



THE POWER OF SYMBOLS

*Masks and Masquerade
in the Americas*

edited by
N. Ross Crumrine & Marjorie Halpin

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THE POWER OF SYMBOLS:
MASKS AND MASQUERADE IN THE AMERICAS

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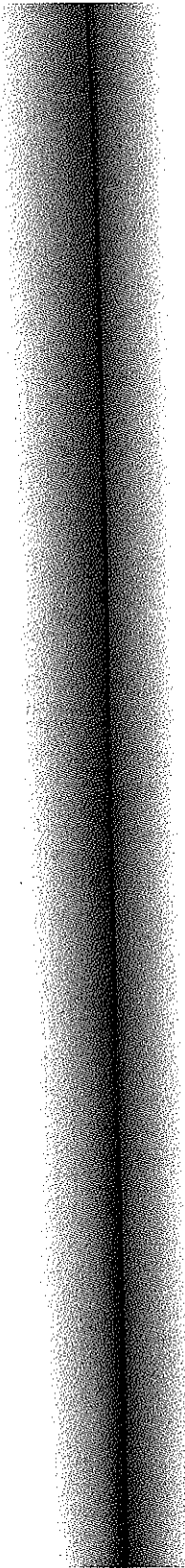
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Part III

South America

The Devil Mask: A Contemporary Variant of Andean Iconography in Oruro

Guillermo Delgado-P.

INTRODUCTION

The growing hispanization of the indigenous populations of Latin America has stimulated a series of studies concerning acculturation and other destructive consequences upon the native communities. However, the persistence of the indigenous cultures has been maintained, on occasions, in a defensive form by means of cultural adjustment movements. Of such movements, the messianic of the past in opposition to the pressure of current circumstances (Du Toit 1976:6) expresses best the Andean political nativism.

The process of hispanization, however, is not the only valid explanation of the current tendencies in the indigenous population, at least in the countries of the Andean area. In contrast, a focus on cultural continuity is not only the negation of the hispanization process but also the ethical trajectory of the traditional culture. In many cases it is possible to establish the terms of these strategies as illustrated in practice by ethno-historical documents (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1936; Custred 1978), and in others it is necessary to observe them *in situ*. In the context of this perspective, the tendency to omit time and space in order to justify the continuity of the iconographic practices in Andean art is tempting. In this work we will treat the cosmic-mythological and iconographic importance of the llama (Camelidae) as represented in one of its current manifestations, that of the contemporary Devil masks used during the carnival of Oruro in Bolivia. The theme is, in a certain form, speculative.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE LLAMA

The publications that refer to the llama in the Andean highlands have almost entirely covered the subject from its economic functions to its superstructural ones. Yet work that refers to the process of deification of the llama, both in cultures of the early horizons as well as in the contemporary communities, is limited but heuristic. Information and studies exist concerning the utilization of the llama during the formation and dominion of the Inca State (Murra 1964), during the pre-Inca epoch (Lopez-Rivas 1967:66–70; Guerra Gutiérrez 1973; Hauthal 1911; Imbelloni 1925; Metraux and Lehmann 1937) and at present (Flores-Ochoa, ed. 1977).

Parts of these different studies provide evidence that the treatment of the llama — the raising, butchering, religious function, and economic role, of the animal as well as the use and exploitation of its wool — has altered little. This technology based on the llama, along with other cultural aspects such as weaving, the control of the ecological niches, the kinship system, economic exchange, and symbolism, can be seen as representing cultural continuity.

Today pastoral societies that raise camelids inhabit large areas of Peru and Bolivia (Gade 1969). The process of urbanization and modernization has almost eliminated the presence of the llama herds in the suburbs and in the market areas of the principal cities where they previously existed. Nevertheless, the camelids are as important as ever to the herders of traditional communities. The llama remains the source of subsistence, important in fertility rituals, and source of inspiration for Andean mask-makers.

THE LLAMA IN ANDEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Throughout the Andes, artistic expressions are varied: anthropomorphic fanged masks of both man and animal, feline heads (Chavin 1200 B.C.), fox heads, owl head-dress, monkey masks; silvered and gilded copper masks, gold masks, gold with shell and pyrites, patinated green copper with shell inlays; llamas, pumas, condors (Huari, Tiahuanaku A.D. 800-1100), deer, long-neck birds, lizards, double-headed serpents, frogs, fish; crescent-shaped noses, square mouths, outstanding eyes (Mochina 100-500 A.D.); red, yellow, and blue resin paint, polychromy (Nazca 100 B.C.-600 A.D.), cinnabar paint.

