



Kallawaya, Inc. — the making of the Kallawaya (1532-2008): a historical, relational, and comparative approach

Kallawaya, S.A. — la creación de los Kallawaya (1532-2008): Un acercamiento histórico, relacional y comparativo

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Abstract

The Kallawaya are a Bolivian ethnic group well known for ritualism and naturopathy. This paper explores the 'making' of the Kallawaya as a polity emerging, modifying, and adapting over time according to its political and economic needs, at the intersection of local conditions and of global developments. The case of the Kallawaya shows how processes of ethnicization unfold through the interplay of primordialist and of instrumentalist logics. An important vehicle for ethnicization is resilience as expressed by the cultural memory.

Keywords: naturopathy, cultural memory, memory figures, ethnicization

Resumen

Los Kallawaya son un grupo étnico que se hizo famoso por su ritualismo y su naturopatía. Este artículo explora el desarrollo de los Kallawaya como una entidad política que, a lo largo del tiempo, se formaba, se modificaba y se adaptaba conforme a sus necesidades políticas y económicas y en la intersección de condiciones locales y de desarrollos globales. El caso de los Kallawaya muestra como los procesos de etnicización se despliegan mediante la interacción de lógicas primordialistas e instrumentalistas. Un importante vehículo para la etnicización es la resiliencia manifestándose en la memoria cultural.

Palabras Clave: naturopatía, memoria cultural, figuras de memoria, etnicización.

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Introduction

In 1985, anthropologist Edita Vokral (1985, pp. 44-45) at a gathering of approximately 40 medical professionals assisting the *First Regional Meeting of Traditional Kallawaya Physicians* in La Paz, Bolivia noted: “Until now the [...] emergence of Kallawaya medicine has not been elaborated in terms of creating a particular consciousness or searching for a regional identity.”¹ Over the last three decades, that opinion has completely changed. Today, the ethnonym Kallawaya refers to 7,400 people (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2013, p. 50) comprising of several communities in the municipalities Charazani and Curva, in the north-eastern inter-Andean valleys in the department La Paz.

Additionally, numerous Bolivian naturopaths, among them the La Paz-based ritualists contracted by the MÁS governments for state occasions, too, define themselves as Kallawaya. Thus, Kallawaya refers to regional/spatial, medical, and religious characteristics highlighting three concepts inherent in Kallawayaness. Its protagonists follow a consistent public representation and explain their medical and spiritual skills as nurtured by the ritual power emanating from their home region in the Kallawaya valleys (Durán, 2007). This spatial back-bonding forms an integral part of Kallawaya cosmopolitanism evidenced by groups such as the Kallawayas [sic] without borders (<http://www.kallawayas.org/Quienes.htm>, Kallawaya sin fronteras, s.f.).

Processes of ethnicization and of ethnogenesis are usually considered linear developments. Both terms are associated with two different paradigms: first, with a primordialist paradigm, referring to the evolvement of a group of kin-related individuals applying a kinship-ordered mode of production into a larger aggregation, and second, with an opportunistic-adaptive or instrumentalist paradigm, referring to ethnic formation through the interplay of intrinsic processes and framework-conditions (Cipolla, 2017; Corr and Powers, 2012; Jenkins, 2008). Recent analyses of Kallawaya ethnogenesis (Alderman, 2016) incline towards the opportunistic-adaptive view. The phenomenon of political ethnicization marks a specific stage of the ongoing process during which a population's orientation regarding a particular group identity might weaken or strengthen. I thus argue that Kallawaya ethnic identity consists of various components which emerged during different historical phases, through the interplay of primordialist and of instrumentalist mechanisms, and as a response to the economic and political contexts prevalent at a certain time.

Analyses usually focus on the dynamics in poly-ethnic societies composed of competing groups that entered the regional political unit at different times (Barth, 1981; Edwards, 2020), a pattern corresponding to the situation before the European invasion.

¹ Source text Spanish, all translations are the author's.

After it and in the view of the newly introduced colonial order, demarcating poly-ethnic dynamics faded. Since then, different ethnic groups (Saignes, 1985b; Alderman, 2016) entered a unifying process of ethnicization resembling that of the Salasaca in Ecuador, as described by Corr and Powers (2012). Essential elements of Kallawaya identity must have developed under colonial conditions by relating to the dominant order (Hill, 1996, p. 2) and at the intersection of indigenous and European knowledge bodies while other, such as ritualism as a marker of difference, evolved much later, since the nineteen eighties, at the intersection of micro-regional colonially-shaped hegemony with modernity. As a response to globalization, ritualism became a vehicle for both the commodification of vernacular culture and of political ethnicization. When, how, and why did the different stages of Kallawaya ethnicization evolve and under which conditions did Kallawaya knowledge and self-perception condense in the cultural memory to finally become a regionally defined, popular history and public memory? Answering those questions might contribute toward refining the “basic anthropological model of ethnicity” beyond its aspect of being “a series of loosely linked propositions” (Jenkins, 2008, p. 169).

I develop my argument by applying a threefold historical, relational, and comparative approach: historical because it draws on specific events at certain historical stages as parts of a longer historical process, relational because it focuses on relational conditions underlying behaviour (Donati, 2018), and comparative because it views different stages of a process by comparison. The primary data for this study was obtained from semi-structured interviews and from selected observations realized during various field stays. Besides primary data, I present to date unconsidered and revised data collected in historic and in secondary sources (Heaton, 2008). My intention is not to present insights developed by other authors or a synopsis of already known information but rather to contextualize and to update the relevant facts. After cross-checking, different kinds of data— primary, secondary, and visual — were combined by criteria of content (Flick, 2006, pp. 305-306). The way selected elements entered local memories will be discussed with the concept of the *cultural memory* (Assmann, 2000; 2008) developed as an open system suitable for an anthropological inquiry.

My reasoning starts with a brief introduction to Assmann’s concept of the cultural memory, an adequate tool for analysing how memory crystallizes into memory figures with capacities to bridge long timespans. I briefly focus on the semantics of the term Kallawaya as an interplay of contents and contexts viewed through the social-linguistic lens. Following a chronological order, early evidence of Inca-Kallawaya relations will be explored in terms of currently used figures of memory referring to the Inca stratum. The post-invasion period will be considered regarding the economic conditions and the demographic dynamics that, over time, turned migrants into residents. Then, the emergence of a group of specialized traders and naturopaths during the colonial period, being the product of two intersecting

knowledge bodies, the Andean and the Asian-European, will be analysed in more detail. I follow the constructions of regional identity in *criollo* (of Spanish descent) peasant networks established during the early republican period (from 1826 onwards) and again in the early twentieth century (from 1930 onwards).

The procedure provides insight into the origin behind the Kallawayas's strong ritualism which could only evolve at the intersection of landowner-peasant networks based on power and subalternity and of western scientist-reader communities interested in non-western identities. The analysis aims to clarify how specific social, political, and economic aspects moulded the Kallawayas's cultural memory over time to finally turn it into the precondition of claims for regional autonomy based on public memory and fostering memory politics (Fabian, 2007). I conclude my reasoning on each historical period to finally close the line of argument in the last section with an insight into the interplay of primordialist and of instrumentalist conditions, the basic components of ethnization processes.

The cultural memory: continuity and change

The cultural memory is both a process and, following Assmann (2000, 2008), a concept enabling one to track how memory is disembodied by institutions and re-embodied in the sequence of generations thus bridging long timespans. Assmann (2000, pp. 18–19, 49, 73; 2008, pp. 109–117) distinguishes cultural and communicative memories, the latter transferred over three generations within a continuously shifting gap which follows the progressing present. Cultural memory by contrast, is created through both reconstructions of the past and permanently realized discourses with empiricism (Assmann, 2008). It emerges from the interplay of predispositions, of remembering and amnesia, of recognizing and denying (Barth, 2002; Fabian, 2007, p. 66), finally generating an identity-focused collective experience about the past that in global networks turns into public memory (Assmann, 1988, p. 12; Fabian, 2007). Cultural memory is tied to figures of memory, to “fateful events whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and through institutional communication” (recitation, practice, and observance; Assmann, 2000, pp. 37–38; 2008, p. 129). In the introduction I argued that Kallawayas identity consists of various components developed during different historical phases, each of them tied to one or more memory figures, among them the Kallawayas language.

Kallawayá language and semantics, reflections of continuity and of change

Languages and ethnic belonging do not necessarily coincide. Nonetheless, in 2009 Kallawayá became registered as an original Bolivian language which, following MÁS officialism, refers to an ethnic group (Nueva Constitución Política del Estado, 2009, p. 24). Consistently emerging explanations of the term Kallawayá (Paredes, 1920; Oblitas, 1969, p. 11; Bastien, 1978, p. 9) as “carriers of the medicine-bag” are, objectively viewed, outcomes of vulgar linguistics. Andean language experts define Callahuaya [sic] as a combination of Aymara and of Puquina particles forming a toponymal meaning “inclined terrain without vegetation” (Cerrón-Palomino, 2013, pp. 393-394).

Aguilo (1991, pp. 60, 17) in turn translates, without considering the combination of both terms, *waya* with spring and *kalla* with princess. Interestingly, Charazani possesses thermal springs beneath archaeological fundamentals and according to Andean conceptions hot water is female. It thus remains unexplored if the term Kallawayá evidences the existence of local female lineages firmly bound to their territory and to Cusco leaders. A similar question arises with the old name of the region, Larecaxa or Laricaja. Is it a reference to *lari*, the mother-brother or maternal uncle in Aymara (Bertonio, 1984, p. 191), making the regional ethnic leaders to mother-brothers of the Cusco-elite? Or is it a reference to the wild, meaning uncivilized, or stubborn in Kallawayá (Aguilo, 1991, p. 25; Girault, 1989, p. 49). In Aymara, *huaya* is a marker of distance (Hardman et al., 1988). Answering those questions offers a transdisciplinary task for linguists.

