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LANDSCAPE, GENDER, AND COMMUNITY: ANDEAN MOUNTAIN STORIES

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On the southern Bolivian altiplano the fight between a male and a female mountain peak marked the region in distinctive ways, defining physical space and humans' relationship to it. Considering landscape from the perspective of one community, we learn about the reworking of history and gender, and individuals' ability to use the story creatively. [storytelling, Andes, landscape, gender, mountains]

"Azanaques got married to a woman from the south named Thunapa . . . " (Braulio Choque).

" . . . Finally she came to rest by Thunapa, marrying him. Thunapa said that he would produce salt to make a living and so he did — he's there still . . . " (Francisca A.).

"She dug into the earth where she squeezed out her milk to leave for her child who was following. This place is now a small reddish salt pan" (Molina R., n.d.: 48).

"Ecaco, 1. Thunupa: Nombre de uno de quién los indios antiguos cuentan muchas fábulas: y muchos aún en ese tiempo las tienen verdaderas: así sería bien procurar dechacer esta persuasión que tienen, por embuste del Demonio . . . " (Bertonio, 1984[1612]: 52).

Introduction

Arriving as an outsider to take up residence on the Bolivian *altiplano*, I did not realize that even the landscape was beyond my reach. What I initially saw was flat expanses of sandy pampa bounded by hills, some of them standing alone, the watery vision of Lake Poopó with its salty outline to one side of my new home, subtle changes in color from salt to desert sand to rusty browns. This initial impression of desolate beauty had little to do with how Condeños viewed this scene. Little by little, learning the "stories" or "legends" about the gods who animated this terrain, I was taught to identify the personages here and there and the marks of their relationships and disputes: that rock catapulted from a sling during a fight, this hill as a hat knocked off during a fight, this salt and sand a trail of breast milk and barley flour, this hill an abandoned child, those red rocks the blood of a wounded mountain/god. But surprisingly this learning process did not result in the exchange of one vision of the landscape

for another. Rather in the listening and looking I learned to apprehend always-unfolding possibilities for considering the scene around me, some of them contradictory. Stories about important mountains, overseers of Condeño communities, were recounted differently by various community members, not necessarily in conformity with each other. The telling of folk tales is influenced by the age and sex of the individual storyteller, as well as by the community affiliation of that person and which parts of the landscape are particularly important to him or her.

The aim of this article is to explore the ways in which people from San Pedro de Condo are able to position themselves and their community socially and politically and to negotiate relationships by focusing on their local geography — in this case through one particular story about it. This case has implications for the ways in which oral tradition is viewed by anthropologists in that here I show oral tradition as a reflection of immediate experience, but also as a way of shaping that lived experience. In this discussion I consider an example of Condeño oral tradition as capable of revealing multiple levels of communal and individual experience. I argue that part of Condeño storytelling about the landscape comes through their sensory experience of it (see Classen 1993b). Unlike a "neutral" landscape that serves as a backdrop for human activity, Condeños fashion their landscape creatively. They are "place-makers" in the way Basso describes for the Western Apache, for whom he argues that the activity of place-making "is a way of constructing history itself, of inventing it, of fashioning novel versions of 'what happened here' " (1996: 6). Recognizing that senses of place are "the possessions of particular individuals" (p. xv), Basso goes on to explore how people exchange information about places in order to

invoke specific emotional states, often associated with stories everyone knows about certain places and how these places earned their names. Following this lead, and Ruth Benedict's claim that "peoples' folk tales are in a sense their autobiography and are the clearest mirror of their life" (1931: 291), I will also discuss variations of the Condeño story told by individuals as a way to initiate an inquiry into how folk tales may be used by individuals to make sense out of their own realities. As all stories can be told differently, it follows that they can be manipulated by the tellers to make new statements. Here the work of Rappaport (1990) has been instructive in that she demonstrates that historicity among the Paéz is an ongoing process of interpretation, relying on oral tradition for its structure. In focusing on "performance-related features" of storytelling, Howard-Malverde (1989) also underlines the importance of context and manipulation in oral tradition, a point important to this article. Both Basso's and Rappaport's work draws on notions about the "reinvention of tradition" from Hobsbawn and Ranger (1983), and Basso is also inspired by Bakhtin's notion of "chronotopes" (1981) as "points in the community's geography that fuse time and space" (Basso 1996: 62). I am further inspired by recent anthropological approaches in the field of "landscape studies" which attempt to understand landscapes as shaping and shaped by particular cultural practices and histories (for example, see Bender 1993; Entrikin 1991; Feld and Basso 1996; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Jackson 1994). These ideas are central to my discussion in that I explore how experiences of place are bound up in special folk tales that encode complex cultural information and are presented variously by the storytellers, depending on their backgrounds and their goals in telling the story. This particular story about two mountain peaks and the journey of one of them helps us understand how geography is constructed by local inhabitants through time and space, and how geography is inscribed with attributes such as gender.

But drawing out the multiple points of view in the telling of folk tales and how these reveal a continual reinvention of tradition is an unruly topic. And the Condeño folk tale is told with many similarities from account to account — these common threads provide a coherence, and point to a communal concern for certain places and their relationships to each other. Rather than trying to tease out all of the variation in the telling of this story, I will focus on specific versions of it as a means to examine the

links between the story, landscape, and gender on a number of levels. First, I am interested in demonstrating how the landscape itself is gendered in the region surrounding San Pedro de Condo, and how stories about the landscape like the one I tell here take on specific gendered aspects in modern versions of folk tales. Second, I will contrast the local representation of the gender of two mountain peaks (Thunapa and Azanaques). I will examine how this representation differs from chronicled accounts in which Thunupa¹ appears in different guises — god-like and man-like. I explore what it might mean to have the same name applied to a female mountain peak in the south who is wedded to a man/god/mountain who is the highest peak in Condo's territory. Finally, to draw together the concerns of landscape and gender revealed in this story, I will return to a consideration of the point of view provided by the storyteller. I will offer some ideas about how this might vary between men and women, revealing individual concerns about the cultural landscape of Condo that the storytellers can highlight in their personal accounts. That oral tradition does not record one standard version of events and history should not be surprising. These differences of opinion, detail, or knowledge instead reveal important cultural contexts that should claim our attention, helping us to understand local knowledge and folk tales as vehicles for it.

Landscape, Gender, and Folk Tales

In the Andes the landscape is animated in specific ways. As the Andean geography is monumental, so are the beings that breathe life into mountains, plains, rivers, and rocky outcrops. For instance, a mountain is not just a place where a god walked, it is itself a god. A blocky rock the size of a small house is the missile flung from a sling in a fight between two peaks. Unlike other cultural landscapes that record in myths the passage of gods, ancestors, and trickster figures, and their effects on the landscape, Andean geography is a gargantuan arrangement of bodies, body parts, and the objects these beings used or left behind as they went on their ways in times past. Communities themselves may be conceptualized as bodies, as Bastien describes in the Kallawaya area where a series of communities at different altitudes are not only held together by ties of cooperation and reciprocity but because together they form a whole body. Strong objection was raised in this region during the time of agrarian reform be-

cause one community would be separated from its neighbors, which was perceived as an "amputation" (1978; also see Bastien 1987). Other authors have noted the links between community segments, body imagery, and ritual (for example, Gose 1994; Isbell 1985[1978]; Urton 1981).

