

Aymara

Data source: eHRAF

Secondary source

Entered by Emily Pitek, Human Relations Area Files

** Data Source entry, prepared based on data sourced from an external project.*

** Secondary Source entry, prepared from a literature review by a Ph.D. RA*

Entry tags: South American Religions, Religion

The Aymara are located on the Bolivian and Peruvian altiplano near Lake Titicaca. This entry focuses specifically on the ayllu (the Aymara's largest political unit, roughly comparable to a village or town) near Chucuito, Peru around the time of 1940. Since 1820, the Aymara have been under rule by the Bolivian and Peruvian Republics. Historically, the Aymara have faced pressure by dominant groups, beginning with their conquest by the Inca around 1430, and later the Spanish Conquest in the 1530's. With the Spaniards came missionaries and the Aymara soon had contact with First Dominicans, Jesuits, Catholics, and Protestants. Spanish Catholicism was particularly influential, and has been incorporated into the Aymara's traditional beliefs. Consequently, the Aymara have a variety of supernatural beings, including Christian deities (God/Christ, the Virgin, and Saints), as well as aboriginal deities (guardians, place spirits, physiographical and meteorological spirits, and demons). Further, there are several types of religious specialists (see Tschopik, 1951:219d). The paqo (magician) is selected by God, communicates with supernatural beings, practices divination, and leads private rituals and public ceremonies. This entry considers the Aymara religious group to be coterminous with the society itself.



Date Range: 1915 CE - 1940 CE

Region: Chuchito, Peru

Region tags: South America, Peru

Chuchito, Peru ca. 1940

Status of Participants:

✓ Elite ✓ Religious Specialists ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Murdock, G.P. & Wilson, S.F. (Jul., 1972). Settlement patterns and community organization: Cross-Cultural Codes 3. *Ethnology*, 11(3), 254-295.
- Source 1: Tuden, A. & Marshall, C. (Oct., 1972). Political organization: Cross-cultural codes 4. *Ethnology*, 11(4), 436-464.
- Source 2: Divale, W. 2004. Codebook of Variables for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. *World Cultures: The Journal of Cross-Cultural and Comparative Research*.
- Source 3: Murdock, G.P. (1967). *Ethnographic Atlas*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=sf05-002>

– Source 1 Description: Tschopik Jr, H. (1951). *Aymara Of Chucuito, Peru: 1. Magic*. Anthropological Papers. New York: American Museum of Natural History.

– Source 2 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=sf05-000>

– Source 2 Description: Johnsson, M. (1995). *Culture Summary: Aymara*. New Haven, Conn.: HRAF.

– Source 3 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=sf05-001>

– Source 3 Description: Tschopik Jr, H. (1946). *Aymara*. Bulletin. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

General Variables

Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: "Less than a century after its conquest by the Inca, the first Spanish explorers and missionaries arrived in Chucuito, and by 1550 monasteries and houses of the Dominican Order were established in all the large Aymara towns around Lake Titicaca" (Tschopik, 1951:151a). "In keeping with other contemporary Indian cultures from Mexico to Bolivia, the religion of the Aymara is neither wholly native nor entirely orthodox Catholic, but rather an intricate blending of these two traditions" (Tschopik, 1951:188a).



Is the cultural contact competitive:

– Yes

Notes: "In the case of the Aymara, it is known that many ancient patterns have persisted largely intact, in spite of four centuries of vigorous missionary effort on the part of the Catholic Church. Indeed, it is clear that Catholicism has attained no more than nominal acceptance among the Chucuito Aymara and that, in a sense, it is merely a superficial veneer grafted onto the body of ancient magico-religious beliefs" (Tschopik, 1951:147b).



Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– I don't know

Notes: SCCS Variable 1649, Frequency of Internal Warfare (Resolved Rating), originally coded the Aymara as a 1.5, which is between internal warfare seems to be absent or rare, and internal warfare occurs once every 3-10 years. Additionally, SCCS Variable 1654, Pacification, indicates that the culture is part of a state society; since the culture is not independent, pacification cannot be judged. Source of information: Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004.



Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 1650, Frequency of External Warfare (Resolved Rating), indicates that external warfare seems to be absent or rare (original code 1). Additionally, SCCS Variable 1654, Pacification, indicates that the culture is part of a state society; since the culture is not

independent, pacification cannot be judged. Source of information: Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004.

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– No

Notes: Because the Aymara religious group is coterminous with Aymara society, there is no process for assigning religious affiliation aside from being born into a lineage.

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for active recruitment of new members.

Does the religion have official political support

– Yes

Notes: The Aymara religious sphere of life is not distinct from other facets of society (when examining the Aymara as their own societal group, not in terms of the Peruvian government). Religious beliefs and practices are bound up with the functioning of the society as a whole. Because the religious group is coterminous with the society itself, it can be said that the religion has official political support.

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for a conception of apostasy.

Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

– Estimated population, numeric: 554

Notes: "Chucuito is today the capital of a district of the same name, an administrative division corresponding to a township within the Department of Puno. The district is somewhat over 200 square kilometers in area. According to the 1940 Peruvian census, the population of the District of Chucuito was 15,107, of whom 14,848 were classed as Indians and 259 as Whites and Mestizos. With very few exceptions, the Indians speak only Aymara, while the Mestizos are bilingual, speaking Aymara and Spanish. The population of the village proper, according to the writer's own census figures, was 554 Aymara Indians and 98 Mestizos" (Tschopik, 1951:152a).

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: "...the powers to divine the unknown, to cure disease, and to induce the spirits to act are shared by several categories of individuals who possess a greater or lesser degree of specialized training. For the village of Chucuito, these 'professional' statuses can be listed as follows: (1) paqo , 'magician'; (2) laiqa , 'sorcerer'; (3) qolasiri , 'doctor'; (4) yatiri , 'diviner'; (5) t'aliri , 'chiropractor'; (6) ushiri , 'midwife'"

(Tschopik, 1951:219d).

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

– Yes

Notes: "...both the laiqa and the paqo are in direct contact with the supernatural beings and may manipulate them for their own professional ends, while the paqo and yatiri alike have the ability to discover the whereabouts of lost property and to identify thieves" (Tschopik, 1951:219d).

↳ Are religious leaders chosen:

– Yes

Notes: Religious leaders are chosen by God. "Informants were unanimously agreed that, in order to become a magician, a man must be struck by two successive bolts of lightning, the first of which is thought to kill him and the second to restore him to life" (Tschopik, 1951:225b). Quoting an informant, Tschopik (1951:225b) indicated that, "A man can only be a magician after he has been struck by lightning. God is in the lightning bolt. If it were not for God in the lightning, it would kill him for good; he would never come back to life. That is why we say that a magician is a man chosen by God."

↳ A leader chooses his/her own replacement:

– No

↳ A leader's retinue or ministers chooses the new leader:

– No

↳ Other leaders in the religious group choose that leader:

– No

↳ A political leader chooses the leader:

– No

↳ Other members of the leader's congregation choose the leader:

– No

↳ All members of the religious group in the sample region participate in choosing the leader:

– No

↳ Communication with supernatural power(s) believed to be part of the selection process:

– Yes

Notes: "The magician does not actively seek a supernatural experience; rather it is thrust upon him 'by God' and at times he is reluctant to accept this supernatural calling. In effect, he becomes a magician through no choice of his own, almost as if by accident" (Tschopik, 1951:295a).

Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of scriptures. Although the Aymara are presumably familiar with the Bible as a result of Christian missionary contact, the Aymara do not appear to utilize biblical scriptures in their religious practices.

Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– No

Notes: "There are no structures in the community that are appreciably larger or more impressive than the usual residential dwellings" (Murdock and Wilson, 1972, column 6; note, identical to SCCS Variable 66).