Focusing upon the llama's presence within the pan-Andean iconography spectrum takes us back to rock paintings and to the symbology associated with such a camelid by the early hunters and gatherers of the Andes (Ravines, Topuepula). Indeed, there is no better early evidence of the llama's association with the religious sphere than the rock paintings of Cala-Cala near Oruro (Bolivia) (Guerra-G. 1973), La Quiaca (Argentina), and La Sierra de Arica (Chile) (Niemeyer-F. 1972), or of the stone llama sculptures of Belén de Andamarca (Bolivia) (Lopez

Rivas 1967). These reveal that the llama had captured the imagination of early populations and was consequently becoming an important character of the Andean theogony. In Cala-Cala, rock paintings reveal herds of brown-coloured llamas, with a whitish llama prominently outstanding. Immediately above it a *puma* — *Felis concolor* — seems to be in a hunting pose. Similar kinds of rock paintings have been discovered in Tata Kurani, Negro Wañusqa, Rosita Qaqa, Jachoqo (towards the southeast of Bolivia), and La Quiaca (cf. "Un enigma que quedó en la piedra," *Siete Dias*, Bs. As. Año I, n° 7, 1972), as well as the cave complex of Arica (Wilakaurani, Incani, Jankani, Jonkolca, Cunturchuk"uña y Alqakaurani) in northern Chile. In almost all these samples combinations of brown, bloodish-red, yellow (*vicuña*) and white pigments were used in order to colour the llama bodies.

The sculptured art, which is represented in the stone llama heads of Belén de Andamarca, belongs to the cultural period that was identified as Wanqarani and Chiripa. Both are probably associated with the first Tiwanaku period (ca. A.D. 297) (Ponce 1957) that is at the same time the formative period (Ponce 1970:47) of highland cultures. The stone sculptures belong to the upper stage of the Wanqarani culture as expressed in the Sokotiña and Uspa-Uspa cultures (Ponce 1970:32, 34). At least seventy-two pieces have been identified as lithic llama heads (Museo Arqueológico de Oruro, Bolivia), "but their association to these sites is not clear as yet" (Lumbreras 1974:57).

DETAILS OF LLAMA HEADS IN THE PRECOLUMBIAN ART

Llamas represented in the rock paintings and lithic heads show an ever-increasing extension of their ears until they seem to be transformed into horns. The association of ears with horns seems derived from the existence of deer in the highlands. Only in the cases of pictographic depictions of the Sierra de Arica complex and the Negro Wañusqa caves, is it possible to observe the almost unknown *Taruku* (Cervidae, *Odocoileus* and *Odocoileus virginianus*) with outstanding branched horns.

In the rock paintings, there are varied representations of the part corresponding to the mouth. Sometimes it is found open (Arica), other times closed (Cala-Cala; La Quiaca) and, in both cases it is linked to the enlarged, three-part snout with a square, open, shaped front bending to the sides. The eyes are drawn lightly, sometimes taking advantage of shades naturally placed within the rock. There are not detailed eyes *per se* in most of the rock paintings.

A qualitative jump in the execution of the art can be observed among the stone sculptures of llama heads at Belén de Andamarca. The llama's economic and religious importance among the herders and early agriculturalists might have begun to increase pristinely during this period. The shape and design of these stone heads suggest their linkage to a diversity of culture periods. The marked

differences in techniques of manufacture in the lithic samples seems to suggest more than one flaking tool (Ponce 1970:44): the unshaped, carved heads would be the products of rough tools (Ponce 1970:35). The slow development of lithic-carving ability suggests both gradual tool perfection and also the artist's intention to highlight the most outstanding facial features of the llama.

Exaggerated rounded eyes, erect ears, quadrangular mouths, bulky snouts, and heightened anthropomorphic nose features characterize the more elaborate lithic heads. Other heads were built up with two vaguely conical-shaped fangs and also two zigzag features, associated with a lightning symbol, *Illapa*, placed in the centre part of the erect ears. The enlarged ears, with the *Illapa* symbol, are presumably "horns." The lithic heads are asexual, although it is possible to conclude that the introduction of the *Illapa* suggests a male instead of a female symbol.

Although I am not aware of direct evidence of llama representation in the weavings of the five periods of Tiwanaku, llama representation occasionally occurs in ceramics, especially in association with a puma, condor, fish, snake, or other zoomorphic figure. Nevertheless, one outstanding feature characterizes all the figures: rounded, bugging eyes, which also exist in the lithic llama heads of Belen de Andamarca. In summary, all the zoomorphic and anthro-zoomorphic Andean figures are characterized by circular or bugging eyes, square three-sided and fanged mouths and, among some, a mild suggestion of "horns" as a decorative part of the design (Bellamy-Allan 1969; Kan 1972).

A LEAP TO THE INCA PERIOD

With the disappearance or incorporation of Wanqarani and Chiripa into the first culture period of Tiwanaku, the lithic sculpture technique also disappears. Llama representation or symbolism occurs only seldom in a few ceramic artifacts and even less frequently in woven pieces (Sawyer 1963:27, 38). It seems that later the llama reappears as a component symbol of Andean theology, resurrected by the Inca state (Murra 1956:109; Polo de Ondegardo 1916:15; McIntyre 1975:61; Trimborn 1969:127; Stroock 1937:19; Rowe 1963:307; Acosta 1963:46).

