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## Moieties and Ceremonialism in the Andes: The Ritual Battles of the Carnival Season in Southern Peru

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### Introduction<sup>1)</sup>

My principal concern in this paper will be with the relationship between ritual battles and moiety systems in the Andes. As is clear from numerous historical sources, moieties have been a central form of social and political organization in Andean communities since the time of the Incas, if not much earlier (Rostworowski 1983; Zuidema 1989, 1990a, and below). In addition, while it is true that named, formally organized and widely recognized dual social divisions are relatively unusual in present-day Andean communities, they do persist, and wherever they are found they represent important focal points for social and political identity and ritual action. The maintenance and reproduction of these dual social groupings over time are generally found to be the products of repetitive and collective social and ceremonial activities, such as drinking, feasting, working on communal labor projects, as well as singular, dramatic events, such as ritual battles. The link between moieties and ritual battles is reinforced by, and takes additional meaning from, a consistent association from pre-Hispanic times to the present-day with rites of initiation (esp. of young men into politico-ritual hierarchies) and agricultural activities (e.g., the plowing of new fields) all of which, including ritual battles, often occur around the time of Carnival, in the European calendar (i.e., from early February to

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mid-March).<sup>2)</sup> In this paper, I will argue that these social, ritual and calendrical elements are all inter-connected in complex and persistent ways and that their inter-relationship and interaction have been central to the formation and reproduction of moiety systems in the Andes since pre-Hispanic times.

There are a few issues of a more general, theoretical nature that should be addressed at the beginning of a study such as that proposed here. These include the questions of: a) the relationship between moieties and other forms of dualism, and b) the link between moieties and other types and levels of social units in Andean community organization. After providing an overview on these issues and discussing their relevance for the topic at hand, I then move on to a description and analysis of ritual battles in the community of Pacariqtambo (Prov. of Paruro, Dept. of Cusco). These discussions and ethnographic data should provide us with an orientation from which to consider the social and ritual significance of the practice of ritual battles between moieties around the time of Carnival in colonial and Incaic times and —somewhat more speculatively— for reflecting on the link between ceremonialism and moiety organization in pre-Incaic societies.

### Symbolic and Sociological Dualism

While moieties are clearly an example of “dualism” in the broadest sense, a distinction should be made between *sociological* and *symbolic* dualism (this distinction is made especially clearly and forcefully in Turner n.d.). Sociological dualism (of which moieties are an example) refers to forms of social and political organization —grounded in complementarity and hierarchy— that are formulated and reproduced on the basis of exchanges, interactions, contests, etc., between two distinct *groups of people* who make up a unified society. Symbolic dualism, on the other hand, refers to dyadic *classificatory and symbolic representations* (e.g., male/female, night/day, sun/moon, etc.) that are elaborated in a variety of rhetorical and material forms (e.g., mythology, iconography, etc.) as well as in ritual practice.

There is a tendency in much of the literature to take the existence of symbolic dualism to be indicative of the presence of a social dualism; however, from comparative study, it is clear that there is no reason to assume that the former presupposes, much less inevitably gives rise to, the latter. For example, from a few of the studies included in a recently edited volume focusing on “thought and society in the dualistic mode” (Maybury-Lewis and Almagor eds. 1989; see the review of this volume in Turner 1991), it is clear that there are a number of societies that have highly developed dualistic taxonomical, classificatory and symbolic conceptions and representations in their art, public discourse, etc., but in which there is not, in fact, an overarching dual social organization (e.g., Traube 1989; Yengoyan 1989).

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2) Ritual battles are also carried out in Andean communities at the time of Corpus Christi (Platt 1987), on All Saints Day (Harris 1982) and on a variety of occasions between January 1 and Carnival (see Hopkins 1982).

Therefore, when we encounter, for instance, an iconographic tradition in which dualism is a central, organizing theme, this cannot be taken alone as evidence for the presence in that society of a dual social organization.

To choose a well-known example from pre-Columbian art to help clarify the significance of the distinction between symbolic and sociological dualism made above, we can consider the Obelisk Tello, a stone carving of the Chavin culture. The Obelisk Tello presents us with the image of two right-profile caymans positioned on opposing sides of a free-standing, rectangular slab of granite. The design layout of the Obelisk Tello provides clear evidence for the salience of dualism as a principle of classification and organization in Chavin thought and artistic practice. However, such an iconographic arrangement cannot be taken, in and of itself, as evidence for the existence of a moiety system in Chavin society. Similarly, the so-called Black and White Portal—the name given to the single entryway into the New Temple at the site of Chavin de Huantar—while clearly an iconographic expression of dualism, does not necessarily denote the existence of a dual social division within the population that lived around, or visited, the site. What would be needed as a first level indication of the existence of a sociological dualism in Chavin society would be, for instance, some kind of evidence that dyadic *social* discriminations and patterns of differentiation were regularly made within the population that used this site for ritual (or other) purposes. If, for instance, we were to find at Chavin de Huantar one Black *and* one White Portal—i.e., alternate openings into and out of the New Temple—this could be taken to suggest the presence at Chavin of a dualistic, moiety-like social system.

Arrangements such as that proposed above (i.e., dual entryways into ceremonial structures) are not uncommon in the archaeological record; we even find evidence for such architectural arrangements in historical documents from early colonial times. For example, from his visit to a temple on the central coast of Peru, near Lima, in 1650, the priest Felipe de Medina described an architectural arrangement which reflected his observation that the population that used this site for ritual purposes was, in fact, divided into two groups—i.e., the *ayllus* of Chonta Primero and Chonta Segundo.<sup>3</sup>) As Medina noted:

... the temple sits on a small hill on the right-hand side of the road; one begins the approach to this temple along a walkway with well-made and very curious walls of stone and mud; after going more than a quarter of the length, one enters the temple (which is also enclosed and constructed of the same wall as the walkway) by different compartments and divisions, some that are used by the people from the mountains and others by those from the coast, and for the women of these groups as well there are different entryways. (Felipe de Medina 1920[1650]:89, 90)

What is implied in the above description and the preceding discussion is that,

3) I would like to express my appreciation to Tom Cummins, who brought the document by Felipe de Medina to my attention.

to the degree that it organizes and directs human social action, *architecture* can provide primary evidence for the existence of a sociological dualism, whereas *iconography* alone cannot, since we cannot know what (if any) role the symbols played in social interaction. However, these comments are not meant to suggest that iconographic studies have no role to play in sociological analysis, for iconography can provide important secondary evidence reinforcing and explicating the ideology, symbolism and practices that were central to the maintenance and reproduction of a sociological dualism.

While I will be concerned in this paper primarily with the role of ceremonialism (especially ritual battles) in the reproduction of a moiety system in a community in southern Peru, I will also discuss ways in which dual symbolic elements reinforce, explicate and “sponsor” the reproduction of that moiety system.

### Community Hierarchies and Collective Ritual Practices

The second issue that I want to raise at the beginning of this study concerns the relationship between moieties and other levels of social organization in Andean communities. We have a considerable body of evidence to draw on in characterizing Andean social systems in contemporary, colonial and—at least late—pre-Hispanic times. Two things emerge clearly from these studies. First, Andean moieties are often characterized by asymmetrical, hierarchical, and antagonistic relations between the two groups in question, however their opposition is expressed symbolically (e.g., locals/foreigners, maize farmers/potato farmers).