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes

Notes: See questions below for more details regarding different types of religious architecture.



Tombs:

– No

Notes: Formerly, tombs were made for important individuals. "The Aymara formerly interred at least their chiefs and important persons in chullpes. These burial towers, which were usually located on hills near the towns, were square or round, made of dressed stone or of stone and adobe, and variously roofed" (Tschopik, 1946:552).



Temples:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of temples.



Altars:

– Yes

Notes: "Atoja Mountain spirit is mentioned in virtually every ritual incantation. The summit of the peak itself is occupied by two altars or shrines that were doubtless constructed in pre-Hispanic times and are employed today chiefly in rain-bringing rites" (Tschopik, 1951:196a).



Devotional markers:

– Yes

Notes: "Cairns are situated at points where roads cross sandy desert wastes and on the summits of high mountain passes. Many of these rock piles, which often attain gigantic proportions and contain thousands of tons of stones, must have been begun centuries ago, and some probably date from pre-Columbian times. At the present time, each is usually topped by a crude wooden crucifix. The spirits that inhabit these places are the special patrons of traders and travelers" (Tschopik, 1951:194a).

Is iconography present:

– No

Notes: "Skills and crafts are poorly developed in Chucuito, and there is no tradition of fine craftsmanship. Although felt hats, shoes, and some textiles are produced in the village proper for barter or sale, as well as for local consumption, the financial rewards from such manufactures are insignificant, and the Chucuito Aymara are famous neither as artisans nor as traders" (Tschopik, 1951:158b).

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

– Yes

Notes: "Atoja Mountain spirit is mentioned in virtually every ritual incantation. The summit of the peak itself is occupied by two altars or shrines that were doubtless constructed in pre-Hispanic times and are employed today chiefly in rain-bringing rites" (Tschopik, 1951:196a).



Are sacred site oriented to environmental features:

"Environmental features" refers to features in the landscape, mountains, rivers, cardinal directions etc...

– Yes

Notes: Tschopik, 1951:196a

Are pilgrimages present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of pilgrimages.

Beliefs

Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

– Yes

Notes: "With the advent of death, the soul escapes from the mouth of the corpse, and remains around the house compound of the deceased throughout the funeral proceedings until formally dispatched during a rite, *alma despacena*, which occurs eight days later...They do this so that the soul (*alma*) will not stay around the house and will go to heaven" (Tschopik, 1951:217a).

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as non-material, ontologically distinct from body:

– Yes

Notes: "The soul may leave the body of a living person and be lost or kidnapped" (Tschopik, 1946:552).

Belief in afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: "The ultimate fate of the souls of adults, however, appears to depend more upon the manner of death than upon their behavior when alive. Sorcerers, suicides, and women who die in childbirth are buried face down, and their souls go to hell (11, 26, 66). The soul of a person who has drowned in a river cannot escape until it reaches a point where the river flows into another body of water (72). Souls of those who die by violence remain earthbound until avenged. It appears, however, that the souls of ordinary individuals who die naturally spend the first year after death in hell, and take their final leave for 'heaven' only after the lapse of three years (43). For three successive years after death the soul revisits Chucuito at noon on All Saints Day (November 1) and departs at the same time on All Souls Day (November 2). The day on which the souls arrive is called *hiwirinakna urupa*, 'day of the dead,' while the day of departure is known as *alma despac uru*, 'day when the soul leaves.' The principal aim of these mourning anniversaries, it would seem, is to assure the soul that it is remembered, to speed its journey to heaven, and to make certain that it does not return to molest the living" (Tschopik, 1951:218a).

↳ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: "The current beliefs about the afterworld are Christian-derived. By and large, however, the Aymara appear to be little interested in the question of life after death. There is a 'heaven' *cielo*, located in the sky, and a 'hell,' *infierno*, situated under the earth (24, 66). Yet there appears to be no deep conviction regarding ultimate retribution (either reward or punishment) nor, for that matter, any very clear notions of the mode of life in the hereafter" (Tschopik, 1951:217a).