Even after the Spanish arrival and domination, it was not possible to omit the llama from Andean symbology and religion. Indeed, llamas had and still have enormous economic importance. These llamas carried the surplus production throughout the Incan roads and served to unify the towns. These roads were amazingly well conceived and built by the Inca State, radiating from the central city of Cusco. Initially, llama symbology was associated with constellations in the Qoricancha temple (Santa Cruz Pachacuti 1927; Lehmann-Nitsche 1928). Llama and alpaca wool was and still is a primary material for weaving and also for manufacturing secondary woven articles (*wasqakuna*, *waraqakuna*, *wayaqakuna*,

etc.), for transporting tubers, grains, salt and *taquia*. The front shin-bones of sacrificed llamas are removed in order to manufacture the *wich' uña*, a tool which made possible the classical technological perfection of Andean weaving (Bennett 1935; Crawford 1915; D'Harcourt 1962; Gayton 1961; Seligmann 1978). Today, the *wich' uña* is passed from generation to generation of weavers. With increasing frequency from the Tiwanaku late period onward, llama symbols are found throughout the Incan and post-Incan periods in woven pieces, ceramics, and gold jewellery.

FROM THE INCA PERIOD TO THE PRESENT

Chaos was associated with the economic destructuralization of the Inca state (Wachtel 1973:79 et passim). The conquerors undermined the ideological support of the Incan State and sought to destroy or subvert the state's structure, with the perpetuation of an economic system such as the *mit'a* (Rowe 1978:4, 18 ms). Some of the cultural resources of the Incan state survived the change and were preserved by the indigenous population, among them, vertical control of ecological niches, non-monetary exchange and reciprocal redistribution of goods and labour force. A campaign known as the "idolatries extirpation," a visible repression of Andean ideology was also associated with this alleged economic and social disorganization (Ossio, ed. 1973). In spite of this violent attack by the Spanish on the Andean superstructure, the native population, by allowing but minimal expression of its symbolic and cultural resources, was able to protect and continue to hold its own world view (Duviols 1972; Alberti and Mayer, eds. 1974; Wachtel 1971).

Masks and Dances

The church of "Christianization by terror" (Rops 1956) theologically colonized the native population by using the indigenous dramas (de la Vega 1918:158; Guarda 1967:113). Before the Conquest, the communities of the Inca state used to celebrate annual fiestas (Baudin 1955:224; Murra 1956:110), honouring the deities of the agricultural cycle and enacting the *Apu Ollantay* drama, preserved today only through a variety of translations and manuscripts (von Tschudi 1853; Justiniani 1780; Markham 1871).

Chief among the ritual fiestas was the *Taqui* (dance or musical piece sung in Quechua). It probably consisted of two types, one comic and the other tragic, according to Garcilazo (1723:67). These two dramatic genres were translated as *Aranway* and *Wanqay* by Anchorena (1874), quoted by Basadre (1938:161). Jesus Lara found a kind of *Wanqa* enacted by Quechuas in northern Potosí (Chayanta) probably since 1871. The *Wanqa* or *Wanka* does not show any adjustment to

historical events and conditions; it is more a "vision des vaincus" (Lara 1957:54; Wachtel 1971).

Bernabé Cobo defined the nature of Andean dances as "pantominas" (García 1937). Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yanqui Salqamayhua (1950:251-57) described the *llama-llama* dancers as a group of "farsantes" who wore animal skins. Gonzales Bosque (1977:123), apparently drawing from Santa Cruz's manuscript, says that the ordinary identity of those actors is replaced by mythic memories; in the ritual action the role identities are stressed: "es abolida la identidad cotidiana de estos actores por el recuerdo mítico; en la acción ritual afirman la identidad de los papeles que les corresponde desempeñar." Bihalji-Merin (1971:7) points out that "the mask is the oldest symbol of alienation, it hides the wearer, protects and transforms him." From his research, Argentinian writer Uriel García (1937) postulates the existence of a diversity of dances in the Andes, such as the *choqela* whose costume is constructed of *vicuña* skins and, in contrast, the *llameros* ("herders") who wear masks. Guamán Poma discusses totemic masks as originating in mimetic transformation: "transformación mimética que en la cuarta Edad sufrieron . . . grandes capitanes [que] se transformaron en la batalla [en] leones . . . y poma" (1969:33). García (1937) also suggests the presence of the zomorphic masks of pumas and *yaguareté* ("jaguar"). These masks, according to García, are the image of the transformation that the ancestors suffered in ancient times. Although the existence of a llama mask *per se* is not mentioned in these documents, its production and use could have been linked to the ritual dances and pantominas of those times.

Mask-wearing during colonial and republic times seems to have been associated with the indigenous population's defensive strategies against the Spaniards. European faces are represented with "out of shape" features: popping blue eyes, red beards, white wigs, bald heads, long and pointed noses, and so forth. Woolen masks of the Incan period usually represent monkeys or bears. I do not know of any jaguar or puma masks from post-Incan times or before the end of colonial times. Nevertheless, bears, according to Andean mythology, are the forerunners of the llama (Gow and Gow 1975), and the use of the mask could have undergone a similar transformation; that is, bear masks could have been transformed to become llama masks.

Today peasant communities isolated from intense modernizing influences still use the woolen masks. Neither llama nor sheep nor jaguar skins, which are obtained by exchange, are employed in mask-making. Dispersed evidence of animal skin masks exists, but the technology seems to have disappeared due to the introduction of clay and quicklime. Clay, quicklime and *q'aytu* (thick llama thread) masks seem to have increased in numbers after the Independence War (1825). Before this time, it is possible that mask-making was restricted to towns, but one may suppose that it might have been important during messianic rebellions such as the *Taqui Onqoy*.