Second, these hierarchical moiety relations are a higher level expression of similar weighted relationships within lower level social units, such as kin groups, *ayllu* and households. Terry Turner has recently provided an excellent overview of societies in both the Andes and Amazonia in which there is a replication of hierarchical organization from the least to the most inclusive levels of social grouping.<sup>4)</sup> Turner argues that the essential principle of societies organized in such a “recursively hierarchical” fashion

is the relationship of the same modular structure on successive levels, so that the individual family or domestic unit and the local community or regional cluster of domestic units as a whole are constituted as replications of the same modular pattern. (Turner n.d.:2, 3)

As Turner further notes, links between the different levels of social units

4) Tristan Platt’s analysis of the nesting of socio-political sub-divisions among the Macha of Bolivia presents a structure that illustrates well the principle of nested, or recursive hierarchies in Andean social organization (Platt 1986; see also my study, 1991, of the political uses of the affinal kin term *qatay* in the hierarchical organization of various levels of social groups—including the household, *ayllu*, moiety and district levels—in Pacariqtambo). Recursive hierarchy was also central to the organization of Inca Cusco; that is, the valley of Cusco was divided into moieties (Hanan and Hurin), and the city of Cusco, which lay within the Hanan valley moiety, was itself divided into the moieties of Hanancusco and Hurincusco (Zuidema 1989).

organized in the manner described above are regularly brought about in “collective operations” —i.e., rituals undertaken by institutions which encompass the community as a whole (Turner n.d.:12, 1984:343). It is, therefore, through the celebration of community-wide rituals and ceremonial activities, such as ritual battles, that the reproduction of moieties simultaneously reinforces and reproduces the recursive hierarchy of Andean community organization.

Thus —as the paradigm of moieties as “the encompassing of the contrary” was originally formulated by Dumont (1980[1966]:239–243), then as articulated in relation to South American societies by Turner (1984, n.d.), and finally as it took shape (independently of the theoretical work of Dumont and Turner) in the descriptions and analyses of Andean moiety systems in Zuidema’s historical reconstructions (e.g., 1989)— we will find herein an intimate, operational link between the hierarchical differentiation of parts and a higher-level of complementarity in the dual social system in the community of Pacariqtambo. For example, we will examine ethnographic data in which there exist several levels of hierarchically organized social units (i.e., household, *ayllus*, and moieties) the overall structure of which is reinforced and reproduced by collective, communal “operations” —e.g., ritual battles— in which the two main protagonists will be found to be representatives of the highest-ranking group (i.e., *ayllu*) in their respective moiety.

I will turn now to a discussion of contemporary moiety organization and ceremonialism in the community of Pacariqtambo.

### Social Organization in Pacariqtambo

The town of Pacariqtambo, which is located some 70 km by road south of the city of Cusco, in the province of Paruro (Dept. of Cusco), has a population of approximately 1,000 people. Every adult in the town is affiliated with one or another of ten named, non-localized groups referred to generically as *ayllus* (“family”, “lineage”, or “species”). Each *ayllu* has collective control over multiple parcels of land, the sum total of which constitutes the ancestral patrimony of the group as a corporate entity. *Ayllu* members are responsible for participating in communal work projects, such as maintaining the school, the road that connects the town to the nearest market, the central irrigation canal, and the communal oven, as well as for the sponsorship of community-wide religious festivals (see Urton 1984, 1985, 1988 1992). The activities of the *ayllus* are organized and overseen by a “headman” (*segunda*) who is elected by the *ayllu* members for a term of office of from two to four years (depending on the size of the *ayllu*; see Urton 1986).

The ten *ayllus* are divided equally into moieties, called *Hanansayaq* (“of the upper part”) and *Hurinsayaq* (“of the lower part”).<sup>5</sup> The *ayllus* within each moiety are

5) There are five *ayllus* belonging to each moiety within the town of Pacariqtambo itself. In addition, the lower moiety (*Hurinsayaq*) has affiliated with it a sixth *ayllu*, *Qoypa*, all of whose members live in a village of the same name located a few kilometers to the south of Pacariqtambo (see Urton 1990b).

**Table 1** The *Ayllus* and Moieties of Pacariqtambo

<i>Hanansayaq</i>	<i>Hurinsayaq</i>
Nayhua	San Miguel
Quinhuara	P'irca
Aqchakar	Yanchacalla
Qarhuacalla Primero	Waychu
Qarhuacalla Segundo	Pumatambo (Qoypa)

ranked in a relatively fixed hierarchical order. These hierarchies are based on such characteristics as the (conceived) age of the groups, their size, and the relative prestige of the festivals sponsored by the various *ayllus* in the ritual calendar of Catholic saints' day celebrations. Furthermore, Nayhua is commonly referred to as *qollana* ("first, supreme") *ayllu*, and the first and second *ayllus* of *Hurinsayaq*, San Miguel and P'irca, are (respectively, elder and younger) "brother *ayllus*." In addition to having the obligation to sponsor certain festivals, the moieties are the units from which people are recruited to fill certain positions in the remnant *varayoc* (prestige hierarchy) system in the district (e.g., *obrero*, *ararihua*, etc.). The *ayllu* compositions of the moieties are shown in Table 1.

As I have discussed elsewhere (esp. Urton 1992), the moieties are reproduced in a number of different settings, most of which involve community-wide religious celebrations and/or communal work projects. In this paper, I will focus on a set of interrelated ceremonies in which the blend of hierarchical, complementary and antagonistic relations between the moieties are formulated in an explicit way; this occurs in the context of ritual battles between the headmen of the *ayllus*, which take place every year around the time of Carnival.

### The Idealized View of Ritual Battles in Pacariqtambo

From virtually the very first day of my fieldwork in Pacariqtambo (in September, 1981), I heard stories about what is commonly referred to in this community as the "fight between the headmen of the *ayllus*." In their everyday accounts, people insist that these battles take place on the day of Carnival. The popular (or idealized) version of these contests, which I heard innumerable times early in my fieldwork, went something like this:

Every year on the day of Carnival the headmen of all the *ayllus* meet in the plaza in the middle of town. They divide up into two groups; one made up of the headmen of the five *ayllus* of *Hanansayaq*, the other of those of *Hurinsayaq*. The two groups of men take up positions at opposite ends of the plaza and a fight commences. The men use woolen slings (*warak'as*) to hurl stones at each other across the plaza in a fight that continues until one side clearly defeats the other. Somebody will get hurt in the fight, blood will be shed —it "always" happens that way.

I cannot emphasize strongly enough how important the “fight between the headmen of the *ayllus*” is in local lore. Young men talked about this fight with a gleam of excitement in their eyes; older men just shook their heads in resignation at the naked truth of man’s barbarity to man as exemplified by the ritual battles of Carnival.

