Title

The Musical Walk to Qoyllor Rit'i: The Senses and the Concept of Forgiveness in Cuzco, Peru

Journal

Latin American Music Review, 38(2)

ISSN

0163-0350

Author

Mendoza, Zoila S

Publication Date

2017-12-01

DOI

10.7560/lamr38202

The Musical Walk to Qoyllor Rit'i: The Senses and the Concept of Forgiveness in Cuzco, Peru

Zoila S. Mendoza

Latin American Music Review, Volume 38, Number 2, Fall/Winter 2017, pp. 128-149 (Article)

Published by University of Texas Press

ZOILA S. MENDOZA

The Musical Walk to Qoyllor Rit'i: The Senses and the Concept of Forgiveness in Cuzco, Peru

ABSTRACT: This article explores aspects of the experience of Quechua-speaking dance troupe members in Cuzco, Peru, as they walk to the highest sanctuary in the world to the incessant music of flutes and drums. It argues for the need to understand the sensory experience of the pilgrims and hypothesizes that there is a predominant form of knowledge and memory in the Andes that privileges the unity of sound, vision, and movement. The central argument is developed through the Quechua concept-feeling of *pampachay*, or forgiveness, which is learned and remembered during the pilgrimage.

keywords: pilgrimage, music, sensory model, forgiveness, Cuzco

RESUMEN: Este artículo explora aspectos de la experiencia de los miembros de grupos de danza de hablantes de quechua en Cuzco, Perú, cuando caminan hacia el santuario más alto del mundo, acompañados por la música incesante de flautas y tambores. Es necesario entender la experiencia sensorial de los peregrinos, y este artículo presenta la hipótesis que existe una forma de conocimiento y memoria que predomina en los Andes, la cual privilegia la unidad de sonido, visión y movimiento. El argumento central se desarrolla usando el ejemplo del concepto-sentimiento quechua conocido como *pampachay*, o "perdón," que se aprende y se recuerda durante la peregrinación.

palabras clave: peregrinación, música, modelo sensorial, perdón, Cuzco

Once a year in the Cuzco region of Peru, the former center of the Inca Empire, between forty thousand and fifty thousand pilgrims flock to the highest-altitude sanctuary in the world to participate in the largest pilgrimage found in the Andean region. The sanctuary of the Señor de Qoyllor Rit'i (Lord of the Shiny Snow) is located nearly sixteen thousand feet above sea level, at the foot of the Qollqepunku glacier, part of the Apu Ausangate mountain range.[1] Traditionally, pilgrims walked from their towns with music and dance to visit the miraculous image of Christ on a rock. Today,

Latin American Music Review, Volume 38, Number 2, Fall/Winter 2017

DOI: 10.7560/LAMR38202

FIGURE 1. Comparsa *saluting the entrance to the sanctuary of the Lord of Qoyllor Rit'i (2006), with Qollquepunku glacier in the background. Photo by author.*

however, the great majority of pilgrims reach the area by motorized transportation and hike only five miles uphill to reach the sanctuary (fig. 1). This pilgrimage combines long-standing Andean principles and practices and those brought into the tradition by Catholicism, as mountains and rocks have been considered powerful animated entities in the Andean world since pre-Columbian times (see Valderrama and Escalante 1977; Sallnow 1987; Allen 1988; Bolin 1998; De la Cadena 2010).[2]

Here I focus on the *comparsas*, or dance troupes, from the community of Pomacanchi, Cuzco, that once a year walk eighty-five miles to the sanctuary over three days and two nights, up and down mountains, accompanied by incessant music from flutes and drums (fig. 2).[3] After another two-and-a-half days and two nights at the site, where they perform ritual dances and participate in an unremitting musical experience, the Quechua-speaking pilgrims abandon the site and go back to their towns.[4] My analysis focuses on the intrinsic relationships among the visual, auditory, and kinesthetic sensory experiences of the pilgrims, a relationship that, I hypothesize, is the keystone of the predominant Andean form of knowledge and memory. In the Andes, the unity of what people in Euro-American societies tend to perceive as three separate senses—hearing, sight, and bodily movement

FIGURE 2. *Pomacanchi pilgrims on their second day of the walk (2006). Photo by author.*

(kinesthesia)[5]—is essential to the cognitive process that takes place during this and other religious and festive experiences.

This pilgrimage is indeed a space where Andean people put into practice, remember, teach, and learn about crucial concept-feelings. I use this compound term to emphasize that thought and feeling are always together and that we need to avoid the body-mind dichotomy that has plagued the humanities and social sciences for too long.[6] In this article, I explore a concept-feeling central to the pilgrimage, that of *pampachay*, which means "leveling or flattening the ground" and has been translated since the sixteenth century as *perdonar* or *perdón* ("to forgive" or "forgiveness") (see Szemiński 2006; González Holguín [1608] 1989). This is a particularly relevant concept-feeling to explore in the context of pilgrimage, as *comparsa* members often say that the main reason they still do the long pilgrimage from home, instead of taking a truck, is that they seek to achieve *pampachay*.

Qoyllor Rit'i and Pilgrimage in the Andes

Archeology and ethnohistory have shown that pilgrimage to regional sanctuaries was a deeply rooted practice in the Andean region during pre-Columbian times (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Sallnow 1987). It is also clear

that contemporary Andean ritual practices and religious beliefs combine pre-Columbian elements with those taken from Spanish Catholicism. For the sixteenth-century evangelizers, pilgrimage, as well as public rituals to honor Catholic images, were central elements of their religious experience (Christian 1989a, 1989b).[7]