Throughout the nineteenth century, clay and stucco masks seem to have been adorned with gold or silver sheets. Yet these masks were in reality only half-masks, ones that cover only the *dramatis persona's* face, but not the whole head. With the intensive mining of tin, especially in northern Potosí and Oruro, the migrant peasant-miners increased the number and expanded the shape of the tin-sheet Devil mask. Thereafter, half-masks became full-head masks. Thus it is possible that the masks gave expression to a myth that was meaningful within the indigenous tradition but repressed by western culture; in this context the mask became associated with dances containing symbols of liberation. In support of this analysis, other zoo- and anthropomorphic masks were popular along with the devil masks. Around 1900, puma, cat, dragon, bear, monkey, bull and condor masks were fabricated. However, only in the Devil mask is it possible to detect an implicit world view and an actualization of Andean mythology. Among all other masks, it is the most reproduced and also the most worn by dancers in the Andes. This mask also is worn in celebrations of the same nature in other countries: La Tirana (Chile) (Uribe Echeverría 1972:31), Puno, Sicuani, and Cusco (Peru), Tandil, Salta, and Humahuaca (Argentina).

From Huari to Devil

June Nash has clearly linked the meaning and the manifestation of the Huari myth:

Legends of the monsters that threatened to kill all of the people of Uru-Uru, the pre-hispanic tribal name [of Oruro], are known to everyone. . . .

The principal legend concerns *Huari*, the powerful ogre who was believed to live in the hills and was identified with the *Devil* or *Uncle* of the mines. It was he who persuaded the people to leave their work in the fields and enter the caves to find the riches he had in store. . . .

Huari lives on in the hills where the mines are located, and is venerated in the form of the *Tio* or *Devil*, as the owner of the wealth of the mines. Llama pastoralists say they have seen him carrying the mineral on teams of llamas and vicuñas into the mines where the animals deposit it and where it is found by the miners, who gave their thanks in offerings of liquor, cigarettes and coca (1972:224).

Huari was a powerful god but was defeated by the conquerors' gods. The vanquished god escaped to the Underworld, *Uk'u-Pacha*, where he established a kingdom. The underground kingdom of Huari, according to Bolivian tin miners, has a direct connection with the underground kingdom of Cusco. Miners have molded clay statues of Huari in several of the mine galleries: he has huge eyes, two horns, a large squared mouth with glowing glass teeth ready to receive nourishment, and an erected *phallus*. Every year Huari emerges from his kingdom and

identifies himself with the Devil Dancers. It is said that Huari wants to rule the Earth, *Kay-Pacha*, again. Other versions of the myth explain that Huari does not come out of the mine but sends llama herds to dance as devils in a challenging way on the earth's surface. Another myth tells about Kokena, the king of the Huanacos (Lama guañicoe). Kokena is a man-animal mythical entity who has a Huanaco head and a human body, who walks on only two of his feet and whose clothes are made out of silver and golden weavings. He carries a coca bag in which he keeps the richest leaves to chew during his long walks (Pucher de Kroll 1950:88). Since an analysis of these myths is not the subject of this article, I only mention the important parts of the myths that deal with devil masks as camelid symbols.

Huari and Llama: or the Devil Mask, Kokena as a Dancer

I reject the proposition that Devil masks of the Andean carnival are products of the Spanish theological influence or of mysterious Asiatic migrants. The present mask-makers construct their masks while pondering the Huari myth and not while considering Dantean demonology, the "diabolus" of Papini or Alighieri, and while envisioning the proud and human-like beauty of the camelids rather than Asiatic dragons. The basic iconography of the Devil masks is an actual repetition of outstanding Andean camelid features, such as the decoration of several exaggerated aspects of the head, as it is portrayed in the local rock paintings in the Belén de Andamarca, in lithic sculptured llama heads, and in the woven and gold artifacts. *Eyes.* The eyes are rounded and deepened in the earliest masks and are hollow in the woollen masks. In the tin-sheeted and clay masks, they start to protrude slightly. During the first years of our century those eyes are even more outstanding. By 1940, mask-makers used internally decorated light bulbs to obtain popping eyes. A polychromous *chakana* cross was painted on the central part of the rounded eye. From 1940 to the present, the eyes of the masks are portrayed in a bulging and open style:

They mock and shock yet suggest at the same time that, behind their grin and their hollow eyes, another truer reality lies hidden. . . . We have seen that the open eye, whether exaggerated or not, indicates power. Open eyes symbolize the projection of the powers of the soul outward. Half-closed or closed eyes, on the other hand, symbolize the retraction of the soul inwards (Fingesten 1970:51, 45).

Thus the extended use of popping eyes can be perceived as a sophisticated, implicit, and passive protest that forms part of an emergent nativism.

Horns. Previously, we have seen that llama or vicuña ears usually have an erect design both in the rock paintings and in the sculptures of Belén de Andamarca and Wanqarani. Thus "horns" represent erect camelid ears and not the bull-horns of animals that arrived with the Conquest. Additionally, they could have originated in

the "antennae" of soil snails and warm water (strombus), a symbol and character in Andean mythology which has been relatively ignored by Andean scholars.