Now, there is, in fact, a ritual battle between the *segundas* that takes place around the time of Carnival; however, the battle occurs on the day of Mardi Gras —that is, the Tuesday following Carnival. Moreover, the actual events that transpired during the two performances of this ritual that I either witnessed (in 1982), or the details of which I was intimately aware (in 1988), varied significantly from what people said was going to happen. In what follows, I will give an overview of the ritual battle in 1982 and discuss the activities that led up to, and followed, that event. My focus will be on clarifying the role of these ceremonies in re-establishing and (re-)presenting hierarchical and authority relations within and between the moieties.

### Anticipating Carnival

Since the “annual cycle” represents a continuous sequence of events that moves from the observance of an event one year to the observance of that same event a year later, it is often difficult to identify a point at which one can break into the annual cycle and say that a particular series of activities “leads up to” a given festival. However, in the case of Carnival and Mardi Gras, we can point with some confidence to three such “anticipatory” ritual events that take place today, or have done so in the recent past. These three events are: a) the installation, or *nombramiento*, of new officials of the *varayoqkuna* (“staff-holders”) prestige hierarchies on January 1st; b) the celebration of *Compadres* (“male co-parents”), which falls ten days before Carnival, on the first Thursday after the full moon in February, and c) *Comadres* (“female co-parents”), which is celebrated on the Thursday following *Compadres*, three days before Carnival.

#### (a) *The Nombramiento of the Varayoqkuna*

Up until some 10–15 years ago, one of the principal communal ceremonies in Pacariqtambo was the installation of new officials of the *envarado* system, — the dual, moiety-based prestige hierarchy of religious and civil officials in the District of Pacariqtambo. On January 1st, the *varayoqkuna* officials assembled in the small courtyard in front of the church in the town of Pacariqtambo to receive their *nombramiento* (“naming/confirmation”) from the Governor of the district. Each *ayllu* in the community, as well as each of the six traditional village dependencies of the town of Pacariqtambo, called *anexos*, had *varayoq* officials (three of the *anexos* belonged to *Hanansayaq*, three to *Hurinsayaq*). In this ceremony, the *varayoqkuna* of the *ayllus* and *anexos* of *Hanansayaq* lined up on the right (west) side of the churchyard, while the *varayoqkuna* of the *ayllus* and *anexos* of *Hurinsayaq* lines up on the left (east) side (Urton 1984). This ceremony served as the public reconfirmation



of the order of hierarchical relations among the *ayllus*, and between the *ayllus* and *anexos*, within each moiety as well as those between the *ayllus* and *anexos* of one moiety vis á vis those of the other moiety. This was also the occasion when young men, who were accepting their first *cargos* (e.g., as *alguaciles* or *regidores*), were initiated into the prestige hierarchy system.

It is important for our purposes here to note that up until some 20–30 years ago, there were two trees that stood within the churchyard, one on either side of the line formed by the north/south axis through the center of the churchyard; one tree was on the side of *Hanansayaq* (west), the other of *Hurinsayaq* (east).<sup>6</sup> Photographs showing two different pairs of these trees were made in 1915 (a pair of what appear to be *chachakuma* trees) and 1945 (a pair of eucalyptus trees; see Urton 1988). In the 1980s, there were no longer trees standing in the churchyard.

### (b) *Compadres*

The festival of *Compadres* is notable in Pacariqtambo because on this day, in addition to reciprocal visits between ritual co-parents (i.e., *compadres*), there is the observance of a *vela* (“vigil”) for the festival of the *Señor de Qoyllur Rit’i* (“Our Lord of Qoyllur Rit’i”). The festival of Qoyllur Rit’i, the great southern Andean regional pilgrimage which is held at a shrine on the mountain Ausangate, is celebrated during the movable feast of Corpus Christi (May 29–July 1). Thus, the *vela* for Qoyllur Rit’i on the day of *Compadres* in Pacariqtambo establishes a link between the Carnival season and that of Corpus Christi.

The vigil for Qoyllur Rit’i is held at the house of the person who has the *cargo* for the sponsorship of dancers who will go to Qoyllur Rit’i later that year. The dancers, the majority of whom are adolescents or young married men, drink and dance at the cargo-holder’s house for the entire night before the day of *Compadres*. This dancing includes the pairing off of young men (especially *ukuku* – “bear” – dancers) who take turns lashing each other’s legs with powerful blows delivered by

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6) The trees that formerly stood in the churchyard in Pacariqtambo may have had a symbolic significance similar to that discussed in Tristan Platt’s analysis of the tower-plaza-tree complex in the village of San Marcos de Miraflores (Prov. of Charcas, Bolivia). Platt points out that the church tower is male in relation to the square (plaza) of female fertility lying beneath it (1987:145).

The space between Tower and Square becomes one of cosmic fertility, vital for the wellbeing of the entire parish. In San Marcos de Miraflores a living symbol of this fertility used to exist in the form of a fruit-bearing tree (*sawku*). This tree (I was told in 1971) used to grow in front of the churchdoor, exemplifying in itself the regenerative power which (it is hoped) will invade every field in the parish if the ceremonial cycle for sky and earth is correctly performed. The roots of the tree still received libations in 1971 through a stone-covered hole in the square, although the trunk and branches had been cut down by a priest in a fit of evangelical zeal (for which he is said to have died in Sucre, probably in the 1960s). (Platt 1987:145, 146)

woolen slings (*warak'as*). Dancing at Qoyllur Rit'i, as well as in other local and regional festivals, is another route of entry of young men into the civil-religious hierarchy in Pacariqtambo.

The point to stress here is that dancing at events like Qoyllur Rit'i has been, from colonial times to the present, very much an "initiation" for young men into a life of public service and office-holding. It is also important to note that whereas formal ritual battles between the moieties in Pacariqtambo and elsewhere (see Krener and Fock 1977-78; Rasnake 1986; Sallnow 1987; Skar 1982) occur during the Carnival season, such battles often occur elsewhere in the Andes at the time of Corpus Christi (Platt 1987).<sup>7)</sup> Therefore, a link between these two apparently "appropriate" times for ritual battles (Carnival and Corpus Christi) is established in Pacariqtambo by the celebration of a vigil for Qoyllur Rit'i —complete with ritual whipping between boys and young men— at the time of *Compadres*.

### (c) *Comadres*

*Comadres* (the Thursday before Carnival) is generally observed as a day of rest, with people giving the day over to inviting their *comadres* to drink and making preparations for Carnival. It is also common in Pacariqtambo and in the surrounding communities to perform animal-marking ceremonies from *Comadres* (Thursday) to Carnival Sunday, or to do so immediately after Mardi Gras. The general pattern that I observed in Pacariqtambo was the marking of cattle just before Mardi Gras and of sheep soon thereafter.

### "*Carnestolendas*" —From Carnival to Mardi Gras

Carnival can fall on any Sunday within the period from February 2 to March 6. Mardi Gras is the Tuesday immediately following Carnival. The three days from Carnival to Mardi Gras, which are followed by Ash Wednesday (i.e., the first day of Lent), are known in the Spanish colonial documents as "*carnestolendas*" (to the best of my knowledge, this term is not used today in Pacariqtambo). There are three communal ceremonies that take place today in Pacariqtambo during this three-day period: a) a dance around a tree which is set up in the middle of the plaza on the day of Carnival; b) another such dance on the day of Mardi Gras; and c) a ritual battle—the "fight between the headmen of the *ayllus*"— late in the afternoon of Mardi Gras. Since the two dances around the trees in the central plaza are similar in their performance and interrelated in their symbolism, I will discuss these two events first, conjointly, and then turn to a description of the ritual battle of Mardi Gras.