The conception of the link between the body and landscape varies from locale to locale, however, and is conditioned by gender. In Condo the community is seen as a collection of separate parts bound into a whole through common concerns centered on the landscape, such as the need to share and distribute fairly the water in their watershed. The community is held together, therefore, by the actions that community members take on behalf of the landscape, such as those taken during a water exchange ritual that dramatizes and re-orders communal rights and responsibilities (Sikkink 1997). The whole is not necessarily perceived as one body, though, so much as it is the place where these bodies are drawn together — both those of humans and the place-bodies of gods who reside there as well, the ancestors of modern humans. In the act of drawing together, both genders are necessary to the whole (Platt 1986), and this is true for the gendered places themselves. Andean stories are inscribed in places, and vice versa (see, for example, Columbus 1990). Just as in the water exchange ritual when female and male water sources are brought together and mixed, so are the two genders components of the overall sense of place. In the folk tale I analyze here, a male peak and a female peak occupy the landscape in a conspicuous way, the points in between them a record of the fight they had and its aftermath. (See photograph.)

Locally told and recognized, the stories about the peaks Azanaques and Thunapa also provide a counterpoint to other stories about the Andean god Thunupa whose reputation is known throughout other parts of the Andes, but under a different guise. Wrapped up in notions of gender, the difference between local stories about Thunapa and stories that link Thunupa to pre-Incan Titicacan gods (Gisbert 1994; Ponce S. 1969; Reinhard 1990; Molina R. and Barragán 1986; Wachtel 1990) also reveal how Condeños assert their own history and tradition as an alternative to more hegemonic and universal historical accounts. In several chronicles the god Thunupa is a god who leaves the region of Lake Titicaca. He sails down the Desaguadero River (opening up the route as he goes), ending up in exile in Lake Poopó, where he sinks (in the chronicles of Pachacuti Yam-

qui 1950[1613]; Ramos Gavilán 1976; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1942[1572]; cited also in Bouysse-Cassagne 1986, 1988; Gisbert 1994). In offering not only one local counterpoint to this story but several, Condeños assert their identity through the personage of Azanaques, the highest peak in their territory, and they underline the strength of this local peak. Condo was the center of the pre-Inca Asanaqi-Killakas Federation whose political structure is still reflected in modern day sociopolitical arrangements. Condeños in turn had the peak of Azanaques at the center of their identity, so stories about Azanaques today reflect in part the origin myths and political assertion of this old Aymara Federation. This is not to say that the story is a pre-Inca myth that has remained unchanged for hundreds of years. The modern Condeño version that pairs Azanaques (a local god/peak) with Thunapa (associated with a pre-Inca creator deity) illustrates how stories are assembled from older mythic elements, however much they might be transformed or shift in meaning in the process. As Bouysse-Cassagne says about Andean mythology, "it continued to transform itself in the written form, in the chronicles, and orally, becoming the modern legends [*leyendas*] of today" (1988: 81). In the legend of Azanaques and Thunapa, gender, marriage, and the violence of husband against wife frame the story of their relationship and point to a link between the behavior of gods and humans.

A Modern Version of the Legend of Azanaques and Thunapa

As a beginning, and in order to provide a long version of the story I wish to examine in its other manifestations and details in subsequent analysis, what follows is a synopsis of the long "Legend of Azanaques." This story was recorded by Braulio Choque, a young scholar of mythology who lives in Huari, five kilometers from Condo. As Choque grew up in this area hearing this story, he draws on his own knowledge of local lore alongside the information he collected from residents of Huari, Condo, Quillacas, and Pampa Aullagas. His version therefore is remarkably complete in that it draws on angles of representation provided to him by inhabitants of the areas through which Thunapa passed after her fight with Azanaques (see Figure 1). Although Thunupa is a male god when we encounter him in chronicled myths, the southern peak of Thunapa is almost always spoken of as a female, and Choque follows this convention in his account. In other Condeño

"Thunapa's Milk" with Thunapa in the Background. Photographed by Johan Reinhard, 1995.

