there is greater participation from all facets of society; people of all backgrounds, local and tourists, partake equally in the festivities by joining troupes.

I. Introduction

Carnival conjures up several performative expressions and styles in the world: Rio de Janeiro, Mardi Gras in New Orleans, Oruro, Bolivia, or the Carnival of Humahuaca, Argentina. The latter, despite the lack of widespread recognition in many circles, is renowned within South America for its carnival celebrations and festivities. It is not a mass spectator event of processions with elaborate cultural themes (e.g. Rio de Janeiro); rather, it is an intimate mélange of local camaraderie. Everyone joins a social troupe, or *comparsa*, to imbibe the annual festive atmosphere, and migrates to Humahuaca from all over the province, especially the capital San Salvador de Jujuy, to celebrate with their troupe.

Even though the subject of carnival has received many interpretations, there are still manifestations remain that warrant greater attention. What distinguishes the Carnival of Humahuaca from others, and why is this important? What are the motives behind masquerading? I argue that the ritualized ceremonies devoted to the devil and the earth mother, combined in a long and dynamic history, perform a lived reality of the local people.

Where does the devil come from, and how do the local myths and legends contribute to our understanding of the devil? Are there parallels of the devil in Andean cosmology, or did the arrival of the Christian daemonic in the northwest of Argentina radically change the spirits of the evil? Did a Catholic notion of evil exist in the Andean world before conquest? I suggest that these notions are embedded in these rituals, and

continue to venerate and pay homage to the *Pachamama*, the mother earth goddess, project the *Pujllay*, the devil, from local myth to reality in terms of an Andean cosmology understood in Catholic dogma.

The recent inscription of the Quebrada of Humahuaca,[i] Argentina as a World Heritage Site emphasizes the importance of preserving the region's intangible culture. With increased recognition, however, comes a problem of understanding deeper cultural performances of carnivalesque inversions (Proyecto QH 2002).[ii] In what follows, I address how salient rituals involving the Pachamama and the Pujllay in the Carnival of Humahuaca have broader implications for understanding cultural performances. In addition, I provide my own analysis of carnival, based on existing theories of cultural performance, inversion, and public space (Abercrombie 1998, Coronil 1997, DaMatta 1991, Dean 1999, Guss 2000).

This thesis, therefore, addresses three reasons for the role of the devil and the earth mother in the Carnival of Humahuaca. First, it explores the widespread myth of the devil and the earth mother transformed into lived reality. Second, it examines the ways the devil, projected from local myth to reality, is manifested in the cultural performances of carnival. Third, it shows how Andean and Spanish notions of land, god, and community become reflected and practiced in carnival. Moreover, it enriches literature recognizing cultural performances, and adds to the dearth of works addressing traditional customs and festivals in the Northwest of Argentina.

Applying the frameworks of cultural performance, inversion, and public space I use a twofold approach to interpret carnival. First, I describe the paramount imagery and

rituals associated with the Carnival of Humahuaca, the Pachamama, and the devil. Three principal rituals of this nature dominate in Humahuaca: the *corpachada*, giving food and drink to the Pachamama; the *desentierro*, unearthing the Pujllay at the beginning of carnival; and the *entierro*, interring the Pujllay at the end of carnival. Each ritual inextricably links the others as they relate to the notion of the Pachamama and the devil.

Second, focusing on the important characteristics of the Inter-Andean carnival,[iii] I compare my own first-hand observation of key public events (Brewer 1999, 2001a, 2001b), and local newspaper accounts from 2001 (*El Tribuno* and *Pregón* of San Salvador de Jujuy) with previous comments and observations of the Carnival of Humahuaca by Augusto Raul Cortazar (1949) and Sixto Vazquez Zuleta (1966).[iv] Even though some of these works are older, they continue to be benchmark studies on carnival, and provide an appropriate starting point to identify, interpret, and analyze the paramount issues involved. In addition, local accounts and observations of issues relating to the devil, the goddess of the earth, local dances, and traditional music provide important comparative material (Acuña 1993, Armanini 1969, Coluccio 1995, 2000, Guzman et.al. 1997, 1998, Kirbus 1997, Santander 1970).

Following this twofold approach, I distinguish three levels of analysis for carnival: the description and observation of the key public events; the social challenge of burlesque and errant practices in disguises and carnivalesque games; and the deeper issues of cultural performance, inversion, and public space as seen in the rituals of the devil and earth mother. The first two levels rely more on general comments and narratives, whereas the third requires a deeper theoretical analysis.

II. An Andean Catholicism

In this section, I briefly summarize the histories of the Inca and the Spanish at the time of conquest in order to highlight the similarities and strategies of two different empires dominated by a state religion: the Inca Cult of the Sun and Spanish Catholicism. I stress that military, economic, political, and especially theological strategies of both the Inca and the Spanish on the periphery had an affect on acculturation.

The dominating strategies of the Inca and the Spanish, centered in cultural and urban centers, were enacted differently in the outlying areas. Influences of the Inca Empire and Spanish Colonialism in the northwest of Argentina, especially the Quebrada of Humahuaca, were practiced quite differently from what the Inca intended or the theological ideal of the missionaries.

The Autonomy of the Inca

At its apogee Tawantinsuyu — in the realm of the four quarters, the Inca name for their empire — spanned from today's Quito, Ecuador to Santiago, Chile. The four suyus were *Chincasuyu*, *Cuntisuyu*, *Antisuyu*, and *Kollasuyu* (D'Altroy 2002, Kolata 1992, Pease 1995, Zuidema 1990).[v]

The imperial Inca strategies facilitated their conquest of this territory in less than a one hundred-year span. The Inca employed both a hegemonic and territorial approach to varying degrees, depending on local receptiveness to conquest. Hegemonic strategies included the expansion of the *ayllu*, and the creation of an "Inca by privilege" caste.

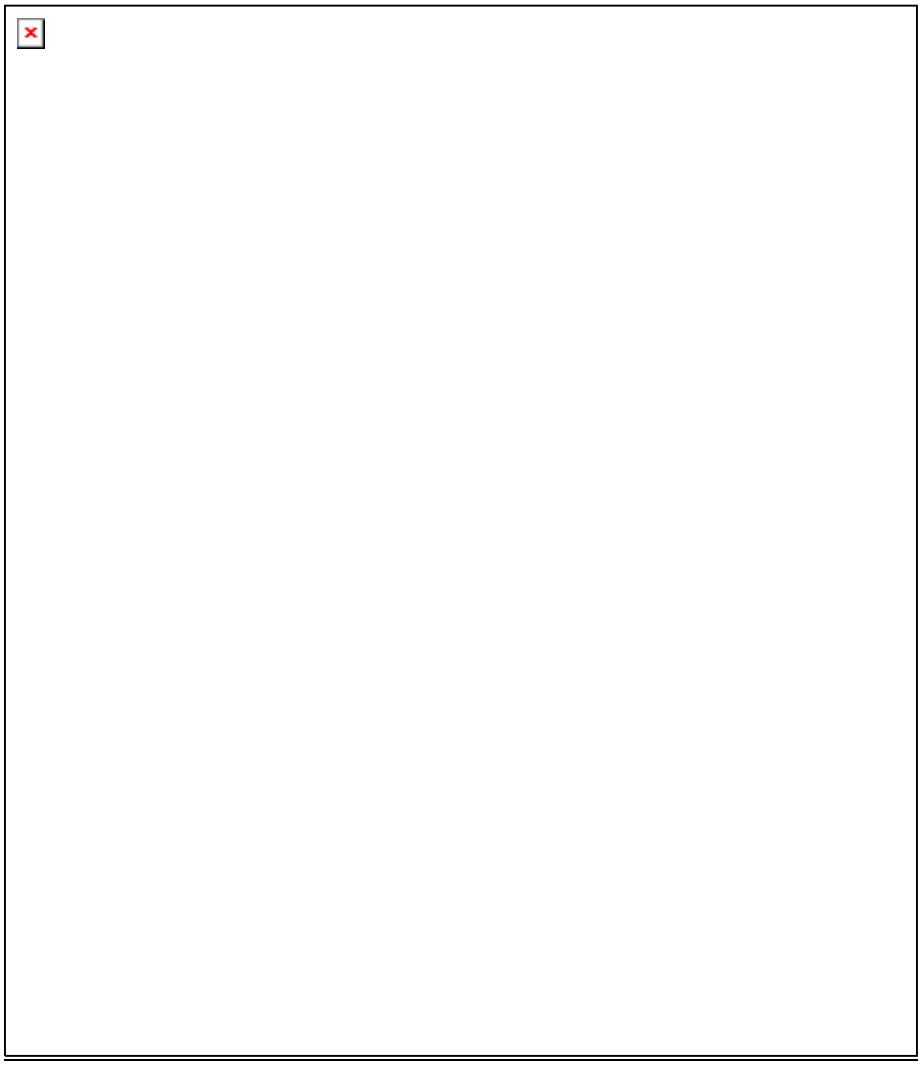


Figure 1: Tawantinsuyu, the extent of the Inca Empire (shown in the inset), and the Inca roads and provincial installation (*tambu*) system (D'Altroy 2002:88).

Territorial strategies included relocated, *mitamae*, communities, *mita*, and large-scale public works projects. The missionizing ideology of the Inca went hand in hand with military, economic, and political domination, and, therefore, these strategies were imprinted and required of all communities.

Together with the social and economic domination, there was also a strong religious ideological component. The Inca cosmology, and the way in which they demanded tribute, gave local autonomy as well as requiring veneration to the state

deities. Often the Inca would co-opt submission by stealing the local *huaca* and keeping it for ransom in Cusco so that local people would have to make an annual trek to worship, where they could be checked for obedience. At the same time, the peripheral people continued to worship their local deities to avert starvation and crop failure (D'Altroy 2002, MacCormack 1991, Pease 1995, Ruiz 1998, Urton 1981, Zuidema 1990).

Thus, conquest by the Inca Empire inextricably linked religious ideology with political and economic needs. The coercion of periphery peoples could be with both indirect rule, by extending the *ayllu*, or by direct force through relocation. The pre-existing *ayllu* social system facilitated conquest by increasing the scale of hierarchy, and developing a large labor base throughout the empire. Autonomy within the empire may have facilitated conquest, but it also may have been its undoing.[vi]

The Spanish Reconquista in the New World[vii]

During the year 1492, three paramount events occurred in Spain that culminated a long battle between religious ideology and politics. On January 2, the united kingdoms of Spain conquered the last Moorish stronghold of Granada, and drove them from Spain. On March 31, King Ferdinand and Isabella signed the Edict of Expulsion, requiring the Jews of Spain to either be baptized or be deported. And on October 12, Christopher Columbus happened upon the Americas in search of a new trade route to India (Armstrong 2000).

The battle for the reconquista of Spain, completed in 1492, represented nearly six centuries of alternating aggressions and periods of *convivencia*, or peaceful living. With the exception of Muslim Granada, nearly the entire Iberian Peninsula was under control

of the kingdoms of Spain — Aragon, Navarre, Castile, and Portugal — in the thirteenth century, but because of the Black Death the entire peninsula was not conquered until the end of the fifteenth century (Philips and Philips 1991). The reconquista was a war that extended beyond the boundaries of faith; it was a war for territorial expansion, conducted, regulated, and controlled, by the crown and military-religious orders. "It was a process of controlled settlement and colonization, based on establishment of towns which were granted extensive territorial jurisdiction under royal charter" (Elliott 1984:149).

For the Spanish individual in the fifteenth-century, land was wealth; many went to the New World solely with the hope of obtaining land, and acquiring status unavailable in the European world. Further, their world was intensely devotional; Catholicism penetrated every facet of life. Lay people and missionaries alike found (and made) it their duty to convert the Andeans at all cost.