Experts characterize Kallawayá as a professional jargon composed of Puquina roots and Quechua endings and exclusively used for ritual (Aguilo, 1991; Girault, 1989; Muysken, 2012; Adelaar and Muysken, 2004, p. 356). Because it facilitated concealed communication in moments of danger, Kallawayá was also spoken by skilful people originating from the region during travels and their service in the Chaco war (1932-1935; ASPM, guided interview held in Upinhuaya, October 26, 2009), respectively. Today, conversations among the rural population are realized in Cuzco-Quechua (Girault, 1987, p. 49) and – only in few communities – in a regionally biased Aymara.

The members of ex-patron families living in and nearby Charazani, albeit originally socialized in Spanish, employ their own version of Cuzco-Quechua, even for intra-group dialogues (Briggs, 1993; fieldnotes 1985-1988, 2013). They originally adopted the indigenous *lingua franca* to communicate with their peasant clients on labour organization and repayments of debts and fees. Nonetheless, between both Cuzco-Quechua variants, the indigenous and the patron version, exist profound differences reflecting the speakers’ life-contexts and power positions (VPV and RVP, guided interviews held in La Paz, November 15, 2013; CG, personal communication, December 2, 2013; Albó and Layme, 1992, pp.

154-160; Cerrón-Palomino, 1985, p. 242; Itier, 2002, p. 138; Mannheim and Huayhua, 2021, 155pp.; c.f. Huayhuas's and Bendezu's comments on inadequate translations of Quechua prayers, 2009). In this socio-linguistic landscape, the Kallawaya jargon enabled the regionally based naturopaths to develop and to transfer their own spirituality. Its insinuation of ancestry provided a response to colonial suppression and finally turned into a figure of memory in Assman's (2008) sense.

While the term *ritual* remained encoded until the late nineteen eighties by the Spanish word *secreto* (secret), its neo-Kallawaya synonym *kallaya* is frequently used today. Quechua and Aymara interlocutors talk of “hacer la kallaya”, “realize a ritual” (fieldnotes 1985-1988; JPM, EPB and LPB, guided interviews, March 4, 2010). *Kallaya* is not recorded in Kallawaya dictionaries, but they contain related terms such as *makallay* meaning “ceremony”, *kallay manta* meaning “original”, and *kallay mantaska* meaning “originality” (Girault, 1989, pp. 194, 38). Similar contemporary Quechua terms like *qallar* [sic; Lara, 1978, p. 181] mean “primordial”. Bastien (1978, p. 52) indicates *khallay* [sic] in context with “to begin with the cultivation of potato or maize”, activities closely linked to ritual and to the primordial potato and maize plants. Finally, Aguilo (1991, p. 17) translates *kallay* with “begin, act, work, done” and paraphrases Kallawaya as “maker” or “creator”.

All those contexts evidence the close relation of the term *kallay* to ritual, ancestry, and origin. Notably, Kallawaya naturopaths do not only know the old rituals, they also create and recreate them. In a recently compiled dictionary, Kallawaya is translated for the first time as “healer, naturopath” (Hannß, 2015, p. 49; 2017). Two other observations show the jargon's adaptive qualities: the poly-lingual origins of Kallawaya plant-terms (Hannß, 2017, p. 220) and the terms for numbers of double-digit millions composed of multiplications of thousand which obviously indicate inflationary periods (such as during the Chaco-War, 1932-1935; Girault, 1989, p. 198). The evolution of the term's content from the designation of a toponymal to that of an ethnic group, of colonial and of modern naturopaths and ritual experts and back to an ethnic group, evidences the semantic process to which the term Kallawaya has been, and continues being, subjected.

Pre-Inca and Inca components: trusted allies and physicians?

In pre-Inca time, the Kallawaya region was known for its rich goldmines exploited by groups originating from the Titicaca basin. The first traces of settlements refer to the Tiahuanacu-cultural complex (200 CE– 1000 CE) when highland polities installed fortified villages in the valleys, later followed by the settlements of a regional Tiahuanacu variant called Mollo (1100 CE-1450 CE). Both groups left burial caves and small stone tombs scattered over the region. Obviously, their economic activities focused on long-

distance trade and mining. Although the sparse information does not allow any conclusion of possibly existing links to historic and the contemporaneous Kallawaya ethnic groups, it entered memory politics to evidence Kallawaya ancestry and predominance before the region became controlled by *criollo* patrons.

An early source (Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1980; pp. 82-83) mentions extended stays of the sixth Inca leader Roca, who lived around 1350, in the area adjacent to the eastern cordillera with its southern part, the Kallawaya region. There, the ruler sired many descendants and, together with his son Yawar Waqay, prepared for battles with the lowland groups. The community Inca, a popular abbreviation of Inca Roca, situated approximately 10 km south of the main town Charazani, very probably harks back to this early Incan presence (Saignes, 1985b, p. 215; Renard et al., 1988).

One hundred years after Inca Roca's military interventions, the ninth Inca Pachacutiq Yupanki invaded the valleys making them part of the empire, a situation indicated by the abruptly vanishing evidence of the regionally developed and highland-related Mollo culture around 1450. The Inca-style terraces in the heads of the valleys and parts of the irrigation systems were very probably constructed during Pachacutiq Yupanki's rule. The tenth Inca Tupac Yupanqui (1471-1493) deeply trusted in the Kallawaya porters of his sedan chair, especially during battles (Dedenbach, 2003, 0/21; Taylor, 1987). And he confided the administration of the Kallawaya province to Inca Canauqui, followed by Are Quapaquiqui, another Inca-affine Charazani-based leader (Saignes, 1985b, p. 216). Notably, the term *Inca* (O'Phelan, 1995, p. 28) when put before the name defines a person as a nobleman and member of the Inca lineage while, when put after the family name, it indicates the status of a local chief. Although it remains unexplored as to which kind of kinship tie Inca Canauqui was related to the Cuzco rulers, it becomes clear that he was an acknowledged member of their confidential network.

The latest detectable evidence of direct relations to the Cusco elite goes back to the late sixteenth century. A today rarely studied source mentions the arrival of a young Inca nobleman in 1572. It emphasizes the temporal coincidence with Inca Túpac Amaru's II assassination by vice-king Francisco de Toledo in the same year in Cuzco (Armentia, 1905, pp. 117-118; see Cárdenas, 1979, pp. 11, 18, 36). According to the source, which relies on orally transferred cultural memory obtained from local people in the early eighteenth century, the currently still visible path to Apolo especially was paved for the young nobleman's arrival.

The earliest detectable component of Kallawaya historic ethnic identity is thus related to the late Inca period when they formed a socially differentiated aggregation composed of two moieties and developed a ruling class closely related to the Cuzco-leaders. They controlled the poly-ethnic local communities where ethnic Kallawaya and temporary

migrants originating from highland groups coexisted. Consequently, the social stratification of the regional population showed a complex pattern: on the one hand we note the inner stratification of the Kallawaya ethnic group into leaders and tax-payers which predominantly still followed primordial logics. On the other hand, we note the stratification between the dominating Kallawaya and all other ethnic groups arriving into the region which reminds one of the poly-ethnic social systems discussed by Barth (1981).

The power mechanism of the local Kallawaya rulers was maintained by two essential elements: an economic, namely the control over the region's gold mines – and a geopolitical, namely – the control over the access to the lowlands and the highlands, respectively. Additionally, the geopolitical aspect is an indicator for long distance trade common among highland communities and well-documented for the Lupaqa polity in the early seventeenth century (Bertonio, 1984; Gallardo, 2013). Over time, the confirmed historical fact of the close Inca-Kallawaya elite relation changed into the assumption of Inca origin to finally turn into a figure of memory (Assmann, 2000) – the Inca ancestry of the Kallawaya.

By contrast, the naturopaths' authorization for phyto-medical practice received by the Inca leaders draws on inconsistent data and on a linear concept of history: archaeological evidence of medical instruments and snuff tablets used for ritual intoxication (dated uncertainly to between 355 and 1120 CE; Wassén, 1972) was linked to an early colonial source written in 1590 (Murúa, 1962, pp. 100-103) on ethnically undefined medical experts in Inca service. The book illustration created 25 years later in 1615 (Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1980, pp. 304-330) depicting Kallawaya carriers of the tenth Inca's sedan chair indicates confidence in the allies but not the presence of personal physicians. To understand the emerging phenomenon of naturopaths and ritualists calling themselves Kallawaya, the evidence of Andean phyto-medical and ritual experts has to be separated from primordialist conceptions of ethnicization intertwined with early professionalism.

The post-invasion component: from migrants to residents

Because data often are sparse for the early colonial time, it is difficult to analyse the interplay of social, political, economic, and conceptual factors intervening in regional developments. Here, decisive elements and their effects such as the demographic background need a more detailed consideration. Shortly after the European invasion (1553), Kallawaya leaders turned into Spanish allies and, consequently, into local indigenous counterparts and subjects responsible to the Vice-king of Peru. In 1549 two visiting-judges were sent to the region by Vice-king La Casca (Saignes, 1985b; 1986). At this moment, and as a result of Inca politics, the regional leaders controlled a declining

number of original and a growing number of immigrated poly-ethnic tax-payers. Their provinces Hatun Carbaya and Calabaya la Chica were granted to Licenciado Antonio de la Gama (Saignes, 1985b, p. 195; 1986, p. 25) and in 1583 were passed as province and grant Larecaja to the Spaniards Juan Ramón and León Ayanz (Quispe, 2008, p. 25; Ponce, 1957, pp. 72-73).

Over the next 150 years (or five generations) emerged a six-fold increased tributary population with 15.1 percent of ethnic Kallaway facing 84.9 percent of poly-ethnic immigrants. By and by, the immigrants, opting for taxation in only one place instead of two, detached themselves from their altiplano places of origin (Saignes, 1985a, pp. 14, 33; 1985b, pp. 195-187; 1986, p. 25; Evans, 1985) to gradually and over generations enter local lineages via affinal kinship-bonds. Registered as *forasteros* (Spanish term for strangers) in the tax-lists, they became integrated into local communities following an ambilineal intergenerational transfer of resources.