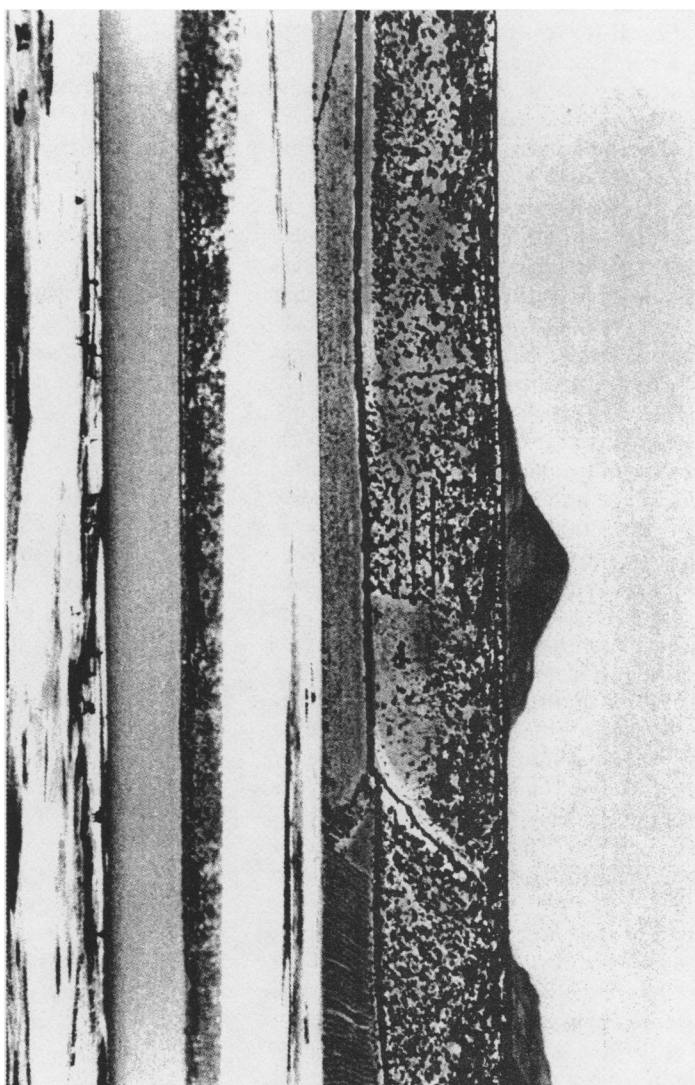
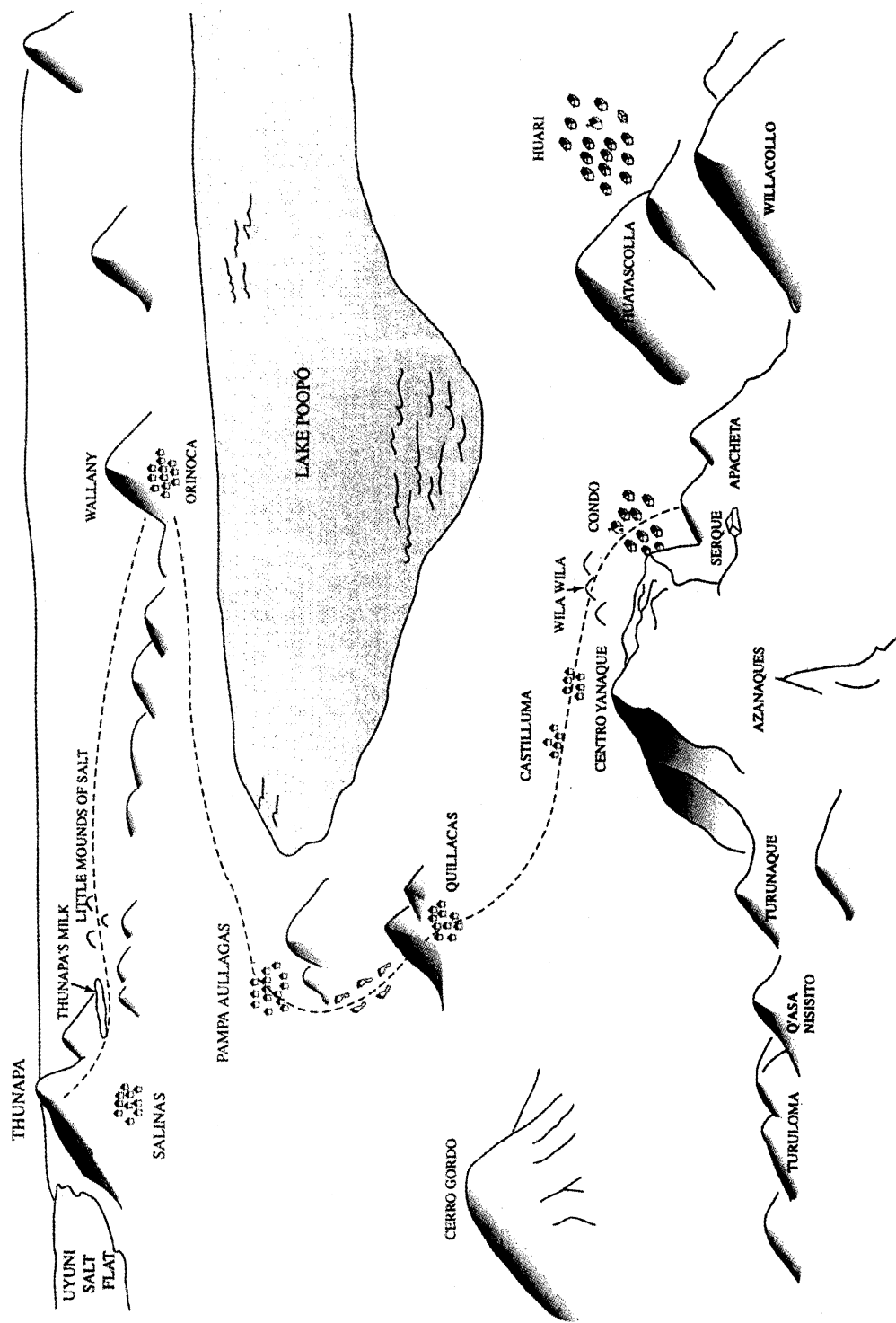


Figure 1. Thunapa's Travels



versions the peak of Thunapa is labeled sometimes as a male, such as in the second passage in the opening of this article. The account given below by Braulio Choque benefits from the ethnographic approach in that he interviewed several people in compiling it. I should also point out that it is a composite in which his own voice links together several voices into a coherent whole. The alternative fragments I include in following sections indicate that this coherency does not represent a larger population of storytellers. Nonetheless, Choque's version is a convenient starting point for introducing many of the salient elements of the story that I wish to consider. Choque, as a resident of Huari, begins his story there.

*The legend of Azanaques*² They say that in the vast region of Huari there lived a man called Azanaques. His dominion encompassed all of the surrounding hills smaller than himself such as Apacheta, Turu Loma, K'asa Nisisito, and Turunaque, the last two Azanaques' brothers [all peaks in the same range].³ One day Azanaques got married to a woman from the south named Thunapa. All the notable personalities of the region were invited such as Mundo Fray Mundo, Catañuny, Vikak'olla-Cuzco, and Pitak'o Kolqe [nearby peaks]. After a few years Azanaques and Thunapa had a son who they named Sullka [which means "the younger" or "younger brother"], but their union was marred by Azanaques' suspicion of his wife's infidelity. One day he caught Thunapa and K'asa Nisisito [his brother] together and an insane jealousy took hold of him. Thunapa tried to explain through Apacheta, but to no avail. Finally she asked Apacheta to assemble the seven *ayllus* [community segments]: Sullka, Haulq'a, Cochoka, Mallcoca, Changara, Hiluta, and Yucasa [modern *ayllus* of Huari]. This is the origin of Huari's location on the *altiplano*, instead of in a valley where it should have been.

There were other marital differences — they say that Thunapa had the tendency to ingest excessive amounts of salt while Azanaques liked sweet water

One day Azanaques threw a big party to which he invited a large number of people. During the party he drank a lot of alcohol and ended up beating Thunapa. She was badly wounded, harming also the child she was carrying in her womb. Because of the fight, Thunapa took Sullka and resolved to flee from Azanaques. Soon after she left she told Sullka to stay behind with his father. When Sullka refused, his

mother pushed him down with her hand, forcing him into place. Instead of going back to his father, however, he stayed right where he was, on the flanks of Jatun Llajta (Big Village), where he died. A village was erected there, known as Ayllu Sullka. Where his mother hit him on the head there remains a hollow area at the center of the hill where a shrine is today.

Thunapa, badly wounded, stayed several hours on the outskirts of San Pedro de Condo. She found several medicinal herbs to help her, then continued on her journey. Along the way, however, she dripped blood, which today has been converted into three small hills of reddish earth, named Wila-wila ["red-red" or "blood-blood"].

Affected by the loss of blood, Thunapa felt extremely weak. She miscarried, losing the child in her belly. Moved, however, by forgiveness towards her husband, she gave the name of Churi-Azanaques ["Son of Azanaques"] to her lost son, today converted into the community of Centro Yanaque and Castilluma.

