A B S T R A C T

Locality, Kinship and Ceremonial Kinship. A study of the Social Organization of the Comunidad de Andamarca, Ayacucho - Peru

Juan M. Ossio, Linacre College

Doctor Philosophy

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In contrast to other studies of the rural communities of the Peruvian Andes and of other parts of Latin America which tend to give a view of these societies either as a collection of unrelated institutions of different cultural origins or as mechanical organisms whose parts are integrated due to the pressure of external forces, this thesis attempts to give an image of an Andean comunity in terms of the categories which are significant to the actors and to disclose the structural tendencies which underly its social organization.

The analysis focuses therefore on the interacting categories which are significant to the Andamarquinos, and these are traced in their actual performances, mutual relationships and, whenever possible, in their symbolic expressions. Among the different interacting categories that exist in Andamarca those of Compadrazgo Espiritual have been privileged in this analysis because apart from being representative of the other modalities

of ceremonial kinship, Compadrazgo Espiritual presents certain characteristics which contrast with other compadrazgo systems. Thus it serves to highlight in comparative terms the peculiarities of an Andean social system, and the limitations of the theoretical issues that have been advanced in attempts to understand this institution. Hence, contrary to the functionalist view point, Compadrazgo in Andamarca cannot be explained simply as a mechanism that furthers social solidarity, nor that replaces a weakened kinship system, and contrary to the structuralist view point it does not express merely the constraints laid down by the Catholic dogma of Baptism, nor are symmetrical or asymmetrical forms of selecting a godparent mutually exclusive, as the structuralist position implies. Rather, what emerges from the analysis is that the Compadrazgo system of Andamarca presupposes a strong kinship system in which the nuclear family lacks importance, a set of marriage rules, and a dialectic interplay between individual and collectivity.

Compadrazgo, therefore, may be regarded as the guiding topic in this analysis. Through it an attempt has been made to understand the other modalities of ceremonial kinship and the meaning of kinship and marriage. These last two topics have been dealt specifically in Chapter III but some further aspects of them are also seen in Chapter I in relation to the residence pattern and the land tenure system and in Chapter II in relation to the sponsorship of religious cargos and to Misti/

Indian relationships. From this analysis it emerges that social relationships in Andamarca are basically fluid, that they are dominated by a tendency towards local endogamy and kinship exogamy and by a dialectic of individual/collective, and that the only bounded corporate group that exists is the Comunidad itself. This last is evident from the endogamous marriages of the Andamarquinos, the self-sufficient character of their productive activities and the symbolic representation of the community as a total universe made up of two opposite complementary parts.

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Juan M. Ossio

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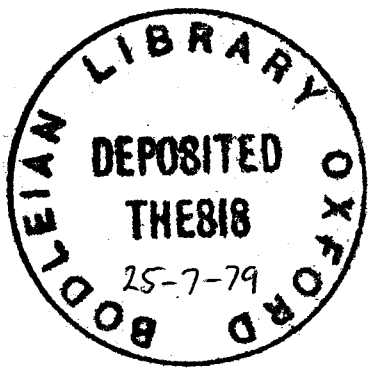

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

This thesis is the result of eight years of work of which 18 months were spent in the field in different periods, 1 year was dedicated to documentary work in different Peruvian libraries and archives, 9 months were spent in Oxford ordering my material and writing some drafts of the thesis, and one year and a half was spent in Lima writing the whole thesis and interviewing some migrants settled there. Of these different stages of my research, the ones to which I dedicated the fullest part of my time were those when I was in the field and my nine months residence period at Oxford. During the other periods I had to share my time lecturing at the university. Because of my committments to the university I did not undertake my field research in one continuous period but rather in several separate ones. The longest continuous period I spent in the field was 8 months (from August 1973 to March 1974), while the other three periods lasted 5, 4 and 1 month respectively. The whole of this field research was undertaken between 1972 and 1974; and in 1976 I was able to visit Andamarca again in order to complete some gaps in my material.

Perhaps this is not the ideal way of carrying out field work, but in my case it did not preclude me from making very good friends and from obtaining information which is not normally given in the Andean World unless a certain measure of trust is granted to the anthropologist. Perhaps the only disadvantage of performing field work in this manner was that I did not become

very fluent in Quechua. However, this was not a great handicap, since there are many Andamarquinos who are bilingual, and they were generally very careful and patient in supplying me with information and in avoiding any possible misinterpretation on my part.

Moreover, this manner of conducting my research did not prevent me from observing the various events that take place throughout an entire annual cycle, and I was also able to survey the whole territory of the community, enabling me therefore to grasp an image of the totality of the reality I was studying.