#### (a) *Trees and Circle Dancing*

As mentioned above, on the days of Carnival and Mardi Gras trees are set up in

7) In a study of the Laymi of Bolivia, Olivia Harris notes that ritual battles take place during most feasts throughout the year; however, the only time when ritual battles are expressly *forbidden* is Carnival (1982:56, 57).

the middle of the plaza in Pacariqtambo. These are *chachakuma* trees that are cut down from around town. The trees are referred to as *malki kompay* ("knock-down tree"), or *malki mit'uy* ("? tree"). The term *malki*, which is strictly glossed as "tree," or "young sapling," is also used as a general term for "ancestor" (Doyle 1988; Isbell 1985:147; Sherbondy 1988:108). The *cargo* for the tree on the day of Carnival is in the hands of a couple who belong to an *ayllu* (or *ayllus*) of *Hanansayaq*, the upper moiety. The *cargo* for the tree of Mardi Gras is held by a couple belonging to an *ayllu(s)* of *Hurinsayaq*. In addition, the Carnival tree—the tree of *Hanansayaq*— is considered to be female, while the tree of Mardi Gras —*Hurinsayaq*— is considered to be male. Thus, the sociological dualism of the moiety division in Pacariqtambo, which is *reproduced* in ceremonial activities that take place over two days during the Carnival season, is *reinforced* by the symbolic dualism of the designation of the objects of these ritual interactions as an upper moiety, *female* tree in opposition to a lower moiety, *male* tree.

The two *chachakuma* trees are erected in holes dug in the middle of the plaza. The trees are then "decorated" with candy, packages of cigarettes, small toys, records, etc., which are tied onto the branches. In the afternoon of the two days in question, people go to the plaza to perform the *kashwa* ("circle dance") around the trees. In the *kashwa* dance, people join hands in a large circle and skip-dance rapidly around the tree to the driving beat of *waynos*. At intervals, couples break away from the circle, dance over to the tree, and take turns chopping at the trunk of the tree with an axe. The tree is eventually chopped down, and the dancers and spectators rush at the tree and tear off the goodies. The pair that cuts down the tree will have the joint *cargo* for sponsoring a tree during the next year's celebration of that particular day; i.e., either Carnival or Mardi Gras.

The outline given above holds for the main events that go on in the central plaza on both Carnival and Mardi Gras. However, on the afternoon of Mardi Gras the cutting down of the tree signals the beginning of the ritual battle.

(b) *The Ritual Battle of Mardi Gras, 1982*

The most striking difference between the idealized view of ritual battles in Pacariqtambo and what actually happens in these events concerns the number of people who participate. That is, only two of the *ayllu* headmen (*segundas*) took part in these fights in 1982 and 1988. However, the political relationship between the two pairs of men was identical in both years; that is, the two battles pitted the headman of Nayhua, the first *ayllu* of *Hanansayaq* against the headman of San Miguel, the first *ayllu* of *Hurinsayaq*. Because the combatants represented the highest officials in the most prestigious *ayllu* in each moiety, these two ritual battles can be characterized as fights between the moieties. I will return to this point later.

On the day of Mardi Gras, in 1982, the headmen of *ayllu* Nayhua and San Miguel spent the day in their respective households drinking, feasting and preparing for the battle. Each headman had assembled troupes of musicians and dancers to accompany them. The combatants also mustered for their support groups of women,

who worked all day under the direction of the headmen's wives preparing food and *chicha*. As the excitement grew, drinking and dancing intensified, and—at least in the household where I spent the day (i.e., that of the headman of *ayllu* Nayhua)—people began winding *serpentina* (confetti-like strings) around each other, and everyone's face was painted with red and green paint and daubed with corn flour.

Soon after the Mardi Gras tree was chopped down in the plaza, the headmen set out from their houses to do battle at a street intersection one block above (to the east) of the plaza. The headman of *ayllu* Nayhua (Hanansayaq) took up a position on the south side of the intersection, while the headman of San Miguel (Hurinsayaq) stood north of the intersection. The musicians, dancers, and women who were allied with the headmen took up positions on the same side of the intersection as the combatant whom they supported. The women had large *raki* (carrying jugs) of *chicha* with them; each group of women sent cupful after cupful of *chicha* across the intersection to the opposing group. There was a distinct feeling of competition between the two groups of women in these exchanges.

After a good deal of posturing and gesticulating, the fight between the headmen began. The two men stood within a few paces of each other and began lashing at each other's legs with their *warak'as*. Every time one or the other of the headmen landed a good blow on his opponent, an excited cry went up from the people crowding the intersection. After several minutes of this, the headmen stopped and embraced each other in an exaggerated, almost theatrical display of comradeship and began serving each other cups of *chicha* provided by their respective female allies. The two headmen then stepped out of the intersection, and their places were taken by the head dancers of the two dance troupes. These two young men squared off against each other and began hurling unripened peaches at each other across the intersection. (The peaches had been gathered the day before from orchards near the *anexas*, which lie at lower altitudes below Pacariqtambo.) This fight went on for a few minutes (with no winner being declared), and then the dance troupes alternately danced in the intersection. As darkness approached, people began wandering away from the intersection. The "fight between the headmen of the *ayllus*" was over.

The next day, I asked the headman of *ayllu* Nayhua why only two headmen had taken part in the battle when everyone insisted that all the headmen "always" participate. He said that all the headmen are not always "ready" for the fight. In addition, the way participation by the various headmen is *supposed* to work, he said, is for those of the eight "original" *ayllus*—i.e., the first four of each moiety—to pair off hierarchically against each other in successive years. That is, in one year, the headmen of the two "first" *ayllus* fight against each other; in the next year, the pair of second *ayllu* headmen fight; and so on. According to this four-year pattern of rotation, since the headmen of Nayhua and San Miguel fought in 1982, they should have fought again in 1986 and 1989. However, when I was in Pacariqtambo during Carnival/Mardi Gras in 1988, it was again the headmen of Nayhua and San Miguel *ayllus* who fought against each other. When I asked about this apparent contradic-

tion, I was told that, once again, only the headmen of the two first *ayllu* were "ready" to fight that year.

It is my strong impression from the events of 1982 and 1988 that it is perhaps always the headmen of the two principal *ayllus* of the moieties who participate in these ritual battles. The notion that the headmen rotate in hierarchical pairs, or that "all" of the headmen participate every year (as in the idealized view), may represent either older patterns of participation, or (which I consider more likely) they may be pointed mis-representations in which what is in practice *representative* of the collectivity (i.e., the headmen of the top *ayllus* fighting on behalf of all the *ayllus* of their respective moieties) is projected symbolically —i.e., in verbal accounts— as normative. That is, the ideology and discourse about ritual battles are the "collective representations" of which the actual ritual battles are abbreviated, but structurally appropriate, versions.

At this point, we should take note of the relationship between the ritual battles of Mardi Gras and other ceremonies and activities that take place at this time of year, especially those concerned with agricultural and marriage.