Although some scholars have suggested an Inca Imperial origin for Qoyllor Rit'i, because of its purported association with the Apu Ausangate and its supposed incorporation by the Catholic Church during the Tupac Amaru II rebellion in the late eighteenth century, I agree with new studies that question these assumptions (Salas Carreño 2006, 2010). The association with Ausangate seems to have been created and propagated as a result of both the intellectual and artistic movement known as *indigenismo*, developed during the first half of the twentieth century, and the emergence of urban pilgrims, mostly from Cuzco city, after 1950 (Salas Carreño 2006, 2010). However, for people familiar with the area it is clear that the sanctuary is not at the foot of Ausangate but sixteen miles from it. The available information allows us to assert only that the area around the Qollquepunku glacier is a liminal zone that connects the inter-Andean valleys and the ravines that descend toward the Amazon, and that it was a key area for the meeting of communities from both regions. We also know that at least by the second half of the nineteenth century, rituals were performed in the area (Salas Carreño 2006, 2010). *Qollque* means both "silver" and "money" in Quechua, and a good translation for the name of the glacier might be "doorway toward money or wealth" (*punku* meaning "door" or "doorway" in Quechua). Qollquepunku would then be considered a doorway to a place where Andeans can find money or wealth. This translation also makes sense in light of a section that remains constant in the many versions of the stories about the apparition of the Christ image (Mendoza 2010): the shepherd boy who meets the boy Jesus at the foot of Qollquepunku went in that direction because his intention was to head toward the Amazon, where he could find work and a better life and escape from his older brother's abuse.[8] The reinterpretation of the origin of the cult and its Christianization dates to the 1930s and is a result of the desire of the people of Qatqa and Ocongate to control the peasant production of the area (Salas Carreño 2006, 2010).

Beyond the origins of this ritual, its contemporary syncretic nature is evident and well documented (Allen 1988; Flores Lizama 1997; Mendoza 2010, 2015; Poole 1988, 1991; Randall 1982; Salas Carreño 2006, 2010; Sallnow 1987; Stensrud 2010; Wissler 2010). The theme of the encounter is central in Qoyllor Rit'i and is prominent in stories of the apparition of the Christ image (i.e., as a result of the meeting of the boy Jesus and the shepherd boy), the liminal nature of the location of the sanctuary (explained earlier), the diverse origin of the practices that take place there, the

"Chakiri Wayri" melody that accompanies the movement of the pilgrims to and within the sanctuary, the meeting and greeting of *comparsas*, and finally the pilgrims' meeting of Christ.

This pilgrimage has many facets and meanings and undergoes constant change; therefore, it would be hard to imagine that the studies are exhaustive. Nevertheless, I was surprised to find that previous studies left out the experience of the walk, and in general the movement of the participants. In fact, the lack of attention to this aspect of pilgrimages seems to apply not just to Qoyllor Rit'i but also to most approaches to pilgrimage. Classic studies have noted the centrality of movement in the experience of pilgrimage (Turner and Turner 1978) but did not focus on or explore this crucial kinetic aspect enough. Only recently have scholars started to examine various forms of motion as constitutive of pilgrimage, moving away from conventional views on the subject (Coleman and Eade 2004).

Beyond specific studies on pilgrimage as well as the wider field of ritual, in the 1990s scholars gradually began paying more attention to different aspects of the bodily experience and to movement within ritual. David Parkin (1992), for example, points out that rituals always have movement, directionality, and spatial orientation as central elements. In addition, in the great majority of rituals, if not all of them, movement and spatial orientation are closely tied to the visual and auditory experience of participants. Furthermore, for the case of the Andes the intrinsic relationship that exists among the kinesthetic, visual, and auditory experiences goes beyond the ritual context and is central to the predominant form of knowledge and memory. I also hypothesize that this form of knowledge and memory dates from pre-Columbian times and is directly related to the fact that public festive practices have been so important to the members of this society since then.

Toward Understanding the Andean Sensory Model: "Chakiri Wayri" and "Alawaru"

My analysis of the pilgrimage to Qoyllor Rit'i is based on the premise that any study of public celebrations, rituals, and religious experience needs to start from a thorough understanding of how a society organizes the senses. Along with scholars of anthropology of the senses and sensory studies in general, I argue that we need to understand a society through its "sensory model" in order to study the practices that take place in that society (Classen 1993a, 1993b; Howes 1991, 2003). As Classen (1993a, 3) has put it: "Our knowledge of the world comes to us primarily through our senses, and thus the value we assign to our different senses has a profound influence on the way we conceive of the world." This simple but significant assertion is crucial to any understanding of why Andeans have chosen

music, dance, and festivals as privileged forms of social action throughout history. This perspective has made me realize that the importance of these practices can be understood only by paying close attention to the predominant form of knowledge and memory in the Andes, which in turn can be captured only if we understand the Andean sensory model.

During the walk, which I did with the people of Pomacanchi in 2006, 2008, and 2010, a central aspect of Andean culture and the sensory model documented by previous studies becomes evident: the primacy of the unity of the visual and the auditory in cognitive processes among Andeans (Classen 1983; Harrison 1989). However, in this walk a third dimension emerges as a key missing element in the sensory model: the sense of motion, or kinesthesia. In other words, the unity of the visual, auditory, and kinesthetic is what makes participation in this pilgrimage a unique, unforgettable experience. Moreover, it might be that in traditional Andean society kinesthesia is the key sense that organizes the other two elements of the triad. The obvious primacy of the unity of these three senses for the people of Pomacanchi during this particular pilgrimage is not unique to Pomacanchi or to this particular ritual occasion. It is simply that this particular case enables us to analyze more closely a phenomenon that I believe is found throughout the Andes.

For the people of Pomacanchi, the experience of walking to the sanctuary with the appropriate music and carrying out short rituals along the way is even more important than performing their dance at the sanctuary or participating in any of the other ritual practices at the site. This music is not only crucial to the experience of vitality and other positive concept-feelings; it also provides a very concrete, appropriate way to mediate the multiple encounters that take place along the way and at the sanctuary: with people from territories outside of their community, with sacred sites, with the rising sun, with other groups of pilgrims, and, finally, with the rock image of the Lord. Moreover, as mentioned previously, the theme of the encounter is central to the festival of the Lord of Qoyllor Rit'i, and the multiple encounters that take place during the festival are crucially mediated by participants' audiovisual and kinesthetic experiences.