The incorporation of males originating from altiplano-communities in valley-households with bilineal heritage of usufruct rights potentially generated structural conflicts concerning heritage in extended family networks. Against the background of newly created and globally connected markets in the sub-continent, due to the fact that commerce was not directly taxed (Gallardo, 2013, p. 603) and the existence of ancient trade channels, the tendency to specialize in trading offered new opportunities. In other words, men without patrilineally-transferred access to arable land could easily engage in long-distance trade. But commerce depends on demand and the region's most promising export products at that time were gold and incense, the latter used in catholic rituals and for medical balms, the proprietary medicine produced in congregation pharmacies. Gradually, with the gold mines' depletion, the traders had to look for alternative goods in demand and came across medical plants, especially Cinchona bark searched for by their incense-buyers – the Jesuit pharmacists.

Interestingly, among the products congregation pharmacists likewise were after was bezoar, the gallstone produced in Andean camelids and deer, but also in other species like pigs, lizards, and caimans, and discovered in 1568 in Peru (Monardes, 1580, p. 110; Stephenson, 2010, pp. 17, 21; Valdizán and Maldonado, 1922). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, bezoar was a highly estimated antidote which Spanish pharmacists tried to acquire outside the Portuguese trade-network. However, bezoar is not recorded in Girault's dictionary (1987), thus indicating a serious problem: the contradiction intrinsically related with the gallstones because indigenous people likewise highly valued them for religious purposes (Millones Figueroa, 2014, p. 150). Therefore, bezoar stones were explicitly excluded from the products ordered from indigenous traders.

In addition to the profound alterations in their social networks, immigrants had to cope with conceptual changes. They lost the locally-anchored parts of their original cultural memories formed in altiplano communities but held on to those of prominent places covered by the Andean religious-geographical network, the cordillera peaks and the omnipresent earth being. In poly-ethnic communities, migrants and their descendants were called *Llacuaz*, *children of lightning* (Duviols, 1967; Arriaga, 1621; pp. 88-89), an allusion to their detachment from the original social body because lightning is viewed as sacred and a splitting force related to metals and mines (Cruz and Téreygeol, 2014), a context explained in more detail below. The migrants integrated their specific memories in the Kallawaya cultural memory via shared conceptions of ancestry deduced from a cyclical model of history and based on the pan-Andean idea of consecutively existing humanities (Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1980). In empirical reality, those ideas were supported by fossils, by interpretations of rock surfaces as traces of the pre-existing humanity, and by the pre-Incan mummies perceived as representatives of an extinct humanity and discovered in both the migrants' regions of origin and in their new home-region, the inter-Andean valleys (Wassén, 1972; fieldnotes 1985-1988, 2010-2015).

At the turn to the seventeenth century, ethnic Kallawaya were rare subjects while their rivalling lords, for the sake of status, privileges, labour force, and tax-income, claimed authority by two arguments: one group persistently declared its appointment by the Inca while the other group, the descendants of the first Christianised local ruler, insisted on the legitimization by appointment of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (Loza, 2004, pp. 54-62).² Both parties tried to recruit followers among the regional population composed of immigrants and locals (Saignes, 1985b, p. 209). Their power-preserving knowledge on filiation was initially linked to the communicative memory which over time, by turning Kallawaya language, institutions, and ritual into figures of memory (Assmann, 2008), became the cultural memory of a thinning out elite caste. Today, references to Kallawaya authorities still resonate in some family names spread over the region, such as Serena, García, Coarete, and Calacauqui ([sic] Canauqui, fieldnotes 1985-1988, 2010-2015).

The delicate layer of original ethnic Kallawaya, evidenced genuine local Inca-related ancestry through its mere existence. Its cultural memory intertwined with the communicative memory, meaning with narrative reflections on Kallawaya ancestry transferred by the migrants. Both memories finally merged into a common cultural memory with a shared memory figure – the Kallawaya. Because naturopathy was closely linked to ritual and ritual to ancestry and origin, being a Kallawaya meant to speak Kallawaya and, consequently, to know the old rituals that emerged from a mythic

² Loza (2004) provides a larger, narrative and very detailed description of the events. Lamentably when in 2008 I tried to consult the original documents indicated in her text (ABNB 165:2, f° 8 r°, ABNB 165:2, f° 64 r°) they were reported as missing in the ABNB.

Kallawaya, meaning from a shared past. For the future naturopaths this shared past gave impetus to an instrumentalist conception of ethnicization which turned migrants into residents, meaning into an integral part of the original population.

The emergence of the colonial components

Since 1605, the Jesuits ran drugstores in the “classical” Kallawaya travel destinations: Lima, Cusco, Santiago de Chile, Córdoba, Buenos Aires, Quito, and Panama. The friars systematically explored and recorded indigenous phyto-medical knowledge, were deeply involved in the design of malaria remedies, and thus interested in high-quality *Cinchona* bark. Kallawaya expertise thus needs to be viewed in the context of economic interests and of the transcultural communication between rural-based traders and urban-based Jesuit pharmacists (Tedlock and Mannheim, 1995). However, up to now, a written source that explicitly mentions “the Kallawaya” and classifies their home region has not been found, or has not been meticulously searched for, in congregation documents.

Kallawaya narratives on malaria treatment tell the story the other way round, that one of them accidentally discovered the bark’s medical quality (Oblitas, 1969, p. 303). Notably, the habitat of the *Cinchona*-trees (*Cinchona ledgeriana*) with the highest amount of quinine alkaloids is situated nearby the Kallawaya valleys but, till then, its healing power remained undiscovered among locals (Anagnostou, 2011, pp. 320-333; Girault, 1987; pp. 413-414). Cobo (1956), who was constantly in search of *Cinchona* bark, indirectly confirms that fact. From 1615 to 1618 he was in charge of the mission in Juli at the western bank of Titicaca-lake and reachable within a two day’s journey from the Kallawaya valleys. In his notes, he describes the region’s rich goldmines but remains silent on *Cinchona* trees which he supposed grew south of the Kallawaya territory in the Charcas province.

The first reference linking people, region and profession provided Franciscan friar Martín Landaeta. He describes the *Cinchona* bark, herb, and resin traders he met in 1742 as “Callahuaya” and “indios from Charazani” (Armentia, 1903, pp. 111-112), thus defining them as members of an ethnic group. Besides their language, he, or his local interlocutor or travelling companion, valued visible characteristics: the traders’ costumes, meaning their ponchos and bags, and their saddlebags and sacks packed on the mules. The ethnic labelling tied to suitable local rulers followed a practice generally applied by European proselytizers and administrators (Paz, 2018). In the Charazani region this strategy worked well with the remaining Kallawaya elite (Saignes, 1985b, p. 216; Bastien, 1979, pp. 113) – outsiders like Landaeta identified the regional population and the Kallawaya rulers by the same term. From the traders’ and naturopaths’ point of view, to call themselves Kallawaya brought two advantages: first, it omitted information on their

real local belonging, a protective measure applied till today by travellers originating from peasant communities. Second, it created a corporate identity vis-à-vis clients and other outsiders. At Landaeta's time, Cinchona bark already had become a highly coveted product for the transatlantic trade. Its commercialization incentivized the Central-Andean long-distance trade controlled by peasant merchants, among them the – explicitly labelled as such – Kallawaya.

Landaeta also noticed the limited agrarian activity around Charazani with most fields lying fallow, which he ascribed to the lack of saleable goods and of regional markets (Armentia, 1903, p. 211). The fields obviously were cultivated, just as nowadays, in a subsistence-mode which means during two three-month periods per year for seeding and harvest, a cycle matching well with seasonal migration. During the dry season the women looked after fields and cattle while the men travelled in groups southeast, southwest and northwest (Álvarez in Ranaboldo, 1992, p. 50). They followed the mule-tracks covering the highlands and plateaus like a network, linking Potosí to Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile. They travelled by ship along the big rivers to the Atlantic coast and north along the Pacific coast. Interestingly, mule breeding and the maintenance of pack stations in the southern lowlands was firmly in Jesuit hands.

The Kallawaya sold the gold found in the rivers or dug up in the old Inca mines, the resin harvested from incense trees growing nearby their migratory routes, and the Cinchona bark cut in the forests easily accessible from their home region. They came back with mules for regional trade and barter (fieldnotes 1985-1988; Clarence-Smith, 2020; Barker, 2012; Wrigley, 1916). The most talented among them returned with a constantly increasing, income-generating, and synthesizing pharmaceutical knowledge. Initially, they transferred the knowledge, together with that on the locations of potential patients and trading partners, via the communicative, after three generations via the cultural memory but always strictly along their local patri-lines (Girault, 1987). The mode of transmission kept on working until the nineteen sixties when few regional communities were defined as genuinely Kallawaya in terms of the profession's local rootedness. Kallawaya naturopathy as a profession developed thus through intercultural communication from Andean phyto-medical expertise and at the intersection of phyto-medical and ideological knowledge bodies. The instrumentalist conception of ethnicization merged with professionalism.

The phyto-medical component

But in which part of Kallawaya phyto-medical knowledge did European conceptions leave marks and where can we find the Andean docking points? Jesuit missionaries strategically used indigenous languages: essential religious terms remained in Spanish, whereas those referring to pathology and to pharmaceutical knowledge were kept in the original languages (Falkinger, 2018, pp. 103-137; Hannß, 2017, p. 220). Louis Girault (1987) was the first

who accurately documented Kallawaya plant-taxonomy (obviously in collaboration with an industrial pharmacy). He recorded genus and specification of 874 plants, including those introduced at different moments to the subcontinent (Janni and Bastien, 2004). Notably, Quechua names are prevalent while Aymara, Kallawaya, and Spanish terms are less present. In Girault's book only two species of *Cinchona* are listed in the rubric genus *Kina* and he remains silent on the most important kina-variant for commercialization, *Kina calisaya* discovered by Haenke (1900, p. 90; Girault, 1987, pp. 413-414).³

Like other authors, Girault (1987, pp. 53-55, 59; c.f. Oblitas, 1978) noted the similarity between the vernacular-indigenous and the scientific-botanical nomenclature – both are binominal, the Kallawaya version occasionally trinominal. Because the pattern was likewise applied to imported species, he felt his argument of an indigenous origin was confirmed (Girault, 1987, p. 60). However, different binary nomenclatures were in use before Linné developed his phylogenetic classification system by introducing a hierarchical tree order with a short and concise description for each species and the yet mentioned specifying binominal nomenclature.⁴ Girault (1987, p. 30) emphasizes the indication of genus and species without assigning family or class in the Kallawaya system. This characteristic rather evidences that the naturopaths operated at the two lowest levels of linnean taxonomy. The *modus operandi* made indigenous information ready for assessment and a preparatory step for further processing by Jesuit pharmacists.