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "above" space:

– Yes

Notes: Tschopik, 1951:217a

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "below" space:

– Yes

Notes: Tschopik, 1951:217a

Reincarnation in this world:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of a belief in reincarnation.

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes

Notes: "Burial today is in cemeteries which, in more remote regions, are located at crossroads" (Tschopik, 1946:551).

↳ Cremation:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cremation.

↳ Mummification:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of mummification.

↳ Interment:

– Yes

↳ Corpse is extended (lying flat on front or back):

– Yes

Notes: "Sorcerers, suicides, and women who die in childbirth are buried face down..." (Tschopik, 1951:218a).

↳ Cannibalism:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cannibalism.

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of exposing corpses to the elements.

↳ Feeding to animals:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of feeding corpses to animals.

↳ Secondary burial:

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 1850, Secondary Bone/Body Treatment: Original Scale, indicates that secondary bone/body treatment is absent (Schroeder, 2001; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– Yes

Notes: "Although in the village proper no burial offerings are now placed with adults, animals are still sacrificed to accompany their souls, and a child is interred with a broom, a pottery jug, but no food" (Tschopik, 1951:217b).

↳ Human sacrifices present:

– No

↳ Animal co-sacrifices present:

– Yes

Notes: Tschopik, 1951:217b

Are grave goods present:

– No

Notes: "Although in the village proper no burial offerings are now placed with adults, animals are still sacrificed to accompany their souls, and a child is interred with a broom, a pottery jug, but no food" (Tschopik, 1951:217b).

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

Notes: For a description of burial practices, see questions below and Tschopik, 1951:211-218.

↳ In cemetery:

– Yes

Notes: "After the interment, the funeral procession returns to the house of the deceased by a route other than that taken to the cemetery to prevent the ghost from following" (Tschopik, 1951:216b). "Burial today is in cemeteries, which in remote regions are often located at crossroads" (Johnsson, 1995).

↳ Family tomb-crypt:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of family tomb-crypts.

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence suggesting that individuals are interred beneath the house.

Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

Notes: "The District of Chucuito is so densely populated with supernatural beings that it is literally impossible to enumerate all of them. They inhabit every mountain peak, every lake, every stream. They live under houses, churches, and fields, and lurk in caves, ruins, and in irregularly shaped rock formations...Although they range in concreteness from inconsequential shadowy spirits to powerful and clearly personified supernatural beings, most of them are vaguely conceptualized place spirits...In addition to the place spirits that exist almost everywhere in nature, there are the ghosts and souls of the dead, a variety of demons, and, finally, the many saints whose images stand in the churches for all to see. Since animals and plants are thought to be owned by a higher order of supernatural being, there is a general dearth of plant and animal spirits" (Tschopik, 1951:189a).

↳ A supreme high god is present:

– Yes

Notes: SCCS Variable 238, Religion: High Gods [Note, identical to Ethnographic Atlas column 34], indicates that a high god is present, active, and specifically supportive of human morality (Murdock, 1962-1971; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

– Yes

Notes: "God, on the other hand, is envisaged along conventional European lines as a robust, elderly white man with a long, flowing beard and flashing eyes" (Tschopik, 1951:206b).

↳ The supreme high god is a sky deity:

– Yes

Notes: "It was unanimously agreed that God lives in the sky" (Tschopik, 1951:206b).

↳ The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld):

– No

↳ The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god):

– No

Notes: No monarch is present among the Aymara.

↳ The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

– No

Notes: No monarch is present among the Aymara.