In many conversations pilgrims frequently pointed out hearing the "Chakiri Wayri" tune while walking as an essential part of the pilgrimage (fig. 3). This tune, which accompanies the movement of all pilgrims, is also known in the region as "Puka Pakuri," "Ch'unchu," or "Wayri C'hunchu" (Salas Carreño 2010). Wayri Ch'unchu is a widespread dance in the region representing people from the Amazon (fig. 4). The melody for walking is a particular derivation of the dance tune. In Quechua *chaki* means "foot," so even the name used in Pomacanchi for the tune indicates that it is a melody for walking. In Pomacanchi and many other peasant communities, this simple pentatonic melody, with its short ascending

and descending phrases, is produced by two transverse flutes (*pitus*), one snare drum (*tarola*), and one bass drum (*bombo*). It is especially the bass drum that clearly marks the beat during the walk, and it can be heard from a far distance. The incessant repetition of the short melody combined with the strong beating of the bass drum has led some authors to characterize the music as "mesmerizing" or "hypnotic" (Allen 1988, 19; Sallnow 1987, 18).[9] What is clear from my research is that there is a set of very important concept-feelings that can be associated with the English concepts of happiness and vitality and that are learned and remembered while the Pomacanchi pilgrims walk while hearing "Chakiri Wayri." Most pilgrims' comments about these concept-feelings indicate the heart (*sonqo*) as the source of them as individuals and of life, and express ideas such as "our hearts revive [*kawsayriy*] in the most beautiful way," "our hearts rekindle or sprout [*llanllay*] again," and "[my] heart flourishes [*phanchay*]."

FIGURE 3. *Transcription of Pomacanchi Chakiri Wayri.*

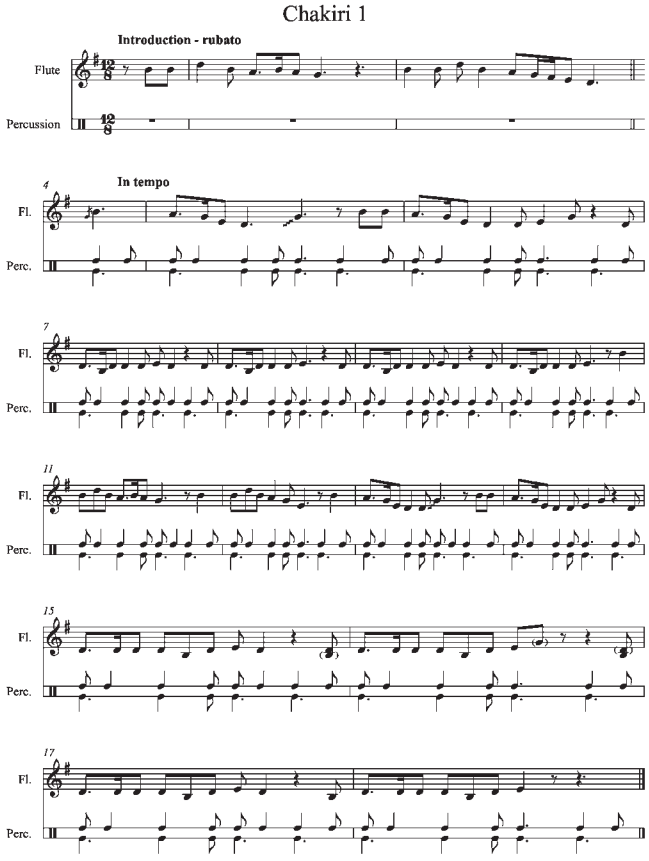
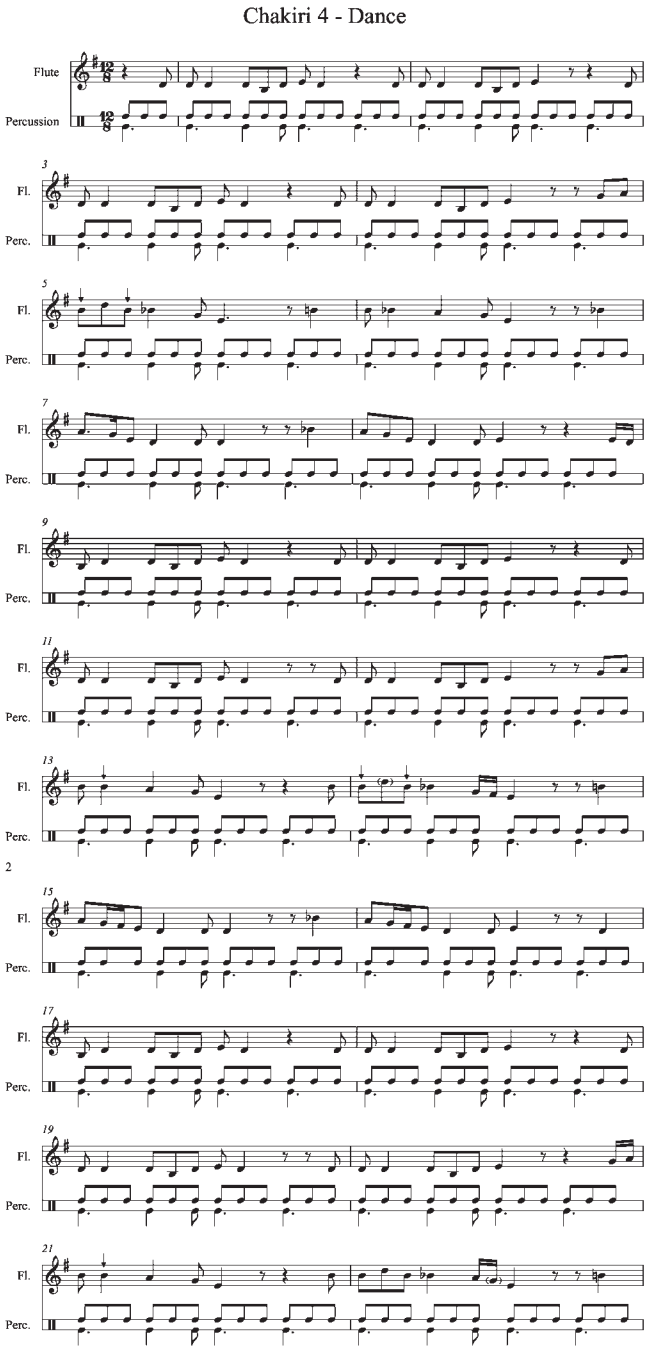
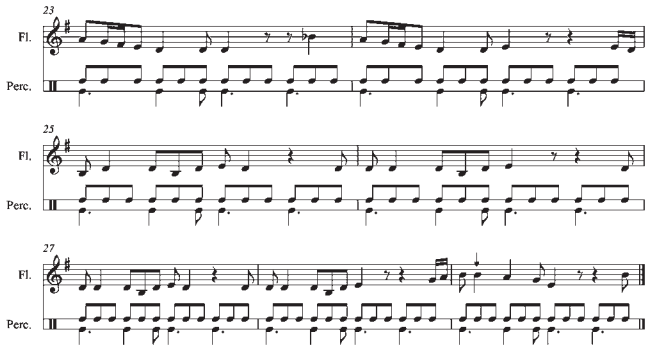