Azanaques ordered a search. Azanaques and his henchmen followed Thunapa's path, but without success. Meanwhile Thunapa continued her journey, stopping to prepare a meal. She rigged a little oven, made of clay and granite rocks. A long time later the little oven became the village of Quillacas [today a pilgrimage site]. A resident says, "Thunapa cooked her meal in those three hills that you see there, at the top of Calvary Hill. And because of that, those three hills are black with the smoke of the fire — it stained it that way forever"

She continued on across the flat pampa. On her way she left the marks of her dejection in the shape of gigantic sandal prints. Her full breasts spilled out milk on the pampa as she walked towards Pampa Aullagas, later to be turned into little mounds of salt.

When Thunapa collapsed with fatigue that night, she was rescued by a young man named Wallany [peak by Orinoca] who took her in and took care of her. Thunapa slept and dreamt. At times brilliant tears flowed forth, and these tears turned to a fine rain. This fine rain generally is seen in the months of January and February. In these areas the community members affirm the event with these words: "When a cloud appears on top of Thunapa, it's a sign of certain rain."

Finally Thunapa regained consciousness. She recovered completely under Wallany's care, and he fell in love with her. Meanwhile, when Azanaques discovered that Thunapa was hiding in Orinoca he

was enraged. He ordered his henchmen to find and kill Wallany. The news spread rapidly that Azanaques' men were on their way to Orinoca. Although she had a premonition of coming disaster, Thunapa knew she had to flee. Wallany felt great pain thinking of Thunapa's departure, but knew she would be safer alone. At dusk, Thunapa got ready to leave. The road would be long and painful, and so Wallany offered her his *ch'uspa* [a small coca bag] which contained *pito* [barley flour] for her to eat along the way. As a flirtatious gesture, Wallany threw a fistful of *pito* on Thunapa's head, and Thunapa returned the gesture. The *pito* that both of them threw at that moment would be transformed into two mountains of sand at the foot of Wallany.

After Thunapa departed, Azanaques' men arrived in Orinoca and surprised Wallany in his dwelling. The group of men, headed by Serke and Turu Loma, were heavily armed, and full of hate. They murdered Wallany and interrogated the inhabitants about Thunapa's whereabouts. Being told that she had hidden herself in a tunnel in the region of Llica (Department of Potosí), they raced there. They entered the tunnel and never left it. Since that time, it is rumored that anyone who enters the tunnel disappears without a trace.

At the first rays of dawn, Thunapa continued her hurried journey. In her haste she didn't suspect that her *pito* had been leaking out of a small hole in the *ch'uspa* and had spread across the length of the pampa. Residents say that this was converted into the current line of sand and dust marking her route. Along with this, the milk from her breasts continued to leak out, to be converted into salt. This salt now extends in small mounds to the village of Pampa Aullagas, even covering the environs of the village of Salinas de Garci Mendoza, where Thunapa set up her new dwelling, living peacefully, free from her pursuers.

To finish this legend, we hear from Don Teodoro of the community of Chawara, who says:

We are all of us white lambs of Azanaques, his children you know. Our brother is Sullka, and also Churi-Azanaques is our little brother. Azanaques and Thunapa are male and female, and their children are Huari, Centro Yanaque, and Salinas de Garci Mendoza. You know why Huari is altiplano? They say that the village was supposed to be a little valley, but because of K'asa Nisisito — well it is he who made Azanaques fight with his young wife Thunapa, out of jealousy. That's why Thunapa didn't confer on us the blessing of residing in a valley, but just the same we adore Thunapa because she is the one who gives us the water for our early sowing. Also Azanaques gives many sweet veins of water, but it is nothing more than the

urine of Azanaques.

Landscape and the body

One of the obvious aspects of the story of Azanaques and Thunapa, which as told in this version is like a serial origin myth, is how the landscape is represented as many bodies and is itself the result of the actions of these bodies as they shaped this space in the past. In the story the landscape is animated through its representation as living and dead gods, and as their body essences — blood, breast milk, and urine figure as parts of the modern landscape. But unlike the symbolism of a community as a body (with segments that correspond to head, arms, or legs) as Bastien (1978, 1987) illustrates for a community in the Kallawaya area of Bolivia and which holds true in certain conceptions of San Pedro de Condo (Sikkink 1994), this myth lends itself to thinking of the landscape as the scattered debris of godly ancestors. The tellers identify them as having acted in human-like ways, but who are also indicated as the protector-ancestors who stand beyond human affairs, yet provide the sacred ground upon which human events unfold. Classen (1993a) has detailed how Inca cosmology was strongly linked to conceptions of the human body. Van den Berg (1990) claims that in the past the sacred space of the hills served as a stage upon which frequent rituals were enacted, while in present times fewer rituals are performed there. Notwithstanding, rural inhabitants make reference to the hills/mountains, remembering them in their rituals and *ch'allas* (libations) and featuring them as their guardian-protectors (Abercrombie 1998). Azanaques is a reference point for Condeños who not only continue to tell origin myths featuring this important peak (and other stories about his powers and feats) but also mention him first when beginning their rituals with libation sequences.

In terms of body imagery, then, Azanaques is perceived not just as a large mountain at the center of a range of peaks (all around 17,000 feet high) from whence much of Condo's water originates ("Azanaques' urine"). It is seen literally as a huge body, with all the positive force but also menace that such a mass connotes. A typical story told about Azanaques is that anyone who tries to reach the summit will be overcome by weakness. Doña Francisca related to me the story of several gringos who were turned back after an accident. The day I set out to climb into the Azanaques' range to see it up close

and get some photographs, the señora whose house I lived in sent her son along with me, probably to make sure that the ridge we ascended would not be Azanaques proper. As a menacing body, Azanaques is reported "to eat" humans. Condeños tell these stories about Challapateños — inhabitants of the nearby Sunday market town — who are said to offer human sacrifices (especially babies) to Azanaques in order to have success in business. These stories, directed at a discredited community of people who attempt to prey on Condeños in the Sunday marketplace, nonetheless reveal the frightening appetite with which Azanaques is invested by local residents. It is also possible that Azanaques was a site of human sacrifice in the past — archaeological discoveries such as Reinhard's (1996) indicate that the Incas offered elaborate ritual human sacrifices on high peaks.⁴ The practice of human sacrifice, an aspect of official Inca religion, also has pre-Inca and local variants (MacCormack 1991).

Azanaques' positive and negative aspects point to the cultural layers accruing to his bulk through this long-term storytelling. In many stories Condeños indicate how Azanaques tricks people, or punishes them, or commits random violent acts against them. In one story Azanaques rapes the wife of a man who stole Azanaques' coca bag. In another he kidnaps a girl, leaving her scattered clothes behind on the pampa. As in the previous legend, in which Azanaques is configured as a husband who beats his wife, he also picks fights with other peaks and humans. His status as benevolent protector-ancestor is therefore juxtaposed to his negative and threatening position as a perpetrator of violent acts. This duality is a common Andean feature of myth and ritual (see Isbell 1985[1978]; Zuidema 1989). The dual positive/negative presence of the body of the god within Condo's territory provides a tension around which the story of Azanaques and Thunapa may be manipulated to different ends — for instance, Choque's Huari-based account accentuates more negative aspects of Azanaques while Condeños downplay their protector-peak's bad behavior.