But Girault (1987) also observed a significant difference between the vernacular and the imported systems: the application of morphological criteria for plant sex determination (Girault, 1987, pp. 37, 54). The agglutinating Andean languages spoken by the naturopaths do not inflect sex, albeit optionally indicated by a corresponding noun or an adjective. In some cases the sex of plants becomes obvious because locals occasionally describe specific cultivated plants and their crops by kinship criteria as mother and daughters (potatoes), as wife and husband (maize), or as a family with various very different female and male children (potatoes, oca, ullucu, and izaño; fieldnotes 2003). Consequently, morphological criteria were needed to clearly define the sex of the cultivated and of the wild medical plants growing in the naturopaths' home region and outside it.

Kallawaya sex determination of plants differs widely from Linné's focusing on plant flowers. Interestingly, this is absent in the taxonomies developed by church-associated botanists. In the Kallawaya-system, the sex of plants is directly related to their therapeutic

³ This sub-group obviously was still of interest for industrial pharmacy in the mid twentieth century.

⁴ The Jesuits definitely did not appreciate a protestant's idea of man and ape sharing one category. Some authors argue that the linnean system, first published in 1737, was, for some reasons, not applied by Jesuit pharmacists and, consequently, was unknown to Kallawaya naturopaths. However, it soon reached the continent, and the Jesuits, via Linné's preferred "apostle" Pehr Löfving (1729-1756). The botanist held contacts with Capuchan and Jesuit missionaries, among them the Croatian Franjo Ksaver Haller (1716-1755) who was his assistant for one year in the Orinoco-expedition (1754-1761).

value, female plants being more powerful. The female-male antagonism intersects with hot-cold classifications. Girault's interlocutors confirmed that male medical herbs, defined by visible aspects of robustness and strength, are attenuated by cold (male) and reinforced by hot (female) qualities. Female medical herbs, defined by visible aspects of tenderness and elegance, are attenuated by hot (female) and reinforced by cold (male) qualities (Girault, 1987, p. 38). Thus, the therapeutic effects of male and of female plants are optimized by qualities complementary to their sex which needs a closer view at the Andean conception of opposite pairs.

In Andean time-honouring knowledge, pairs of opposites are outcomes of precise observations of nature: the male sun and the female moon are linked, according to their orbits and appearances, to right and left and to light and darkness. Both celestial bodies rule over the Aymara/Quechua agrarian year and its changing climatic conditions: two intersecting hot-cold and humid-dry cycles. Over the course of the year four combinations of gendered time emerge: cold and dry, hot and dry, hot and humid, cold and humid. Cold and dry is defined as male while hot and humid is classified as female. Hot and dry is female-male while cold-humid is male-female. Thus, one half of the agrarian year is ruled by male and the other half by female principles which both show respective proceeding stages: The exclusively male part is initiated by an intermediate cold-humid phase and the exclusively female by an intermediate hot-dry phase.

Notably, similar hot-dry combinations are basic for Galen's humoral medicine imported to the Americas (Vokral, 1989, p. 278). However, the four Andean hot-cold categories might be interpreted as two degrees of cold and two degrees of hot qualities whereas hot-cold classifications likewise are present in Andean thought on food, alimentation and the body (Vokral, 1989). Andean hot-cold conceptions thus are basically linked to a cyclical development, showing a dynamic character which evidences the fundamentally different starting point of Kallawaya hot-cold conceptions. Humoral pathology by contrast, the synthesis of Asian-European concepts, is linked to the four elements earth, fire, water, and air. Taking into account that the Kallawaya system classifies female plants as more powerful than males, each group showing two hot-cold degrees ruled by a complementary principle, leads to a linear conception which probably proves European influence and simultaneously it shows an intrinsic Andean element – the idea of complementarity.

The discovery of Cinchona bark for malaria therapy needs to be viewed in the light of those contexts. In the north-central Andes, indigenous curers undoubtedly knew about the bark's febrifugal effect, but it causes drug fever and was obviously classified as a hot remedy, with Cinchona being defined as a female plant to treat chills (Humboldt, 1821, p.

31, Monardes, 1580, p. 11). Discovering the bark's significance for malaria⁵ therapy was then left to the Jesuit power of deduction (Esteyneffer, 1712, p. 296; Anagnostou, 2000, pp. 182-187) which means breaking the chill-fever circle by continuously using Cinchona bark. The application of Cinchona bark by Kallawaya naturopaths is evidence for the early ties of transcultural communication, probably supported by recipes (Anagnostou, 2011; Foster, 1987) handed over by Jesuit pharmacists to their illiterate collaborators to be read to them by "persons of confidence" such as, estate owners and parish clerics.

After the Jesuits' official leaving (1767), congregation pharmacists continued running the dispensaries in Lima, Santiago de Chile, and Córdoba (Argentina) until 1770 (or ten years before the Great Rebellion 1780-1783). The chief pharmacists were obliged to train successors until the last of them left Chile in 1772 (Anagnostou, 2011, pp. 253-254). While the shops' quality declined (Anagnostou, 2011), the business with medical plants, resin, and Cinchona bark remained an option for peasant merchants who additionally looked for alternative markets to commercialize their medical knowledge along with phytotherapy in Peruvian cities such as, Puno, Cusco, Huanuco, Lima, and Arequipa (Valdizán and Maldonado, 1922) and in northwest Argentina in cities such as, in Salta, Jujuy and Tucuman.

Kallawaya expertise developed thus at the intersection of Andean and of fused Asian-European knowledge. It was directly linked to the rapid spreading of malaria in the sub-continent and to the global demand for high quality Cinchona bark. Through their exchange with Jesuit pharmacists, the Kallawaya consequently integrated European pharmaceutical information into their pre-existing expert knowledge. The process is evidenced by the application of quinine combinations to treat various fever-diseases (Valdizán and Maldonado, 1922) and finally resulted in the Linnéan touch of their plant classification system. The sex-definition of plants by physical characteristics and their hot-cold qualities ruled by a complementary principle are, in contrast, genuine Andean/Kallawaya conceptions. The early Kallawaya naturopaths relied thus on an instrumentalist notion of ethnicity which they combined, in terms of regionally developed knowledge bodies, with professionalism.

The ideological component

If intercultural communication initiated the deepening of regional phyto-medical knowledge to finally form an essential professional knowledge-body, the question arises as to how European ideologies influenced Kallawaya conceptions of ancestral ritual and the non-human world. In which contexts might be detected connexions to Christian

⁵ The presence of malaria in the Americas is a consequence of the transatlantic slave-trade. Some slaves suffered from sickle-cell anaemia which causes malaria-resistance thereby enabling malaria disease transmission without becoming ill themselves.

spirituality, erroneous interpretations of proselytizers, and Kallawaya synthesis? Clearing those problems needs to view Andean concepts of origin and collectivity within a relational perspective, considering language and society as two intertwining processes.

Like other Andean ritualists, the naturopaths conversed with the supernatural forces in Quechua using specific formulae and linguistic forms (Dedenbach, 2003; Girault, 1987; Oblitas, 1978). Additionally, they wrapped their ritual knowledge in speech acts realized in Kallawaya (Adelaar and Muysken, 2004, p. 356). The early naturopaths defining themselves as Kallawaya certainly experienced Mass with Tridentine Rites performed in Latin by Jesuit, Augustinian, and Franciscan friars in Charazani and in urban centres which might have confirmed their idea of the power of ancestral ritual language being in their own context Kallawaya (Arriaga, 1621). In both contexts, in the American and in the European, a specific language already had turned into a figure of cultural memory (Assmann, 2000).

The naturopaths likewise became acquainted with catholic spirituality, such as the different litanies, the last rites, weather prayers, and processions with Latin invocations and using the holy cross to fight pandemics and evil forces. Simultaneously, Puquina, Quechua, and Aymara ritual speeches were practiced in the communities while Puquina, Quechua, and Aymara versions of Our Father (Girault, 1989) and of Hail Mary (Oré, 1607, pp. 113-115; Arriaga, 1621) were frequently recited by proselytizers. Finally, the Christian elements became interwoven with invocations of the mountain spirits and applying Latin- or cloverleaf-cross silver pectorals (Wrigley, 1917, p. 187; Oblitas, 1969, pp. 60, 209; Weddell, 1853, p. 178; fieldnotes 1985-1988, 2010-2015). In a way, the naturopaths created a counter project to Christian spirituality, based on Andean conceptions, on original and regionally developed elements, and on Andean ritual speech and languages.

The Kallawaya's search for an own spiritual path is underpinned by linguistic concepts such as the *inclusive* and the *exclusive we* corresponding to two categories of collectivity and developed in all three Andean languages Puquina, Quechua, and Aymara. The *exclusive we* refers to all members of a group while the *inclusive we* ignores ethnic group membership and refers to all present persons. Knowing but ignoring that difference, the missionaries incorrectly applied the pronouns in their own speech (Oré, 1607) and consistently used the exclusive form of *we* (Briggs, 1993). In the sermons they thus appealed to a God being their father but not that of the converted indigenous audience. Their practice is comprehensible because the priests wished to include all present souls and it is erroneous because they ignored the Andean idea of a diverse ethnic origin and simultaneously underpinned their own otherness. While the friars started from the idea that all humans originate from one couple, Adam and Eve, Andean people followed the conception of a naturally given diversity: different groups of humans were created by a

supernatural being in one place before travelling underground to later emerge in destined places (Cobo, 1956).