FIGURE 4. *Transcription of a Cuzco version of the Wayri Ch'unchu dance.*



(*continued*)

FIGURE 4. *(continued)*



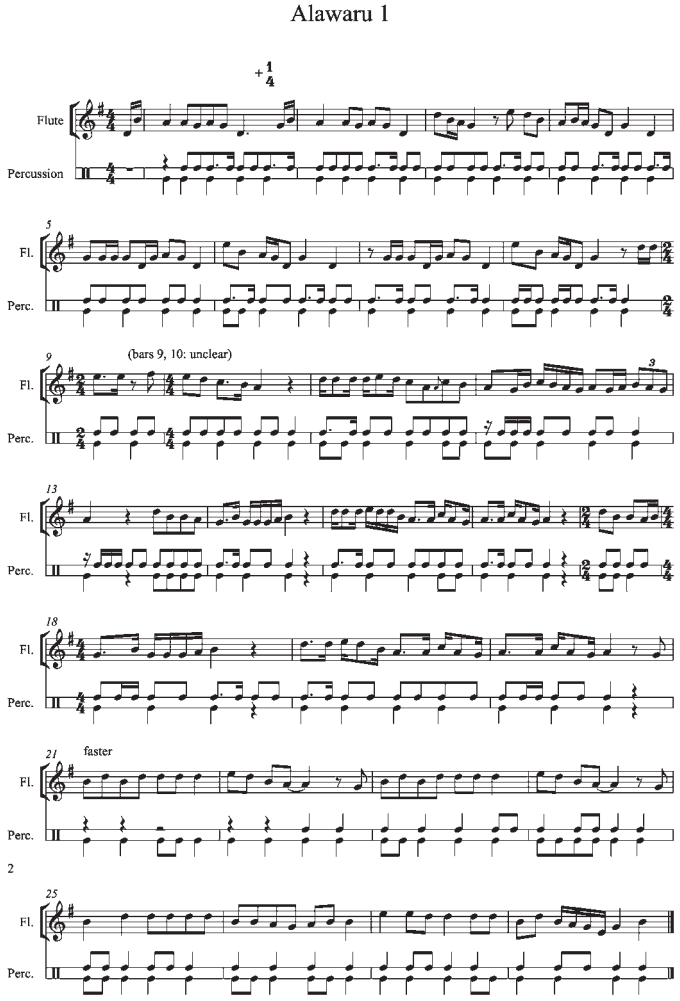
Even though I do not have space for further musical analysis here, there are a few elements that I wish to point out. First, the "Chakiri Wayri" melody, as already discussed by Allen (1988, 192), clearly displays patterns that are widespread in traditional Andean music, as it is structured in pairs that are opposed but still supportive of each other. In this melody, it is also easy to appreciate the high pitch and the pentatonic scale, both purported to be characteristic of Andean music since pre-Columbian times (Romero 1988). Finally, the fact that it is interpreted by a flute and drum combination also links the melody to the pre-Hispanic Andean tradition (Romero 1988).[10]

Pilgrims also emphasized that along the way they learn about and remember, through sight (*rikuy*), the vast and beautiful territories that surround them and the special places marked as important or sacred—and I could appreciate this as well while sharing the walk with them. The verb *rikuy* (which can be translated as "seeing-knowing") was omnipresent when pilgrims referred to their experience of the walk. Pilgrims learn and know through sight while walking along with the accompanying music. In her study about the Quechua oral tradition in Ecuador, Regina Harrison (1989, 79) argued that for Andeans, the verb *rikuy* is crucial in reference to the experience of learning. Likewise, it is clear that for the people of Pomacanchi, "seeing" is an important part of retaining information.

All Pomacanchi pilgrims also pointed out a very practical aspect of the "Chakiri Wayri": it helps them concentrate on the path and walk with an appropriate rhythm so that they not break up the group. Without music, they might become tired and sleepy, causing them to lose their coordination with the group. In fact, many pilgrims emphasized that the music sharpens their senses during the walk. One member, using the word *thama*, said that without music, they all would be "disoriented," without rhythm.

Another, using the term *ñawsa*, stated that without the music they would walk like "blind" people. A third used the term *upalla* to express that they would walk like "deaf and dumb" people if they did not have the music to accompany them. Finally, many people also noted that if they did the pilgrimage without the appropriate music, other dance troupes would challenge them. This subject gives me a point of entry into the melody of the "Alawaru," another tune played during the pilgrimage, when two dance troupes meet during the walk, and in other key moments (fig. 5).

FIGURE 5. *Transcription of Pomacanchi "Alawaru."*



Alawaru means "praised," and the melody is associated with respect and veneration. In many ways "Alawaru" works opposite to the "Chakiri Wayri" since it is played only when the pilgrims are at a stop, either standing or kneeling. The "Alawaru" is not exclusive to this pilgrimage but is played in almost all public ritual celebrations in the region. It is a slow, marchlike melody that invites the participants to absorb and reflect.[11] The "Alawaru" seems to mark significant moments of transition or transformation in the pilgrimage (and in other rituals in which it is performed).

One of the main encounters that the "Alawaru" mediates is with places that require greeting and veneration. Some of these places are marked by *apachetas*, and others not. Sometimes pilgrims venerate the entrance into a new territory, a cross on top of a mountain that just became visible on the walk, or the main mountains that themselves are the protectors of the territories they travel through and that become visible at passes. Sometimes the "Alawaru" is directed at the territories or mountains left behind. The "Alawaru" is also played to honor every sunrise as soon as the first light appears behind the high mountains, while the pilgrims kneel and face east.