As a present part of Condo's territory, how does the effect of Azanaques' body on the landscape differ from that of Thunapa's? Whereas Azanaques is encompassed by Condo's territory, Thunapa lies far away, in the territory of Salinas de Garci Mendoza (once called Salinas de Thunapa) and is the tutelary god of those inhabitants just as Azanaques is for the Condeños (see Figure 1). Thunapa is visible from Condo, and marks an important point on the

horizon — the direction of the great salt flats to the southwest of Condo. Condeños still travel to these salt flats but did so much more frequently in the past, a point to which I return below. Thunapa is an important reference point on the landscape, and people name it frequently, while they may or may not point out other mountain landmarks within sight. Perhaps this is partly so because of Thunapa's commanding location beyond the shores of Lake Poopó and in the region of Uyuni and Coipasa. The orientation of Thunapa also marks the line of an old trade route to the Pacific Ocean through the Atacama Desert which highlanders used to travel. Though this route is no longer traversed by Condeño llama caravans, it is the modern gateway for truckers who smuggle contraband (such as imported radios, tools, and ostrich feathers) from Chile. Aside from this, however, Thunapa also marks the western edge of the Federation of Asanaqi-Killakas' territory to which Condeños trace their history (Espinoza Soriano 1981). Within these old boundaries the distance between Thunapa and Azanaques also marks the wide extent of a common and old territory.

But Thunapa's situation differs from that of Azanaques' — she migrated from one boundary to another, and in so doing left behind a trail of her journey. Not only does this point to Thunapa's abilities to transform and change (Guillén E. 1991: 40), but it created a trail from her body as she moved from her place alongside Azanaques to her new location by the Uyuni salt flat, marking the landscape in a unique way. To begin with, Thunapa's children litter the landscape, especially taking into account various versions of the story. Different storytellers name different places as her children, depending on the home sites of the narrators. Choque's version cites Sullka — antecedent to Huari's Sullka *ayllu*, as her son. In Condo many people point to Cerro Gordo by Sevaruyo, with an imprinted "fist mark" on its top, as her son. Near Cerro Gordo there are Inca ruins by the present-day village (Johan Reinhard, personal communication, 1999). A member of the Sullkayana *ayllu* in Condo (in the upper half of Condo) pointed out for me several large rocks in the river above his fields as Thunapa's children. In an account gathered by Guillén E. (1991) from a woman in Andamarka (north of Pampa Aullagas), Thunapa's children are the peaks Wilacollo and Huatascollo (next to Huari). It is safe to assume that other *ayllus* and hills are considered Thunapa's and Azanaques' offspring, especially given the comment that "we are all their children." Thunapa also left

behind a miscarried fetus, depicted as “a little white hill” by one Condeña, and as the origin of two new communities in Choque’s account. She dripped blood from the wounds inflicted by Azanaques while traveling through Condo which became the three hills in the red Wila-wila ridge. These hills figure in the origin myths told about ancestral Condeños who founded their village three times. Later Thunapa leaves behind a would-be lover (Wallany), and drips breast milk and barley flour across the landscape before coming to rest by the salt flat of Uyuni. Thunapa, more than any other peak, has a migratory life hinted at in the prefaces to this story — for example, by Doña Francisca in Condo who says “the hills walked,” and in the account recorded by Guillén E.,

[T]hey say that a long time ago the hills spoke, they lived, they had children, problems amongst themselves, they say that in that time the hills were people — they thought and they attempted to control themselves . . . (1991: 38).

Thunapa’s relationships and body fluids not only show her to be very human-like, but also mark and shape the landscape in such a way that she makes life possible for the humans who come after her. Interestingly, it is what she leaves behind and her absence that mark Condo’s late colonial territory — Condo’s origin is linked to the time Thunapa fled from Azanaques.

Clearly these stories describe the configuration of the modern landscape, but they do so in a specific way. The ancient marriage of Thunapa and Azanaques and the trail of her journey which still connects these two peaks outlines both the old Aymara Federation of Killakas-Asanaqi and a modern “catchment area” — a zone through which Condeños circulate to make a living. Though Condo’s agricultural and pastoral lands are confined to its modern territory (which stretches only to Lake Poopó), Condeños who make llama caravan trading trips to the warm eastern valleys first travel in the other direction to the Uyuni salt flat. There they obtain salt that will be used in exchange for valley products. In the past it was common for Condeños to hold rights to mine salt bricks from the Uyuni salt pan, while in modern times they can trade directly for the salt with inhabitants from this area, or buy it out right (also see Molina R. 1987 and LeCoq 1987). This salt produced by Thunapa — once a peak within Condo’s territory — is construed as ‘belonging’ to Condeños. The salt obtained here, loaded onto llamas’ backs and taken to formerly Condeño lowland

areas (such as in Murra’s archipelago model, 1972) on a month-long journey, is traded along with wool, fat, and chuño (freeze-dried potatoes) for maize, a highly prized crop in the highlands. Although these trading trips have declined in recent times (West 1981), or have changed in that some traders no longer use salt in barter, many older Condeños remember their parents’ trading trips, and some of them have made the trip themselves. The resources they traded (salt, wool, chuño) are products of these two peaks. Thunapa produced salt in the past (and brings rain for the “early sowing”) and Azanaques is the source of Condo’s water and the home of many flocks. In some stories Azanaques is represented as a herder himself when he takes human form. Therefore, one of the effects of this story is to lay claim to a set of important and complementary resources, and to emphasize the duality of the sweet water of the highlands (Azanaques) and the salty pampa (Thunapa) aspects of the landscape. Stories like this one, then, make claim to resources or land itself in the way Howard-Malverde suggests for a Quechua narrator whose version of a folk tale allowed her “implicitly to revindicate her rights of access to a particular stretch of grazing land” (1989: 56).

Thunapa’s journey may also make reference to the historic migrations of the inhabitants from Condo. For instance, the settlements of Centro Yanaque and Castilluma that Choque mentions are villages that have recently seceded from Condo to form their own cantons. In Guillén’s account (1991) he mentions another new settlement — Condoka — as part of Thunapa’s route. Orinoca, site of Thunapa’s recuperation and home of her would-be lover Wallany, is also said by Condeños to be a village founded by migrants from Condo. Therefore, her movement across the landscape may be a metaphor for movements of people who founded new settlements or moved into existing ones when they left Condo. This interpretation begs the question of whether other historic migrations from Condo (to K’ulta and Qaqachaka) are similarly recorded in myths, and it may be that descriptions encoded in other stories like the one about Azanaques and Thunapa do exist. The tensions hinted at in this story between Azanaques and his nearby neighbors may indicate the worries and conflicts about the continuing fragmentation of Andean political boundaries. It is clear that this story has multiple levels of meaning and interpretation — and that it may variously or simultaneously speak to historic events of

fissioning while making reference to rights to resources and ties among communities.