The Importance of the Quebrada of Humahuaca During Inca and Colonial Presence

The Quebrada of Humahuaca was on the periphery of the Inca Empire, and does not exhibit any large-scale pre-Inca or Inca constructions, with the exception of two sites: the Pucará of Tilcara and Coctaca-Rodero. The Pucará of Tilcara is the largest site in the valley, and was an important administrative center for the pre-Inca Omaguaca and Tilcara peoples. Pucará, which comes from the Kechuwa word meaning fortress, was a common pre-Inca construction in the valley and placed on strategic bluffs 100-150 meters above the river floor (Palma 1998, Pelaeri 1987:131). The Inca occupied the site as a military outpost, and as a gateway to the rich metal deposits of silver, copper, and zinc nearby; from there they introduced hegemonic and direct rule upon the local communities (Palma 1998, Raffino 1982).[viii] Figure 2a below shows the principal Inca mining regions in the Southern Andes.

The site of Coctaca-Rodero, a few kilometers from the town of Humahuaca, is an unfinished Inca agricultural site, where there is an elaborate pre-Inca canal and irrigation system (D'Altroy 2002, Palma 1998, Proyecto QH 2002c, Ruiz 1998). The site was about six square kilometers of terraced fields on the alluvial fan and piedmont; "because many terraces were abandoned before completion, it seems likely that the farm was developed late in the empire's run and may never have been put into use" (D'Altroy 2002:275). The figure on page x above indicates the locations of these ruins.

Based on the exchange of vases and ceramic wares, there is evidence of *mitamae* communities in the Northwest of Argentina, especially in the Calchaquí valley of Salta, inhabited by the Calchaquí and Diaguita peoples, and the Quebrada of Humahuaca

(D'Altroy 2002, Raffino 1982, Ruiz 1998, Serrano 2000). "In the Calchaquí Valley, for example, the Pulaes [from Tucumán] gained status and resources at the expense of the Calchaquíes, who resisted the Inca. Settlers from Tucumán and Santiago de Estero of the eastern lowlands were moved into the intermontane valleys, while the altiplano societies, such as the Churumatas and Chichas [from near Potosí] were resettled along the eastern fringes" (D'Altroy 2002:258). Figure 2b below shows the possible movement patterns of relocated groups in the region.

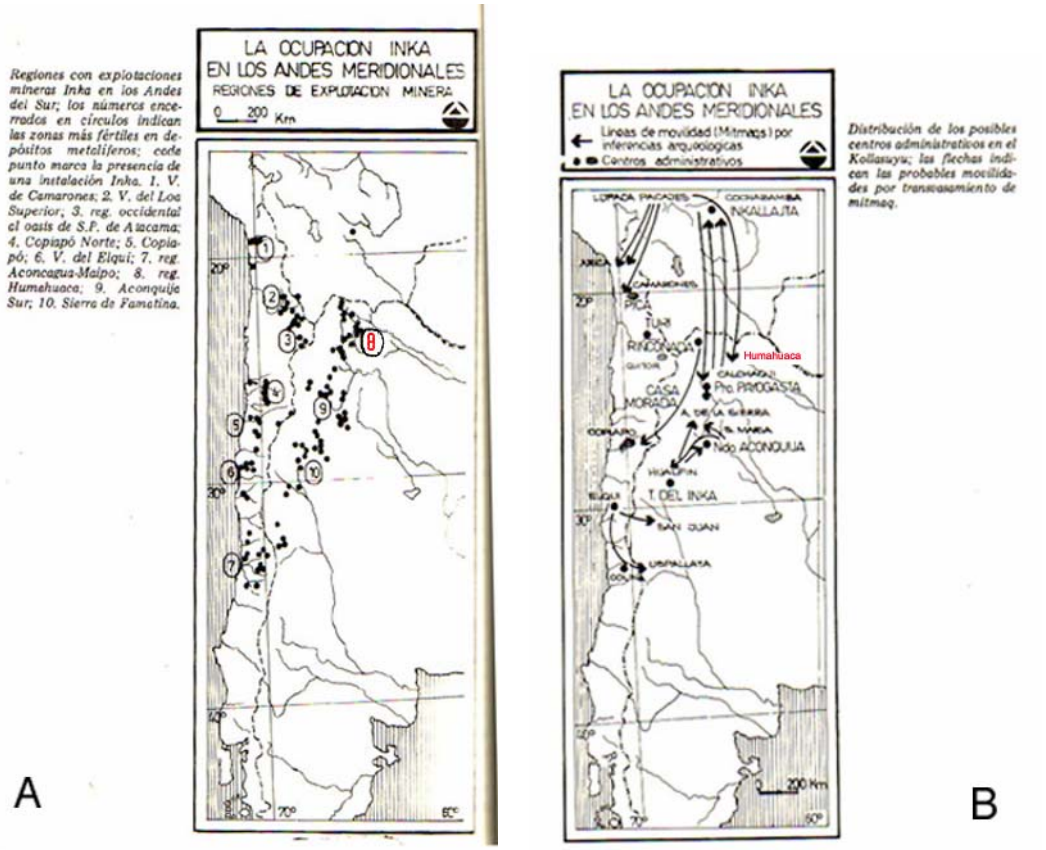


Figure 2: The graphic on the left (A) (Raffino 1982:264)[ix] indicates the principal mining regions used by the Inca in the Southern Andes, and the on the right (B) (1982:269)[x] indicates the *mitamae* in the Northwest of Argentina. The dots are administrative centers, and the arrows show movements.

The Quebrada of Humahuaca continues to be an important north-south route between the Bolivian altiplano and the Rio de La Plata lowlands, much as it was during

Inca and colonial times. During the colonial era, the valley became an important contraband route between the gold and silver mines of Potosí, northern Argentina and the port of Buenos Aires (Proyecto QH 2002c). In addition, the Quebrada of Humahuaca and the Puna of Jujuy remains one of the few places in Argentina where indigenous peoples continue to have an influence and presence.

The city of San Salvador de Jujuy was founded in 1593 after two unsuccessful attempts in 1561 and 1575; Spanish forces finally quelled the Omaguaca people in the Quebrada of Humahuaca in 1595 with the capture of the leader Viltipoco (Nicolini 1981, Proyecto QH 2002c). The city of Humahuaca was founded in 1640, and the other provincial capitals in the Northwest of Argentina (with the exception of Cordoba), Santiago del Estero (1550), Tucumán (1565), Cordoba (1573), and Salta (1582), were founded successfully on the first attempt (Bazán 1995).

The Duality of the Huacas and Saints practiced

The Andeans imprinted their history on the countryside with different beings that co-existed as kin or rivals. "The relationships between different beings were negotiable, for humans could worship, consult, supplicate, battle, abduct, or even incapacitate gods, oracles, and shrines. The Incas captured all of these things within a simple concept — wak'a — that is, anything or place that had transcendent power" (D'Altroy 2002:142). These huacas, oracles, and shrines were revered with good intentions, as well as asked to avert maladies and disaster.

The Catholicism that the conquistadors and missionaries brought to the New World, as we have seen above, was one inextricably linked with settlement and conquest,

and one that continually used images and saints to sanctify events and moral order. Sabine MacCormack offers the observation that "sixteenth-century Spanish Christianity, whether in Spain itself or in the missionary context of Peru, was inextricably tied up with religious images. Images …were themselves cult objects, a fact which gave rise to the Indian observation that *the Christian images were the huacas of the Spaniards* — an observation extremely difficult to contradict" (1984:50, my emphasis). By placing their own holy objects next to Christian images of saints, the Andeans could seemingly revere a Christian image, while secretly paying homage to their own gods with huacas.

Thus, the Spanish understanding of saints and their relics coupled with the Andean notion of the huaca, led the latter to believe that the saints were the huaca of the Spanish. This notion allowed some predominant Andean deities to become identified with various saints, such as the Virgin Mary with the Pachamama, or St. Santiago (St. James) with Illapa, the god of thunder (MacCormack 1984, Paleari 1988, Pike 1990).

Extending these claims even further highlights the duality of huacas, in the Andean cosmology, and saints, in the Christian worldview. Just as the huacas were the sites of worship for the Andeans, so were the shrines and relics in the Medieval Catholic world. "Indeed, the very appearance of Spanish religious images invited such an approach. For their sheer naturalism, their lifelike glass eyes, their blushing complexities, and their wardrobes filled with jeweled clothing, whose very existence authorized the worship of their Andean counterparts" (1991:180-1).[xi] This analogy, though obviously different at that same time, highlights the dichotomous nature of Andean deities; unlike the dyad of good/evil in Catholicism, Andean deities could be both benevolent and malevolent at the same time.

Fernando Cervantes suggests, while speaking of the Mesoamericans, that specific concepts of evil and the devil were alien concepts in the indigenous cosmology. "In contrast with the typically western conception of evil as mere absence of being or privation of good (which implied that in strict ontological terms evil did not exist), the [Andean] notions of evil and the demonic were inextricably intertwined with their notions of god and the divine" (1994:40).

Michael Taussig (1980:171) comments that this assimilation of evil, and the devil, "ratified the nature spirits whom they persistently worshipped as their "owners" and as their source of identity." This last comment highlights the important distinction between Inca imperial religion and periphery practices; "for while the Inca were interested in celebrating their "father of the Sun," their mythic origins and the political and social ordering of the empire, country peoples were more urgently concerned with averting crop failure and starvation" (MacCormack 1991:179). Thus, the people of the periphery continued to worship the Pachamama as the dominant deity, and associated her with the well-being of the community.

The Catholicism that became practiced in the Andean world, and in the Quebrada of Humahuaca, infused indigenous customs with ecclesiastical festivals; carnival remains the logical mélange of these two histories. Fixed annually on the Gregorian calendar by the oppositions of Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma,[xii] and punctuated by ceremonies of the Pachamama, the Carnival of Humahuaca continues to revitalize Andean Catholicism.

III. The Encounter of Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma[xiii]

Acercándose viene un tiempo de Dios santo:
Fuime para mi tierra por folgar algúnd quanto;
Dende á ocho días era Quaresm': al tanto
Puso por todo el mundo miedo é grand' espanto.
Estando en mi casa con don Jueves Lardero,
Troxo á mí dos cartas un lygero trotero.

Upon me 'twas a time of holy God approaching:
I went to my ranch to have a little something-something;
Given that in eight days 'twas Lent: that thing
Gave all the frightened world a great scaring.
Being in my house with sir Thursday Blubber,
The swift postman brought me two letters.
(Cortazar 1949:138)[xiv]

The euphemistic encounter between Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma happens every year, all over the world. His abnormal, burlesque, errant moods of inversion and irony clash with her lively reality of the banal, mundane quotidian existence. In most cases, carnival is a short encounter that lasts only a few days, and finishes on Ash Wednesday. In Humahuaca, Argentina, however, this celebration lasts eight days and nights, and finishes the following Sunday.

Carnival is in opposition to Lent[xv]; thus, the characters introduced at the beginning of this section embody this existence. In the Catholic tradition, Lent is the period of personal penance and fasting, and, traditionally, one was required to remain celibate and to give up meat for the entire forty days of its duration. Therefore, the connotations of three different Spanish words, *Carnal*, *Carnestolendas*, and *Carnestoltes*, epitomize the behavior of Don Carnal with three different pre-Lent periods. First, the *Carnal* period in which one should not eat meat; second, the *Carnestolendas* period in which one should leave the meat; and third, the *Carnestoltes* period in which one has left

the meat (Caro Baroja 1965:40). From these three concepts, emerge different images of deprivation and longing, as well as the connotations of sexual desire and inhibition. "Don Carnal, associated with the things contaminated with sin and contrary to good customs and manners, could appear [in public] a week before the forty days needed to be ready [for Easter] began, and the celebrations necessary to suffer the pains of the Nazarene" (Vicario Leal 2000:21-2).