With regard to the aspect of movement across the landscape, recall that Andean oral tradition, from pre-Columbian times through today, provides countless examples of the central theme of movement in the form of a chase or persecution, or exploration (see Itier 2007; Salomon and Urioste 1991).[12] It is during this constant movement that the important encounters take place between stories' central characters or that crucial transformations happen, often leaving behind a visible mark on the terrain. One example is the story of the origin of the Lord of Qoyllor Rit'i, in which movement is constant and the performance of the "Wayri Ch'unchu" dance mediates the meetings between the Quechua-speaking shepherd boy and the boy Jesus. In this story, as in many Andean oral traditions, the result of the final persecution leaves a visible mark on the land: the rock where the image of the crucified Christ appeared and under which the boy shepherd was buried.

Pampachay *and* Hucha

"Huchanta Pampachakunanrayku" ("because our sins or faults are forgiven") was the most common reason Pomacanchi pilgrims gave for wanting to complete the pilgrimage on foot from the town to the sanctuary rather than by truck or bus, as many other groups do. As mentioned earlier, in the early colonial Spanish-Quechua lexicons and dictionaries, *pampachay* (leveling or flattening the ground) is translated as *perdonar* or *perdón* ("to forgive" or "forgiveness") and is always associated with the word *hucha* (*pecado*, or "sin").[13] Not much is known about the meaning of

the Quechua word *hucha* (also *hocha* or *ocha*) in pre-Columbian times, as Catholic evangelizers linked it to the concept of sin or fault. However, we do know that it was associated with the concepts of breach, guilt, and obligation, and that during one of the main Inca rituals, Qhapaq Hucha (Ocha), offerings (including children) from all four quarters (Tawantinsuyu) of the empire were made to higher powers in sacred places.[14]

The concept-feeling of *pampachay* is little scrutinized in the Andes. Kimberly Theidon (2004, 2006) refers to *pampachay* in the context of the reconciliatory processes that have taken place in Ayacucho in the aftermath of the war between the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) and the Peruvian state. Theidon brings up interesting insights into this concept-feeling in her analysis of the *pampachanakuy* processes. Through them, local communities are trying to reintegrate their members who had joined Sendero and committed atrocities against their fellow community members. Theidon shows how in the *pampachanakuy*, those who committed the crimes ask for forgiveness publically, making a very visible and audible repentance. What these community members try to achieve during the *pampachanakuy* is to flatten or level the relationship that was altered by their actions. What is important for our present discussion is that in Andean Quechua culture, people have to achieve *pampachay* publically, most commonly by kneeling, verbalizing, and making the repentance visible in front of witnesses. I return to this point in the next section.

In her analysis, Theidon (2004, 2006) also highlights an important aspect of Andean culture that has made the *pampachanakuy* an effective reconciliatory tool in the difficult postwar context (see also Allen 1988; Bastien 1980; Bolin 1998). In this culture humans are not conceived as a well-defined monolithic unit with specific and fixed characteristics. On the contrary, human beings are conceived as permeable and vulnerable, with many levels of existence that can easily be disturbed by negative forces. Quechua-speaking people of Ayacucho conceived of those who turned against their own people as having temporarily lost their humanity, which they since have been able to restore through the *pampachanakuy*.

The French anthropologist Valerie Robin Azevedo (2008), who has worked with Quechua-speaking people of the Calca and Chumbivilcas in the Cuzco region, has also explored some aspects of *pampachay*. She analyzes this concept in the context of the stories people tell about the long journey of *almas* after death.[15] In these stories, the *almas* travel by the Apu Ausangate on their way to a volcano where they can "burn" their "sins" (*hucha*) before they reach the Hanaq Pacha (the world above). Depending on the quantity of those "sins," the journey can be shorter or longer, and when they are "burned," the *alma* is finally "liberated." With respect to *hucha*, Robin Azevedo's work suggests that, for the people she

worked with, this notion is much more transitory than that of "sin" in the dogma of the Catholic Church, as it can always be destroyed, and even the *condenados* (damned *almas*) can achieve *pampachay*.

To conclude this section, I briefly point to some aspects of the central masked and costumed characters of the Qoyllor Rit'i pilgrimage, the Ukukus or Pawluchas, along with other important dance characters of the region who share similar characteristics. The half-bear and half-human Ukuku or Pawlucha characters and their role in the regional mythology and rituals have been widely discussed in the literature (Allen 1983, 1988; Itier 2007; Pole 1991; Sallnow 1987), but one particular aspect has not been. Every *comparsa* that goes to the sanctuary must include these characters. There are also whole *comparsas* made of Ukukus or Pawluchas, as well as pilgrims who choose to become this character and go to the sanctuary independently. At the sanctuary, these characters assume the ambiguous role of subversive and mischievous clowns and protectors of the order and safety of all the pilgrims. The Ukukus are the only ones who climb to the Qollquepunku glacier, taking up and bringing down crosses and carrying out rituals there. These characters are liminal; they mediate between human and animal, order and disorder, and human and divine.

One of the most awaited moments of the Ukukus' performance during this and other rituals is the so-called Yawar Mayu (River of Blood) or Yawar Unu (Bloody Water), when pairs of performers give each other lashes with whips (*surreago*) that they carry.[16] Pomacanchi Ukukus, and all those in the many Cuzco festivals where I have conducted research, choose to embody those characters because the public battles allow them to cleanse themselves from their "sins" and effectively reach the *pampachay*. Interestingly, these characteristics and experiences of the Ukukus have been assumed by the characters of the Qollas dance, the most popular dance in the Cuzco region, performed by Quechua-speaking peasants and herders, as well as by Cuzco city dwellers including university students and merchants.

While I do not have space to say much about the dance, there are a few supportive elements I will mention here. The Qollas dance (a Cuzco representation of llama drivers from the Altiplano region) has condensed many multiple meanings associated with the indigenous population. From its characteristics (choreography, costumes, movements, Quechua songs, and instrumental music) and the testimonies of the performers, it is clear that the dancers convey the contradictions and paradoxes of indigenous identity in Cuzco and Peru, which is considered "genuine" and "authentic," yet also marginal and of low status. The performers not only constantly engage in Yawar Unu and Yawar Mayu among themselves but also have incorporated these whippings into their choreography (fig. 6). The Qollas, besides representing llama drivers, embody the llamas themselves in several parts of

FIGURE 6. *Two Qollas dancers engaging in Yawar Unu and Yawar Mayu during a Cuzco festival (2008). Photo by author.*

the choreography, and the basic step with which they move across space imitates the llama's walk.