Very probably, the Jesuits had learned about the decree of banishment before it reached them with a few months' delay. Very probably, they did not leave without taking precautionary measures such as, instructing and training indigenous collaborators and handing over selected recipes, medicine, and paraphernalia like the silver crosses which became a Kallawaya trademark. While written information, except documents on communal proprietary land rights, did not match with rural lifestyles and disappeared in Kallawaya homes, the memory of some recipes, prayers, and the application of crosses for curing was kept alive by an elaborated oral transmission. According to it, medical plants only conserve their healing power when harvested during the fasting period (Assmann, 2002; Álvarez in Ranaboldo, 1992, p. 43), during the immolation and death of the Christian God's son. Here, conceptions of sacrifice merge with those of reciprocity. And it is an interesting coincidence that the mythic Andean creator Viracocha's elder son Ymaimana Viracochan (Molina, 2010, p. 39) taught the humans to distinguish food plants from medicinal plants. The cultural memory evidenced by figures of memory such as, rituals, sermons, crosses, and the Kallawaya language centres in the idea of direct communication channels with the higher instance controlled by Kallawaya experts.

The genuinely Andean component

However, three elements of Kallawaya naturopathic practice are genuinely Andean. First, their conception of pathology with the related diagnostics attributing illness to the power of negative spirits, a context deprived of European influence by the Jesuits' decision of leaving the related vocabulary in the original languages. Second, their close relation to the territory perceived as a natural good that, through its peculiarities such as the Tiahuanacu burial plots, key places of religious geography like the mountain Akhamani, and the abundance of medical plants, legitimates, fosters and strengthens ritual acting. And third, the amulets called *illas* exclusively produced and dealt in by the naturopaths (Girault, 1987, p. 29).

The spiritual power emanating from the Kallawaya territory, originally based on the naturopaths' empiric knowledge, was frequently confirmed by specific events. Besides the ancestry embodied by the members of the Kallawaya elite until the late eighteenth century, it was clearly shown by the healing effects of the regional medical plants. The presence of numerous mummies and of paraphernalia found in local Tiahuanacu graveyards, such as that vis-à-vis Niñokorin, and in the cultivated fields, repeatedly verified the naturopaths' view of history. Especially those experts who, residing in Telinhuaya, today Lagunillas, next to the small lagoon and the community of Curva, live in direct proximity to an archaeological site located on a nearby elevation. And mummies were the raw material for

some rituals during which they were cremated (practiced until recently) because the smoke of mummy bones opened communication channels to the supernatural beings (fieldnotes 2010-2015; Cobo, 1956). Spiritual power also came from the location as part of the religious-geographical network in the central cordillera near the powerful mountain Akhamani which, over time and through ritual recitation, turned into an essential figure of memory (Assmann, 2000).

The figurines of humans, of animals, and of objects composed of “abstract” elements and signs called *illas* are made of alabaster, a material appreciated for its brightness and opacity and thus associated with lightning, meaning with positive power (Lara, 1978). *Illas* were, and still are, forceful objects related to the past, the ancestors, and to the supernatural beings. The effects ascribed to them are outcomes of Andean-shaped conceptions of protection, prosperity, fertility, and reproduction (Allen, 2016). They form part of the prohibited knowledge clandestinely kept alive over time by many Andean people and especially by ritual experts. Obviously, the Kallawaya adapted those amulets according to changing market demands. The basic conceptions of ritual acts and of *illas*, however, were nurtured by a specific cultural memory which turned them, together with lightning, into figures of memory (Assmann, 2000). The *illa* producing and trading Kallawaya became those who know the old rituals and, simultaneously, religion turned into the cornerstone of an instrumentalist ethnic identity deeply related to Andean paraphernalia and to naturopathy (Hill, 1996).

The professional component: from children of lightning to cosmopolitan masters of naturopathy and ritual

The traders’ lifestyle, dominated by travelling and their formation into highly specialized naturopaths since the seventeenth century, generated social, economic, and professional differences and distance to other community members. Community-based ritualists needed specific encounters with the supernatural forces such as lightning strikes or signs of direct influence of lightning such as being a same-sex male twin, suffering from an innate disability, delivered with cowlicks, feet first or during a thunderstorm. The naturopaths, in turn, trusted in their excellent memories and in the power of deduction achieved by formal training. Before the European invasion, local ritualists frequently experienced ecstasy induced through intoxication with psychoactive substances and at least those guarding the sacred places (*huacas*) preferably passed the office along their patriline (Albornoz in Duviols, 1967, p. 22). Until recently, local practitioners consumed alcohol, occasionally mixed with psychoactive substances, mainly with the alkaloids contained in the stamens of angel trumpets (*Brugmansia arborea*) or the San Pedro cactus (*Echinopsis pachanoi*), respectively, and only in few cases passed their status to talented agnats.

In accordance with pre-invasion *usus* and in contrast to local expert careers, the colonial Kallawaya made ritual and curing an exclusive institution strictly subjected to patrilineal knowledge transfer. They initiated adepts during trading journeys but desisted from using shamanistic techniques. They sublimated the metaphorical reference to lightning originally applied to construct social belonging for immigrants and to legitimize the vocation of ritual experts into a sign embodied by two emblematic objects, related to two different cultural backgrounds, and appearing at two different stages in the Kallawaya cultural memory: the Latin- or cloverleaf-cross silver pectoral still applied in rituals and the zigzag-design and figure of memory woven in bags and ponchos. To understand how lightning was linked to people, social relations, and the silver pectorals in the form of a cross needs a look at early colonial contexts and at some coincidences in the ideal parts of Andean and of European realities.

As mentioned in a previous section, the immigrant population of poly-ethnic communities, mainly miners and metallurgical experts (Cruz and Téreygeol, 2014), were called *children of lightning* or *children of the urine of lightning*, respectively (Arriaga, 1621, pp. 89; Avedaño, 1648, p. 111). The naming links people with a specific occupation to a meteorological phenomenon which is a reference to the idea that silver veins in the mountains are produced by lightning (de la Calancha, 1638, p. 520). Being migrants they had moved to their new homes with their lineage idols, in some cases probably with paraphernalia distributed among them. Consequently, they venerated few sacred places in their new home region, a situation causing spiritual insignificance and social vulnerability (converting them into preferred interviewees of clerics in search of idolatries). Some of the embalmed ancestor mummies found in Andean communities likewise were called *Illapa*, a clear reference to lightning (Duviols, 1967, p. 19). With time, the places transfigured by lightning bolts continuously created new sacred sites called *illapa usnu*, “*Illapa’s seat*” (Gade, 1983, p. 776), albeit it remains unclear if and how the *children of lightning* were related to those places. Lightning thus sacralises the landscape and silver objects are made of materialized lightning strikes binding their positive power.

Following the Catholic conception, lightning is used in a metaphoric sense. A reference in the New Testament mentions the effective conversions realized by St. James (the Great) and St. John, calling them *Boanerges*, lightning and sons of thunder, a hint well known among colonial proselytizers. Succeeding preachers were called the children of God’s thunder and lightning (de la Calancha, 1638, pp. 537-538; Arriaga, 1621, p. 33). This made clerics prevent the equation of *Illapa* with St. James/Santiago and they insisted on baptizing children as Diego instead of Santiago, the synonym for the Quechua word *churi*, lightning. The Jesuits distributed paraphernalia of different values, from glass beads to rings, crosses, and medals, according to a convert’s spiritual solidity. Obviously, the most “talented” Kallawaya were trained by their Jesuit counterparts in phyto-medicine but also

to recite devotions in Quechua, in Aymara, and in Puquina and very probably they received silver crosses for their commitment before the Jesuits' expulsion.

The Kallawayá silver crosses refer to the positive power of lightning contained in the object's material quality. Its form reminded both, Christians and pagans, of a sign visible in the nocturnal sky, the Southern Cross. While Andean people, and especially the Inca elite, defined the constellation as a celestial bridge to the ancestors and used it for calendrical purposes, proselytizers viewed it as an indication of the highest Christian instance's presence in the southern hemisphere. Clerics also paid attention to cross forms in blossoms and in plants (de la Calancha, 1638, pp. 58, 231), notably in those used for phyto-medicine and they instructed Quinine-bark cutters to plant *Kina* trees in the form of a cross by using five seeds or seedlings, respectively. The above-mentioned *illa* amulets occasionally show small cross engravings but generally do not have any formal relation to crosses.

Before the zigzag-design called *kurti* (Qu.), meaning "those appointed by lightning" (Figure 1; Lara, 1978, p. 109; Wrigley, 1917, pp. 191-220) appeared in the naturopaths' clothing woven by their spouses on traditional horizontal looms, it had to be turned into a figure of memory in Assmann's sense (2000). The material quality of lightning had to be deliberated and transformed into a formal, a figurative language. Despite of the broad spectrum of zig-zag variations, this specific form called *kurti* is exclusively related to Kallawayá professionalism. Photographs dating to the mid-nineteenth century show bags with fine designs and ponchos with *ikat* stripes comparable to the *kurti*-design (Girault, 1969).



Figure 1. *Kurti*-design in a Kallawayá early twentieth century bag.

The long ponchos resemble those worn by Argentine gauchos and the Balandrán ponchos elaborated in Jesuit manufactories and worn by wealthy mestizos and, notably, by ritual experts. Because late nineteenth/early twentieth century bags exclusively show the *kurti*-design, it likewise might have been used in the bags shown in earlier photographs, thus revealing its transformation into a specific sign, into an icon, in the time of the wars of independence.⁶ In the early twentieth century, the design spread to the experts' ponchos and shortly after, together with many other figures, to all regional weavings used for representational purposes. Figures called *doctorcitos* representing performers of the Kallawayaya dance and figures depicting Kallawayaya with a high social status were woven into women's feast shawls and skirts (Figure 2; Girault, 1969, p. 47) which shows the naturopaths' contemporaneous and region-wide reception.