Also, horns could have been patterned on the Andean Cervidae *Taruku*, another mysterious entity in Andean mythology, represented even more frequently than snails. The spiral-shaped horns supposedly imitate the lightning god *Illapa* following the style of some lithic llama heads from Sokotíña (1200 B.C.). *Squared and fanged mouth.* The mouth is almost perfectly square, and open on three sides, and nearly as outstanding as the eyes are. It appears furious and looks aggressive. Four pairs of large triangular teeth, sometimes shaped in a "scalated" design can be seen. Two fangs project out at each side of the open mouth and extend upward almost to the top of the upper lip. Even among old masks, the mouth is square but not as exaggerated as in the more recent ones.

The fangs were introduced perhaps as symbols of the puma, who in Andean mythology is associated with nobility, as suggested by Guamán Poma (see Ossio 1973:153). Rock paintings of Cala-Cala (Guerra-G. 1973:43) portray an alert, feline (puma) near a white llama. Some myths report that the puma likes to eat the *llama-untu* and male llama genitals. Llamas do not have large fangs, but the association with puma fangs suggests nobility, a symbolic characteristic that both animals share. The mouths of the llama stone sculptures from almost thirty archaeological art sites of Oruro range from simple lines to squared, open, three-sided mouths. Fangs, even among those samples, are already clearly suggested. It is an archaeological problem to clarify hypothetical influences of Chavin in the Oruro highlands, since this period is characterized by heavily fanged icons (Rowe 1970:80).

The nose. As with the mouth, the nose of the Devil mask is a mixture of feline and camelid characteristics. Its main decoration is made up of striking and wrinkled features, as actually occurs in felines exhibiting aggressive postures, and the nose is enlarged and wide and extended as in a llama snout. This enlarged and extended nose in Devil masks seems to have been slowly introduced over an extended period of time.

On the early masks of the twentieth century the nose was flat but its relief has become more pronounced with time. Nevertheless, the nostrils have undergone very slight changes. Today the nose designs reach an almost idealized, highly conventionalized and surrealistic representation of a llama-feline snout and nostrils. Only the lithic sculptures at Sokotíña and Uspa-Uspa emphasize outstanding nostrils, with two nostrils added on the extended and squared snout. Modern masks are held by introducing the fingers into the mask nostrils which are quite large, and thus both useful and decorative.

DEVIL-MASKS IN INDIAN AMERICA

Referring to the Devil masks from Oruro, the Argentinian writer Felix Coluc-

cio says: "there are not in the American continent [mask-makers] who could make them more beautiful and more devilish" (Guerra-G., ed. 1970:19). Coluccio has written the best description of the present Devil mask (Guerra-G. 1970).

While the masks permitted the dancers to express what they truly felt about the inequalities caused by the Spanish conquest, they also served as a levelling mechanism in the social structure. W. T. Benda points out that:

Not only is one who puts on a mask seemingly transformed into the being the mask portrays, but he himself is aware of this strange metamorphosis. Those who look at him are puzzled by the change in his appearance and in his behaviour, for the wearer of the mask yields subconsciously to the irresistible impulse to act like the being the mask typifies . . . he does not act any more like himself, but assumes the character and every movement of that creature (1944:1-2).

Although the Devil masks seem to be distinct from one another, the only people who are able to recognize the persons wearing the masks are the closest relatives of the dancer. For the rest of the onlookers and participants, each dancer is a mystery:

All this is not due to any exceptional merit of the artist who made the mask, but is caused by the way we perceive things. . . . Even the masquerader's body appears to have changed its character and its proportions; it seems to belong integrally to the mask . . . we are indeed perplexed (Benda 1944:2).

An observer gets the impression that the mask changes expressions (Benda 1944:3). One can discern the moods and feelings of the dancer such as sadness, happiness, fatigue, and anger, by following the movements of the head and the way it relates to the rest of the dancers' masks or to the observers. No words may be spoken to the dancer. Thus, in order to communicate, only non-verbal gestures are used. The dancers report that none of them laugh while dancing, but they do cry.

Since the eyes of the mask do not move, the expression of the Devil masks does not detract from the dancing. Rather, the Devil mask provides the main feature that complements the different and dynamic movements of the dancers. However, it is true that:

the wearer of such a mask must be fully aware of these eyes [immobile] and limit or modify his acting accordingly, eliminating all slow motions and relying on prolonged, steady stares in one or another definite direction, with swift, transitory movement in between (Benda 1944:6).