Like the Ukukus or Pawluchas, the Qollas are half-animal, half-human. This is made evident in part by the knit ski mask–style hats known as *waq'ollos* that represent the face of a bear or llama. The songs the Qollas direct at the celebrated religious icons emphasize that they consider themselves the most "savage" of all the devotees and that they approach the sacred images with "their souls tied with sins" so that the images "untie" those sins (Mendoza 1999, 2000). The performers, many of whom I have interviewed, explicitly say that that they join a Qollas *comparsa* because they consider themselves prone to commit sins and that the public practice of the Yawar Unu and Yawar Mayu enables them to cleanse themselves. With this idea of the public expiation of sins through the public demonstration of physical punishment, we can go into some central aspects of the walk to Qoyllor Rit'i that are directly related to *pampachay*.

Pampachay *in Qoyllor Rit'i*

There are many statements that illustrate how achieving *pampachay* is one of pilgrims' main motivations to do the walk, but I point out only two here. In 2007 the main sponsor of the K'achampa *comparsa* explained why the dancers prefer to walk rather than use a truck offered to them by their town's mayor: "Chay chakipi riyta munanku 'aunque sea

huchayku pampachakunanrayku riyta munayku' así han dicho, así 'huchanchissi pampachakun chakipi purispa'" ("They like to go on foot. They put it like this: 'We want to go on foot so at least our sins get forgiven, our sins are forgiven going on foot.' They said it like that").[17] A second example comes from an Ukuku of the same *comparsa* who had embodied that character for six consecutive years. Explaining his preference, he said: "Chakipi madrina, chakipi, ajá, chakipi a veces, huchaykuta noqaykupas reconocikuyku sonqoyku uhupi, willakuspa riyku, sonqoyku uhupi" ("On foot, *madrina*, on foot, yes. We acknowledge our sins inside our hearts, we confess our sins inside our hearts as we go"[18]). While this second statement indicates some introspection, *pampachay* is mainly achieved through movement while climbing uphill, carrying big rocks on the back and receiving lashes, all with the appropriate music and utterances.

For most adult members of the Pomacanchi *comparsas*, long walks with heavy packs on their backs are not uncommon and have existed among Andean peasants and pastoralists for many centuries—in fact, it arguably is why kinesthesia is so central to the Andean sensory model.[19] However, it is more difficult than usual because the trip is longer, the packs are heavier, and the cold during frost season is intense at night and early morning.[20]

There are two important moments during the walk when *pampachay* and *hucha* are made particularly visible, palpable, and audible. In these moments, rocks and stones become the *hucha*; the bigger they are, the bigger the faults are to be pardoned. First, as the pilgrims reach the bottom of the hill where the *primera apacheta* (first *apacheta*) is located, they place the stones on top of their packs and start the steep climb. *Apachetas*, which have existed since pre-Columbian times, are special sites located at high points and crossroads that are marked with piles of rocks that are placed there by passersby who stop to invoke and pay respect to higher powers.[21] As the pilgrims reach the *apacheta*, they unload the stones to the music of the "Chakiri Wayri" and start forming a single-file line. When everybody has unloaded the stones, the music changes to the "Alawaru." The pilgrims kneel and, facing the mountains they are leaving behind, look downward in a moment of reflection and introspection that ends as the "Alawaru" finishes (fig. 7).

This process is repeated at the second important stop at an *apacheta* called Chila Chilayoq,[22] which features an added element: the *bautizo*, or ritual of initiation, of the new members and pilgrims' voluntary receiving of lashes (fig. 8). These two processes are exactly the same: one by one, pilgrims kneel in front of the *apacheta*, where they place all the icons they have caried,[23] and an elder from the group delivers three lashes while uttering the words "Dios Tayta, Dios Churi, Dios Espíritu Santo" ("God father, God son, God Holy Spirit"). Hearing these words while receiving the

FIGURE 7. *Pomacanchi pilgrims kneeling at the* primera apacheta *while listening to the "Alawaru" (2008). Photo by author.*

FIGURE 8. *Arrival at the Chila Chilayoq* apacheta. *The pilgrims kneel to salute it while listening to the "Alawaru" (2010). Photo by author.*

lashes is essential to the experience of *pampachay*. Here, as in the case of the Yawar Mayu and Yawar Unu of the Ukukus, the ritual use of lashes is intrinsically related to the experience.

Conclusion

During the walk to the sanctuary of Qoyllor Rit'i, pilgrims experience, learn, remember, and reinforce many culturally relevant concept-feelings through the predominant Andean sensory model. This model emphasizes the intrinsic unity of the visual, auditory, and kinesthetic experiences and has probably been dominant in this society since pre-Columbian times. Here, I have developed the example of *pampachay*, as reaching it is one of the purposes most often given by the people of Pomacanchi for still doing the walk to the sanctuary. I have pointed out some important moments during this walk when the experience of *pampachay* (in relation to the notion of *hucha*) is realized by a combination of audible, visual, and kinesthetic elements. There is still far to go in understanding the Andean sensory model and its ongoing transformation, but I hope to have indicated some areas where we can start developing this type of approach, which I consider crucial for the study of any kind of public performances in the Andes.

Notes

1. There is a debate about how the name "Qoyllor Rit'i" should be written, because Quechua was not a written language before the arrival of the Spanish and most Quechua speakers do not write or read the language. Flores Ochoa (1990) has argued that the correct way is "Quyllurit'i," but in most banners and icons, Pomacanchi people write "Coyllorritti." Salas Carreño (2006, 2010, 2014), widely quoted in this article, has adopted the form used by Flores Ochoa. I have chosen to write the name as two separate words to facilitate translation, and to use the "o" instead of the "u" following the Pomacanchi people, who clearly pronounce those vowels closer to the Spanish sound "o," not "u." The name of the valley where the sanctuary is located is Sinak'ara, twenty-six kilometers south of the Ausangate glacier in Ocongate district. In pre-Columbian times, Mount Ausangate was considered a powerful Apu, or mountain "deity"—I use the word "deity" cautiously, as the English or Western concept of deity does not really convey the meanings of "Apu" in the Quechua world (see Allen 1988).