↳ The supreme high god is unquestionably good:

– I don't know

↳ The supreme high god has deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– No

Notes: "...only once during the course of the Chucuito study did an informant attribute misfortune to punishment by God, and in no case was outstanding success or good fortune attributed to God's benevolence. Although, as is shown below, God is thought to be the source of supernatural power (through lightning), He confers this power in an extremely arbitrary fashion. It is never purposefully sought or invoked by anyone. Nor can it be maintained that the Aymara fear Judgment or retribution after death, for they have almost no interest in the Hereafter, and no very clear conception of either Heaven or Hell. In short, God has little or nothing to do with reward and punishment" (Tschopik, 1951:207b).

↳ The supreme high god exhibits positive emotion:

– I don't know

↳ The supreme high god exhibits negative emotion:

– I don't know

↳ The supreme high god possesses hunger:

– I don't know

↳ The supreme high god communicates with the living:

– I don't know

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

– Yes

Notes: "Not only is the ghost a malevolent phantom, wandering earthbound among the dwellings of the living, spreading sickness and death, but the soul itself is at best indifferent to the fate of its surviving relatives, if indeed it does not seek to do them harm. It is of no benefit

to the community, a constant source of danger, and a financial burden for three years" (Tschopik, 1951:218b).

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

– Yes

Notes: "The Aymara are terrified of ghosts, and these supernatural beings, as described in folk tales, are dreadful creatures indeed. Their faces resemble skulls, their eyes glitter, and their gaunt bodies are clothed in black shrouds; they live in graveyards, their candles are flaming human bones, and they feed upon human flesh, especially the bodies of children. According to other informants, ghosts may appear as shadowy cats and dogs" (Tschopik, 1951:216a).

↳ Human spirits can be physically felt:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits have memory of life:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits exhibit positive emotion:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:

– Yes

Notes: "...all ghosts of adults, irrespective of the dispositions of their former earthly counterparts, are naturally malevolent, and may send disease or, according to folk tales, cause death in other ways" (Tschopik, 1951:213b).

↳ Human spirits possess hunger:

– I don't know

↳ Human spirits communicate with the living:

– I don't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

– Yes

Notes: "The spirits recognized by the Aymara of Chucuito can be classed roughly as place spirits (those inhabiting fixed localities) or nature spirits (those of, or controlling, natural phenomena). For descriptive purposes, however, the writer proposes to assign the Chucuito spirits to the following categories: (1) *gúardians*; (2) place spirits; (3) physiographical spirits; (4) meteorological spirits; and (5) owners" (Tschopik, 1951:190b).

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

– No

Notes: Place spirits can not be seen, only heard (Tschopik, 1951:192a).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world:

– Yes

Notes: "The guardian is like a father; he watches over the people in the house and guards them" (Tschopik, 1951:191a).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Notes: "The guardian is like a father; he watches over the people in the house and guards them. He is always good. Sometimes the place spirit is evil and then you can't build your house there; but the guardian is always good. But if you don't live properly in the house, the guardian may punish you with sickness" (Tschopik, 1951:191a). "It is within the sphere of human affairs, however, that the place spirit functions most importantly; in his constant attempts to direct and control the behavior of men, he is a very real force, continually to be reckoned with" (Tschopik, 1951:192b).

↳ These supernatural beings can punish:

– Yes

Notes: "The guardian is like a father; he watches over the people in the house and guards them. He is always good. Sometimes the place spirit is evil and then you can't build your house there; but the guardian is always good. But if you don't live properly in the house, the guardian may punish you with sickness" (Tschopik, 1951:191a).

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Notes: "Although cultivated plants are thought to be controlled by pacamama, an ancient earth fertility spirit (today confused with the Virgin), and while domesticated animals are believed to be owned by other supernatural beings, the place spirits nevertheless exert some influence on the growth and well-being of plants and animals alike" (Tschopik, 1951:192b).

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:

– Yes

Notes: "In every way, except that they possess supernatural power, the place spirits resemble humans. The libations are their drink, the offerings their food; in addition, they chew coca" (Tschopik, 1951:192a).