The Devil masks of the Oruro carnival do not look like the masks worn at the San Gerónimo feast in Masaya and Leon (Nicaragua). Neither is there any relationship with the *parrampanes*, *cacues* and *mantúes* of the Corpus Christi celebration in Panama. In Chambo, a Chimborazo province of Ecuador, the Devil

half-mask has *cabuya* fibers as beards. Cuban writer Pichardo discusses "ugly devil-masks" (*feos mascarones*). In the province of Atlántica in Colombia the Devil dancers wear Devil half-masks adorned with *cachos* ("horns") painted completely red with displaced mirrors added. Venezuela is also characterized by prominent Devil masks. They are constructed of different shapes and range from simple face-paintings done with charcoal at Tucupido (Guaricó) to a half-mask decorated on *tocuyito* (cotton material) at Carabobo. Devil masks are used for the feasts of San Francisco de Yare at San Carlos (Cojedes), and of San Francisco de Asis at Aragüa. However, only at Oruro and in other Andean towns is the devil mask associated with the Huari myth and with the renewing capacity of annual creativity display by Andean artisans.

CONCLUSION

With the mythical descent of the Inca to the *Uk'u-Pacha*, the main State deities and *Huacas* also went underground in order to establish a kingdom (see Arguedas, Pease and Ferrero, in Ossio-A., ed. 1973:377-439 et passim; Guerra-G. 1974:39-40). In the case of Oruro, Huari, who has taken different profiles and personalities through time, emerges annually, protected by the Bolivian tin miners. He dances before, but not under, the Christian gods.

The carnival celebration of Oruro starts, indeed, with the rituals to the Phallic *Tio-Huari* of the mine, who "greet" the Virgin Mary at her chapel. He remains to dance around for three more days and then associates himself with the two-day *Pachamama ch'alla*, including coca, alcohol, and food offerings. According to the myth, after five days he returns exhausted to the Underground, sometimes being buried by the people with the left-overs from carnival or simple ashes. People call this act the "burial of the carnival" and in this way *Tio* is returned to the underground kingdom. A dancer, during the auto-sacramental dramatic struggle (the exaltation of the Eucharist) where Good and Evil fight, destroys his own mask. The left-overs of this mask are also buried at the end of the feast and offered to "time-deity" *Pacha-P'asti*.

In the production of the Devil mask, we can observe an example of cultural continuity exercised in Andean iconography, "Kay sumaq *uyati* Huarita k'o ya uk'upi ñaupá tinkuspa ruasaq, nispa ruarqani" (this mask, once I did after having an encounter with the mine's *Huari*). This statement, which a *caretero* ("mask-maker") at La Joya, Oruro told me, reveals that the anthropo-zoomorphic archetype emerged from the underground kingdoms, where such deity dwells in association with other deities of the emergent pantheon.

The Devil mask always has been decorated with three dragon heads (evolved from earth snails), spiders, toads, and snakes. It is not the focus of this paper to discuss other details and symbols of the Devil mask; nevertheless, in order to clarify any doubts, I hypothesize that winged dragons are a mixture of condor and

snail (*strombus* and *spardylus*) symbology. Snakes or serpents, on the other hand, are associated with authority and nobility, for example, *Tupaq Amaru*, *Tupaq Katari*. All this symbology is an extensive theme for further research as is the analysis of the dance, choreography, music, and organization of ritual days, and of the comparisons with the mythology of the Andean carnival.

The continued manufacture and use of these masks demonstrates that the triumph of the dominant culture was never a complete defeat of the indigenous one, for its tradition continues to be manifest through this art form. Andean cultures have continued for many years without being fully destroyed. The position that emphasizes the reduction of a culture to its art expressions holds true in the case of these masks:

The mask, even when it is modern, still contains elements of its primitive nature. Now it serves to help the wearer to return to deeper strata of existence; it liberates the wearer — even if only for a short time — from inhibitions and laws, from civilization and its discontents (Bihalji-Merin 1971:100).

The mask, a body in which two souls dwell, keeps Andean symbols alive through time. This tradition will last as long as the belief in their efficacy and power breathes life into them.

ADDENDUM

1. Geometric designs

Snake-like forms, triangles, and rounded shapes form the most common designs of the masks. They are masks full of anthropomorphic expressions and activity, as can be seen in the exaggerated open mouth of the mask, and the dragon or spider on the pate also have their mouths open as if they are eating. In general, all the mouths of the masks that have been mentioned have a similar kind of expression except that of the condors, which is more proud, contemplative, and royal. In other masks such as the *China-supay*, the angel, and the bear, sarcastic smiles or fury are clearly represented. During the dance, the dancers move the mask from side to side and up and down, keeping time with the steps. In general, the sequence of the movement of the mask eventually makes a cross-like movement.

2. Mask-making techniques

It is first necessary to measure the diameter of the head of the dancer and make a mold. The most important dimensions are the height of the rear of the head and part of the nape of the neck. This part, along with the beginning of the very thick wig attached to a knitted cap, supports the weight of the mask. A small cushion is

necessary for the pate of the head, to prevent the mask from bumping against the head. The third support is placed at the chin and again, a cushion is made around it. In this way, the mask can be well supported by the head, allowing the dancer to take jumps and leaps.

The rear part of the head and the face of the mask are fabricated separately. The felt of llama wool is lightly painted with white clay and forms the back part of the mask. In the front, before painting the holes for the eyes, the nose and the mouth are cut out. They remain permanently. When the two formed parts of the mask are finished and dry, they are sewn together. Then a second coating of clay is applied, this time more thickly than the first one. The clay is mixed with glue and must dry before adding anything else. The next step is to make the ears of cardboard or dried llama or sheep skin. The ears too are dried by the sun after being coated twice with clay and glue. At the same time, the dragons, snakes, or spiders for the pate of the mask are made following the same procedures. They are made of papier mâché or wet cardboard. The head is made separately from the bodies, and the bodies have to continue the same shape of the dragon's head. At this point, the mask is still white. Its surface is rough and must be sanded to leave it smooth enough to apply fine brush strokes without difficulty.