2. For an early study of the shared understanding of Andean principles between Quechua and Aymara people regarding mountains and other elements of the landscape (see below for my discussion of the term "landscape"), see Bastien (1978).

3. Pomacanchi is politically both a recognized *comunidad campesina* (peasant community) and a district of the province of Acomayo in the department of Cuzco.

4. The estimated number of Quechua speakers in the core Andean countries of South America (Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia) varies between eight million and twelve million. King and Hornberger (2004, 1) give the number of ten million noting that, despite this number, it is considered an "endangered language" because of its drastic and rapid demise in a short time.

5. I use Potter's (2008, 449–410) definition of kinesthesia, which incorporates Sklar's (2000) differentiation between "felt experience" and proprioception. Potter (2008, 72) states: "In describing a sense of motion grounded in the daily experiences of the lived body, I will employ the term 'kinaesthesia,' . . . a dynamic sense of constantly shifting one's body in space and time in order to achieve a desired end. Although at times used interchangeably with 'proprioception,' kinaesthesia carries less emphasis on a specifically biomedical understanding of movement and instead conveys a more general ability to feel the motion of one's body and to adjust it in culturally preferred ways." Sklar implicitly makes a similar distinction, referring to kinesthesia as 'felt experience' and proprioception as 'the reception of stimuli produced within one's own body, especially as movement.'"

6. Following Raymond Williams (1977, 132), I understand "thought as felt and feeling as thought," thus leaving behind the dichotomy of feeling versus thought.

7. Since colonial times, public festivals to honor Catholic images became the most widespread form of public ritual in the Andes (Mendoza 2000).

8. Salas Carreño (2014, 189) has proposed the translation "Silver Gate," which in some contexts could relate to the color of glacial snow and in others to money.

9. While I do not incorporate Judyth Becker's (2004) analysis here, in my experience Andean people fall into the category of "deep listeners": they are profoundly moved by listening to music. This seems even more evident during the pilgrimage.

10. Even though transverse flutes were not known in the Andes before Columbus, the combination of flutes and drums was characteristic during that period and has continued to exist in rural settings.

11. This melody always ends with a kind of upbeat and celebratory fugue to indicate that the moment of introspection has ended and that the meeting with another group or with the Lord has concluded successfully (see fig. 5).

12. As has been documented by, among others, Valderrama and Escalante (1977), Allen (1988), and Bolin (1998), in the Andes the Western notion of landscape as an inert object for human control or contemplation does not apply to these animate presences in Andean life. Through a deep knowledge of the Quechua language one can better understand the relevance and power of the animate surroundings such as Mother Earth, mountains, rivers, springs, and rocks.

13. It would be impossible, and futile, to investigate the extent to which the current concept-feeling of *pampachay* among Quechua-speaking Andeans derives from the Spanish Catholic experience of forgiveness or from a pre-Columbian experience of leveling. Many ethno-historical studies would be required, and they might not necessarily help shed light on current beliefs and practices relating to the concept-feeling of *pampachay*.

14. For a study of Qhapaq Hucha (Ocha) in relation to Inca cosmology, see McEwan and Van De Guchte (1992) and Besom (2009). For a reinterpretation of

the word *Hucha* as "messenger or message," see Urbano (1993). The indigenous chronicler Guamán Poma de Ayala refers to the Qhapaq Hucha in a few places (Murra and Adorno 1980) and translates *Huchayoq auqui* as *príncipe culpable* (guilty prince) (1081) and *hucha khipuq* as *contador de incumplimientos* (counter of breaches) (1086).

15. *Alma* is a Spanish word that means "soul"; in the Andes this concept is infused with meanings specific to Quechua and the Andean context (see Allen 1988; Robin Azevedo 2008).

16. The Yawar Mayu and Yawar Unu have their own music and lyrics and usually take place at the end of the performance of the *comparsa* that the Ukukus accompany.

17. All interviews were conducted in confidentiality, and the names of the interviewees are withheld. All interviews cited here were conducted by the author in June 2008.

18. Madrina, or "godmother," was the nickname the *comparsa* members assigned to me during my research in Pomacanchi.

19. This is different for those between the ages of thirteen and twenty on the trip who attend school and have abandoned the traditional economic activities of their parents. This might be an indication that this sense is losing importance for the younger generation.

20. Most pilgrims cover themselves at night with only one or two blankets and—if they are lucky—a piece of plastic to protect themselves from the frost.

21. See Hornberger and Hornberger (1983) for a current definition of *apacheta*. The indigenous chronicler Guamán Poma de Ayala mentions *apachita* and *apacheta* in a few places (Murra and Adorno 1980, 1076). In one place the chroniclers Murra and Adorno (1980, 236) say, "En ello [*apachita*] adorasen al *Pacha Camac* y por señal amontonasen piedra; cada cual lleuase una piedra y lo ecchasen en ella y por señanal flores o paxa torcido a lo esquierdo." In the three years that I traveled with the Pomacanchi, sometimes *apachetas* had crosses in the middle and sometimes not. Sometimes the same *apacheta* would have a cross one year but not the next. Wind, rain, and frost probably require active maintenance of the crosses.

22. This *apacheta* marks the middle of the path to the sanctuary, and all the *comparsas* that pass by stop for a prolonged rest and to carry out special rituals of greeting and farewell using the "Alawaru" music.

23. During the walk, the group carry one main portable image of the Christ called *demanda and*, the symbol of the main sponsor of the group that year. They also carry three flags: one of Pomacanchi, one of the Inca Empire, and one of the contemporary Peruvian nation. Finally, they carry several banners donated to the *comparsa* by various sponsors.

References

Allen, Catherine. 1983. "Of Bear-Men and He-Men: Bear Metaphors and Male Self-Perception in a Peruvian Community." *Latin American Indian Literatures* 7, no. 1: 38–51.