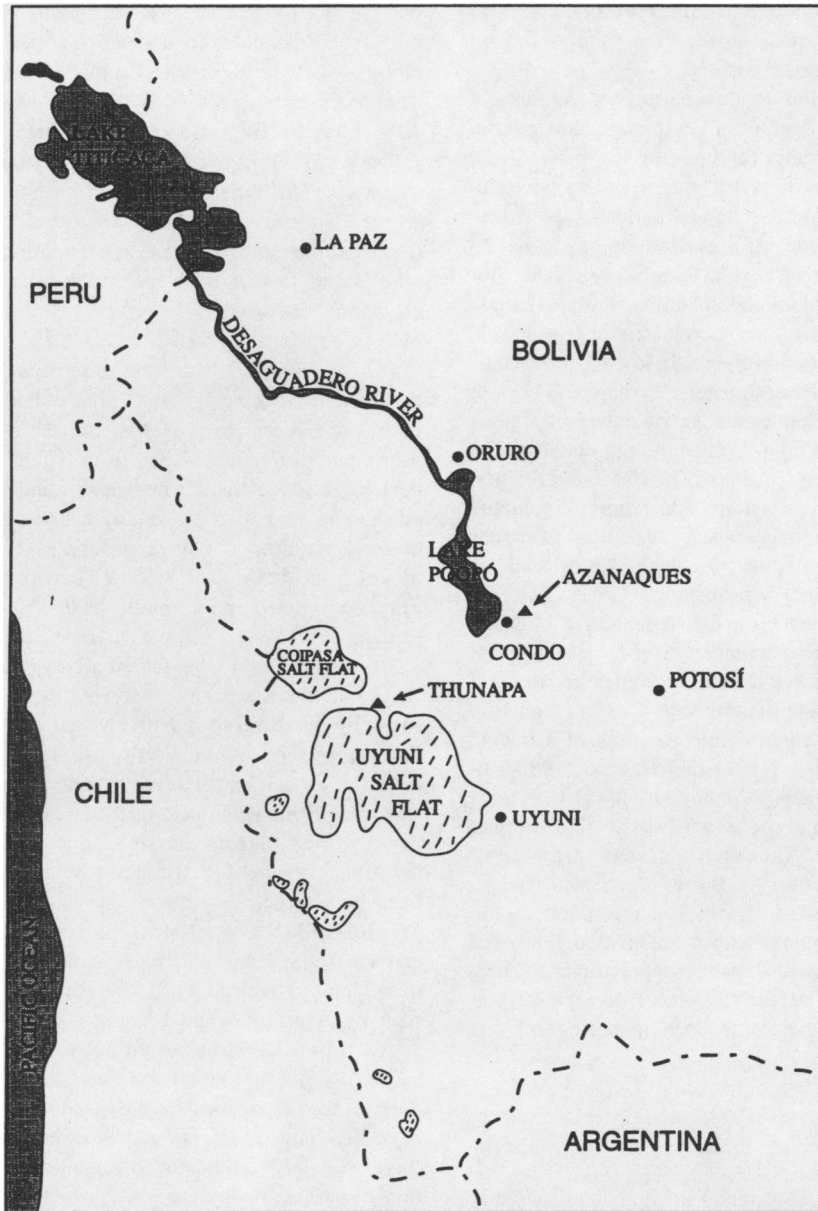
Gender: Local and Titicaca Variations on the Myth

In sorting out the various meanings and interpretations of this myth, I find that gender is a notable feature, especially in that the gender of Thunupa is inconsistent from account to account. (Compare the two quotations in the opening of this article.) The mythical action of the Condeño story revolves around a married couple, specifically marked in their human-like relations. Along with exploring this aspect of the story, I also wish to talk about how a local variant of this story links it to early colonial chronicled myths about the god of Thunupa. He is always depicted as a male, sometimes of the same stature as Viracocha (an ancient Andean god), and sometimes as Viracocha's son. Thunupa is variously depicted in these myths, sometimes with Christian-like aspects, and often with associations to water and water courses (Bouysse-Cassagne 1988; Guillén E. 1991; Urbano 1988; Wachtel 1990). Bouysse-Cassagne, indicating that Thunupa was a god venerated in the sixteenth century by Aymara speakers, notes that Thunupa may have well existed in earlier times (1988: 77). Wachtel (1990) claims even greater antiquity for Thunupa than for Viracocha, arguing that Thunupa may be a pre-Aymara god, perhaps of Puquina origin. Thunupa, thought to be especially important to the area round Lake Titicaca, is particularly associated with water (Molina R. n.d.). Wachtel describes him as the maker of terrestrial water (1990: 534). This role is demonstrated in Sarmiento's account (1942[1972]) when he casts Thunupa as the disobedient son of Viracocha. In this account, Viracocha punishes Thunupa because of his misdeeds. Viracocha's other two sons tie Thunupa by the feet and hands and toss him into a boat, which is carried down the Desaguadero River, that flows to Lake Uru-Uru and on to Lake Poopó (also cited by Bouysse-Cassagne 1988: 82). Ramos Gavilán (1976) elaborates by recounting that a strong wind blew on the aft of the vessel, carrying it towards Desaguadero — which before this time did not exist — and the prow of Thunupa's boat opened the outlet on this spot, providing enough space for the waters to flow out. On this watercourse Thunupa went sailing until "the Aullagas" [another name for Lake Poopó] where "the waters vanish into the bowels of the earth" (pp. 31-32). (See Figure 2.) Unresolved is the fate of Thunupa in this story —

did he sink into the lake or establish a new home? Given the local Condeño story it is tempting to postulate that the local story picks up where the Titicaca version leaves off; that is, Thunupa was deposited on the shores of Lake Poopó to take up residence alongside Azanaques. Although these two stories are not explicitly linked, they are symbolically connected beyond just the name. Thunupa, and then Thunapa, moves across the landscape, bisecting it roughly along the line between *urco* and *uma*⁵ which defined pre-Hispanic Aymara space (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986; Saignes 1984), continuing this process on land until reaching the salt flats, once a part of this *altiplano* water course system. The travels of Thunupa also mark what Wachtel calls the "aquatic axis" of the *altiplano* from Lake Titicaca to the great salt pans of southern Bolivia (1990: 527). Comparing the chronicled accounts of Thunupa to the local story there is a shift from water to land, but the shift in register is more than from sailor in his boat to a mountain god; it is from male to female.