Framing carnival in this light, several salient themes dominate. First, within the Catholic Church, the pre-Lent carnal festival creates an arena of negotiation, and reflects pagan (Andean and Catholic) beliefs and customs. Second, the euphemistic encounter stages the unbridled *desenfreno* (unleashing and release) against everyday life. Third, the secondary and tertiary meanings of carnal create an atmosphere of inversion and irony; curiously, the differences between Spanish and English highlight even more connotations.[xvi] Finally, local myths, legends, and practices become dominant in rituals of sincere importance, such as the *corpachada* ritual during carnival.

In the sections that follow I describe the events of the Carnival of Humahuaca, then begin to unmask and decipher the salient themes, and finally attempt to explain the performances and put it all together.

IV. Carnival: the Unbridled Desenfreno

We have already noted that carnival, traditionally, spans the three days before Ash Wednesday. The carnivalesque events and rituals surrounding the Carnival of Humahuaca begin the Thursday before Shrove Tuesday, and continue until the Sunday of Temptation, eleven days later. In this section, I describe the key public events in the Carnival of Humahuaca. I begin each section with a selection of *coplas*, refrains and verses recited or sung, that speak to some of the themes present.

Jueves de Comadre, Compadre, and the Festival of the Chicha and the Copla

Y es el día de las Comadres, y estamos aquí reunidas; salimos todos los años todas las buenas amigas.	And it is the day of Comadres and here we are reunited; we go out every year All of us well befriended. (Cortazar 1949:138)
Ya viene el carnaval cerca por l'abra del Pucará, aquí lo estoy esperando tal vez vendrá por acá.	The coming of carnival is near for the opening of Pucará, here I am waiting for it That maybe it will come here. (1949:147)

On this particular Thursday, the community of Humahuaca unites for two pre-carnival festivals: *Thursday of Comadre and Compadre*, and the *Festival of Chicha and the Coplas*. Early in the morning all the comadres — godmothers, mothers, neighbors and friends — meet with a typical encounter, the *topamiento*; an "act in which the women toast another year of life and for the well being of their godchildren" (Tribuno Fb 2001).

Figure 3: "Camaraderie: with the encounter of Comadres in the Quebrada of Humahuaca and all the province, the Carnival Jujeño began yesterday (21/2/01). A tradition that never stops and in which the comadres tell stories, one to the other, of troubles and happiness from the previous year" (Tribuno Fa 2001, p.1).

Understood another way, the Academia Real Española defines it as a "ceremony of carnival in which men and women feign encounters and make accusations that they consecrate publicly as compadres," and that is unique to the Argentine Northwest (Gomez et.al 1992:1995). In this typical encounter, "they greet each other — ¡Buenas días, comadrita! — and begin to throw confetti and talc on each other" (Zuleta 1966:8). They reconnoiter the streets, encountering as many people as possible, inviting others to toast, reciting coplas, receiving the kindness of others, and reveling in the anticipation of carnival (Tribuno Fb 2001).

At midday, the municipality hosts the *Festival of the Chicha and the Copla* in a large local venue. Mario Giménez created the Festival of the Chicha and the Copla in the

1970s. Giménez was a local business owner of a popular artesian restaurant and shop, the *Cacharpaya*, in Humahuaca and San Salvador de Jujuy, and he was a representative of the Department of Humahuaca (Coluccio 1995:335). Two things happen during this event: the many *chicheras* (makers of hichi) compete with their own maize and peanut hichi (beer), and folkloric dance troupes perform publicly with a caja, tambourine, and erkencho.[xvii] Everyone tastes the hichi, and votes for the best; the peanut hichi is smooth with a hint of cinnamon, while the maize hichi is sweet and mealy (Varsavsky 2001). At six o'clock, the festival finishes with the awarding of prizes to the best chicheras of both the peanut and the maize hichi by the municipality (Tribuno Fb 2001).

Tantanakuy and the Musicians

Esta cajita que toco
tiene boca y sabe hablar,
hic le faltan los ojos
para ponerse a llorar.

This little caja that I play
has a mouth for speaking,
its only missing eyes
To begin crying.
(Coluccio 1995:196)

Amada cajita mía,
los dos debemos cantar:
tú con tu suave armonía
yo con mi voz desigual.

My lovely little caja,
we both must croon:
you with your smooth harmony
And I with my unequal tune.
(Cortazar 1949:112)

On Friday evening, everyone is invited to the Encounter of the Musicians, or the *Tantanakuy*, where all the local musicians gather to play folkloric and traditional songs. The word *tantanakuy* derives from the Kechuwa, meaning a reunion or a gathering of people (Guzman et.al 1998:98). At the base of the Monument of Independence, in the

center of Humahuaca, people sit on the steps of the monument or in chairs to listen to all the musicians playing into the night in the central plaza. All the local folklorists and their bands, as well as visitors from nearby cities and provinces unite in this occasion. This gathering often presents new sounds, old themes, and a chance for a newer band to become "discovered" (Kirbus 1997, Pregón Fb 2001).

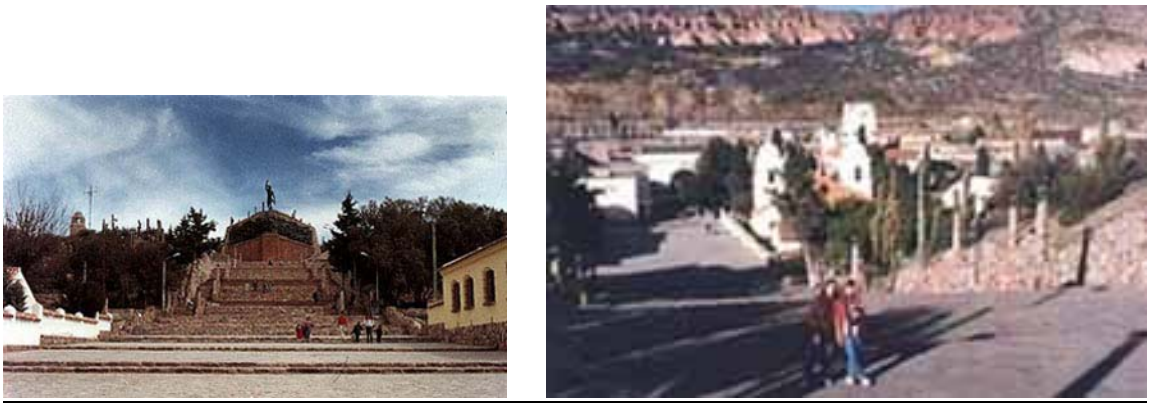


Figure 4: The Monument of the Independence in Humahuaca from the bottom on the left (huma3.jpg 2003), and from the top on the right (jujuy-0002-04.jpg 2003).

Desentierro and the Unearthing

> Dicen que el Carnaval viene
> trayendo alegres cantares;
> zambas, gatos, chacareras,
> para olvidar los pesares.
>
> They say Carnival comes
> bringing jubilant songs;
> zambas, gatos, chacareras,
> To forget the pangs.
>
> (Coluccio 1995:195)

> Nueve días pa' gozarlos
> al carnaval. ¡Achalay!
> Dende el sábado de víspera
> hasta el domingo i' Pujllay.
>
> Nine days to enjoy them
> In the carnival. Achalay!
> From the eve of Saturday
> Until the Sunday 'tis all Pujllay.
>
> (Folclore del Norte Argentino 2002, unpaginated)

On Saturday, carnival officially begins with the *desentierro* ritual; each comparsa walks en masse to their *mojón*, a mound of earth and stone where the previous year's

interment took place (Pregón Fa 2001, Zuleta 1966). They go in silence; the musicians with their instruments in hand, and the masqueraders with disguises under their arms. Everyone gathers around the site, and in a hush, the *mojón* is carefully dismantled and a large hole dug in its place until the clay pot previously interred appears. Then they begin the *corpachada*, and begin to give food and drink to the hungry Pachamama, placing and pouring copious amounts of alcohol and other items consumed and used during carnival; into the "mouth" go cigarettes, coca, streamers, confetti, talc, wine, hichi, beer, hard alcohol, etc. Each member of the comparsa passes by the "mouth" to make his or her offering.

Off to one side, meanwhile, the people disguising themselves are changing and putting on their masks. One of the disguised ignites a *churqui*, and the burning cactus illuminates the darkness, casting light on the transformed; one of the devils, now in full regalia, lets off a firecracker, and a din of cries follows from the others. The little doll of the pujllay, rescued from beneath the flames by one of the other devils, is brought into the open, and carried towards the center of town. The musicians begin immediately with a traditional song (the *carnavalito* or a *diablada*), and the comparsa begins to sing, dance, throw talc, and spray artificial snow, as they descend into town reciting their refrain so that everyone immediately recognizes the troupe.

Many comparsas descend into town from their various mojónes, and the actual number may vary from year to year. The largest and most popular troupes are Juventud Alegre (Youthful Happiness), Unión, Regimiento Carnavelsco (Regiment Carnivalesque) "Pancho Villa," and Picaflores, all from Humahuaca, and Rosas y Claveles (Roses and

Figure 5: A desentierro in the Carnaval of Humahuaca, with the mojón on the right (with the pujllay in place), and the entry of the devil following the procession (Proyecto QH 19_1 2002).

Carnations) from the barrio Santa Rosa.[xviii] Each comparsa has a distinct refrain that they sing while converging upon the town:

Soy de la Juventud alegre ¡que viva Nuestra comparsa!	I am of the Youthful happiness Long live our comparsa!
Soy de Humahuaca, mi vidita ¡para la Unión naciste en este mundo, palomitay!	I am of Humahuaca, my little life for the Unión you were born to this World, palomitay!
Del prado vengo, vidita ¡ahí te lo traigo esta florcita! Mi corazón y mi amor te lo di, con loca pasión.	From the fields I come, my little life From there, I bring this little flower! My heart and my love I gave you, With crazy passion.
¡Seré constante, Picaflores, encanto de mis amores!	I will be forever, Picaflores, Charmed by my love! (Zuleta 1966:17)[xix]

Figure 6: A procession through the streets after the desentierro (photo taken by author).

A similar ritual occurs for each comparsa throughout the day, perhaps at the same time, and they all converge on the central plaza of Humahuaca, at the steps of the Monument of Independence. Typically, the desentierro occurs in the early afternoon to evening after a community lunch (Pregón Fa 2001). Carnival officially begins when the comparsa Juventud descends on the plaza around ten at night with a display of fireworks from the Independence Monument. At last "the God Momo, Pujllay, or devil has descended upon Humahuaca, and from that instance, until the Sunday of Temptation, the days will be an uninterrupted euphoria of laughs, jingle bells, *charangos*, *bombos*, *cajas*, and accordions" (Zuleta 1966:11).[xx]

Carnival Chico and Grande

Martes era, que no lunes	Tuesday 'twas, not Monday
Martes de "carnes tollendas,"	Tuesday of "flesh farewell,"
Víspera de la "ceniza"	Eve of the "ash"
Primer día de cuaresma.	First day of Lent.
Ved qué martes y qué miércoles	See that Tuesday and Wednesday
Qué víspera y qué fiesta:	One ending and one a feast:
El martes lleno de risa;	Tuesday full of joyfulness;
El miércoles, de tristeza.	Wednesday full of sadness.

(Pregón Fc 2001)

Ash Wednesday appears on the horizon, separating the Carnival Grande from the Carnival Chico; the former the four days before, and the latter the five days after until the following Sunday (Pregón Fd 2001). By provincial decree, Shrove Monday and Tuesday are non-work days (Law 4059/84 and Law 5005/97); therefore, many people are able to participate those four days, and return to work on Wednesday. Likewise, many people have second homes in Humahuaca that they occupy specifically for carnival. They may return, in fact, for the entierro the following weekend; there is a saying that people told me during carnival, "one who disinters, must bury, or the devil will be with you all year." Many people, however, continue the five days more of the carnival chico and the entire nine days and eight nights. Typically during carnival grande people dance and sing in the street during the day and in the locales at night, whereas during the carnival chico most of the activity is inside by invitation.