———. 1988. *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Bastien, Joseph. 1980. *Mountain of the Condor: Metaphor and Ritual in the Andean Ayllu*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Bauer, Brian, and Charles Stanish. 2001. *Ritual and Pilgrimage in the Ancient Andes: The Islands of the Sun and the Moon*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Becker, Judyth. 2004. *Deep Listeners: Music Emotion and Trancing*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Besom, Thomas. 2009. *Of Summits and Sacrifice*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bolin, Inge. 1998. *Rituals of Respect: The Secret of Survival in the High Peruvian Andes*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Christian, William A., Jr. 1989a. *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

———. 1989b. *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Classen, Constance. 1993a. *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

———. 1993b. *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and across Cultures*. London: Routledge.

Coleman, Simon, and John Eade, eds. 2004. *Reframing Pilgrimage*. London: Routledge.

De la Cadena, Marisol. 2010. "Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections beyond 'Politics.'" *Cultural Anthropology* 25, no. 2: 334–370.

Flores Lizama, Carlos. 1997. *El Taytacha Qoyllur Rit'i*. Cuzco: Instituto de Pastoral Andina.

Flores Ochoa, Jorge A. 1990. "Taytacha Qoyllurit'i: El Cristo de La Nieve Resplandeciente." In *El Cuzco: Resistencia y continuidad*, 73–94. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Andinos Cusco.

González Holguín, Diego. (1608) 1989. *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perv llamada lengua Qichua o del Inca*. Facs. ed. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

Harrison, Regina. 1989. *Signs, Songs and Memory in the Andes: Translating Quechua Language and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hornberger, Esteban, and Nancy Hornberger. 1983. *Diccionario tri-lingüe quechua de Cusco*. La Paz: Qoya Raymi.

Howes, David, ed. 1991. *The Varieties of Sensory Experience: A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 2003. *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Itier, César. 2007. *El hijo del oso: La literatura oral quechua de la región del Cuzco*. Lima: IFEA, IEP, Fondo Editorial PUC, y Fondo Editorial UNM San Marcos.

King, Kendall, and Nancy Hornberger. 2004. "Introduction. Why a Special Issue about Quechua." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 167: 1–8.

McEwan, Colin, and Maartin Van de Guchte. 1992. "Ancestral Time and Sacred Space in Inca State Ritual." In *The Ancient Americas: Art from Sacred Landscapes*, edited by Richard Townsend, 359–371. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago.

Mendoza, Zoila. 1999. "Genuine but Marginal: Exploring and Reworking Social Contradictions through Ritual Dance Performance." *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 3, no. 2: 86–117.

———. 2000. *Shaping Society through Dance: Mestizo Ritual Performance in the Peruvian Andes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2010. "La fuerza de los caminos sonoros: Caminata y música en Qoyllorit'i." *Antropológica* 28: 15–38.

———. 2015. "Exploring the Andean Sensory Model: Knowledge, Memory, and the Experience of Pilgrimage." In *Ritual, Performance and the Senses*, edited by Michel Bull and Jon P. Mitchell, 137–152. London: Bloomsbury.

Murra, John, and Rolena Adorno, eds. (1615) 1980. *El primer nueva crónica y buen gobierno por Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala [Waman Puma]*, translated by Jorge Urioste. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno XXI, Nuestra América.

Parkin, David. 1992. "Ritual as Spatial Direction and Bodily Division." In *Understanding Rituals*, edited by Daniel de Coppet, 11–25. London: Routledge.

Poole, Deborah. 1988. "Entre el milagro y la mercancía: Qoyllur Rit'i." *Márgenes* 2, no. 4: 101–119.

———. 1991. "Rituals of Movement, Rites of Transformation: Pilgrimage and Dance in the Highlands of Cuzco, Peru." In *Pilgrimage in Latin America*, edited by N. Ross Crumrine and Alan Morinis, 307–338. New York: Greenwood Press.

Potter, Caroline. 2008. "Sense of Motion, Senses of Self: Becoming a Dancer." *Ethnos* 73, no. 4: 444–465.

Randall, Robert. 1982. "Qoyllur Rit'i: An Inca Fiesta of the Pleiades." *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 11, nos. 1–2: 37–81.

Robin Azevedo, Valérie. 2008. *Miroirs de l'autre vie: Pratiques rituelles et discours sur le morts dans les Andes de Cuzco (Pérou)*. Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

Romero, Raúl. 1988. "La música tradicional y popular." In *La música en el Perú*, 217–274. Lima: Patronato Popular y Porvenir.

Salas Carreño, Guillermo. 2006. "Diferenciación social y discursos públicos sobre la peregrinación de Quyllurit'i." In *Mirando la esfera pública desde la cultura en el Perú*, 243–288. Lima: CONCYTEC.

———. 2010. "Acerca de la antigua importancia de las comparsas de *wayri ch'unchu* y su contemporánea marginalidad en la peregrinación de Quyllurit'i." *Antropológica* 28: 67–91.

———. 2014. "The Glacier, the Rock, the Image: Emotional Experience and Semiotic Diversity at the Quyllurit'i Pilgrimage (Cuzco, Peru)." *Signs and Society* 2, no. S1: 188–214.

Sallnow, Michael. 1987. *Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cuzco*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Salomon, Frank, and George Urioste. 1991. *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Sklar, Deidre. 2000. "Reprise: On Dance Ethnography." *Dance Research Journal* 32, no. 1: 70–77.

Stensrud, Astrid. 2010. Los peregrinos urbanos en Qoyllurit'i y el juego mimético de miniaturas. *Antropológica* 28: 39–65.

Szemiński, Jan, ed. 2006. *Léxico Quechua de Fray Domingo de Santo Thomas 1560*. Cuzco: Convento de Santo Domingo-Qorikancha; Warsaw: Polish Society of Latin-American Studies; Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Theidon, Kimberly. 2004. *Entre prójimos: El conflicto armado interno y la política de la reconciliación en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

———. 2006. "The Micropolitics of Reconciliation in Postwar Peru." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, no. 3: 433–457.

Turner, Victor, and Edith Turner. 1978. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Urbano, Henrique. 1993. *Mito y simbolismo en los Andes*. Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas.

Valderrama Fernandez, Ricardo, and Carmen Escalante Gutierrez. 1977. *Gregorio Condori Mamamani: Autobiografía*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.

Williams, Raymond. 1977. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wissler, Holly. 2010. "Q'eros, Perú: La regeneración de relaciones cosmológicas e identidades específicas a través de la música." *Antropológica* 28: 93–116.