### **Ritual Battles and the Division of the Communal Potato Lands**

In order to address the question of the significance of the ritual battles between the moieties for agricultural practices in the community, I must provide information on one of the principal agricultural tasks that follows immediately on the Carnival season; this involves the partitioning and plowing of the communally-owned potato lands.

The high-altitude potato lands of Pacariqtambo are located to the east of town, in an area of high puna land. These lands are subject to a six-to-seven year fallowing cycle. When the time arrives to begin plowing these lands to prepare them for planting the next year, the heads of households in town meet in a series of assemblies to divide up the lands. The potato lands are first partitioned into two large sections, one for *Hanansayaq* (the upper moiety), the other for *Hurinsayaq* (the lower moiety). The moiety allotments are subdivided into *ayllu* allotments (five for *Hanansayaq*, six for *Hurinsayaq*). Household allotments are then assigned to individual *ayllu* members.

A considerable amount of tension begins to build as the community sets about redistributing the potato lands. Tension results from a variety of factors, one set of which has to do with differences in the productivity (i.e., location, drainage, rockiness and vegetation cover, etc.) of different fields in the lands that are to be utilized for the production of potatoes in any given year. Another source of tension concerns the determination of the total number of allotments to be assigned in any given year. The process of assigning the potato lands begins with an assembly in town during which the total number of households that are eligible to receive allotments is assessed, *ayllu-by-ayllu*. Disagreements may arise at this time in the event that new claims are being made for land (e.g., as will be the case for newly-weds), since additional claims may reduce the size of the plots assigned to other

households. Conflicts arising from these and other factors within *ayllu*, as well as between adjacent *ayllu* and the moieties themselves, may erupt at any time during the process of redistributing the potato lands (for a fuller discussion of these matters, see Urton 1992).

In 1982, the ritual battle between the moieties took place on February 23; the redistribution of the communal potato lands began approximately one month later, on March 20. In 1988, the ritual battle occurred on February 16 and the redistribution and plowing of the communal potato fields took place during early March. In short, in the two years that I witnessed these events, the ritual battles always preceded the redistribution and plowing of the communally-owned potato lands. I would argue that the fight between what may be termed "the heads of the moieties" (i.e., the headmen of the first *ayllu* of each moiety), as well as the symbolic reassertions of moiety complementarity during the *kashwa* dances of Carnival and Mardi Gras, represent collective means for realigning political identities, and reestablishing hierarchical relations of authority within the community in anticipation of the tensions and potential conflicts that may arise during the redistribution of the communally-owned potato lands (see Hopkins 1982, for a similar interpretation). In earlier times (i.e., before the Agrarian Reform of the 1970s), these processes of political realignment and renewal of lines of authority were foreshadowed, or set in motion, in Pacariqtambo by the January 1st *nombramiento* of the officials of the moiety-based civil-religious hierarchies, which included the initiation of youths into the cargo system, in the churchyard in the center of town.

In Hopkins's study (1982) of ritual battles in the southern Peruvian region in colonial and contemporary times, she found that ritual battles often have as their stated object the shedding of blood as a kind of propitiation to ensure an abundant harvest (see also Molinie-Fioravanti n.d.; Sallnow 1987:136-146 on this point). In addition, these battles were (and still are) often associated not only with the plowing of new fields, but also with the capture and/or exchange of women in marriage. This is a logical connection with the preceding point, as Hopkins notes, on the grounds that "human fertility is related to the fertility of the earth" (1982:179). As we will see below, an association between the ritual battles of the Carnival period and marriage also existed in Pacariqtambo up until recent times.

### **Carnival and Marriage**

A connection between Carnival and marriage ceremonies existed in Pacariqtambo up until the mid-1940s. Information attesting to this connection is provided in an article published by the Cuzqueñan anthropologist Jorge C. Muelle, who visited Pacariqtambo in 1945. In what is, for us here, a remarkable stroke of good fortune, Muelle's visit coincided with the celebration of Carnival that year —i.e., from the 9th to the 15th of February (Muelle 1950:154). Muelle says that Carnival was especially important as a time for animal marking and marriages.<sup>8</sup> Concerning the communal ceremonies of this period, Muelle says that:

Carnival, which the young unmarried people celebrate, consists of dances to the sound of drum and *pinkuylo*. . . The dance on this occasion is the *chucara-qayhui* ("breaking the mare"), [in which] pairs of dancers lock their hands together and turn rapidly on their feet without letting go. Also forming part of the games is the hurling of green (unripe) fruit and chasing each other with thorny branches, as it is the period of weeding/hoeing. . . (Muelle 1950:157,158; my translation)

In his discussion of marriage practices, Muelle states that on the third day of the marriage ceremony, they performed what was referred to as the *qhachun-atti*:

. . . the recent bride escapes from the party at the house of her new husband, and returns to that of her parents, where they have erected a "gallows" (*horca* "forked prop"). Then, the family and friends [of the groom] go in search of her. The friends of the bride capture whoever comes to reclaim her and, tying a rope around his waist, they hoist him on the gallows several times; at the top of the stake which serves for this, they tie bread, pieces of meat and a bottle of *trago*, which the prisoner tries to grab for his own use. This [hoisting of the prisoner] is repeated with two or three of the people who come [for the bride], which provides entertainment to a group of bystanders who laugh uncontrollably and shout comically; 'Ay! For this piece of meat I am here. Ay! For this bottle I am here . . .' (Muelle 1950:158; my translation)

Carnival was not particularly noted as a time for marriages in Pacariqtambo during the time of my fieldwork, in the 1980s. At that time, it was said that the proper times to arrange marriages were on Todos Santos (November 1) and during Easter, and that marriages should take place either during the festival of Natividad (September 9) or San Miguel (September 29). Natividad is sponsored by *ayllu* Nayhua of *Hanansayaq*, while San Miguel is sponsored by two *ayllus* of *Hurinsayaq*, San Miguel and P'irca. The implication here was that weddings should take place during the festival whose *ayllu* sponsorship corresponded to the moiety affiliation of the groom.

With the data from Muelle's account establishing a "traditional" connection between the celebration of Carnival and marriages, we can suggest that the events of this period —i.e., the period of "*Carnestolendas*" (from Carnival to Mardi Gras)— link three forms and levels of social reproduction in the community: first, that of the household (through marriages); second, that of the socio-political groupings within the community (through *ayllu* and moiety participation and symbolism in these events); and third, that of the village economy (through the redistribution and plowing of the communally-owned potato lands).

These relations, established in the setting of community festivals, or what Turner refers to as "collective operations," clearly illustrated the standard form of

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8) Muelle does not mention the occurrence of ritual battles in Pacariqtambo in 1945. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that such ritual events did not take place, only that we cannot confirm such a practice at this date using Muelle's data.

reproduction of the so-called “recursively hierarchical” organization of Andean societies:

The ‘social structure’ of the communities in question is thus to be understood as an hierarchically stratified structure of ‘collective operations.’ Each level of this structure is constructed as the abstracted form of the processes through which the level below it is (re-)produced. In this special sense the level of communal groups and ceremonies is constituted as a generalized symbolic model of the structure of the modular domestic unit, replicating the latter’s internal pattern of hierarchical relations as the institutional framework of the community as a whole. (Turner n.d.:12)

To apply Turner’s argument to the ethnographic material presented above, we could argue —and here I am assuming that the practice of ritual battles probably *did* exist in Muelle’s time (however, see note No. 8)— that there was a direct structural and symbolic connection between the mock antagonism between wife-giver and wife-taker groups in the marriage ceremonies in the 1940s and the similarly ritualized, “mock antagonistic” conflict between the headmen of the moieties and the youths who headed the dance troupes as they carried on ritual battles on the day of Mardi Gras.