At the same time, the triangular teeth mirrors are positioned at the mouth and the eyebrows. The mask is placed on the head from behind the neck towards the face; therefore, the last fitting is at the chin of the dancer where the craftsman attaches the long cushion that will give enough support for the dancer to make jumping movements.

The horns are made at the same time as the dragons, the eyes, and the ears. They are made of cardboard, shaped in three or four parts, from the base to the point. Sometimes molds are used for this purpose. Once the parts of the horns are made, they are put together to form the whole horn. Immediately afterwards, a first coating of clay is made; as is the case with the other mask parts, they are dried by the sun. The horns are the only removable parts. Their bases are wide enough to insert in them a circular piece made of light wood (maguey). The bases for the pair of horns are glued to the mask, close to the crown.

At this stage, a white mold of the mask with a pair of wood bases for the horns has been fabricated. The ears have been placed on either side of the mask and the nose form is ready to be painted. The white painted dragons, snakes, spiders, or lizards are also positioned at this point.

The eyes are positioned. At this point, they are the first pieces painted. They are each painted in well-distributed colour patterns; they do not yet have the false, round, coloured stone around the pupil. These round, coloured stones are glued to different parts of the mask towards the end. Once all the parts have been attached to the mask, a first coating of paint the colour of the background of the mask, is applied. This colour is distributed equally around the mask, and from the face to the back of the head. Nevertheless, several spaces are left out, such as the frontal

parts of the ears, the dragons, the horns, the eyes, and the outstanding parts of the nose. The same background colour will be painted in the interior of the open-mouths of the dragon, behind the ears, behind the horns, behind the three pair of eyebrows immediately below the eye of the mask, in the lower part behind the eyes, and on the back of the tail of the dragon that is placed on the pate of the mask.

The second part to be decorated is the horns. They are painted in all the hues that the mask will contain. These are basically the primary colours along with different tones such as orange, or green and light green. The horns are painted in a spiral pattern. After the primary colours have been painted in multi-tones, three to five round white and black spots are painted on each section of the spiral-like pieces, according to the space and according to the colour, white on the dark colours, and black on the light colours. If the horns are made with a pair of branches on each side, there will be more than three to five spots. They will also be smaller, concentrated at the base with a few towards the apex of the spiral. These spots will be gold. Both horns are painted symmetrically.

The dragons are painted yellow on their chests with a white line in the middle that gradually becomes more yellow until it meets with the green on the back, which is the dominant colour of the dragon. The crests of the dragon are also green tones, beginning from the part where they are attached to the body. There are sometimes winged dragons, and in this case, the interior of the wings is painted the same colour as the body of the dragon, or as the background colour of the mask. The edge of the wings, the crests of the nose, the three vertical pairs of eyebrows, and the parts of the eyes attached to the mask are painted gold. The outer edges of the mouth are also painted gold.

The interior of the nose, or the nasal passages, are painted light hues of yellow or red, and become green or black towards the gold edges, which creates a sharp contrast. The lips of the mouth, which are completely over-turned, are of two basic colours: pink and tones of red (dark and light), while the edges of the lips are gold.

Between the rising body of the dragon and almost exactly in the middle of the forehead, there is a round ball-like piece that is called a "sun." This piece is painted bright gold or silver and is a third eye. A second "sun" [or moon] is located at the chest of the dragon immediately above the third eye. It is painted to contrast with the colour of the first "sun" and has the same form.

Although each mask, when observed from the front, seems to be completely symmetrical, it is nevertheless possible to find minor variations. Each mask varies from the next in the forms of the horns, the dragons and the noses.

Thus, the masks are completely different from each other, although their shapes and distribution of their features are the same. The colours change depending on the background colour of the mask; a red, green, white, or black background will result in different distributions of different tones for each feature. This can be seen in the horns, eyes, wings and bodies of the dragons, as well as the ears. There are always four teeth in the middle of the square-like mouth along with two fangs

which are always black and gold.

The Devil's masks described in the first part of this paper were all worn at the beginning of the twentieth century. Since 1940, the artisans have begun using glass, mirrors, burned-out light bulbs and blown glass for the round parts of the masks. For example, the eyes are frequently made from burned-out light bulbs. Yet, since the bulbs must be painted from the inside so that the colours will not chip or fade, and the artisan must be able to capture the expressiveness of the eyes, the work of the artisan is still difficult. The metal base of the bulb is cut so that only an inch of it is left open. The pin-wheel eyes are decorated in two ways: either the lines converge or diverge from the pupil of the eye. A concentric black pupil is painted in the middle of the eye and serves as the reference point for the lines, which form a wheeling cross. The converging stripes are of the same colour: green on the edges and yellow as the pattern approaches the pupil. In the middle of the stripe, red lines, which depart from the pupil, are painted. A second design form usually has four solid colours that encircle the pupil.