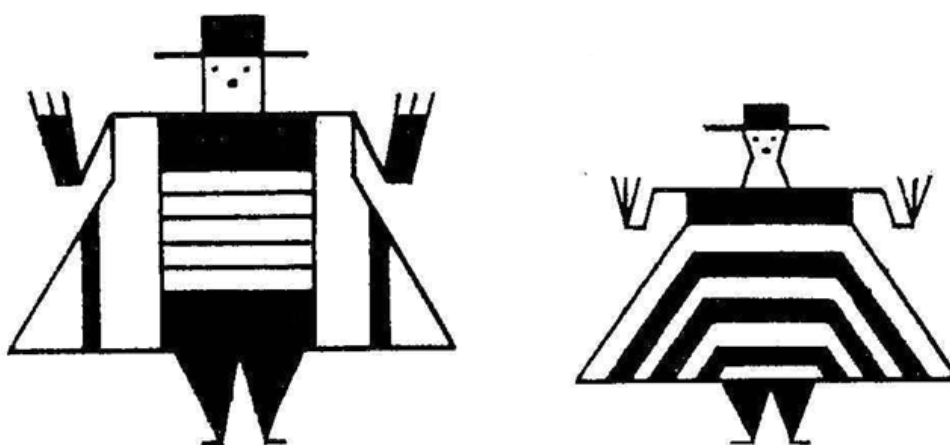


Figure 2. The figures *doctorcitos* and *Kallawayaya* documented by Girault (1969).

The crosses and the textiles with *kurti*-designs exclusively used by Kallawayaya experts are evidence of two facts: the Kallawayaya's self-perception as children of lightning and the sublimation of lightning through objects turned into figures of memory.⁷ Notably, the naturopaths charged flexible tariffs and they frequently appeared at economic and military hot spots: during the Great Rebellion (1780-1782), the War of Independence (1809-1825) in Puno (Miller, 1829, pp. 207-209), the construction of the Panama-Cannal (1906-1914, Photographs taken in 1923 provide evidence of a late mission; Loza, 2014, pp. 66, 68; Girault, 1987), the rubber-boom in the lowlands (mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century), the Chaco War (1932-1935), and at all times in the mining centres. Their

⁶ Simultaneously, the Kallawayaya dance, a clear statement of social and not of ethnic status, appeared in the repertoire of national dances (Figure 3). Until recently, it was performed by men in a line wearing Kallawayaya attires, Ecuadorian hats, white shirts, trousers of finely woven fabrics, opened umbrellas, and bags filled with herbs slowly moving two steps forward, one step sideward, one step backward which completely differs from current interpretations.

⁷ In the early twentieth century when indigenism influenced regional weaving styles, the weaving style around Charazani, except in the community Amarete, switched from linear patterns to figurative representations.

itinerant lifestyle provided two advantages: obligations at home could be easily avoided while poly-local polygyny was facilitated.

Local elites, the state, and the Cinchona-hype

The refinement of the naturopaths' professional skills and the development of their cultural memory took place within different political and economic framework conditions. The Great Rebellion (1780-1782), which had released a powerful migration wave into the region caused an essential political consequence: the abolition of local hereditary leadership called *kurazago*. The Charazani-based ethnic Kallawayá elite merged into the regional population and the naturopaths' cultural memory lost its embodied evidence of Incan ancestry. The naturopaths found themselves as a unique, locally-based and ethnically-defined, ritually and phyto-medically oriented group of professionals closely related to the region's history, flora, and religious geography, forming thus elite layers in local groups.

The instrumentalist conception matched well with the ideology of the young Bolivian nation-state (founded in 1825), a new framework for the old ethnic diversity now dressed up as folklore. The development is reflected in Melchor María Mercado's (1816-1871) paintings (created 1841-1868), among them the representation of a *dancing Callaguaya* ([sic]; Rivera, 1997, lámina 38). The image shows a male person with braided hair, wearing a bowler hat, and showing two Kallawayá characteristics: the bag used to transport precious medical plants and paraphernalia, and the parasol shown until recently in dances at feasts in Charazani (Fischer, 2008, 196; Figure 3) which differ widely from current representations (SmithsonianNMAI, 2017).



Figure 3. Men from Curva performing the Kallahuaya dance during a feast in Chrazani in 1987.

The Kallaway's instrumentalist conception of ethnic belonging was inconsistent with locally constructed collectivity based on strict economic and status equality and driven by a kinship-ordered mode of production. By using local resources, such as endemic plants and spiritual beings, the naturopaths generated money/income outside the local networks which they invested (until the nineteen forties of the past century) into popular goods and mules for barter and sale around Charazani and in Perú. The inversion of knowledge into money caused social and economic differences and envy in the communities and among the *criollo* patrons and state administrators (Álvarez in Ranaboldo, 1992, p. 66; Paredes, 1920, pp. 227-239) who after the Great Rebellion had replaced the Kallwaya elite in Chrazani and since then were inclined to exploit the naturopaths.

Simultaneously with the developments at the local level, changes also took place at the macro-regional one: the Cinchona forests in the north-central Andes decreased. Within this setting, and twelve years after the indigenous uprising had been crushed in 1794, a discreet actor explored the Apolobamba mountain slope: the Jesuit-educated Austrian-Bohemian botanist and pharmacist Thaddäus Haenke (1761-1817; Haenke, 1900, p. 90). He discovered Cinchona forests with trees containing a high amount of quinine alkaloid, news he shared with locals (Weddell, 1848, pp. 3, 6). Soon after, the forests turned into a hot spot for bark cutters and trade because the product could be easily transported with mules via Puno to the harbours of Arica and Tacna. Then, the Bolivian State (1825), which itself planned to establish a lucrative quinine-business with estates run by *criollo* colonists (Soux, 1991), drastically punished illegal Cinchona trade. In 1844 the cutting of Cinchona bark passed over to state regulation. At the same time, La Paz-based immigrant families of military officers extended control over the Kallaway region.

While Cinchona bark cutting became a controlled occupation, an attractive new perspective opened: The illegal export of Cinchona seeds and seedlings for plantations to be installed in Asia (Markham, 1880, p. 58). In 1848, Hughes Algernon Weddell (1853, pp.177-178), a British physician, collected Cinchona seeds for the Museum of Natural History in Paris. He drew on Kallaway assistants but denigrates them as sorcerers, evidently a fraudulent misrepresentation in order to withhold his collaborators' knowledge and to undermine their liability. In 1854, Justus Carl Hasskarl, a German botanist, likewise obtained Cinchona seeds and seedlings from persons from the Kallaway valleys (Markham, 1880, pp. 75-76). He was followed by the British entrepreneur Charles Ledger who took advantage of his assistant Manuel Tucra Mamani from Larecaja, the southern part of the Kallaway region. The experienced bark cutter collected high-quality Cinchona seeds, exported by Ledger in 1865, and successfully cultivated in Java. Mamani's second mission (in 1872 or in 1873) ended fatally, just as for another of Ledger's assistants (called) "...Poli, when bringing seeds and flowers in 1877." (Ledger, 1881, p. 11).

It remains unexplored whether or not the Cinchona woods found by Haenke have survived but it is well known that the bark was continuously used by the naturopaths. The hastily compiled Kallawaya herbarium for the world-exhibition in 1889 in Paris obviously represents the state's attempt to nationalize and to exploit indigenous knowledge and, simultaneously, to essentialize ethnic groups. Unimpressed by those developments, the naturopaths continued travelling to their classic destinations of Potosí, Oruro, Cusco, Lima, Quito, Santiago de Chile, Salta, Tucumán, and Buenos Aires, attending to clients in their homes and at municipal markets, and supplying shops with plants and amulets (Valdizán and Maldonado, 1922).

Ethnic medicine for Bolivian citizens

From the beginning of the nineteenth to the mid twentieth century, naturopathy was the adequate response of the Kallawaya experts to the exploiting rural labour system. Bolivia's inner conflicts and wars with neighbouring countries between 1867 and 1935 created new fields of practice but also impeded long-distance migration cycles. Inflations around the turn of the twentieth century made the modest Kallawaya fortunes shrink. Those who had fought side by side with the region's landowners in the Chaco-War (1932-1935; Álvarez in Ranaboldo, 1992) or had been imprisoned in Paraguay did not receive any compensation from the state. The landowners, by contrast, have successfully lobbied since 1937 for the disaffiliation of the Bautista Saavedra province (from Muñecas), effectively created in 1948. The new status, the patrons hoped, would foster the trade of agricultural products with Perú.

They used the allegedly 15,000 [sic] indigenous inhabitants of the valleys as a statistical argument and presented their own version of Kallawaya history. They described the indigenous population as descendants of immigrated nobles originating from Cuzco, a fact evidenced by the already mentioned journey of a young member of the Inca-family to the valleys in 1572 (Cárdenas, 1979, pp. 11, 18, 36).⁸ The patrons appropriated this element of indigenous cultural memory confirmed by a written source and used it, together with Otero's monograph (1951), which provides dubious second-hand information, for their own politics. In this way, they presented themselves as legal custodians of a regional peasant population with aristocratic indigenous roots.

Before the rise of the MNR-government (1952-1964), the naturopaths' group was already split into those who had left and those who remained in the region (Girault, 1987, p. 33). The first either opted for uxori-local residence in neighbouring countries where they

⁸ At this point, the patrons, interested to underpin their argument with the existence of a remote and aristocratic regional elite, definitely confused two Inca-leaders assassinated by the Spaniards (Atahualpa in 1533 with Inca Túpac Amaru in 1572; Cárdenas, 1979, pp. 11, 18, 36).

owned bank-accounts or for Bolivian urban centres to expand their professional perspectives beyond naturopathy. This resolved a growing problem: the increasing control over their travels, occupation, and income by the state. During the Agrarian Reform (in 1953) many absent naturopaths lost plots and pastures to their communities and to close relatives (Álvarez in Ranaboldo, 1992). They left their fame to the approximately 230 remaining experts (Girault, 1987, p. 39) who, during the following twenty-five years, received patients in backyard offices on Sagarnaga street and in the medical centre of the San Francisco basilica (Guzmán and Ranaboldo, 1986, p. 81; fieldnotes 1985-1988, 2010-2015) in La Paz and in medical offices in Cochabamba, Oruro, and Potosí.