The ritual practices that take place —or took place, in the recent past— during Carnival/Mardi Gras in Pacariqtambo have a sociological and symbolic significance strikingly similar to that outlined by Bourdieu in his discussion of symbolic logic and ritual practices among the Kabyle (North Africa):

It is thus possible to describe the whole system of ritual symbols and actions by means of a small number of antagonistic symbols (the paradigm of which is the opposition between the sexes, and which are produced from a small number of schemes) and a small number of (logical and biological) *practical operators*. . . , such as marriage and ploughing seen as the *union of contraries* and murder or harvesting seen as *the separation of contraries* (processes which the logic of ritual *mimesis*, as such, reproduces). (Bourdieu 1979:125; emphasis in original)

Substituting “ritual battle” for “murder” in the above passage produces virtually identical sets of contraries and operators in the ritual practices and symbolic formulations that are implicated in the reproduction of the moieties during the events of Carnival/Mardi Gras in Pacariqtambo.

We should also take note here of the reappearance of certain “key symbols” in the ceremonies from January 1 through Carnival. The cumulative force of the reappearance of these symbols is the production of a set of ciphers linking the meanings and values of one ceremony with those of successive ritual events. One of the principal such “ciphers” is the focus on trees, or tree-like structures, in the ceremonies described above. These include: a) the two trees that stood (until recently) in the churchyard in Pacariqtambo which both mimicked and staged the dual division of the moiety *varayoq* officials during the January 1 *nombramiento* in the churchyard; b) the two *mallki* trees of the Carnival season that are set up in the central plaza,



and are decorated with prizes and treats, on Carnival (= female, *Hanansayaq* tree) and Mardi Gras (=male, *Hurinsayaq* tree); and c) the forked-stake *horcas* from which were hung trago, meat and bread, that were erected on the third day of the Carnival marriage ceremony in the 1940s and which were the focus of the mock-antagonism between the wife-giver and wife-taker groups. These trees or posts were (and, in the case of the two *malki* trees, still are today) important symbolic representations and ritual foci of the hierarchical, complementary, and (at times) antagonistic relations between opposing groups in the dual social organizations in Pacariqtambo.

It is interesting to note in passing other ethnographic material pertaining to trees that are erected at the time of Carnival in another community in the southern Peruvian Andes, the community of Matapuquio (Prov. of Andahuaylas, Dept. of Apurimac). Skar gives the following description of the trees, called *malkis*, which were erected by the people of the two moieties in the plaza in Matapuquio on the day of Carnival:

The *malkies* are trees erected and adorned with all kinds of edible and, in some cases, non-edible prizes. It resembles, in some way, a Christmas tree, but all its branches are cut to a certain height (4–5 m) above the ground. The trunk is greased and young men try to climb the *malki* in order to reach the prize. (Skar 1982:242, n. #13)

Skar's description seems to combine what are, in fact, two different, but inter-related, traditions in Pacariqtambo: first, the pair of trees (*malki*) that are erected in the plaza and decorated with goodies on Carnival and Mardi Gras; and second, the forked-stake *horca*, hung with prizes, upon which allies of the groom were hoisted during the Carnival marriage ceremonies in the 1940s. These are perhaps two local interpretations of a wide-spread (i.e., southern Andean), regional tradition focusing on the inter-related symbolism of trees (or other renditions of a vertical *axis mundi*), moieties, marriage ceremonies and agricultural fertility.<sup>9</sup>

Another important key symbol, whose meaning and significance will be clarified and expanded as we look at evidence for ritual battles in southern Peru in colonial and Incaic times, is *unripened fruit*. Unripened peaches and *tunas* (cactus fruit) were the missiles of choice in Pacariqtambo in the ritual battles of the 1980s and in the playful taunting between youths in the 1940s, as described by Muelle.

### **Ritual Battles in the Colonial Period**

A question that becomes of considerable interest at this point concerns the antiquity of the structures, organizing principles, and the ritual practices associated with the reproduction of moieties in the Andes discussed up to this point. There is space here only to provide an overview of some of the most salient, comparative examples from colonial and late-pre-Hispanic times.

The published examples pertaining to the colonial period, while not extensive, are suggestive of a considerable antiquity of ritual battles between moieties in the cir-

cum-Cusco region. For instance, in Diane Hopkins's study of an eighteenth century document from Langui, in the province of Canis and Canchis (Dept. of Cusco), there is a description of a ritual battle that took place between the moieties (*Hanan-saya* and *Hurinsaya*) of the community in 1772; this event took place on "the third day of Carnestolendas" (i.e., Mardi Gras). In the battle, which was fought in the high punalands near the corrals of the animals, the combatants of each moiety fought within their *ayllu* groupings. The contest ended only after someone was killed. On the occasion in question, a young single girl was killed (Hopkins 1982:167, 168). As mentioned earlier, Hopkins interprets the ritual battle in Langui, and others of the region (e.g., Chiaraque and Toqto) as having a significance for the promotion of the fertility and reproduction of crops, domesticated animals, and humans.

We have evidence in a study by Tom Zuidema (1991) of the performance of

- 9) We should take note here of ethnohistorical material that seems to point to a ritual in seventeenth century central Peru that contains a number of elements similar to the symbolism and practices focussing on trees, *ayllu* competition and moiety organization in the Carnival ceremonies of Pacariqtambo and Matapuquio.

In the document commonly known as *Dioses y Hombres de Huarochiri*, which is a collection of "mythohistorical" traditions written down in Quechua around the year 1600, the people of the community of Checa (San Damián de Huarochiri) gave an account of a number of their annual rituals. One ritual, called *Machua*, is of particular interest to us here. *Machua* was an "increase rite," dedicated to the fertility of the llama herds. This festival was celebrated by the people of the Yunca moiety of the community of Checa. The Yunca, who were the native inhabitants of this region, made up the moiety subordinate to Allauca moiety; the latter was composed of the invaders who had come from Vichi Cancha (Solomon and Urioste 1991:6-8, and 121, n. 632).

At the beginning of the *Machua* ceremony, the people of Yunca moiety of Checa made two tall columnar statues, or effigies, of wooden slats bound with straw; the effigies were known generically as *chutas* (or *chupas*). The two effigies were crowned with *casira*, a bright red wild straw. Then:

Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles *Yomca* and set it as a target symbolizing *males*. The other, the one called *Huasca*, they set as a target symbolizing *females*. . . .As soon as they'd erected the two *chutas* they began to throw spears [at them]. They say that while the people threw spears, while they entered into competition hurling spears *ayllu* by *ayllu*, the women would dance without drums and chant these words: 'Receive your poor forlorn [male] children!' And to the *Huasca* effigy, they'd likewise say, 'Receive, too, your poor forlorn [female] children!'