One advantage of carrying out the field work in this way was that by alternating it with lectures at the Universidad Católica I had the opportunity to discuss parts of the material with my students and to return to the field with much clearer ideas about what questions to ask.

In what follows I shall explain the reasons that prompted me to study the comunidad de Andamarca, for they express very clearly the problems and theoretical issues that have guided me throughout this work. I shall then make a commentary about the order of the chapters and about the content of each of them, and finally a list will be given of some of the institutions and individuals who in one way or another have supplied me with materials to complete this work.

The reasons for selecting the Comunidad de Andamarca for my field research are closely related to the topic that I developed in my B. Litt thesis. This was entitled The Idea of History in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and the links with my present research may be seen at two levels: firstly in that Guaman Poma de Ayala, an Indian chronicler who wrote an extensive chronicle (El Primer Nueva Cronica y Buen Gobierno) between the end of the XVI and beginning of the XVII century, used to live in the area where Andamarca is located and consequently through his work I became historically acquainted with this area more than with others in the Andean world; and secondly in that I wanted to extend my approach to Guaman Poma's chronicle to a much wider and contemporary context and to trace the continuity of certain Andean structural patterns. In other words, once more my interest has been to go beyond the Western institutions, or those derived from the Peruvian national society, under which a socio-cultural specimen of the Andean world expresses itself and to disclose the nature of its social and category system. Consequently the perspective that will be used to understand the Comunidad de Andamarca contrasts greatly with those frequently adopted for the study of Latin-American rural populations which tend to explain them simply as the result of forces originating outside of them, and which generally disregard the cultural idiom in which their behaviour and institutions gain their meaning.

My theoretical orientation is thus not precisely that which attempts to explain a society only from the actual behaviour of the individuals, or by seeking causal or functional connections between certain contingent events, but rather focusses on the attempt to <u>understand</u> the behaviour and thought of social actors in their reciprocal relationships. In this respect, I would be inclined to follow Evans-Pritchard when he says "...that social anthropology studies societies as moral, or symbolic systems and not as natural systems, that it is less interested in process than in design, and that it therefore seeks patterns and not laws, demonstrates consistency and not necessary relations between social activities, and interprets rather than explains". (EVANS-PRITCHARD, E.E., 1964, p. 62). Moreover, in so far as one of my major concerns is to understand the Comunidad de Andamarca within the general framework of Andean culture and to generate devices that may enable us to attempt comparisons not only with the so called "peasant groups" but also with Amazonian "tribal groups", I also share with Evans-Pritchard an historical bias. Correspondingly I must admit that I have profited more from ethnohistorical works, such as those of R.T. Zuidema and John Murra, which attempt to understand pre-Hispanic Andean society, and from certain ethnographies of Amazonian groups, than from those monographs about contemporary rural Latin-American peoples which have been moulded by the Dominance, Dependency or other similar theories.

In order to fulfill my broad aim of understanding the nature of the Comunidad de Andamarca I have begun with an analysis of its social organization or, more specifically, an analysis of the different interacting categories which are significant to the Andamarquinos, and I have tried to follow them in their actual performances, mutual relationships, and whenever possible, in their symbolic expressions. Additionally I have tried to go beyond simple observation and to understand the mechanisms in terms of which they are organized. It is at this level that I have encountered certain structural tendencies comparable to those studied by the ethnohistorians, mentioned above, or by those interested in Amazonian groups. For example I have noticed that there is still a great tendency towards local endogamy which is manifested at different levels but in particular at the level of the community as a whole and at the level of the moieties, and together with this tendency I also have noticed that the norms that regulate incest tend to remain unchanged and that an equilibrium is maintained between these two tendencies, an equilibrium which is expressed in the stated ideal of having 12 children and in the fact that both sexes start procreating from a very early age. It is true that it is not possible to talk about a <u>prescriptive</u> marriage system in this society, as this term is used by Lévi-Strauss, Needham and others, and perhaps the term <u>proscriptive</u> is more suitable in so far as the system limits itself to defining whom one should <u>not</u> marry, yet the tendency towards equilibrium between the endogamous and exogamous tendencies leaves so little margin to chance that it would seem that

the marriage system of this community is half way between those which are regarded by Lévi-Strauss as Elementary and Complex Structures. Correspondingly at an empirical level it is possible to note a frequent tendency for the reiteration of marriages between two families and for the practice of sister exchange; and also that the difference between Indians and Mistis (Whites), whose reciprocal relationships and symbolic representations resemble very much those of the ancient Huaris (conquered or local people) and Llacuazes (Conquerors or foreigners) (See Chapter II), rests in great part on the endogamous orientation of the community.