Entierro and the Interring

¡Ya se ha muerto el carnaval!	Already the carnival has died!
Ya lo llevan a enterrar.	Already they take ‘em to be buried.
Échenle poquita tierra	Throw ‘em a bit of earth
¡que se vuelva a levantar!	So that he’ll again be raised!
¡Ya reventó	Already it exploded
Triste yo estoy,	I am saddened,
Con la kacharpaya	with the cacharpaya
El suncho llegó.	The suncho arrived.

(Armanini 1969:179)[xxi]

It has been nine days and eight nights since the desentierro, and there have been no thoughts of efforts to control the dancing, releasing, taunting of the devil, the engaging in games, and imbibing copiously. The Sunday of Temptation arrives with stillness; the devils know their time is short, and they desperately try last futile attempts to drag others down with them. Around midday, each comparsa meets for lunch at the president’s house; they eat and drink until there is nothing left. During the close of the meal, the member responsible for the making of the Pujllay presents it to the president. This little doll, stuffed with wool, is made from leftover material of a real devil’s costume, and measures between thirty and fifty centimeters.

The comparsa begins to walk en masse to the mojón as the sun is setting, casting long shadows on the waning enthusiasm; the devils try last desperate attempts to be the errant center of attention. The remaining talc and artificial snow is sprayed upon each other; the musicians lead the way, playing traditional song or a sad *carnavalito*. Climbing into the surrounding hills, the devils realize their end is again inevitable and scurry to the front to be nearer to pujllay. Upon arrival at the mojón, the “mouth” is opened up, by removing the stone slab from the interred clay pot; with the last of the

alcohol, beer, hichi, and wine they begin the *cacharpaya*. Each member passes by with lit cigarettes, coca, and libations to the Pachamama to restore order.

The devil's time is at hand, and some of them are crying at their demise. Near the open 'mouth," one of them has again ignited a *churqui*, and the burning cactus illuminates the night, this time casting light on the disappearing disguised. Some of their costumes are old and they discard them into the flames; on top of it all goes the Pujllay, burning away the enthusiasm of carnival. A firecracker inside the doll explodes, surprising everyone, and the mouth is shoveled over and the entierro is complete; carnival has ended and the comparsa walks back to their locales (Cortazar 1949, Kirbus 1997, Zuleta 1966:33-7). They may continue into the night, much as they have the previous nights, but now with little or no enthusiasm; "recently they remember that they have to work, fulfill obligations, in short, return to the routine and opaque world and wait until next year to attempt another evasion" (Zuleta 1966:37).

V. Carnivalesque: the Burlesque and Jocose

In the preceding section, we saw how all the events of the Carnival of Humahuaca fell into place; the eleven days between Comadre Thursday, the desentierro, and the entierro are a euphoria of inversion, irony, and delinquency. In this next section, I describe the games, disguises, and dances such as the *diablada* and *carnavalito,* that provide many of the escapes, inversions and delinquent behaviors of the Carnival of Humahuaca.

Carnivalesque Games

The carnivalesque games begin from the very first moment of Comadre Thursday, and continue to the very last moment of the entierro. Most of the games involve people throwing substances at one other: never hard objects, or in the eyes or mouth, and always in jest. There are three principal games of this nature: the *talqueada,* spraying artificial snow, and splashing water.

The act of throwing talc, the *talqueada*, is the most common game. A person approaches another person, with a handful of talc or flour in one hand, and places it squarely on the other's head; the talc floats and falls over the face and body, and the hair remains constantly white. This is not a game of who can be covered the most, although a person who attempts to clean himself off invites more talc thrown his way. There is always a fine dust of talc in the air (Zuleta 1966:15).

A similar game occurs with the artificial snow, spraying the foam on any and everyone. In this game, the rules are the same as the talc, and spraying in the eyes or the

mouth is discouraged. It often takes on an element of revenge; an urge to return the favor of an unprecedented can of foam filling your shirt!

Figure 7: Playing a game with artificial snow (Proyecto QH image_073 2002).

A third game of water is not as prevalent as the previous two, and usually occurs during the day when it is warmer. This game involves throwing water balloons, shooting each other with water pistols, or turning on the hose. This game is also the stealthiest, and a balloon, often, soaks one, without knowing where it came from.

There are also a number of games that are less involved than the others: the *hichi ines*, streamers, confetti, and the *fusilamiento*. The *hichi ines* and confetti, like the talc, are present at all hours; one's hair is always white (from talc) and full of the little bits of paper. Streamers hang around the neck, adorn the mojón, or pass between one person and another. The *fusilamiento*, or whipping, is a drinking game in the locales

during the night; someone who does not wish to dance, or wants to sit apart becomes a target by the comparsa. The sentence imposed by the *bastonero*, or the caner (usually the troupe president), is to stand in the middle of the troupe, and to drink a glass of hichi or wine, and another, and another, until the *bastonero* says enough, or the poor fool can take no more (Armanini 1969:178, Zuleta 1966:23).

The games of carnival perform the delinquency and errant behavior attributed to the devil. In the case of the streamers and confetti, they serve as markers of the festivities and that the events are sanctified by the Pachamama. The games with talc, artificial snow, and drinking provide not only a chance to do things one normally would not, but to experience humiliation without consequence.

Disfraces and Disguises

The disguises are visible the entire carnival and at all times of day and night, and during the Carnival of Humahuaca take on many personas: the devil, hichi, gaucho, gypsy, doctor, student, animal, and others (left to personal discretion). Each comparsa has their own masqueraders, and their own distinct style.

The most elaborate costume is the devil with colored clothing of yellow, blue, red, green, all mixed, or of a single color; with jingle bells and mirrors hanging over the body, and a mask with horns. Many of the devils speak in falsetto to remain anonymous. Zuleta (1966:23) observes that Humahuaca is one of three places in the world that have masquerading devils during carnival; the others are in Oruro, Bolivia (where most of the influence comes from), and Panama where there is a similar display. Since that time,

Figure 8: A group of devils dancing during the entierro (Proyecto QH image_078 2002).

Figure 9: "Humahuaca: Disguised with colored costumes Rosas and Claveles unearthed the Carnival" (Tribuno Fd 2001)

these costumes have proliferated throughout much of Bolivia and Northern Argentina, but Oruro and Humahuaca remain the centers of the most vibrant costumes; most of the influence continues to come from Oruro, and the costumes of Humahuaca continue to share many characteristics with Oruro.

The most characteristic part of the costume is the mask. In Oruro, they measure, from the chin to the point of the horns, between fifty and seventy centimeters. The features appear exaggerated and disfigured: the huge nose painted in a vibrant red, and the eyes, made from blinking lights bulbs, jump out of the sockets. The eyebrows extend several centimeters away from the head to extenuate the horns mounted on the upper part of the mask, and they appear ready to rabidly jump and bite. Little triangular mirrors, like the fangs of a snake, at the base of the gums represent the teeth and they give the mask an especially horrific appearance (Coluccio 2000:41). Compare Figure 10 from Oruro below with Figure 9 above from Humahuaca to note some of the influences.

Figure 10: Costumes of the Diablada from Oruro, Bolivia, showing male and female differences on the left (Festival 37.jpg) and a detail of the mask on the right (Festival 39.jpg) (Enjoy Bolivia.com 2002).

The gaucho is another popular costume, playing on a familiar past in Argentina; the barbarian, rebel cowboy eulogized in Martin Fierro and recognized by everyone.[xxii] The gaucho wears knickers and riding boots, a swash across the stomach, and a hat, similar to a cowboy hat (Zuleta 1966:24). Other members of the troupe masquerade as the doctor in his white lab coat, stethoscope around his neck, and characteristic case with various odds and ends inside; the gypsy, usually a woman, in traditional European style, forms the natural pair to the devil; and the hichi, dressed in feathers like a grand chief of the Amazon or the Plains (1966:24-5). [xxiii]

The disguises serve several purposes: to be unrecognizable, to take on another persona, to be errant and abnormal, and to make fun of others. The disguises are an inversion of the mundane and trivial, daily grind into a jocular and delinquent arena of diversion. Together the costumes and dances are en essential component of carnival.

Carnavalitos, Diabladas, and Dances

Dancing and singing are ubiquitous in the Carnival of Humahuaca; from the moment of the first round in the Festival of the Copla to the last waking moment of the entierro, people are dancing and singing. The most common dances are the folkloric *carnavalito, diablada*, and rounds. At night people dance to live bands playing folk music, sicuris bands, or to recorded cumbias in local bars and restaurants.

The *carnavalito* and the *diablada* are variations on the *vidala*, also known as the *vidalita* of the *Pujllay*, or the polka of carnival.[xxiv] The *vidalita* is sung by members of the comparsas and participants, and in addition to the caja uses guitars and other traditional instruments, such as the sicu, quena, charango, and the bombo in marching

processions or local restaurants (Goyena 2000:40-1). The dance names evoke choreographed figures or pantomimed actions, such as the bridge, the star, the little monkey, the drunk, and the diablada among others (Goyena 2000:43).

According to local legend from Oruro, the story of the diablada begins when God liberated the inhabitants of Hell, and frightened the Condor, The Serpent, and the Bear into fighting with the devils. The demons confronted them with antagonism, saying that they would kill themselves if they engaged in battle. Each creature took the form of their individual virtues, and grappled with the faults of their adversaries (Beltran Heredia 1956, Coluccio 2000).

A battle ensued between the Condor, the Serpent, and the Bear and the infernal legions until an angel, accompanied by the goodness and beauty of the Virgin of the Socavón, descended and commanded peace among everyone. At this moment, the defeated devils stopped fighting and remained in peace, and they banished their discord, maladies, and fury upon the earth (Coluccio 2000:41-2). Each comparsa of Oruro dances through the streets to the sanctuary of the Virgin of the Socavón above the city on a hill, reenacting the legendary battle of the diablada.

The comparsas of Humahuaca do not dance the diablada in the same way as in Oruro, nevertheless the dance shows off the costumes of the devil, and highlights the shared past and influences from local mines.

VI. Carnival: Influences on Performing Reality

It is said that carnival is the festival par excellence, performs the ideal society, mirrors collectively how it is perceived, and presents the world upside down and inverted (Abello 2000:7, Abercrombie 1998, DaMatta 1991, Turner 1987, Vicario Leal 2000).[xxv] Before analyzing the inversions of the Carnival of Humahuaca and the role of the devil, I highlight some of the influences from the Carnival of Oruro and the Mines of Bolivia. I end the section with a view on cultural performance theory that stresses the discursive and dynamic nature of carnival to complement the structural analysis provided herein.

Influences from the Carnival of Oruro and the Mines of Bolivia

The Carnival of Oruro is renown in Latin America for the *diabladas* and elaborate costumes of the devil. The comparsas of Oruro each reenact local myths, such as the diablada, with processions through the streets, elaborate costumes, religious devotion, and unbridled inversion (Abercrombie 1998, Beltran Heredia 1956, Coluccio 2000).

In addition to the events in the city, there are also elaborate rituals in the nearby mines. The miners personify the devil, Tío, and the Virgin of the Socavón, the patron saint of the miners, from beliefs, traditions, and customs of characters recognizable in the Supay and the Pachamama.[xxvi] The Tío is blamed for unfortunate mining accidents, and sometimes requires the sacrifice of a llama to prevent the loss of human lives.

The Tío is the subterranean and ubiquitous scapegoat of special ceremonies On the Friday before the Saturday of Carnival, in which the miners perform rituals to prevent rocks from falling on them, earthquakes, and avert human disaster. The miners present

the owner of the mine with several kilos of high quality minerals, called the *achura*, which they have been safeguarding. The owner, in return, presents the miners with the *tinku*, confetti, hichi ines, and copious amounts of liquor and alcohol. After the exchange of the *achura* with the *tinku*, "the directors and the miners begin to break the bottles on the rocks, invoking a year of exploitation and success for the mine in the next year. They wrap the mining tools with hichi ines, and pour drink in the interior of the mines, signaling the cult of the Pachamama in a ceremony called the *Ch'alla*" (2000:44-5). In this event, as elsewhere, the purpose is to bless the mine for safety, and to appease the spirits of the mine for the greedy exploitation (Abercrombie 1998, Gose 1994, Taussig 1980).