If these spear throwers hit the *chuta's* hair, then whichever person was in charge advanced them into the top rank ahead of all the other *ayllu* members. . . . When they'd finished throwing spears at both *chuta* effigies, the contestants who'd hit the hair of the part called the "eye" would present one of their llamas to the *yanca* ["priest"] and say, "With this offering, speak on my behalf to Uma Pacha [also called *Chuta Cara*, a *huaca* of the invaders from Vichi Cancha]." (Salomon and Urioste 1991:121-123)

ritual battles around the time of Carnival in and around the city of Cusco almost a century and a half before the events in Canis and Canchis studied by Hopkins. Zuidema's article draws on material from the years 1602–1627 in the registry of the parish of *La Purificación de Nra. Sa. del Ospital de los Naturales* in Cusco. The activities in question occurred at the time of the festival of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, on February 2. This date is the first day on which the movable festival of Carnival can fall.

The ceremonial activities during the festival of the Purification in seventeenth century Cusco included: the building of altars in the four corners of the plaza of the Hospital, where the Indians of various *ayllus* of this parish performed their dances; the cutting down of a pair of trees to be used in bearing the litter of the image of the virgin in procession; the erection of a *castillo* ("castle, fortress") in the middle of the plaza, where the procession took place; and the performance of an *alarde* ("parade, muster") involving two groups of people in the middle of the plaza. The factions represented in the *alarde* of 1614 included the Incas and the Cayambis (the latter of whom were enemies of the Inca from Ecuador). The "*alarde*" is interpreted by Zuidema as a ritual battle in remembrance of a confrontation between the Incas and one of their rivals during the conquest of Ecuador under the Inca king, Huayna Capac (Zuidema 1991: 816, 817).

There are indications in the historical documents from seventeenth century Cusco that the Spaniards were perhaps becoming concerned that things were getting out of hand with the ritual battles that were taking place inside Cusco and in the surrounding communities at the time of Carnival. These battles may have increasingly begun to resemble well-coordinated, aggressive movements with the potential to spark more serious rebellions (as in the Carnival in Romans, in 1580, as discussed by LaDurie 1980). This I surmise from an edict passed by the *cabildo* of Cusco on January 24, 1631 concerning the regulation of events—including ritual battles (*juego de cañas*)—during the week prior to *carnestolendas* (i.e., the three days from Carnival Sunday to Mardi Gras). As recounted by Esquivel y Navia:

On the 24th of January [1631] the said *cabildo* ordered that the festivities during the week before *carnestolendas* be observed in the following manner. The first day [by] the Indians [who lived] within ten leagues [around the city]. The second [by] the parishes [within Cusco]; the third [by] the societies of officials [the *varayoqkuna* ?]; the fourth [by] the merchants; the fifth [by] the city with ritual battles (*juego de cañas*); the sixth [by] the city and the "caballeros" with bull fights. (Esquivel y Navia, 1980:tomo II, 62)

The source does not identify the participants in the ritual battles in Cusco on what was, in the sequence enumerated above, the fifth day of the week before *carnestolendas*; however, we may suppose, given what has been discussed above with regard to the ritual battles on the day of La Purification in 1614, that these contests may have pitted either the moieties of Cusco, or other ancient ethnic antagonists (such as the Incas and Cayambis), against one another. It should be noted

that *the week before carnestolendas* covers much of the period from the celebration of *compadres* to Carnival. It will be recalled that on the day of *Compadres* in Pacariqtambo, there is the celebration of a *vela* for the Señor de Qoyllur Rit'i in which adolescent dancers whip each other's legs with slings. In addition, in the towns of Chiaraq and Toqto (Prov. of Canis and Canchis) today, ritual battles take place on January 1, January 20 (San Sebastián) and —the major battle— *Compadres* (see Hopkins 1982; Sallnow 1987:141 f.). It is possible that the contests and ritual battles that occur on the day of *Compadres* in communities in the circum-Cusco region became fixed in the seventeenth century by the act of the cabildo of Cusco, cited in the above quotation from Esquivel y Navia.

Before turning to discuss the evidence for ritual battles in Inca Cusco, a word should be said about European traditions of Carnival. We have ample evidence in the work of LaDurie (1980) and others, (e.g., Galt 1973; Gilmore 1975; Kinser 1986) of the ubiquity of raucous behaviour in European Carnival traditions; this includes: role reversals (of gender, age, class, etc.), masquerading, fights, as well as wide-scale open antagonism —if not outright rebellion— against local and state authorities. It is indisputable that elements of these European traditions were adopted into Latin American cultures of early colonial times, particularly among Creole and *mestizo* populations. On the other hand, as we will find in the following section, some of these elements —such as expressions of conflicts between moieties, masquerading and dancing, etc.—appear to have had cultural parallels in pre-Hispanic societies of the Americas.

Whereas the feasting, drinking and frivolity of European Carnival is often explained (at least partially) by the seasonal timing of this festival, coming as it does near the end of winter and the approach of spring, a similar kind of explanation may in fact be adduced for Andean rituals of this period. That is, February–March is the time of the tapering off of the rains, the approach of the harvest, and the time when it becomes necessary to plow land in preparation for the next agricultural season. In communities where land is communally-owned, plowing the land requires that it first be redistributed to households; as I have suggested above, both of these processes produce tensions which, perhaps inevitably, lead to conflict.

Thus, from what is probably a blending of indigenous and imported (European) traditions, we find throughout the Andes that the Carnival season is generally a time of feasting, dancing, and rites of increase (see Harris 1982; Krener and Fock 1977–78) and in many (but not all) cases, of ritual battles (see, Alencastre and Dumézil 1953; Molinié Fioravanti n.d.; Rasnake 1986; Sallnow 1987). What is important about the data from Pacariqtambo, in comparative terms —and these data are replicated in a few other ethnographic accounts (e.g., Skar 1982:230–242)— is the situating of ritual battles between the moieties in a wider context of conflict and social complementarity and reproduction (e.g., initiation, marriage ceremonies, agricultural rites, etc.).

### Ritual Battles in Inca Cusco

In Inca Cusco, ritual battles between the moieties of the city —*Hanancuzco* (“upper Cuzco”) and *Hurincuzco* (“lower Cuzco”), took place in association with the rites of initiation of the boys of the Inca nobility, during the festival of Capac Raymi. Capac Raymi, which was celebrated around the December solstice (Dec. 21), was marked by (among other rituals) the Inca youths having their ears pierced and receiving their first earspools (Cobo 1990[1653]:132; Zuidema 1989:263). Before their ears were pierced, however, the boys were “stoned” by their relatives with unripened *tunas* (cactus fruit) (Zuidema 1989:264).