What do we make of the shift from male to female? One interpretation fits with the difference between the Titicacan version (more "pan-Andean") and the regional Asanaqi-Killakas version in that it provides a local political twist on the story. This interpretation relies on a "conquest gender ideology" (Silverblatt 1987) in which elements from foreign political structures and ideologies were incorporated into local systems by construing the new elements as "feminine" in opposition to one's own "masculine" conquering powers. This process is documented in the case of the Incas, who perceived their conquered enemies as females, who by uniting with the Inca men (sometimes literally) formed proper productive and reproductive units. This analogy suggests that in mythically encountering the local god Azanaques, the founding symbol of the once huge Asanaqi-Killakas Federation, Thunapa would have found an immediate place in the local hierarchy if construed as a female rather than a male. Not only was she seen as a female, but she was mythically wed to Azanaques, symbolizing the unequal union of Aymara and other pre-Inca religious beliefs, perhaps associated with the regional fishermen of Uru or Puquina ethnicity. Thunupa, after all, is associated with water ways in the Titicaca story,⁶ while he/she goes on to shape the landscape and "produce salt" — logically related to water resources as one moves from wetter to drier parts of the *altiplano* (Titicaca to Uyuni). The local myth in some way domesticates

Figure 2. The central watercourse of the Bolivian Andes:
Lake Titicaca, the Desaguadero River, Lake Poopó, and the southern salt flats



Thunapa, planting her on the landscape as a creative force come to rest — as the runaway wife of Azanaques who lost her dominion over the part of the landscape ruled by her husband. It is a way, too, for inhabitants of Condo and Huari to lay claim to Thunapa in her female form, even though she no longer resides close to home.

The implication in this pairing of Azanaques and Thunapa is first of all a recognition of the power and importance of both of the peaks/gods. But the story also displays Thunapa as less powerful than Azanaques — she wanders the landscape (river-like in her meandering), wounded and close to death, coming to rest beyond Azanaques' reach. But in asserting this hierarchy in terms of male/female and stronger/weaker, the Condeño story reveals a perceived competition between these two gods, codified and "resolved" in the story. Perhaps the ancient god of Thunupa, representative of outside religious influences, was seen as threatening and could be put to rest conveniently in this way. This interpretation would point to local customs and religion as unique and tied to specific landscapes, rather than as organized by belief in overarching Inca deities such as Inti and Illapa (see MacCormack 1991). Another possibility is that the inclusion of Thunupa/ Thunapa into local stories is a reference to the Inca conquest or even the Spanish conquest and attempts to push this influence outside the territory. This interpretation is possible, given some of the accounts of Thunupa recorded by Guillén (1991) and Urbano (1988). In some sources (Pachacuti Yamqui 1950[1613], Ramos Gavilán 1976) Thunupa is a Christian-like prophet who wanders the Andean landscape "preaching" [*predicando*] and cursing the villagers who fail to listen to his message. These versions point to the syncretism of Thunupa with the Christian saints (or perhaps Jesus) and his Spanish representatives, perhaps as a way to defuse the power of a native god (as alluded to in the fourth opening passage of this essay).

Gender and Kinship

The departure of Thunapa from her home and her wanderings across the neighboring landscape also underline a major gender distinction prevalent in Condo. That is, men commonly stay within their ayllus while women move to their new husbands' ayllus (it is basically a virilocal residence pattern). Here ayllu refers to a land-based community segment — both Huari and Condo have seven — there-

fore women tend to marry into other community segments but stay within the larger community. However, this movement of women also occasionally brings them outside the wider community, so that Condo, for instance, includes many women born outside of Condo who married Condeño men and changed their residences to Condo. In the version of Thunapa's travels recorded by Choque she leaves Azanaques (though after marrying him) and travels to several neighboring communities (Centro Yanaque, Quillacas, Pampa Aullagas, Orinoca) where Condeña women have historically moved — the economic links to these communities are paired with social ties of marriage and kinship. It is less common that women move to the community of Salinas de Garci Mendoza. In Doña Francisca's version of the Thunapa story (an excerpt is provided in the second opening quote to this essay), she does not name the female peak who has the same adventures, but differentiates her from Thunapa, a *male* peak next to whom the unnamed wanderer eventually settles and marries. In Doña Francisca's story, then, the action revolves around a female who moves from Azanaques' side to Thunapa's. As Doña Francisca herself moved into Condo from a nearby settlement and once told me, "women are like bread — we are bought and taken all over the place" [baked in one location but moved across the landscape by purchasers]. It is likely that this element of the story is most noteworthy for her. As women have the experience of leaving their ayllus of origin and moving in with their husbands, sometimes into the husband's parents' house — this is an important emotional theme for women who may move far from home when they marry.

In Guillén's version of the story of Thunapa and Azanaques, his informant concludes by saying that Thunapa walked until she could no longer be seen by Azanaques and because of this he became angry. In retaliation he would not permit the women in the neighboring communities to marry men from Salinas, though women from Salinas who marry men from the communities around Azanaques are said to "live well." As Salinas is quite far from Azanaques, this is perhaps a limit beyond which most women choose not to go in changing residences. What is interesting here is that Guillén's female informant makes explicit reference to residence patterns at the end of her tale, indicating that mythical gender distinctions are viewed as templates for living alongside their functioning as symbols of political exclusion and inclusion. These stories are told, heard, and ex-

perienced differently by those people who live in the region around Azanaques and Thunapa, and are obviously very different from versions collected from around Lake Titicaca. This difference not only points to the capacity for oral tradition to both mutate and serve different purposes, but also to Thunapa's quality of transformation. In this tale the transformation is evidenced as a movement from region to region (across water and land), change from male to female (even in local variants) and finally the transformation of offspring and body fluids (and finally Thunapa's body) into landmarks on the modern landscape.

Oral Tradition and the Senses

I began by explaining that the landscape the way I first saw it when I arrived on the southern altiplano, and the way local inhabitants of that landscape perceive it, were disparate ways of seeing. The act of seeing the landscape for Condeños involves apprehending an animated landscape arranged into a specific configuration because of the family history of two important mountain peaks. In telling or hearing a folk tale, there is a simultaneous vision of that landscape — and seeing these places one feels the wide open altiplano, the dry wind, and the distance opened between Azanaques and Thunapa, who once lived side by side. After having lived in Condo for some months I was able to see the stories in the landscape as the traces of the actions of gods. I was able to know that the stories depended on the experience of other senses, so that the tales would be fully experienced by those who lived there. This is not something peculiar to Andean oral tradition — because of its form, oral tradition depends on the spoken word, accompanied by sound effects and gestures, and the hearing and watching of the listeners who participate simultaneously. Storytelling has a performative aspect and therefore more completely involves the senses than does the written tradition. In this story of Azanaques and Thunapa, while the storyteller is relating the story, not only does the listener hear and watch the story as it unfolds, but both of them together survey the landscape, melding their view and sense of the land with the story told about it. While telling me the story, one woman demonstrated some of its physical dimensions. She pressed her fist onto the top of my head to show me how Thunapa had forced one of her children to stay behind, and she indicated the movement of Thunapa's journey by using her feet to show steps and stages.