In 1965, and following the trend to legalize traditional medicines, the first Episcopal Conference entrusted Jesuit Jaime Zalles Asín (later ex-friar and from 2006 to 2007 vice-minister of intercultural health) to organize the first *Bolivian Medical Assembly* (*Asamblea Boliviana en Medicina*) followed by eight others. Then, in 1978, the *World Health Organization* recommended integrating traditional medicines into state health care systems which midwifed the birth of the “new” Kallawaya and, simultaneously, of political ethnicization and memory politics.

The “new” Kallawaya: the return to regional identity and the political use of memory figures

To be successful, identity politics needs authentic politicians. The key actor for Kallawaya concerns, Walter Álvarez Quispe, came in 1978, after his return from Cuba where he had awaited Banzer’s dictatorship (1971-1978). Born in 1940 into a naturopath family in Khanlaya (forming the upper part of the Chajaya community) but attending secondary school in a place quite distant from Charazani, in Oruro, he left in 1962 for La Habana, Cuba, with a grant for nursing studies and later stayed there as a political refugee (van de Graaf, 1984, p. 73). That he created in 1962 the Instituto de Ciencias Básicas y Preclínicas Victoria de Girón in La Habana, Cuba (Loza, 2014, p. 1476), simultaneously founded by Fidel Castro is thus not realistic. In Bolivia, he never worked in his original profession but rather prepared for a political career. He first collaborated with the Kataristas, an indigenist movement named after the Aymara leader Túpac Katari (1750-1782) and at this time inclined to the right-wing National Democratic Action (ADN) party. Soon after, in 1979, he became a health consultant of the Unique Syndicate Confederation of Bolivian Peasant Workers (CSUTCB). Through his relative, naturopath and cattle herder Ramiro Álvarez (one of Rösing’s key informants), he kept in touch with the NGO *Services and Appropriate Technologies* (SEMTA) involved in a Kallawaya-project, realized from 1980 to 1985 in Chajaya and in Curva (its closing event being the meeting mentioned above). He was a deputy for La Paz (1982-1993, party-affiliation unknown; Loza, 2014, p. 1476) and in

1984 founded SOBOMETRA (Bolivian Society of Traditional Medicine), now INBOMETRAKA (Bolivian Institute of Traditional Kallawayá Medicine), an institution authorized by the Bolivian state to train and to license Kallawayá naturopaths. SOBOMETRA was the counter-project to Toribio Tapía Valencia's Bolivian Naturopath Society. Tapía, born in 1941 in Curva, also studied in Cuba and at this time, still was affiliated with Katarism.

One year later, in 1985, Álvarez Quispe got into serious trouble in his home-region because he received donation that afterward was never delivered, a lorryload of flour and tools for his home community Chajaya causing deep mistrust among the regionally-based naturopaths and peasants. The load disappeared, well viewable and observed from the plaza by Charazani townspeople, into an ex-patron's storage-room (GP, personal communication, August 25, 1986; fieldnotes 1985-1988). Álvarez Quispe's uncle, Antonio Álvarez Mamani, a highly respected indigenist leader and naturopath, denounced the case in *Arinsana* (1986, pp. 79-81), a development cooperation journal. Meanwhile, Álvarez Quispe, who also held close contact to MNR-affine ex-patrons (fieldnotes 1985-1988) lobbied for the proclamation of the Province Bautista Saavedra as *Bolivian Capital of Traditional Medicine*, drafted in April 1987 and celebrated in Charazani shortly afterward. The passage forms part of ministerial resolution no. 0231 (April 9, 1987) which regulates traditional phyto-medicine. This official definition is an ethnically biased and a political statement, explicitly excluding the *criollo* ex-patrons. It links the regional population to traditional medicine and to ancestry, the two main figures of memory in Kallawayá cultural memory.

The lobbyist's success evidences closeness to MNR-leaders, especially to president Victor Paz-Estenssoro (1985-1989; Loza, 2014, pp. 1480-1482) in moments of increasing ADN-influence in the region, mainly in Curva. Being a decorated Chaco-war veteran himself, the president was well aware of the compensation denied to indigenous ex-soldiers. Through the declaration, both politicians encountered a method to probably convert suspicious peasants into potential MNR-voters. Since then, regional phyto-medicine, now officially labelled Kallawayá, turned into a legalized practice while, for the moment, ritual remained politically unconsidered. The "new" Kallawayá graduated from Kallawayá-schools (Guzman and Ranaboldo, 1986, p. 82) and spoke Quechua during curing sessions. Iconic figures of cultural memory such as the originality of knowledge, people, rituals, and language changed into elements of a public memory, ready to be used for memory politics (Fabian, 2007). The naturopaths calling themselves Kallawayá had turned from "those who know the old rituals" into "those who know traditional phyto-medicine".

The hegemonic conditions for the commodification of the cultural memory

In addition to the above described process, another thread of action emerged in the early nineteen eighties which fitted into Álvarez Quispe's enterprise to use Kallawaya naturopathy as a vehicle for politics. When Charazani-based ex-patron Ginés Pastén initiated his collaboration with Ina Rösing (2009; Alderman, 2016, Appendix 2), regional politics began to intertwine with Western science, namely with psychology. Pastén and Álvarez Quispe knew each other well and, acting in consent, remained silent about their relationship (fieldnotes 1985-1988). Viewed from the perspective of Álvarez Quispe, two non-indigenous actors, and thus excluded from the indigenous sector, achieved a specious objective reappraisal (Rao, 2002) of what was being regionally practiced, meaning of Kallawaya ritual. As a result of their interventions, vernacular ritual turned into an essential expression of Kallawayaness, building the core of the subsequent process of ethnicization, and, paradoxically, it made *criollo* ex-patrons into brokers of indigenous culture.

Like other *criollo* co-residents, the ex-patron facilitated accommodation and storage place in his house in Charazani. This allowed him to discretely introduce researchers to his preferred indigenous vertical fictive kin-relatives and, finally, to exercise control over both. The pivotal factor was clientilism,⁹ the powerful bond at that time still linking peasants and ex-patrons (Llanos, 2003, pp. 231-240). The latter benefited from the peasants' illiteracy, lack of legal knowledge, family problems, and disputes for land. The situation was a consequence of both the Agrarian Reform (1953) during which communities emerged from haciendas and of a State-legislation intersecting with customary right.

After 1953 land-grabbing became life-threatening for ex-patrons which made them look for alternative strategies. However, while most peasants could create graphically complex signatures to sign documents, they were unable to check the papers' content. Consequently, ex-patrons controlled the village market and the secondary school in Charazani, ran registry offices, land and voting registries, issued travel documents, and generally facilitated interaction with the distant State. While horizontal fictive kinship delimited each sector, vertical fictive kinship connected them. Because kinship networks show processual dynamics, a view from the relational perspective as expressed by address terms is here useful (Donati, 2018).

⁹ To outsiders Ginés Pastén generally indicated 200 godchildren per ex-patron (Llanos, 2003) which is incorrect. In the nineteen eighties, and begrudged by many ex-patrons, he ran the town's most popular law office and held the record with nearly 130 adults. The exact number, the related personal data, and the peasants' debts and obligations were firmly anchored in his brilliant memory and accurately noted in his account book, being a cautionary measure to avoid assassination, copied and stored in safe deposits (GP, personal communication, October 31, 1986; fieldnotes 1985-1988; Alderman, 2016, Appendix 2; Rösing, 2001, pp. 834-835).

The ex-patrons addressed adult indigenous persons by the Spanish and Quechua terms for ‘son’, ‘daughter’ or generally ‘child’ (currently replaced by ‘friend’). The peasants in turn addressed the ex-patrons by the Spanish terms *madrina* or *padrino* which reveals a pseudo parent-child relationship. This practice contrasts with the address terms *co-mother* and *co-father* indicating equality and restrictedly applied among adults within both population sectors. The ex-patrons used vertical fictive kinship, passed down in their own and in the client families, to recruit farmhand and domestic staff, the peasants to receive documents and juridical support which generated additional subsidies for ex-patrons.

Besides the reproduction of hegemony and of subalternity, vertical fictive kinship created a complex network of interactions guided by the knowledge of the associated benefits and disadvantages. Pastén introduced Rösing into his vertical fictive kinship-network via the adoption of adult indigenous persons as ‘sons’ and ‘daughters’ (Rösing, 2009). To prevent envy, the adult godchildren called her ‘*doctorita*’ which created a twofold advantage: outsiders did not notice the relationship because the original address-term *madrina* was omitted and the innocuous title *doctor*, here used to mark difference, and exclusively applied for physicians, generally evoked respect.¹⁰

Ritualism and process of ethnicization: entering the public memory

The ambiguous meaning of the term Kallawaya matched well with the essentializing image promoted by the ex-patrons and with the decoupling of ritual from social aspects, so basic in Andean polities, in the contemporary projects of western researchers which then, combined altogether, sparked the commodification of vernacular ritual. The use of Quechua in ritual speech facilitated documentation and the inclusion of all communities, even of Aymara-speaking villages due to their bilingual status and of Amarete with its unique regional textile design (Alderman, 2016, Appendix).

To know the old rituals now explicitly became a legacy administered by single Kallawaya naturopaths (such as former SEMTA-collaborators), by ritualists who ever since had held ceremonies for their communities, and generally by region-based persons feeling a vocation. Because the regional population practiced vernacular rituals, all rituals held in Charazani and the surrounding area became genuinely Kallawaya and, in a way, ritualism was democratised. It shifted from being a marker of expertise, of economic autonomy, and of social-ritual authority to one of cultural difference and of ethnic belonging. Now

¹⁰At this time being a usual trick among collaborators of development projects which generated questionable situations such as in the case of the distribution of oral contraceptives in single three-month supplies per person in the Kallawaya region in 1986 (Norminest Fe, a Pfizer product gifted by Rösing to her peasant ‘daughters’). Unaware of its application the women occasionally took a pill and spared the rest while children ate them as ‘sweets’ (fieldnotes 1988).

ritualism evidenced Kallawayness which made the regional population a ritualist, meaning a Kallaway ethnic group basically possessing the knowledge of ancestral curing expertise and ritual (Hill, 1996, p. 3).