Another structural tendency which recurs in different contexts of Andamarca's social organization and whose continuity can be traced back to the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods is that both sexes transmit rights and qualities to their children, a tendency which according to different contexts may adopt the form of bilateral, parallel or unilineal transmission. Corrrespondingly, it is possible to note that the Andamarquinos distinguish various kinds of social groups. Thus the Castas are unilineal groups, somewhat weak, which have a patrilineal bias which corresponds to the transmission of patronymics, the Ayllus are bilateral kindreds whose boundaries are defined by incest prohibitions, and finally the parallel transmission tendencies divide the two sexes in what may be called two parallel and complementary worlds.

One further structural tendency that underlies the organization of social relationships in Andamarca rests on the interplay of individuals and groups. Consequently, these relations may adopt a symmetrical or asymmetrical character, according to whether the parties involved are individuals / individuals, individuals/groups, or groups/groups. Moreover, we shall see that the distinction of a group and an individual dimension is highly relevant to the understanding of the meaning granted by the Andamarquinos to institutions such as marriage and ceremonial kinship.

Although ceremonial kinship is dealt with mainly in the last chapter, this topic has been our point of departure for the organization of the material that is presented in the entire thesis, and for the disclosure of the structural tendencies mentioned above. The reason for this choice rested on certain peculiarities that this institution manifests in Andamarca which contrast with those described by analysts with a functionalist, and sometimes structuralist, theoretical framework for other parts of the world. Besides, it was a very convenient topic for the visualization of my approach in terms of going beyond Western institutions in order to understand the nature of the social and category system in Andamarca through the reinterpretation undergone by those institutions, and it also enabled me to set these systems against a wider comparative framework.

One of the peculiarities of ceremonial kinship in Andamarca is the coexistence in this community of several modalities of this institution whose social bases are arranged in a sequence that ranges from the collective to the individual. Accordingly it is possible to note that compadrazgo, which has generally been described as a dyadic contract between individuals and as a replacement for a weakened kinship system, appears in Andamarca as an exchange of services between bilateral groups resting upon a strong kinship system. Hence, in contrast to what occurs in other areas compadrazgo links are not usually established in Andamarca at the moment of Baptism but rather at the time of the religious marriage ceremony and as a consequence of this all the children born from that marriage become godchildren of the same pair of godparents. Moreover, compadres are recruited along family lines, e.g. an ego generally inherits the compadrazgo links of his siblings, wife's siblings and even of the siblings of the members a generation above him. Alternatively, there is also the tendency for co-parents-in-law and the respective siblings of a conjugal couple to become compadres. On the other hand, there is a modality of ceremonial kinship which rests upon more individual ties, which is the Padrinazgo de Matrimonio. This modality does not imply compadrazgo and recruitment for this rule takes into account very much the moral qualities of the couple who will act as Padrinos, since they are supposed to act as mediators in the disputes that the new married couple may have between themselves during their married life.

At an ideological level it is also interesting to note that in contrast to the assumption of Stephen Gudeman (1972) that the Christian doctrine of baptism imposed certain constraints on the forms adopted by compadrazgo all over the world, the material from Andamarca suggests that this is not necessarily so, since the Andamarquinos have re-interpreted the elements of that doctrine in terms which are radically different. My material raises some doubts as to whether the conceptual distinction between man as a natural and a spiritual being corresponds to a distinction between natural and spiritual parenthood, and concerning the assertion that the entrusting of these two aspects of the human personality to different persons is something peculiar to the institution of Christian spiritual sponsorship. Indeed, we shall see that both kinship and ceremonial kinship are subject to the same incest regulations and that it is only in so far as the second is always religiously sanctioned, and includes several modalities which may adopt symmetrical or asymmetrical values, that they differ.

Given the close interrelatedness between ceremonial kinship and kinship and marriage we have dealt specifically with these last in chapter III. We have been particularly concerned to describe the kinship terminology, the unilineal and bilateral tendencies expressed in certain groups known as Castas and Ayllus, and the individual and collective dimensions of marriage, as well as to reassess the discussion concerning the existence of "trial marriage" in the Andes, the endogamous and exogamous tendencies and the ideal of having 12 or more children.

In contrast to the fluid nature suggested by the social relationships within Andamarca which are apparent from the first, the third and the fourth chapter, chapter II and some parts of chapter I attempt to give an image of Andamarca as a bounded universe both at a symbolic and actual level. In chapter II we begin with an analysis of the Yarja Aspi or "cleaning of the water channel" celebrations which represent the community as made from two opposite and complementary halves, from which it reconstitutes itself, then we explore the nature of the relationships between the Mistis (Whites) and Indians which are the two broadest interacting categories in Andamarca, and finally we attempt to understand the organization and rationality behind the sponsoring of religious cargos. Through our analysis of the relationships between Mistis and Indians we have also attempted to make more explicit our own theoretical standpoint with respect to the study of Andean communities.