Fitting together the views with the story (sight and sound) creates a powerful impression of the story as it did in me when I was learning about the landscape from a Condeño perspective — the landscape comes alive for the hearer. Later, hiking along the Azanaques' ridge or walking up the slope of Wila-wila (Thunapa's blood), one experiences anew and tactilely records the story through the senses of touch and smell. The stories, then, which are based on metaphors of the human body and human relationships, are imprinted on individual human bodies in a unique historical reckoning. Picturing this story, one also feels the massive forms fighting, moving across the landscape, changing the very earth — humans become like seismographic instruments of this past history. Classen, in talking about Inca cosmology and the human body notes that Andean rituals made specific reference to the body and emphasized the senses of sight and sound (1993a). Rituals also include remembering sacred places (and beings) through libation sequences shared with the Pachamama ("Earth Mother," see Abercrombie 1998). In Condeño rituals Azanaques is one of the first peaks mentioned during these libation sequences, and it holds an especially powerful position because of its links to specific water sources (Sikkink 1997). Andean rituals not only pay homage to specific places by remembering them in libation sequences, but humans ritually draw places together by visiting them, traveling over the human-made routes that also link these important sites. For example, Allen (1988) discusses how human circulation during ritual seeks to replicate and perpetuate the natural circulation of the landscape. Bastien (1978) develops the metaphor of the mountain as essential to the human community and to the human body — on all levels the proper circulation and balance of essences is necessary to the well-being of the whole. During Carnival in Condo, it is the sequence of visiting that provides the ritual framework: field sites, neighbors' and fiesta sponsors' houses and the cemetery funnel the movement of participants through the Condeño landscape, marking community boundaries and focal points (Sikkink 1994). The water exchange ritual (Sikkink 1997) is likewise a centrifugal and centripetal movement in which humans bring water sources together, mix them, and return them, newly revitalized, to their original sources. In this way the landscape is far more than a ritual backdrop — it is the landscape itself that is dramatized and manipulated. So in the telling of a folk tale such as the one about Azanaques and Thunapa, Condeños visit their

landscape, bringing places together dramatically and manipulating certain elements to tell different stories. Just as in the rituals, telling stories about Azanaques and Thunapa serves to unify segments of the community through assertion of a common identity, and to literally link the bodies of human individuals to the bodies of gods on the landscape. In analyzing this story through the lens of “the body” and “gender” I do so as more than an assessment of analytical categories that have yielded rich anthropological insights. Rather these categories (albeit in slightly different terms) are ways in which Andean people experience their landscape and the stories they tell about it.

Comments

The story of Azanaques and Thunapa describes the configuration of the modern landscape and assigns sacred qualities to the two most prominent peaks in the region. But in doing this it provides a commentary on gender and insider/outsider status, and supplies an alternative story to the Thunupa myth found in chronicles. The local myth can only be read (or “heard”) in these ways when we take into consideration an assortment of versions, none of which speaks directly to all of these interpretations simultaneously. Rather, the story as a vehicle carries the potential for the various interpretations I have suggested in my analysis. Inhabitants from different areas emphasize different parts of the landscape important to their individual livelihoods, yet still recount the same trajectory in Thunapa’s travels. For instance, one man from the region of Uyuni names a nearby small hill, “Azanaque,” as one of Thunapa’s children, saying that the peak of Cora Cora was her husband (Johan Reinhard, personal communication, 1999). This association hints at another group of stories, centered around the same themes but literally approaching them from a different angle. Similarly, women and men underline different elements of the gender relations exhibited in the fight and flight aspects of the story. Women may trace their authority for fleeing a destructive relationship to Thunapa’s flight from Azanaques; likewise they are more interested in the implications for residence patterns signaled by the tale.

In analyzing this story I have attempted to link together the themes of landscape, gender, and the body which permeate this story and are highlighted by a community of storytellers. In so doing I have noted the degree to which the landscape is animated

and how human beings interact with the animated landscape. I further suggest that the emphasis on these two peaks and their positions arises from concerns about the boundaries of the old Asanaqi-Killakas territory and the economic links between the region around Azanaques and the salt flats to the southwest. The distance between the two peaks is still bridged by llama caravan trading trips that exploit the salt resources of the salt pans, carrying salt bricks to the lowlands where they are exchanged for maize. That Thunapa, the producer of this salt, once resided in Condo, gives Condeños symbolic claim to this resource. The story further links the peaks into an overarching group of kin, uniting humans into a system of cooperation stemming from their sacred ancestors.

One way the story works is through using the body metaphor, though in a different way from “the community as body” metaphor prevalent throughout the Andes. Instead the landscape is modeled as massive bodies, body parts, and body fluids that gave the landscape its present form. This record of violent activities is in turn imprinted on human bodies through oral tradition, which is a full sensory experience and provides a radically different way of experiencing the landscape. Although oral tradition may frequently have the effect of involving many more senses than written traditions, in this Andean version the link between human bodies and the bodies of gods provides a special sensory twist not always available.

Experiencing the landscape around Condo revealed a different vista and experience from what I first apprehended as a newcomer looking at the scenery. But just as the landscape came alive when I saw it through the stories told me by Condeño friends, I continued to see movement and transformation there instead of a new unified vision of its pattern. Despite my attempts to record a standard version of this tale, I received different versions, individually meaningful, built around a common theme but straying from it in creative ways. In analyzing the similarities and differences in the stories, I found that the landscape became replete with new possibilities. This folk tale points to communal concerns Condeños have for their territory and their neighbors’, but it is more importantly a vehicle for community members to emphasize individual concerns and to mark their immediate geography and highlight particular tensions. In this way there is an ongoing link between the animated landscape and the humans that inhabit it — and the link is re-

configured and modified continually to fit the landscape more closely to the human community.

NOTES

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¹In this article I use two different spellings of this god's name. When discussing the local Condeño folktale and the peak in Salinas de Garci Mendoza, I refer to ThunApa; in discussing "the Andean god" important to accounts from around Lake Titi-

caca I refer to ThunUpa. Both of these spellings conform to the most standard pronunciations given in these accounts. In Condo, when I first called the nearby peak ThunUpa, I was corrected and was told that the name is ThunApa.

²Using Choque's title, I give here an account that follows closely the sequence and elements of his story. I have chosen to abridge it somewhat in my retelling of it. I omitted some of the descriptive language regarding Thunapa's beauty, Azanaques' rage, and the suffering of Thunapa as she crossed the plain. I did so because much of that language seemed to mimic conventions in modern written *leyendas* (legends) rather than to follow the story as told him by inhabitants of the area.

³Refer to Figure 1 for a sketch map of Thunapa's travels across the *altiplano*, and Figure 2 for a plan map of the southern Bolivian highlands.

⁴In 1995 Johan Reinhard climbed Azanaques, finding ruins at the summit. There are also archaeologically-unexplored Inca ruins on the Azanaques ridge (personal communication, 1999).

⁵*Urco* and *uma* are described by Bouysse-Cassagne as dual and complementary aspects of the Aymara landscape in Andes (1986). *Urco* is the open dry space of the *altiplano*, while *uma* is the moister territory of the valley lands, portions of which highlanders controlled in the past, and to which they still travel (van den Berg and Schiffrers 1992).

⁶Although in the chronicled accounts (for example, that of Ramos Gavilán) Thunupa travels into Lake Poopó, where "he sinks," it is possible that a further association with water ways would logically place Thunapa beyond Lake Poopó at the salt flats, a continuation of the aquatic axis.

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