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:

– Yes

Notes: "Although the Virgin is allotted a high place in the supernatural hierarchy, her relationship with God and Christ is, at best, ambiguous. Some informants agreed that she was the mother of Christ and cited Church images and paintings of the Nativity to prove their point, others, however, believed that she was, at the same time, God's wife. In any event, it is certain that the Virgin is a major deity..." (Tschopik, 1951:208a).

↳ These mixed human-divine beings can be seen:

– I don't know

↳ These mixed human-divine beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– No

Notes: "Thus, although kindly disposed towards man, the Virgin is as remote as God and, possibly because she is a woman, appears to have little actual influence and rarely intervenes in human affairs" (Tschopik, 1951:209a).

↳ These mixed human-divine beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– I don't know

↳ These mixed human-divine beings exhibit positive emotion:

– Yes

Notes: "The attitude of the Virgin towards mankind is one of casual and patronizing benevolence" (Tschopik, 1951:209a).

↳ These mixed human-divine beings exhibit negative emotion:

– I don't know

↳ These mixed human-divine beings possess hunger:

– I don't know

↳ Mixed human-divine beings communicate with the living:

– I don't know

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: "Although they range in concreteness from inconsequential shadowy spirits to powerful and clearly personified supernatural beings, most of them are vaguely conceptualized place spirits...In addition to the place spirits that exist almost everywhere in nature, there are the ghosts and souls of the dead, a variety of demons, and, finally, the many saints whose images stand in the churches for all to see. Since animals and plants are thought to be owned by a

higher order of supernatural being, there is a general dearth of plant and animal spirits" (Tschopik, 1951:189a).

↳ Organized hierarchically:

– Yes

Notes: "The supernatural beings of Chucuito are ranked in a hierarchy depending upon their powers for good or evil and upon their intelligence" (Tschopik, 1951:190a).

Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– Yes

Notes: "The place spirit is also a staunch supporter of current morals and mores. He chastises and punishes socially disapproved behavior, discloses theft, marital infidelity, and the like, and condemns laziness, carelessness, and greed. No misdeed, minor or major, escapes his vigilant eye" (Tschopik, 1951:193a). "The guardian is like a father; he watches over the people in the house and guards them. He is always good. Sometimes the place spirit is evil and then you can't build your house there; but the guardian is always good. But if you don't live properly in the house, the guardian may punish you with sickness" (Tschopik, 1951:191a).

↳ There is supernatural monitoring of prosocial norm adherence in particular:

Prosocial norms are norms that enhance cooperation among members of the group, including obviously "moral" or "ethical" norms, but also extending to norms concerning honouring contracts and oaths, providing hospitality, coming to mutual aid in emergencies, etc.

– Yes

Notes: "The place spirit is also a staunch supporter of current morals and mores. He chastises and punishes socially disapproved behavior, discloses theft, marital infidelity, and the like, and condemns laziness, carelessness, and greed. No misdeed, minor or major, escapes his vigilant eye" (Tschopik, 1951:193a). "Feliciano Cruz always fought with and beat his wife. He never bought her any clothes and they lived very badly. For this reason the guardian made him sick and he finally died because he was so weak" (Tschopik, 1951:191a).

↳ Supernatural beings care about sex:

– Yes

↳ Adultery:

– Yes

Notes: "The place spirit is also a staunch supporter of current morals and mores. He chastises and punishes socially disapproved behavior, discloses theft, marital infidelity, and the like, and condemns laziness, carelessness, and greed. No misdeed, minor or major, escapes his vigilant eye" (Tschopik, 1951:193a).

↳ Supernatural beings care about laziness:

– Yes

Notes: "The place spirit is also a staunch supporter of current morals and mores. He chastises and punishes socially disapproved behavior, discloses theft, marital infidelity, and the like, and condemns laziness, carelessness, and greed. No misdeed, minor or major, escapes his vigilant eye" (Tschopik, 1951:193a).