The Carnival of Oruro, as we have just seen, combines religious devotion, miners' rituals, and the devil. Likewise, many of these influences are present in the Carnival of Humahuaca; colonial mining practices of Potosí and the northwest of Argentina had profound effects upon, not only the landscapes, but on local beliefs, myths, and veneration of the spirits associated with mining and the telluric goddess.[xxvii]

The fundamental difference between mining by the Andeans and the Spanish, was that the Inca mined only what they needed, "whereas the latter became the mainstay of the burgeoning world capitalist economy, in which precious metals from the New World played a vital part in the early stages of capital accumulation" (1980:199). Spanish demand for precious metals, in the miners' eyes, was the more than enough to turn the spirits of the mines against them and to subject them to an eternal battle of appeasing the devil. This drastic change in mining practices traumatized the mountains, removing

quantities without giving them a chance to replenish themselves; "if ever the devil were to emerge, he would appear here in these mines" (1980:204).[xxviii]

Public Space and Cultural Performance

To highlight the discursive and dynamic nature of a cultural performance, such as carnival, and to complement the structural analysis below, I combine the approaches of Ignacio Abello (2000), David Guss (2000), Erving Goffman (1974), and Victor Turner (1987). Turner suggests that cultural performances are events that include communicative modes other than simply the spoken word, such as songs, dance, graphics, and acting; meaning that "rituals, dramas, and other performative genres are often orchestrations of media, not expressions in a single medium" (Turner 1987:23). Building upon the works of Turner and others in *The Festive State: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism as Cultural Performance*, David Guss (2000:8-12) distinguishes four approaches for cultural performance, which provide important models.

In the first approach, cultural performances can be "framed," "keyed," or "bracketed," referencing deeper salient issues or mirroring superficial ones (Goffman 1974). Each event has the ability to be recognized as one thing, and collectively transformed into another. This is what Goffman refers to as framing and keying, labeling an event categorically as make-believe, a contest, a ceremony, or other frameworks that bound the limits of the event (1974:48). These meta-keys embody further brackets, or an agreed reference to internalize the event. Simplistically, when speaking of carnival, several poignant words key us to the intimacy, the nature, or the activity; first we speak

of the acts in larger connotations, then the comparsas further connote an image of camaraderie, and the actions of the rituals themselves embody still another image. Each performance is continually keying new and old opportunities, and "keyings are themselves obviously vulnerable to rekeying" (1974:79). That is, *re*keying does not only function as the bounding and limiting framework "but rather on a keying of these definitions" (1974:81).

Second, cultural performances provide social critiques and dramatizations of public participation; they reflect varying interpretations between genres and classes. Turner distinguishes between the reflective and the reflexive. On the one hand, reflectivity is "something like a hall of mirrors — magic mirrors, each interpreting, as well as reflecting the images beamed to it, and flashed from one to the others" (1987:24). On the other hand, reflexivity allows a social group to "turn, bend, or reflect back upon themselves, upon the relations, actions, symbols, meanings, codes, roles, statuses, social structures, ethical and legal rules, and other sociocultural components which make up their social *selves*" (1987:24, emphasis in original). The difference between 'reflect' and 'reflex' highlights multiple ambiguities of the event; "the same form… may be used to articulate a number of different ideas and over time can easily oscillate between religious devotion, ethnic solidarity, political resistance, national identity, and even commercial spectacle" (Guss 2000:9).

Third, cultural performances are a continual discursive debate, argument, challenge, and negotiation of social position. Carnival is a perfect example of this, where roles, positions, and the public are in a continual debate. "The spectator, or the public, in carnival, is different from the theatre, in a strict sense, especially in the way that one

participates, for whomever is encountered is not looking to be observed, nor told to actively participate one way or another" (Abello 2000:15). Not only is the public actively participating, but the disguises and games open an arena where reality, discourse, and challenge can be performed as one would wish, or in a fantastical, subjunctive sense.[xxix]

Finally, cultural performances are dynamic, and constantly creating and producing new meanings. Guss (2000:12) stresses that "cultural performances be recognized as sites of social action where identities and relations are continually being reconfigured." Often this dynamicism takes on a political component, evidenced in conflicting interests between tourism, the state, and local interest. In the Carnival of Humahuaca, on the one hand, one feels the pressure to copy the spectacular themes of Rio de Janeiro or Oruro, while, on the other, the local intimacy warrants a continued traditionalism. Sandwiched into this continuum, the state (i.e. the Ministry of Culture and Tourism) has passed legislation to preserve and gain world recognition, while the local municipalities, thriving off state funding, want as many tourists as possible to enliven the economy. There is a constant give and take between the local leaders and what the state has to offer, reflected in the vitality of popular events such as carnival.[xxx]

Returning to the Carnival of Humahuaca, with the foregoing performance theory and influences from the Carnival of Oruro, the role of the devil has a more widespread connotation. The devil's existence, punctuated by the telluric rituals of the corpachada and cacharpaya, makes him the logical scapegoat for the many travails and frustrations of daily life. We now turn to further analyze these revelations.

VII. The Role of the Devil and the Pachamama

In this section, I explain some of the deeper issues surrounding the importance of local myths of the Devil, the *Pujllay*, and the *Supay*. I explain the important differences between the *corpachada*, the *cacharpaya*, and the *chayada*. Further, this section answers some questions about the widespread regional importance of the devil and the Pachamama. Even though this section employs a more structuralist approach, the role of the devil and the Pachamama continue to refocus the rich cultural heritages and traditional customs into an urban setting, and readapting to new circumstances.

The Devil

The character and notion of the devil arrived in the Northwest of Argentina with the Spanish conquistadors and missionaries, and to understand the daemonic behavior in Christian terms requires a distinction between good and evil, and god and devil.[xxxi] The Andean deities had a dual power to maintain order or create chaos; they could be both benevolent and malevolent at the same time (Alabí 1996, D'Altroy 2002, MacCormack 1991). This parallels an argument by Fernando Cervantes in *The Devil in the New World*, where he suggests three considerations to understand the continued reverence of the devil and his introduction into the Mesoamerican pantheon, something that the Inca had also always done (D'Altroy 2002, MacCormack 1984). "Firstly, the importance of sacrifice and the need the Indians felt to preserve it, despite the bans; secondly, the insistence of the missionaries that sacrifices were the work of the devil; and finally the [Andean] understanding of deity as a compound of good and evil, with consequent difficulties for

the Indians to conceive of a devil that was totally malevolent or even undesirable" (Cervantes 1994:47).

The Spanish also had an ambivalent attitude towards the devil, dating back to the very beginning of Christianity, when the fallen (satanic) angels tempted Jesus with earthly and carnal riches. According to Cervantes, in the writing of the "New Testament the devil can be seen as the personification of evil: a being who did physical harm to people by attacking or possessing the bodies, who tempted them and who accused and punished sinners" (1994:17). By the Middle Ages, demons were no longer simply enemies easily defeated by the religious order, "but had penetrated into every corner of life and into the souls of individual Christians" (1994:19). The Spanish Inquisition continued this long tradition with active witch-hunts and acts to preserve the faith, by placing "idolatry as the primary offence that a Christian could commit" (1994:20).

Nevertheless, Spanish ambivalence towards what constituted a devil (and an idol) exacerbated the widespread beliefs that the devil could be both benevolent and malevolent. The Spanish of the fifteenth-century differentiated the world into one of virtues and vices; Christians mastered the former, and infidels festered with the latter. In this idealistic and religious crusade against idolatry, "the Spaniards equated the gods of Indian religion with the devil of their own. They saw the Indians as the spawn of the devil and their rites as devil worship" (Taussig 1980:169-70). At the same time, however, neither the extirpation campaigns of the missionaries, "nor the theft of sacred property by other Spaniards were particularly new in the Andes, for the Incas had not infrequently vented their displeasure at Andean deities in the precisely these ways" (MacCormack 1991:183).

The Spanish lust for gold and silver brought a new fear to the New World: "the devil — the Prince of Darkness, the active principal of all evil, cruelty, filthiness, and folly, whose, triumph was unleashed in the witch craze of the seventeenth-century Europe" (Taussig 1980:169). Thus, the devil that the Andeans associated with Catholicism, understood in their own terms, as we shall see below, was not the same demon perceived by the Spaniards. At the same time, however, it must be understood as the Christian daemonic.

Local Myths of the Devil in the Quebrada of Humahuaca

In the Northwest of Argentina, the devil takes the names of many forms, such as the *Pujllay*, the *Supay*, the *Rey Momo*, the *Salamanca*, the *Familiar*, and the *Duende*, and each word has its own derivation, general locale, and local myth. The Rey Momo[xxxii] embodies the unabashed and uncontrollable mockery and jest of the carnival, and, rather than act the role of the devil in a daemonic way, remains associated with his errant escapades and petty amusements. I explain the Pujllay and the Supay in more detail below, and focus here on the myths surrounding the Salamanca, the Duende, and the Familiar.

The myth of the Salamanca[xxxiii] is one of the most widespread in the northwest of Argentina, and each region tends to explain it in a similar manner. The Salamanca is a discrete location, such as a cave, a dead end canyon, or the side of a mountain. Inside the devils dance, sing, drink, and enjoy all things carnal throughout the night. When one passes by the location the din of music sounds sweet and inviting, and similar to the Sirens of Greek mythology. If one is brave enough to enter, he must first undress, then

spit at the entrance and pass several tests of courage; "only the brave man can enter the Salamanca" (Saravia 2000:119). The scene inside quickly changes to a gathering of witches (described as beautiful, naked, and sensual young women) involved in the arts of concocting and imbibing. They offer the entrant to master a desired task — playing guitar, dance, singing, wrangling, or whatever one wishes. In exchange for choosing one of these tasks, one becomes bound in contract to the devil, and though it may bring fortune and fame, it may also bring ruin (Colombres 2000, Saravia 2000, Villagra 1994). "Many gaucho have sold their soul not to conquer a beautiful young girl, but to learn the art of the guitar and song, to become a great cowhand, or to always win at the *taba*[xxxiv]" (Colombres 2000:242).

The Duende is a ubiquitous spirit, and attributed with many forms: a mischievous and fairy-like being, or an errant creature responsible for the abnormal. It is a scapegoat for the maladies of quotidian life, and the Duende has a habit of mysteriously shifting the blame onto others (Colombres 2000, Saravia 2000, Villagra 1994). The Duende is commonly encountered in a drunken stupor, and reportedly hides behind trees waiting to steal a good meal or drink. Notoriously a trickster, he is responsible for the changing and rearranging of things without warning. The most common defense against the Duende are the pungent smells of garlic and onions (Colombres 2000, Saravia 2000, Villagra 1994).

The Familiar is another widespread myth in the Northwest of Argentina,[xxxv] and like the other forms takes on many personas; the most common is a large, black dog. "Man's best friend the dog can also be the ambassador of the Devil, the terrible guardian of celebrated pacts with him to amass exaggerated tributes" (Colombres 2000:84). It also

takes the form of other ferocious animals, consumes human flesh, and, like the vampire, can only be repelled by the cross. People have reportedly conquered the Familiar but have never been able to kill it (Colombres 2000, Marcuse 2000, Saravia 2000).

The Pujllay

The Pujllay is the most common expression of the devil during carnival; the little doll has come to epitomize the playful, jocose, and delinquent behaviors of the devil. This is done primarily in two ways: first, true to the Catholic perception of the devil tempting god with everything from riches to the carnal, the days of carnival are the devil's days to play. Second, the symbolic burying and unearthing of the Pujllay, as we shall see more clearly below, sanctifies the events and restores order to the world, and allows the Rey Momo and the devil to escape into the world.