During the month following Capac Raymi, which was called Capac Raymi Camay quilla, two important rituals took place in Cusco. First, during the new moon following the December solstice, the newly-initiated Inca youths were divided according to their moieties, and they battled each other in the plaza with unripened *tunas* (Betanzos 1987[1551]:69; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara 1905[1615]:563). Cobo describes these events as follows:

One day when the new moon could be seen this month, those who had been knighted came to the square with new clothing, black tunics, tawny mantles, and bunches of white feathers, and with their slings in their hands, they divided into bands, one composed of those from Hanancuzco and the other of those from Hurincuzco. They threw a certain fruit at each other. This is a fruit like the *tunas* that we call *pitahayas*. (Cobo 1990[1653]:135)

Second, when the full moon of that month (Capac Raymi Camay quilla) arrived, the Inca nobility took up a long, multi-colored rope —men on one side and women on the other— and they performed a winding dance through the streets of the city. The dancers entered the plaza just after sunrise, spiraling around the king who sat on his throne, and dropped the rope (Betanzos 1987[1551]:69; Cobo 1990[1653]:135; Zuidema 1989:264, 265, 1990b).

Given the timing of these various ceremonies as described in the Spanish chronicles, it appears that the month of Capac Raymi Camay quilla ended on a date near to the boundary between the months of January and February in the contemporary calendar. Molina and Cobo state that after the ritual battles of the month of *camay* (i.e., in the month most commonly called Hatun Puquy), the people went out to plow their fields in preparation for the next agricultural season (Molina 1916[1573]:62; Cobo 1990[1653]:139). As we have seen in the data from Pacariqtambo, the plowing of new fields takes place in February–March. Therefore, the ritual battles between the moieties and the dances in the plaza in Incaic Cusco occurred around the time of the celebration of Carnival (February–early March). I would also argue that we see evidence for a surviving tradition of the spiral dance around the Inca in the plaza of Cusco in the seventeenth century dances around the “*castillo*” in the plaza of El Hospital during the festival of La Purificación, as well as in the *kashwa* dances around trees erected on Carnival and Mardi Gras in the cen-

tral plaza in Pacariqtambo (and elsewhere) today.

Thus, there is a remarkable record of continuity from Inca times to the present-day in the Cusco region of the performance of ritual battles between moieties in association with initiation and the plowing of new agricultural fields. (It should be noted here that whereas marriage ceremonies were "traditionally" linked to the Carnival season in Pacariqtambo, marriage ceremonies in Inca Cusco were celebrated at the end of harvest, during the dry season.) A link between the ceremonies mentioned above and the early stages of the harvest season in the southern Andes is suggested by a minor symbolic element that appears with remarkable consistency in the descriptions of ritual battles discussed up to the point; that is, the use of green, unripened fruit (*tunas*, peaches, etc.) in the contests and battles of the Carnival period. I would suggest that the unripened fruit used by youths and recent initiates in ritual battles or play during the Carnival season symbolizes the approaching harvest not only of the agricultural produce but of the marital unions formed during this period.

### **Pre-Incaic Moiety Organization and Ceremonialism in the Andes**

The final question to be considered here is whether or not we can identify in the archaeological record evidence for the combination of structural and organizational principles and ceremonial practices of the reproduction of moieties discussed up to this point.

I would begin by restating a point made at the beginning of this paper; that is, it does not seem to me that we can use symbolic, dualistic representations in iconography as *primary* evidence for the existence of a sociological dualism (e.g., a moiety system). This does not mean, however, that iconography is of no interest or value in investigating these matters in pre-Columbian times. For iconography *can*, as I have suggested, help us to elaborate some of the symbolic characteristic and values of such a system when its existence is suggested by primary evidence, such as settlement patterns and architecture.

For instance, it seems plausible to suggest that the iconography of Tiwanaku and Wari, which is rich in images of warriors, could be studied in relation to the question of whether or not these may represent images of combatants in an early (Middle Horizon) tradition of ritual warfare. A similar interpretive approach could be taken, it seems, on the abundant warrior imagery in Early Intermediate Period Moche iconography. At an even earlier time (i.e., the Initial Period), we may have a representation of the kind of dualism and antagonistic relations associated with ritual battles at the site of Cerro Sechin. In fact, Cerro Sechin is particularly interesting in this regard, because we appear to have at this site one of the few archaeological examples of the combination of primary (architectural) and secondary (iconographic) evidence for a tradition of ritual battles, or ritual warfare. At Cerro Sechin, warrior figures are shown marching in opposite directions out of the rear doorway of the building, along the two sides of the structure and coming into direct confrontation with each other across the dual stairways at the front of the building.

It is as though the iconography of warfare and conflict carved in stone on the walls of the building stages similar confrontations in the plaza immediately in front of the main temple.

Another iconographic theme that may have some relationship to the symbolism of ritual battles which we have found consistently in Incaic and post-conquest times, is the link between ripening fruit and recent initiates. It seems legitimate to ask whether or not such images as the fruit-covered bodies of the masked mythical beings in Nasca art might represent the image, or status, of recent initiates — characters who were central to the ceremonialism of ritual battles and the reproduction of moiety systems in the southern Andes in later times. In this regard, I have suggested elsewhere that the population in the river valleys bordering the Nasca pampa may have been divided into dual moiety systems —upriver/downriver and north/south— with the pampa serving as the stage where ritual battles and other ceremonial exchanges and confrontations between these groups took place (Urton 1990a).

Aside from these speculative forays into pre-Columbian iconography, we may turn briefly, in closing, to say something about architectural evidence for the basic institutional form that we have been concerned with in this paper —moieties (e.g., see again the description by Felipe de Medina of a ceremonial center on the central coast of Peru in 1650; above pg.119). There are a number of studies that have been carried out in recent years which have provided us with suggestions for the dual organization of sites in the archaeological record (e.g., Bauer 1992:124–139; Netherly and Dillehay 1983). For instance, from their study of household unit patterning at the site of San Antonio, a Late Intermediate period (A.D.1000–1500) site in the Osmore Valley, in the Moquegua region, Conrad and Webster (1989) have argued that the variations in building sizes and artifact contents, as well as the distribution of differentiated households at the site, may represent not just a moiety division, but a dual moiety system —a hierarchical pattern of “nested dualities.” That is, San Antonio contains two primary residential sectors, which Conrad and Webster interpret as a moiety division, each of which is further subdivided into two residential (sub-moiety) units. Thus, Conrad and Webster argue, there were four, hierarchically-ranked sub-moieties at San Antonio (Conrad and Webster 1989:411, 412).

Of course, the major problem with the archaeological study of moiety systems is that such studies seem not to be capable of providing us with evidence for the critical kinds of social interactive processes, like ritual battles, that are the central practices of the public representation and reproduction of sociological dualism. Nonetheless, the evidence that we do have for such nested hierarchies of dual divisions, such as that at the site of San Antonio (i.e., from the household to the sub-moiety and moiety levels), are strongly suggestive of the kind of “recursive hierarchical” organization that Turner has argued is paradigmatic of Andean moiety systems. With the increasing number of archaeological studies asking probing questions about the sociological meaning of material remains, we are perhaps at the point where we can begin to undertake a serious and meaningful dialogue —from ar-

chaeological, ethnohistorical, and ethnographic perspectives— on continuities and changes in dual social organization and symbolic dualism, as well as the reproduction of such traditions in collective ceremonial practice, such as ritual battles, in the Andes from pre-Hispanic times to the present day.

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