↳ Supernatural beings care about proper ritual observance:

– Yes

Notes: "It is Aymara belief, however, that a negligent attitude towards certain native supernaturals provokes immediate retaliation in the form of illness or misfortune, and that, in particular, guardians and place spirits take a keen interest in human conduct and morality" (Tschopik, 1951:170a).

↳ Supernatural beings care about performance of rituals:

– Yes

Notes: According to an informant, a magician was punished by a place spirit after drunkenly making an offering to the spirit and performing the ritual incorrectly. The magician was paralyzed as a result. (See Tschopik, 1951:193a).

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Yes

Notes: "Although an individual may flaunt the authority of his family and may successfully conceal a crime from the legal authorities, no Aymara escapes the critical scrutiny of the powerful supernaturals who observe his every action and do not hesitate to punish misdeeds" (Tschopik, 1951:172a).

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: See questions below for more information regarding the cause of supernatural punishment.

↳ Done only by high god:

– No

Notes: "It is Aymara belief, however, that a negligent attitude towards certain native supernaturals provokes immediate retaliation in the form of illness or misfortune, and that, in particular, guardians and place spirits take a keen interest in human conduct and morality" (Tschopik, 1951:170a).

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: "It is Aymara belief, however, that a negligent attitude towards certain native supernaturals provokes immediate retaliation in the form of illness or misfortune, and

that, in particular, guardians and place spirits take a keen interest in human conduct and morality" (Tschopik, 1951:170a).

↳ Done by other entities or through other means [specify]

– Yes

Notes: "Over and above all else, the place spirit demands respect, attention, and unquestioned obedience, and, when angered by disrespect, negligence, or slights, he does not hesitate to mete out punishment" (Tschopik, 1951:193a).

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: See questions below for details concerning the reasons for supernatural punishment.

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

– Yes

Notes: "It is Aymara belief, however, that a negligent attitude towards certain native supernaturals provokes immediate retaliation in the form of illness or misfortune, and that, in particular, guardians and place spirits take a keen interest in human conduct and morality" (Tschopik, 1951:170a).

↳ Done to enforce group norms:

– Yes

Notes: "The place spirit is also a staunch supporter of current morals and mores. He chastises and punishes socially disapproved behavior, discloses theft, marital infidelity, and the like, and condemns laziness, carelessness, and greed. No misdeed, minor or major, escapes his vigilant eye" (Tschopik, 1951:193a).

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:

– No

Notes: "The current beliefs about the afterworld are Christian-derived. By and large, however, the Aymara appear to be little interested in the question of life after death. There is a 'heaven' *cielo*, located in the sky, and a 'hell,' *infierno*, situated under the earth (24, 66). Yet there appears to be no deep conviction regarding ultimate retribution (either reward or punishment) nor, for that matter, any very clear notions of the mode of life in the hereafter" (Tschopik, 1951:217a).

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:

– Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck:

– Yes

Notes: "It is Aymara belief, however, that a negligent attitude towards certain native supernaturals provokes immediate retaliation in the form of illness or misfortune, and that, in particular, guardians and place spirits take a keen interest in human conduct and morality" (Tschopik, 1951:170a).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of crop failure or bad weather:

– Yes

Notes: "If a man is a thief, the guardian will make him poor and make his crops and animals poor" (Tschopik, 1951:191b).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of sickness or illness:

– Yes

Notes: "The guardian is like a father; he watches over the people in the house and guards them. He is always good. Sometimes the place spirit is evil and then you can't build your house there; but the guardian is always good. But if you don't live properly in the house, the guardian may punish you with sickness" (Tschopik, 1951:191a).

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– I don't know

Notes: Insufficient evidence to make a conclusive answer, but presumably, supernatural beings are more concerned with meting punishment than bestowing rewards.

Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of messianic beliefs.

Is an eschatology present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of an eschatology.

Practices

Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required celibacy.

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required castration.