The word Pujllay[xxxvi] derives from Kechuwa, and is associated with a variety of meanings. Augusto Raul Cortazar (1949:207) connects the verb "pucllay in Kechuwa with 'to play,' … as in the actions of diversion, training, recreation, and combined or articulated movement." More recently, the word has come to embody the games of carnival or to play carnival. Peter Gose (1994:174) explains that "*Puqllay* or 'play' is the constant refrain at this time of year, a word that enters many Carnival songs, and labels the entire Carnival period in some places." [xxxvii]

This raises a curious revelation and a serious question: how are we to interpret the Pujllay? Can the Pujllay be associated directly with the devil, with other deities, or simply with play? Although it may be true that pujllay means to play (either sports or carnival) in Kechuwa, in the northwest of Argentina it also represents the old and jocose

persona of an almost forgotten Diaguita-Calchaqui myth (Colombres 2000:219-20, Cortazar 1949:207).[xxxviii] "Nothing remains of the old deity but a hide: a poor doll smeared with paint and disguised and mounted on a burro or a goat, with white hair and friend of the orgy, and which receives all the blame of carnival" (Colombres 2000:220). The Diaguita-Calchaquí myth is difficult to pinpoint; even though all the sources (Armanini 1969, Colombres 2000, Coluccio 2000, Cortazar 1949) mention it they do not retell it, and I surmise it to be a post-conquest amalgam of all the elements mentioned herein, and not the definitive answer or reason for the representation of the Pujllay.

Even if this effigy represents playing, celebrating carnival, or a Bacchanal deity one thing remains clear: the time of Carnival pertains to the Pujllay. "To stay up all night fulfilling the ritual cycle contributes to the maintenance of natural cycles and the fecundity of the earth" (Colombres 2000:219). Consistent with Andean deities, and their duality of opposites, the Pujllay is a natural pair to the Pachamama.

The Supay

The Supay, in contrast to the effigy of the pujllay, represents something more complex, and embodies an evil demon spirit consistent with Medieval Catholicism. "It seems evident that the demon that spread everywhere with the first Spanish did not correspond necessarily to the same concept of the spirit of the ancient Peruvians" (Taylor 2000:33-34). Thus, the Supay has two distinct roots: one is the Andean spirit of the underworld in the Inca cosmology, and responsible for maladies, such as floods, pests, plagues, and earthquakes. The other is the tradition of the devil in the Catholic sense and

the complexity of characteristics derived from this mixed European origin (Colombres 2000:240).

An analysis of the word Supay in Kechuwa and Aymara presents some interesting revelations, and Gerald Taylor distinguishes three meanings of Supay: an official sense of a "*demon*," as a "*phantasm*" or ghost-like, and as a "*shadow*" or spirit-like (2000:21). The demon, however, that Taylor mentions, as we have seen above, is not the same demon of Catholicism. It refers to the shadows and spirits of Ucupacha in Andean cosmology, "the spatio-temporal location that refers to the "interior" as well as the "inferior" (in reality the hidden, invisible part of objects and places)" (2000:26,n.24). This concept, however, is not an exact parallel to the infernal depths of Catholicism; rather an underworld where the adulterers, thieves, and other law breakers would go.

The role and understanding of the Supay has changed and altered with the confrontation between Andean and Catholic cosmologies. The spirit of the Supay existed in indigenous belief as a mischievous trickster and shadow that warranted veneration, like other deities, to avoid crop failure and starvation. "The Supay, or a similar evil spirit, …did exist in Andean religion prior to conquest, it was but one of several earth demons, and the concept of a pervasive and all-powerful spirit of evil did not exist" (Taussig 198:176). Later, associated with the Catholic devil, the Supay becomes a demon being, and worthy of extirpation. The Jesuit father Bernabé Cobo (1991:168), claims, "the Indians had extensive knowledge of the devil. They called him *zupay*, and they knew very well that he was an evil spirit and a deceiver of men." The origins of the myths are a continual mélange of both traditions with an underpinning of fantastical and phantasmal spirits.

What is certain is that the spirit that became associated with the Supay embodied both Andean and Spanish religious elements; "this conception of the Supay is identified in …the rise of the devil in early modern Europe" (Taussig 1980:212). The pagan spirits that the Catholic Church promoted (in its efforts to suppress paganism) was the devil; and in the process, the Supay became an acceptable ally (1980:213). As an ally of the carnal desires, or as a friend of secret wishes, among other things, the Supay embodied yearnings of capabilities and destruction coupled with unmatched wealth. An oath with the devil or the Supay allowed one to master desired tasks, much like someone who has entered the Salamanca. Furthermore, the Supay contained the idea of an Andean duality encompassed into notions of a good and bad deity, and the male-female nature also made the Pachamama a logical companion.

Chayada, Corpachada, and Cacharpaya

To understand the *chayada, cacharpaya*, and the *corpachada* rituals associated with the Pachamama in the Carnival of Humahuaca we must define the Kechuwa cognate of *pacha*. As we shall see *pacha* unites an understanding of land, god, and community. Kechuwa is an agglutinative language, where each word has meaning as a nuclear base and a suffix (i.e. as an adverb). Therefore, *pacha* means time, space, nature, the world, and the universe, as well as excellence, completeness, uniqueness, safety, and truth, respectively, as a base and a suffix. Here we have one word that requires ten words in English and Spanish (Alabí 1996:52). By adding the suffix *mama* we have "the convergence of two fundamental entities condensed into a single word: the concept of

mother that generates, nourishes, protects, guides, and provides affection, and the concept of universe with its own notions of a spatial-temporal order of the infinite" (1996:53).

Alberto Alabí (1996) explains that in an urban setting the presence of both Catholic and Andean elements increases widespread veneration of the Pachamama. In fact, he synthesizes this notion in the article title itself, "Pachamama, Bless my car." In this ingenuity we notice two things: "(1) the process of syncretization of interest to the foreign and native religion, and (2) the projection of a ritual that guarantees the agrarian economic equilibrium of rural communities while surviving in an urban setting" (1996:54-55). That is, in an urban environment there are just as many risks (if not more) than in the country; the Pachamama maintains the order of both lands, and sanctifies all events, while the church provides a framework to make and fulfill promises of a better life.

From this utterance above, "Pachamama bless my car," three fundamental rituals emerge: the *chayada*, the *corpachada*, and the *cacharpaya*. We have already seen how the latter two play a role in the desentierro and the entierro rituals of carnival, and now we must relate them to the Pachamama:

> The Pukllay, symbolic object of the carnival (happiness), is cyclically interred and disinterred with a complete practical ceremony that solicits the Pachamama to consent and protect the festival. That is, the event not only authorizes the unleashing, but is the physical and material depository of the happiness, and the ritualized mouth of the Pachamama extracts and buries the joy… In the earth is buried and in the earth dies the happiness of the people (1996:56).

The *corpachada*, and *cacharpaya*, then, are fundamental to maintaining the order of things; a *corpachada* can precede any event, such as a patron saint festival, whereas the *cacharpaya* refers to the closing ceremony of the entierro.

The *chayada*, on the other hand, does not depend on an organized event, and can happen at any time of the year; it is an individual event and can either happen on a whim or with deliberate actions. Examples of a chayada vary greatly, and they are not complicated. The first use of every new inanimate object undergoes an occurrence that gives it a life of its own; usually this ritual is initiated by offering a libation to the earth mother for her approval. The *chayada* described here is the same ritual of the *Ch'alla* described above (Abercrombie 1998, Cortazar 1949, Gose 1994, Guzman et.al 1998:41).

"LA JUVENTUD" y sus tradiciones. La de chayar la bandera de la comparsa es impostergable y está a cargo de destacada "comadre" que la riega con rica y fresca chicha.

Figure 11: "*Juventud* and their traditions. The chayada of the comparsa's flag is unparalleled and the task of the designated "comadre" who waters it with fresh, rich hichi" (Pregón Fc 2001).

The concepts of land, god, and community are ubiquitous in the Argentine Northwest, and respect for the Pachamama penetrates paramount quotidian activities. In Jujuy before one takes a drink, or begins an important activity, it is important "to give food and drink to Pachamama" (Alabí 1996:59), or to *corpachar*. Simply, to make an offering to the mother earth one pours a libation to the ground and offers an incantation of thanks; in a more elaborate ritual, a hole is dug and adorned with streamers and confetti, much as described above with the desentierro.

In the Northwest of Argentina, there exists a fear of upsetting the implicit order of things, and "in this sense Pachamama becomes a potentate principal deity who incorporates the powers that regulates all the natural forces. Further, the Pachamama is a plenipotentiary, omnipresent and individual goddess because she generates life, provides nourishment, protects, serves as a guide, and transmits affection" (1996:53). The telluric goddess maintains the equilibrium between everyday habits of the neighborhood and the world order.

VIII. The Inverted Carnival of Humahuaca

The structuralist binary inversion between the "house" and the "street" suggested by DaMatta (1991:65-8) provides one way to approach the Carnival of Humahuaca; the influences from the Carnival of Oruro provide another more performative approach.[xxxix] The inversions of the Quebrada of Humahuaca rest on a religious opposition between pre-conquest and post-conquest beliefs (i.e. Andean cosmology and Catholicism). The devil and the Pachamama are present in the Carnival of Humahuaca for two principal reasons: first, the continued veneration of the Pachamama to sanctify events and restore order embodied in the mother of god; second, the duality of pre-conquest Andean deities coupled with Catholic dyads of good/evil and god/devil continually manifest in popular arenas.

We have already seen how the Carnival of Humahuaca, punctuated by the rituals of the corpachada at the beginning and the cacharpaya at the end, elicits the Pachamama to oversee the events and to restore order upon the chaotic world, and that the *pacha* embodies the natural world order as a protectorate being. Furthermore, the notion of the Pachamama within the Catholic Church, and in the northwest of Argentina defines the relationships between the earth as a mother and a god. To this end, Alberto Alabí (1996:60) provides a text, from a native of the Puna:

> I have always lived in Yavi, which means I am a native, no? Here my children were born, and others buried. That Pacha has given me my sheep, she has given my corn, my potatoes, and everything that I needed. She has taken from me … oh but she has taken away from me. I don't doubt my luck. I fulfill myself with the *santitos* and I don't prejudice anyone. And, even when sick, I keep on fighting. My children have all gone, but they have left grandchildren that corral the sheep and bring

> water. But *Tata Dios* has always helped me, and the Pacha always guides me" (Alabí 1996:60).

In this text the informant describes the elements that associates the Pachamama, earth, God, and saints in the Quebrada of Humahuaca; these relationships are presented in the following table:

Powers	Services			
	Food	Children	Help	Guide
Pacha/earth	+ —	+ —		+
Tata/santitos			+	

Table 1: Associating the powers and services to the Pachamama and God in the Northwest of Argentina, where '+' is giving, and '—' is taking away, and '+ —' is both (Alabí 1996:61).

From this table we notice a few paramount things reflected in the text. First, when the informant says "I fulfill myself with the *santitos* and I don't prejudice anyone," (1996:61) she internalizes and respects the official mandates of the church. Second, in her references to the Catholic figures she recognizes their normative and perceptive qualities. Third, when the informant "names the hierarchies of [Catholicism she] designates the secondary powers in a diminutive and reductive sense: *santitos*, and at the same time she treats the supreme power as *Tata*,[xl] a form that illustrates the intense feelings associated with subordination" (1996:62). Finally, "she appeals the familiar apocope use of "pacha" to designate the power that, even unforeseen, results in something more comprehensible, immediate, and close" (Alabí 1996:61-2). The informant bestows more characteristics onto the Pachamama than the Catholic God of even though the goddess may be capricious or vengeful, and because she has the power to give or take away, and guide or confuse.