The forms of other features and their designs have not changed greatly, although many of them are more exaggerated than those of the older masks. Today, the horns are arched rather than erect. The ears are sometimes replaced by toads, which are ready to leap from their position. This last variation in design is not frequent, and usually the ears retain their over-sized pointed form.

The central figure on the pate of the masks is still usually a three-headed dragon with a moon on its chest. Sometimes, a jumping spider, a complex snake with three heads, or a miniature version of the mask itself is substituted for it. Certain aspects of the Devil's masks worn in the Devil's Dances during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remained constant. These included the form of the mask itself, which always covered the entire face of the dancer; the eyes, which were made of round engraved silver pieces and always protruded; the material of the mask, which was of llama skin — sometimes decorated with silver leaf — the openings for the eyes, mouth and nose; and the characteristically angry expression of the mask.

Several of the masks that were made towards the eighteenth century still used this design of the Devil's mask. However, the Devil gradually became associated with the consort, and a new mask was created. It only covered half of the face. The eyes continued to be exaggerated in form and exhibit great expressiveness. From this century on, the Devil's Dance became a more encompassing form of social adjustment and expression, and groups of dancers and artisans began creating other types of masks, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

Today, silver or gold leaf is no longer used for the costumes except in certain parts, and silver or gold thread has been substituted for it. Most frequently, mirrors and modern metallic paints have replaced the silver or gold leaf of the masks.

Nevertheless, the selection of the colours, especially the basic ones for the

masks, comes from a long tradition in the Andes. These colours were already present as part of the highly complex weaving techniques of pre-Columbian cultures, where one finds clear combinations of colours and their different tones. The ceramics of Nazca, Huari and Tiahuanaco also reveal a complex knowledge of color combinations (Bruning and Bonavia quoted in Schaedel 1978:33).

3. Mask-makers

All mask-makers are men. No cases exist of women performing this activity. All the designs of the mask are created and done by men on their own initiative. They draw upon their own tradition, which is still very much alive, and have no need to imitate mask samples from other cultures. Sometimes the dancers make innovations in the designs of the mask by changing or adding a feature to a symbol. Nevertheless, these changes are never radical. For example, a dragon could have no more than two, three or five heads, it could be replaced by a jumping spider, the eyes or the teeth of the mouth could be enlarged. But that would be the extent of the innovations made.

The artisans practically devote their entire life to fabricating such masks. Their sons inherit the knowledge of mask-making techniques and become *careteros* ("mask-makers") in Oruro and La Paz (Delgado-Morales 1977). There are no more than thirty or forty mask-makers in a town. In comparison, there are approximately twenty-five hundred dancers of different groups who wear masks. The masks are kept by the dancers, out of which approximately one hundred enter the groups annually. At the same time, a similar number retire or "do not renew their three-year promise to the Mother" (*Virgen*) of the mine. This means that annually, at least fifty new masks are produced by the different artisans. The fabrication of the masks is these people's main source of income. Thus, they must produce at least four to six masks per year. Three are sold directly to the dancers while the remaining three are rented to other dancers at different times of the year. Costumes are made along with the masks. The majority of mask-makers also devote themselves to fabricating silver embroidery thread. The embroidery is mostly done by men, although there are a few instances of women performing this activity. Sometimes the dancers either obtain the masks from former retired dancers at a cheaper price or they inherit them from their fathers or older brothers. The artisans mainly produce the Devil's mask. The other masks that accompany the dancing groups are few in number. There are only two condors in each group, an older and younger angel, and only one bull, one armadillo (*kirkinchu*), one puma, one tiger, and one monkey. The rest of the non-devil masks are bears. But even in a group of two hundred and fifty to three hundred, there are only thirty bears.

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Masks in the Incaic Solstice and Equinoctial Rituals

R. T. Zuidema

Through the ages masks have played an important role in the cultural life of Andean peoples. They are still used extensively in modern indigenous dances and rituals. Two splendid, almost identical masks with long noses and deep eyes, belonging to the Brooklyn Museum, date from the Paracas culture that flourished on the south coast of Peru around the year 500 B.C. (Dawson fig. 20). Spanish chroniclers in the sixteenth century report repeatedly on the use and meaning of masks in Inca culture. That no Incaic examples survive in ethnographic collections is probably because of accident rather than because masks were not important.

Spanish chroniclers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries do not describe in detail the variation and imagination expressed by the many types of actual masks. They focus instead on other aspects of the masks.

First, political divisions, as recognized by the Inca bureaucracy, were distinguished from each other, among other things, by the particular type of mask that each village, town, or province was using in its rituals. The indigenous chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala describes dances, songs, and masks according to the four major provinces of the Inca empire as they extended from their capital, *Cuzco*, in modern southern Peru. The late chronicler Bernabe Cobo (book 14, ch. 17) introducing his general description of dances and masks, says that he once saw in a town near Lake Titicaca, during the procession of Corpus Christi, forty dances: "each one different from the other, in which they imitated by dress, song and way of dancing, the nations of Indians to which belonged." As the numbers 4, 40,