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

– No

Notes: "At the present time, although post-parturient women are forbidden salt and aji peppers during their period of confinement, fasting appears to be entirely absent in Aymara ceremonial practice. It should also be noted that few Aymara in Chucuito follow the Catholic custom of abstaining from meat during Holy Week" (Tschopik, 1951:259b).

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

– No

Notes: "Suicide is likewise unusual, and the three instances reported suggest that the Aymara attempts to take his life only under the severest emotional stress, and that suicide is, generally speaking, non-institutionalized and unpatterned" (Tschopik, 1951:170a).

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

– I don't know

Notes: Small-scale rituals are present, but it is unclear if participation is mandatory. "In most ceremonies at which the magician officiates the small number of participants is ordinarily limited to

the members of the client's biological and/or extended family. Women regularly attend, children are admitted provided that they remain quiet, and infants, slung in cloths, usually are carried by their mothers. Ceremonies are ordinarily held for single individuals. In remote regions, however, where resident magicians are few or lacking, or where visiting magicians are rare, two individuals or two families may pool their resources to hold a ceremony jointly" (Tschopik, 1951:233a).

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

i.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

– I don't know

Notes: Large-scale rituals are present and important, but it is unclear if participation is mandatory. For examples of public ceremonies, see Tschopik, 1951:259b-261a.

Society and Institutions

Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

– Other [specify in comments]

Notes: The Aymara are a part of Peru, and not their own political unit. According to Tuden and Marshall (1972; Column 1, Political Autonomy), "the society is politically dependent, being governed directly by functionaries of a dominant society of alien culture, e.g., through direct rule" [Note, equivalent to SCCS Variable 81].

Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

– I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

– I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information

Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

– Yes

Notes: "From around 1820 to the present time, the Aymara have been under the rule of the Peruvian and Bolivian Republics..." (Johnsson, 1995).

Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 20, Food Storage, indicates that food is stored in individual households (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 20, Food Storage, indicates that food is stored in individual households (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 14, Routes of Land Transport, indicates that among the Aymara, routes of land transport included unimproved trails (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Taxation

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

– I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

– No

Notes: "Police functions are not specialized or institutionalized at any level of political integration, the maintenance of law and order being left exclusively to informal mechanisms of social control, to private retaliation, or to sorcery" (Column 10: Police; Tuden and Marshall, 1972).

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– No

Notes: "Supreme judicial authority is lacking at any level above that of the local community" (Column 9: Judiciary; Tuden and Marshall, 1972).

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: "All crimes, if brought to public attention, are tried in the local court of Chucuito, and the penalties meted out range from fines to imprisonment. In cases of major crimes, the police are called in from Puno and the culprit is usually taken there for trial" (Tschopik, 1951:171b).

Warfare

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: "Similarly, far more [Aymara] Indians than Mestizos have fulfilled their period of compulsory military service" (Tschopik, 1951:159b).

Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of a formal calendar among the Aymara. (See Tschopik, 1951:186b).

Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– Yes

Notes: "The basis of subsistence in Chucuito is farming, supplemented by the breeding of livestock, and by fishing in Lake Titicaca. The gathering of wild products is unimportant in the total economy, although totora shoots, wild greens, cactus fruit, honey, and the like are collected and utilized at certain seasons. Hunting, likewise, is of little consequence, and although lake birds, tinamous, and viscachas are taken occasionally, traps and hunting techniques generally are unelaborated" (Tschopik, 1951:155b). Additional source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.



Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

– Fishing

– Pastoralism

– Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

Notes: "The basis of subsistence in Chucuito is farming, supplemented by the breeding of livestock, and by fishing in Lake Titicaca. The gathering of wild products is unimportant in the total economy, although totora shoots, wild greens, cactus fruit, honey, and the like are collected and utilized at certain seasons. Hunting, likewise, is of little consequence, and although lake birds, tinamous, and viscachas are taken occasionally, traps and hunting techniques generally are unelaborated" (Tschopik, 1951:155b). Additional source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.