Being an intrinsic element of Kallaway naturopathy, ritual always has been a commodity inextricably linked to the commodity of phyto-medicine. In the nineteen eighties, a rural Kallaway ritual of four hours with all the ingredients contributed by the client cost up to 8 US\$ (currently up to 25 US\$) occasionally combined with highly appreciated natural products while rituals held in urban contexts were fully remunerated. One day of field work, spinning or weaving, by contrast, was paid with 2 US\$, two handfuls of coca and a meal. Locally-based ritual experts in turn were strictly obliged to reciprocity. Community members donated the paraphernalia for public ceremonies (fieldnotes 1985-1988) and afterwards invited the ritual experts to a banquet.

When in the mid-nineteen eighties Rösing, interested to “keep ritual practice alive”, began to sponsor, and thus to intervene in community-bound circles of reciprocity, rituals became associated with the market value of the received goods. According to duration and complexity, the acts were compensated, in addition to the donations of ingredients, with materials worth a minimum of 100 US\$.¹¹ Both, the sponsor and the intermediary, viewed the organization of collective rituals for data collection, mainly bartered for construction materials of public buildings, as discrete acts of reciprocity.

Public rituals became thus a vehicle for communities to obtain rare, expensive or hardly obtainable goods and for local politicians to increase personal prestige within their one-year office terms. What was ignored or remained undiscovered by both, western sponsors and Charazani-based brokers, was the fact that ritual was an essential clue for rural social life and that, consequently, every performed community ritual fostered local social cohesion and regional belonging. However, private rituals held by individual local experts in their home-community or in neighbouring communities were compensated with natural goods and, according to the degree of kinship, remunerated while western sponsors usually received the service in Ginés Pastén’s home and fully paid for it.

To enable accurate documentation of vernacular rituals, making it a perfect cultural product ready for sale, *criollo* brokers needed to overcome two obstacles: the refusal of locals to any recording and picture-taking of their daily-life practices, family members, rituals, and of coca leaves, and their deep mistrust towards ex-patrons and strangers. The first problem was solved by the involved ritualists who applied neutralizing strategies (Girault, 1987; 1988) such as changing from ritual to profane places (fieldnotes 1985-

¹¹ The amount of 100 US\$ per collective ritual could be easily calculated by counting the metal roofing sheets donated by Rösing to Upinhuaya in 1986, locked up in the store house of one of her adult adoptees. It was likewise planned to charge one day of weaving instruction for 50 US\$ (fieldnotes 1986).

1988) or rearranging the textiles included in the offerings. The second problem was solved by contracts drafted by the ex-patron intermediary who, in turn, provided locations, paid ritualists, and negotiated with authorities to ensure the realization of the ritual, its payment, and the provision with paraphernalia (Rösing, 2001, pp. 834-835). An essential benefit for the intermediary, besides a regularly received salary for transcription and translation (Figure 4), was his growing influence in the villages, attracting clients to his office in Charazani and voters to the political parties he promoted, at that time the MNR.



Figure 4. Ex-patron and intermediary Ginés Pastén transcribing a record for Rösing in his office in September 1986, before electricity was available in Charazani.

Kallawaya memory politics

While in the Kallawaya region local culture became objectified by those who inhabited it, the consumer community broadened to the readers of books on non-western identities. The idea that local knowledge, meaning vernacular ritual, was stored in photographs, tapes,

and books, translated into different languages, now gave priority to local community members as cultural brokers (Anderson, 2006, pp. 15, 43; Hannß, 2017) and simultaneously turned regional culture into public memory. During the last decade of the twentieth century, Kallawaya policies became increasingly intertwined with Bolivia's internal development, a fact analysed in detail elsewhere (Faguet, 2003; Guzmán and Rodríguez-López, 2018). The commodification of expert and of vernacular ritual at the global level fit perfectly with the rhetoric fuelling ethnicization since 1985 for MNR-, MIR-, and ADN- governments, since 2002 for the MÁS-party, and since 2006 connoted the Morales governments. The ex-patrons, by contrast, who initially had acted as trustees of Kallawaya culture experienced a progressing status erosion. Because the indigenous sector defined belonging by ethnic (meaning ancestral and religious) bonds to the region, many ex-patrons became excluded from local politics; with few exceptions such as, Ginés Pastén who was subprefect during MNR governments and in 2006 had become general secretary of the of the MÁS-affine agrarian syndicate of Chararazani (Cárdenas, 1979; Alderman, 2016, Appendix 8).

The new Kallawaya managed to include professionals with diverging practices which enlarged the group. However, La Paz-based lobbyists, such as Walter Álvarez Quispe, now promoted a follow-up project: the acceptance of Kallawaya ritual practice as part of traditional medicine and, consequently, the recovery of the interpretational autonomy once exclusively claimed by Rösing. Between 2002 and 2004, a series of rituals and receptions to promote the recognition of Kallawaya cosmology by the UNESCO took place in Charazani and around (Loza, 2004, p. 149). To welcome authorities in an adequate way, the participating communities erected wooden arches ornamented with textiles, silver plates, and village name signs with the additional indication "Kallawaya region" at the village entrances (fieldnotes 2003). The events definitely promoted the Intangible Cultural Heritage project registered by the UNESCO in 2008. This prepared the Kallawaya's status to become contractually fixed in the country's new constitution in 2009. Kallawaya cultural memory definitely had turned into public memory (Fabian, 2007) and was adapted to current economic aims: La Paz-based Kallawaya ritualists hold the ceremonies for the Bolivian government, Kallawaya herbalists work in their offices in La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro, and Potosí, and regionally-based experts are specialized in rituals for tourists.

Concluding remarks

To analyse the Kallawaya's development from a regional poly-ethnic into a homogeneous population with a unifying ethnic self-concept means to view it over a timespan of more than five centuries. The perspective enables one to identify different stages and to observe how changes of inner contexts and external structures influenced the peoples' aims and

politics. It shows how the cultural memory was transferred via memory figures and the way some of those figures entered memory politics. In this sense, and based on politically inspired linear perceptions of history, the early pre-Inca settlers became included in current notions of Kallawaya ancestry thereby supporting an instrumentalist conception of ethnicity (Corr and Powers, 2012).

In contrast, the historic ethnic Kallawaya settling during the late Inca and early colonial periods into Charazani and the surrounding area, followed a kinship model of social belonging which coincides with the primordial conception of ethnicity and was used as an argument for claims of political power vis-à-vis superior instances like the Inca elite and later, the colonial administration. That the Kallawaya were perceived as an ethnic group by the members of other ethnic entities is evidenced by early colonial records describing them as porters of the Inca sedan chair, especially during battles (Taylor, 1987; Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1980). The existence of an ethnic leader of Puquina origin called Inca Canauqui (later followed by Are Quapaquiqui, likewise of Puquina origin) entrusted by the Cusco elite to administer the Kallawaya territory serves in this context as an additional argument (very probably, they were Incas by privilege; Cerrón-Palomino, 2011; Saignes, 1985b, p. 216; Zuidema, 1967, p. 47). The Kallawaya province was divided into two parts, called upper and lower or big and small Carabaya. This partition follows an Andean kinship dominated logic which distinguishes younger from older lineages.

Simultaneously, many local groups in the Kallawaya region turned into poly-ethnic entities ruled at the time of the European invasion by a thin Kallawaya elite layer residing in Charazani. Obviously, the valley's first colonizers spoke Puquina, the language which forms the roots of the regionally developed Kallawaya jargon and which was one of the three languages of preaching in Mass in Charazani until the seventeenth century (Saignes, 1985b, p. 121). Because the Kallawaya elite signified local ancestry and, consequently, insinuated a direct link to the Inca leaders and to ancestral rituals, early naturopaths appropriated the Kallawaya language for exclusive ritual use and simultaneously converted both into figures of memory, a sheer instrumentalist procedure.

An essential impetus for the naturopaths' self-estimation came from Andean phyto-medical and religious knowledge applied as a counter-project in the struggle to control access to the dominant society's wealth and power (Hill, 1996, Edwards, 2020) within a transcultural and poly-ethnic setting. Kallawaya naturopathy shows thus a twofold structure of phyto-medical and ritual therapies. Phyto-medical knowledge was better accessible and intelligible for western experts. Ritual, by contrast, was based on discriminated, in colonial time prohibited and sanctioned knowledge, on secrets transmitted via the 'enigmatic Kallawaya idiom'. The aura of mystery served for more than patent protection. It enabled the naturopaths to defend their space of action in colonial and

early modern power-networks, but simultaneously impeded detailed analysis of their knowledge-body and its Andean background (Foster, 1987; Wilkin, 2014).

By constituting locally embedded ethnic-professional enclaves within a poly-ethnic population on its way to regional identity, the naturopaths switched to the primordialist strategy. But their elite-status and economic power created social difference which made them alters in both the egalitarian local-communal and in the stratified national society. Consequently, those among the 'old' Kallaway who responded in an adaptive way to modernity, left their home-region, passing figures of memory such as ritual, phyto-medical knowledge, and language on to those who decided to stay.

The "new" Kallaway dissolved the close link between kinship and profession and highlighted a local identity with strong connotations of time-honoured ritual and phyto-medical knowledge, a quasi-natural professionalism. Driven by ethnic policies and by global and local brokers, that knowledge, and especially its ritual component, turned, beside becoming a commodity for the regional population, into public memory and into a political statement. The current collective Kallaway identity is thus the result of a meta-process oriented towards ethnicization, fuelled by economic needs and political claims, and based on the Andean concept of diversity which means the different origins of Andean human groups.

If ethnicization means the emerging of a collectivity caused by conditions of economic and of political inequalities turned into political claims, the Kallaway's enterprise to create a collective identity has been, and still is, a process of ethnicization. Before ethnogenesis became a state affair in 2006, different local groups developed over time under specific inner dynamics and framework conditions through the interplay of subsequent, simultaneous, or overlapping primordialist and instrumentalist conceptions. The question is thus not if groups are static or dynamic but when, how, and why they interlocked or not with each other, producing dynamic settings and converting continuity into change, and vice versa.

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