In order to digest the quotes above, and to understand Table 1, let me reiterate that the Pachamama orders and sanctifies the natural world, and as a mother protects and guides the moral order. Frederick Pike explains that the place of the earth mother and Virgin in Latin American Catholic ideology creates a "quaternity that challenged the trinity stipulated by orthodox theology" (1990:431-2). Andean pre-conquest notions of their own deities differed in practice between the plebian agriculturalists and the privileged leaders. The latter "focused their worship on sky deities thought to control not only earthly functions, along with lesser female deities, but also the cosmos" (1990:433), whereas the former tended to pray and sacrifice to the Pachamama. Furthermore, because many of the Andean deities were able to be both masculine and feminine, it is a logical leap to associate a Mother-Son relationship in the trinity of the church with the Father and the Holy Spirit.[xli]

This highlights, again, the duality of Andean deities as a male-female dyad, and, simultaneously, benevolent and malevolent. The confrontation between the Pachamama (Virgin) and the devil figure (Tío or Supay) in the Bolivian mines and the Argentine Northwest reflects the drama of threatened destruction and salvation played out in many highland Indian areas of Latin America. "A masculine power, embodied in an alien symbol drawn from the culture of conquest, is seen as bent on the destruction of the Indian community, while female power, which embodies Indian concerns, is seen to be holding him at bay" (Taussig 1980:210-11). Furthermore, until the Spanish arrived, there was never "even a hint of a figure of evil like the contemporary devil in the Bolivian mines. To the contrary, it [was] the feminine figure of fecundity that holds the stage" (1980:203). The irrevocable damage upon the earth, and rites developed by the miners to

reconcile Spanish exploitation and greed spread throughout the Andean region; in the mines of the northwest of Argentina, the influences from Potosí are ubiquitous.[xlii]

We have already seen the extent to which the Pachamama protects, guides, and restores order to the world, so if the unearthing of the devil is under her supervision, then the events of carnival are the expression of many frustrations, transgression, and ironies inverted within the rhetoric of an Andean-Catholic cosmos. Recall the two coplas above from the desentierro and entierro:

Nine days to enjoy them
in the carnival. Achalay!
From the eve of Saturday
until the Sunday 'tis all Pujllay.

Already the carnival has died!
Already they take 'em to be buried,
Throw 'em a bit of earth
so that he'll again be raised!

These two coplas embody the essence of the Carnival of Humahuaca, combining all the elements mentioned herein. First, beginning with the desentierro, we see all the meanings of pujllay: there are nine days to dance, play, and carnival with the devil. Second, with the entierro, the devil is buried so that the telluric goddess will restore order and sanctify the burlesque and errant behavior the next year.[xliii]

Most important the carnival provides a dramaturgic arena to escape the banal, mundane, and corrupted world for a short while. The following political cartoon from a local author of Jujuy illustrates this dichotomy with cynicism and parody, and provides a refreshing reprise of the year's events.[xliv]

Figure 12: "Effigies: with the high percentage of unemployed, the corruption, the money laundering, etc. I could go to sleep satisfied with my disciples. But I stay until the end of carnival and they bury me" (Independiente 2001).

None of these news items, however, means anything during carnival and yet they figured prominently into the everyday life of Argentina in 2001. The irony that this cartoon appeared near the desentierro of carnival, and that there are still several days until the entierro introduces the possibility that the devil has corrupted and influences many individuals in important positions. The devil's approval of the events highlights his projection from myth to reality.

VIII. Conclusion

"The *Quebrada of Humahuaca* constitutes one of the richest regions in Argentina with regard to festivals. Some are religious, others pagan; some have profound indigenous roots, while others were brought by the Spanish, but all show picturesque and human characteristics, moved by a simple faith" (Zuleta 1989:45). The Spanish brought that simple faith, Roman Catholicism, and introduced a tension between traditionalism and institutionalism, and between the telluric and the cosmic.

This close association with the earth draws together many salient components: quotidian practices, traditional beliefs, and indigenous customs, as well as religious connotations of the Virgin Mary. The distinction between the Pujllay and the Pachamama highlights several dichotomies of order and chaos, prudence and destruction, space and time, and the burlesque and the delinquent. Furthermore, the mélange of religious beliefs illustrates the complexity and syncretic nature of opposing cosmologies.

There are several ways to explain the presence of the Pujllay and the Pachamama in carnival and local beliefs. First, they represent the dual nature of Andean deities, as male-female pair. Second, they characterize spatio-temporal notions of the world, by embodying and sanctifying the uncontrollability and happiness. Third, they relate personal beliefs with the everyday struggle for life. Fourth, they figure into an oral tradition of mythological and supernatural characters. Finally, they embody public spectacle with a role of the scapegoat.

For the most part, however, the Pachamama receives the widespread veneration, while the Pujllay and devil are present in carnival, local myth, and legend. This distinction is important because of the very nature of carnival. The burlesque, jocular,

and errant social inversions that occur during carnival make the devil a logical scapegoat, while the Pachamama, on the other hand, brings order to quotidian life and provides a spatio-temporal understanding of the infinite.

The power of the Pachamama penetrates into quotidian and personal habits in the Argentine Northwest. Some habits are regular, such as *apachetas*, *huacas*, the *chayada*, and orations to the earth, while others happen annually, such as the *cacharpaya*, *corpachada*, and the carnival. All of them include a type of homage with little variation; for example, when one passes an *apacheta* on a mountain summit, or the mojón of carnival, he/she leaves some coca leaves, gives a libation of alcohol, and says an oration to the Pachamama. The image of the Pachamama has not been extirpated from the spiritual or everyday life in the Quebrada of Humahuaca, and therefore the rituals and manifestations of worship continue. "In the end Pachamama is identified with the Virgin Mary and her infinite good nature, protectorate and prodigal characteristics to modify the normally immutable" (Paleari 1988:225).

The Carnival of Humahuaca infuses indigenous customs with ecclesiastical traditions, practices, and rhetoric. In this cultural performance the inhabitants project the devil from local myth to reality, and ask the mother earth goddess to sanctify the events with a ritualized ceremony of unearthing and burying. The structure of the Catholic Church provides an arena for the irony and inversion of local transgressions, frustrations, and cultural expressions, and the local peoples make every minute count with euphoria, uncontrollability, and pride.

X. Notes

[i] The Quebrada of Humahuaca follows the river Rio Grande in a north-south direction about 180 km, from the high Andes 4000 meters above sea level, to the provincial capital, San Salvador de Jujuy. Humahuaca, at 2999 masl, is the principal town in the Quebrada, and about 120 km north of the capital (Saravia 1960). See the maps above (pages viii-x) for an exact location.

[ii] In 2000, the Provincial Government of Jujuy began the inscription of the Quebrada of Humahuaca as a World Heritage Site; the map on page ix above shows the proposed area. As a result, there has been an increase in regional, national, and international tourism (Proyecto QH 2002). Over the last few years there have been an increase in visitors during times of Carnival, resulting from the inscription and the proliferation of access to tourism (Choquevilca 2003). In addition to recognizing the intangible cultural heritage of the region, the Project will provide much needed internal infrastructure, and the means to educate and incorporate the voices of local constituents. The goals of the Project include educational experiences, opportunities to fix aging energy and water systems, and, eventually, reestablish the railroad from San Salvador de Jujuy to La Quiaca, on the Bolivian border (Proyecto QH 2002d).

During 2001, the provincial government invited local scholars to comment on the various aspects of tangible and intangible cultural heritage; I submitted two works (Brewer 2001a, 2001b) to be considered to no affect. Overall, I believe that the project will benefit the entire region, providing new ways for popular festivals, such as carnival and local patron saint festivals, to reflect newer realities while guarding traditional values and beliefs. Furthermore, investment in the local economy and shared local and scholarly knowledge will only enrich the region.

[iii] Paulo de Carvahlo-Neto (1967:9) distinguishes three South American carnivals: the Brazilian, the Rio Plantense, and the Inter-Andean.

[iv] Further comments by B. Augusto Beltran Heredia (1956) in Oruro, Bolivia, Paulo de Carvahlo-Neto (1967) in Montevideo, Uruguay, Roberto DaMatta (1991) in Brazil, and Julio Caro Baroja (1965) in Spain serve as analytic and theoretical models. Obviously, the rituals and performances in the Quebrada of Humahuaca differ from Brazil, the Rio Plate, and Spain; nevertheless, the fundamental importance of such a comparative approach is to differentiate the complex levels of carnival, and to accentuate the unique practices in Humahuaca. Armanini (1969), Cortazar (1949), and especially Zuleta (1966) are the few sources to address the Carnival of Humahuaca directly. My voice in the following descriptions does not dispute their claims, and rather serves to amend and provide a different analysis.

[v] For a more thorough history of all the events leading up to the rise of Inca, and the Inca Empire see Betanzos (1996), D'Altroy (2002), Pease (1995), and Silverblatt (1987).

[vi] Animosity amongst conquered peoples, who aided and allied themselves with the Spanish, contributed to the rapid fall of the empire (D'Altroy 2002).

[vii] Spanish history is much more complex than I present herein, and two things must be realized: land and god were inextricably imprinted on life. See Durant (1944, 1950, 1957), Elliott (1984), and Phillips and Phillips (1991) for more detail.

[viii] The largest mines of the Inca were mines in Samaipata and Chuquiabo, Bolivia and Huánuco and Chupachu, Peru, and were mostly sites with visible veins. Raffino (1982:243-52, 264) enumerates 68 Inca-era sites in Argentina and 58 in southern Bolivia and Chile that were involved in mining gold, silver, copper, galena, zinc, tin, and other minerals. He mentions the sites of Rodero, Yacorite, Coctaca, La Huerta, Tilcara, and Cienaga Grande in the Quebrada of Humahuaca (1982:245), and the sites of Ricnonada, Cochinoca, and Casabindo in the Puna (1982:246). These sites are surrounded by especially rich resources of lead (Pb), silver (Ag), Zinc (Zn), and copper (Cu). Even though these sites do not exhibit clear Inca influence there is, at the same time, compelling evidence that they were minimally exploited. The larger mines of the region are Pirquitas and Rincón del Toro on the Chilean-Jujuy border.

[ix] "Regions of Inka mining exploitations in the Southern Andes; the numbers enclosed in circles indicate the most fertile metal deposits; each point marks the presence of an Inka installation. 1. Valley of Camarones; 2. Valle of the Upper Loa; 3. occidental region of the oasis of San Pedro de Atacama; 4. Northern Copiapó; 5. Copiapó; 6. Valley of Elquí; 7. region of Aconcagua-Maipo; **8. region of Humahuaca**; 9. Southern Aconquija; 10. Sierria de Famatina" (Raffino 1982:264, my emphasis)

[x] "Distribution of the possible administrative centers in Kollasuyu; the arrows indicate the probable movements of mitmaq by exchange of vases" (Raffino 1982:269).

[xi] This refers to the lifelike patron saint statuettes followed in procession. The festivals of the Quebrada of Humahuaca are mostly associated with a cult of Mary, and refer to the saints as "Pachamama-Virgen" (Santander 1970). See Ruben Vargas Ugarte (1956) for more on this cult of Mary, and Antonio Paleari (1988) on how some of the deities represent saints.

[xii] There is a range of possible dates for both Mardi Gras (Shrove Tuesday) and Easter. The former can fall between February 3 and March 11, while the later can fall between March 22 and April 25 (Revelard and Kostadinova 1998:89). These correspond to the last full moon of winter, and the first full moon of spring, respectively (Vicario Leal 2000:32-33).

[xiii] This ecclesiastic encounter between Mr. Carnal and Ms. Lent embodies the juxta-position of desire and wont with longing and penance in the Catholic liturgy. The following poem highlights the sexual and euphoric nature of the pre-Lent festival par excellence: carnival. The reference to Thursday, which I have translated as blubber to rhyme, refers to the excess of lard and meat as both food and sexual desire (Cortazar 1949:137-9, Caro Baroja 1965).

[xiv] The connotation in the second line is sexual. In this verse and the coplas below, I have tried to rhyme where I can; to observe the original rhyming scheme I have included the original Spanish.

[xv] Presenting a comprehensive history of carnival is beyond the scope of this paper. Understanding it within the liturgy of the Catholic Church is paramount. Most scholars agree that carnival began as the Roman festival of the Saturnalia or relating to the Greek Bacchus. In the early Middle Ages carnival gained momentum by performing Pagan values with Christian values. For a thorough treatment of this history see, especially, Julio Caro Baroja (1965), and also Abello (2000), Cortazar (1949), Vicario Leal (2000),

and Zarama Vásquez (2000). Here I am more interested in locating the carnival that became practiced in the Quebrada of Humahuaca, Jujuy, Argentina.

[xvi] The American Heritage Dictionary (Soukanhov et.al. 1992) and the Academia Real Española (Gomez et.al. 1992) define the terms mentioned above (carnal, carnival, and carnestolendas (Spanish only)) similarly, but there are some notable differences. The word carnal has the same meanings in English (Soukanhov et.al. 1992:291-2) and Spanish (Gomez et.al 1992:417), with the following additions in Spanish: "time of the year that is not Lent" and an antiquated word for carnival. The differences in defining carnival are intriguing; in English (Soukanhov et.al. 1992:292) not only does it relate to pre-Lent festivities but it is also a traveling amusement show. I am not talking about an amusement show; rather about the Spanish definition (Gomez et.al. 1992:417) "a popular festival celebrated in the pre-Lent days and that consists of masks, disguises, comparsas, dances, and other jubilant uproars." The other two words mentioned above, *carnestolendas* and *carnestoltes*, as well as the Italian *carnevale* all relate to the removing and depriving of meat, or carne — i.e. 'flesh farewell' in the copla below (1992:419).

[xvii] The *caja* is a small drum, measuring between 10 and 15 centimeters in height, and with a diameter of 30 to 40 centimeters. It is made by hand from willow, cactus, or pine, and sometimes of tin plate, which provides distinct sounds (Goyena 2000:46-7). The *erkencho* is, the simplest of the wind instruments, a ram or cow horn with a reed (sometimes a brass mouthpiece) added to one end. The notes do not usually exceed three, and is typically played with the *caja* and the *quena* in rounds during carnaval (2000:52-3).

[xviii] "Rosas and Claveles emerged in 1945 with the name Los Unidos del Sud (the united of the south)" (Tribuno Fc 2001). Zuleta (1966) does not mention this comparsa, and together with Juventud Alegre, they host the greatest number of people. I describe the desentierro and entierro of Juventud because they are one of the oldest and most popular troupes, and their arrival in the central plaza "officially" begins carnival, even though, of course, many other comparsas have already arrived. I also describe this comparsa because I witnessed their rituals.

[xix] These are refrains sung by Juventud, Unión, Pancho Villa, and Picaflores, respectively. The word palomitay, which means either a little dove, is meant to rhyme with pujllay and vidita (Guzman et.al 1998, Paleari 1987, Zuleta 1966). These refrains are examples of *carnavalitos* and *vidalitas* are explained below.

[xx] I did not observe or hear any accordions in the carnival of 2001, although I did see numerous *sicuris* bands. The *sicuris* band comprises the sounds of the *bombo* (drum), *quena* (recorder-like), *sicu* (pan pipes), and sometimes the *charango* (small guitar with the shell of the armadillo). It also includes the presence of a *suri* dance troupe. *Suri* is the Kechuwa word for emu, and the members dress with feathered hats and skirts, usually in precession to a patron saint festival (Goyena 2000:50, Guzman et.al 1998:96ff.). During carnival, one hears the music more than one sees the dance troupes. I will describe the reference to Momo below.

[xxi] The suncho is a native bush that blooms near Easter (Guzman et.al 1998:97).

[xxii] This epic poem by Jose Hernandez (1971 [1879]) tells the story of the brusque gaucho Martin Fierro, and his travails with life and the law.

[xxiii] The costume of the "Indian" is an interesting case, playing into the hands of the tourist, and mirroring the noble savage ideal. There is no need to dress in typical attire of the Andes; instead, they masquerade with a feathered headdress that you would find in a diorama of the American Plains, the Amazon, or the Argentine Pampas. On the left, outside the dancing circle, in Figure 7 above is a costume of the Indian.

[xxiv] The *vidalita* is also sung in rounds with the *caja* or with several people singing at the same time. The refrains sung by each comparsa when they descend into town (see p. 26) are variations on these types of songs.

[xxv] For example, "the truly inclusive open and "democratic" carnival is the one in Brazil; the exclusive, discriminating, and aristocratic-minded carnival is the one in the United States" (DaMatta 1991:124). See DaMatta (1991:116-136) for a more thorough description and distinction of the Carnival of Rio de Janeiro and New Orleans.

[xxvi] This connection will be explained in more detail below. Here I begin to show the connection between the devil and the Pachamama, and below how these influences are present in the Carnival of Humahuaca.

[xxvii] The Inca Empire mined precious metals, gold, silver, and copper, as prestige items, and as a small-scale endeavor, whereas the Spanish demanded gold for the coffers of the crown, and for their own greed (D'Altroy 2002, Ruiz 1998, Taussig 1980).

[xxviii] Pre-conquest customs relating to the mines combined the veneration of earthly huacas with the mountains surrounding the mines, took only what was needed from the earthly mines, and always did so with the *Ch'alla*, or equivalent ritual. Thus, they inextricably linked their earthly riches with religious devotion (D'Altroy 2002, Taussig 1980, Raffino 1982).

[xxix] During the time of carnival, everything is transformed into the subjunctive mood, a mood of feeling, willing, desiring, fantasizing, and playfulness. "For a while almost anything goes: taboos are lifted, fantasies are enacted, indicative mood behavior is reversed; the low are exalted and the mighty abased" (Turner 1987:102). The rituals continue to maintain the order and style of the events, despite the illicit crime, drunken bodies, and other errant behaviors, and Carnival is society in its subjunctive mood.

[xxx] This is true for the case of the Carnival of Humahuaca. See note 2 above for more detail.

[xxxi] Very little has been written on this role of the devil in Latin America. Fernando Cervantes (1994) addresses the issue in Mexico with the Nahua and the Spanish, and his arguments parallel issues in the Andes. Most of the works that deal with the devil in South America, especially the northwest of Argentina, do so by way of myth and legend. Cortazar (1949), Coluccio (1995, 2000), and Colombres (2000) provide the best know information about the northwest of Argentina. Sabine MacCormack (1984, 1991) addresses how the huacas continued to be important places of worship, despite efforts to extirpate them. Michael Taussig (1980) explains how the devil penetrated local beliefs in the mines of Potosí, and became not only a commodity fetish (in the Marxian sense), but imprinted upon the landscape.

[xxxii] Rey is the Spanish word for king, and Momo is defined by the American Heritage Dictionary (Soukanhov et.al 1992:1165) as "Momus, Greek mythology, the god of blame and ridicule." Whereas the Academia Real Española (Gomez et.al 1992:1391) defines "Momo (from Latin *momus* god of jest and mockery), mime, figure, or jeer executed

regularly for amusement in games, masquerades, and dances." The Rey Momo is considered the king of carnival, and figures into other carnivals as well, such as Rio (Rohter 2003).

[xxxiii] There are two predominant origins of the Salamanca. In one version, it derives from the combination of an endemic amphibious reptile (attributed with magical powers), the *salamandra*, and the Spanish university of Salamanca, which was considered a center for the study of "magical arts." Another version, perhaps more widespread and accepted, does not mention of the Iberian locality of the same name, and instead refers to an "aquelarre," or the periodic reunion of diabolic beings (Saravia 2000:115-6). The word, *aquelarre*, does not translate readily into English, but the meaning herein is consistent with the Academia Real Española (Gomez et.al 1992:176).

[xxxiv] A game in which a bone or similar object, the *taba*, is thrown into the air; the winner or loser depends on the final landing the bone (Gomez et.al 1992:1927).

[xxxv] Some local myths in the Argentine northwest describe these figures as fantastical and mythological creatures from Greek and Roman mythology. The Familiar is commonly observed as the Cerberus, the multiple-headed monster preventing the entrance between the two levels of Hades. See Colombres (2000), Córdoba (2001), Folclore del NOA (2002) Marcuse (1999), Saravia (2000), and Villagra (1994) for more on these local myths and legends.

[xxxvi] Pujllay can also be spelled with a 'c,' a 'k,' or a 'q,' as in pucllay, pukllay, or puqllay, respectively. The spelling with 'j' is the most common.

[xxxvii] Peter Gose (1994:174), writing about Peru, mentions pujllay as play without mention of the devil, and Flora Guzman (et.al 1998:85, 97) defines pujllay and supay as the devil with no mention of play.

[xxxviii] Cortazar (1949:207) comments "whatever the pronunciation of its name or the signif-icance of the epistemology, the old *pujllay* appears as a real superstition. In the heart of the pre-Columbian indigenous culture, it had a vigorous vitality; it was testament to the fervent adhesion of Bacchanal rites. It was an element with a simple life and set into motion in a cultural complex. It was a harmonious and congruent reality with other religious, social, and economic aspects. In that way, then it is not only "surviving" but living, simply, with all the fecundity signified in the word."

[xxxix] In this distinction by DaMatta (1991), one does certain things in the house and not in the street, and vice versa. Inversions during carnival, then, mirror this opposition; the burlesque, egalitarian intimacies of the house are transformed into the street, and the hierarchical, isolationism experienced in the street becomes the social arena found in the house. In Oruro, on the other hand, as in the Carnival of Humahuaca, the choreographed dances can reflect current events (Abercrombie 1992, 1996).

[xl] *Tata* comes from the Kechuwa and Aymara word meaning father or lord, and is used as an expression of affection to name Christ and the saints (Guzman et.al 1998:98).

[xli] The Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico is hailed as the Mother of Jesus, and similar arguments can be made about the nature of her as a mother-protectorate and a mother-sanctifier, and likewise associating other prominent saints; see especially Vargas Ugarte (1956) on this cult of Mary.

[xlii] I do not know of any sources that address the issues of widespread veneration in the mines of Jujuy, as Taussig does in the mines of Bolivia. Nevertheless, I believe these

influences to account for many of the observed characteristics in the Quebrada of Humahuaca, because of the rich mining deposits available to the Inca and local peoples. See Figure 2A and note 8 above.

The largest contemporary mine in the Province of Jujuy is the silver, lead, and zinc mine of El Aguilar in the highlands above Humahuaca, between 4600 and 5000 meters above sea level. The mine of El Aguilar, located about 35km from Humahuaca, relies upon the labor of the valley. In 1998, the mine produced 68,247 concentrated tons of zinc and 19,989 concentrated tons of combined silver and lead (El Aguilar 1999). The Province of Jujuy produces 67% of the mineral production in the Northwest of Argentina and 8% of the total production in Argentina. Further, the distribution percentages of minerals mined in the Province of Jujuy are 9% lead, 38% zinc, 29% borates, 14% silver, 12% lime, and 7% various others (Direction of Mining 2001).

[xliii] Alabí (1996), Armanini (1969), Cortazar (1949), and Coluccio (2000) all mention this latter copla in their discussion of the pujllay and the entierro.

[xliv] The events mentioned in this cartoon were continual headlines in the news of 2001. In the people's eyes, the downturn of the economy created high unemployment, and corrupt politicians, busy buying their new cars and toys, were loath to solution the problem. Furthermore, an investigation revealed a money laundering scheme, involving the ex-president Menem and his cabinet, channeling money from Ecuador to arms for Croatia; the striking irony and similarity to the Iran-Contra affair of the 1980s should be noted.

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