Chapter I deals mostly with the material basis of the Comunidad de Andamarca as expressed through a description of the main productive activities that are performed, of the residence pattern and of the land-holding system. On the one hand, it aims to provide the empirical basis upon which the basic duality and self-sufficiency of the Comunidad de Andamarca is expressed and on the other hand it attempts a preliminary evaluation of the importance of kinship and of its nature in relation to the mechanisms by which property is transmitted. In so far as this chapter expresses in a material form the social and symbolic mechanisms that will be dealt later in the following chapters, I wanted to place it at the beginning of the thesis.

Thus, the chapters of this thesis have been arranged in a sequence which begins from the study of the materialization in an actual territory of the social mechanisms which govern the configuration of the Comunidad de Andamarca as a bounded universe, and as internally differentiated into several parts whose organization is sustained by several classificatory principles, of which dualism is the most dominant. The symbolic expressions of these classificatory principles are then dealt with in more detail in the next chapter and finally in the last two chapters we face more directly the study of social mechanisms, combining our results from the enquiry concerning the property system with the analysis of the kinship and ceremonial kinship systems. We hope that by arranging the chapters in this sequence the reader may attain a knowledge of the hard facts from the beginning, and visualize little by little the correspondences maintained in their organization between the factual and symbolic levels.

The material upon which this research is based derives in its majority from my personal contacts with informants in the field and in Lima, from communal papers, and from Government institutions, libraries and archives.

During my stay in the field, apart from informal participation in different events and conversations, I conducted more systematic enquiries through a village and agricultural census in which I was shown property units and told the name of

the owner or owners, and the nature of the social ties that united both the co-proprietors or the owners of neighbouring units. Together with this census a questionnaire with 44 questions was also applied to ab ut 115 family heads; 15 individuals supplied me with their genealogies and finally in order to obtain a large repertoire of myths, tales and other folkloric material I organized a contest among the students of the different schools in Andamarca which consisted in rewarding with a prize the student who supplied me with the largest amount and best quality material. The material that I obtained from this contest was abundant and it permitted me to pursue further enquiries concerning myth with the old people, who were generally able to give me more details on certain themes which are dominant.

Apart from collecting material from these enquiries, the communal authorities gave clear evidence of their trust and friendship by allowing me to consult different communal papers such as the Libros del Juez de Paz, Libros del Gobernador, Libro de Actas del Consejo de Administración, Libro de Actas de la Junta de Vigilancia, Libros de Actas de la Junta de Resantos, Libro de Registros Matrimoniales, Declaraciones Juradas de Bienes (corresponding to the year 1973) and Libros de Inventario de los bienes de los Santos. Besides, different individuals were kind enough to lend me the wills of their parents, giving me the chance to consult about 27 of them. Others gave me certain papers concerning various events that had taken place during the time they had accomplished some administrative office.

In Cabana, the old District capital to which Andamarca was attached until 1945, and in Puquio, the present capital of the Province of Lucanas to which Andamarca belongs, I had the chance of studying some further documentation such as old baptismal records, court suits which are kept in the public notaries' office, the Juzgado de Tierra, and documents relating to the distribution of water. I was also able to consult some further legal suits concerning land property in Ica, in the archives of the Zona Agraria V, which is a dependency of the Ministerio de Agricultura that controls a large geographical area including Andamarca.

The public institutions in Lima which have supplied me with information about Andamarca are : the Oficina Nacional de Censos y Estadísticas, Instituto Geográfico Militar, the Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional, the Servicio Nacional de Meteorología e Hidrología (S.E.N.A.M.H.E.), the Oficina Nacional de Recursos Naturales (O.N.E.R.N.), the Ministerio de Trabajo (when they used to store in their archives the legal titles of the Comunidades de Indígenas), the Archivo Nacional de Historia, the Biblioteca Nacional and the Archivo del Palacio Arzobispal. Also, the Programa del Maíz of the Universidad Nacional Agraria, through its Ingeniero Ricardo Sevilla and Dr. Serrat; the Museo de Historia Natural, through Dr. O. Tovar, and Dr. Duccio Bonavía (archaeologist of the Universidad Cayetano Heredia), have given me technical assistance in relation to some topics concerning maize

cultivation, in identifying some plants and in determining the antiquity of certain material objects. To all these institutions and individuals I wish to express my sincere thanks, which I also extend to Dr. Adolfo Figueroa of the Departamento de Economía de la Pontificia Universidad Católica for having made possible the statistical analysis of the Declaraciones Juradas de Bienes through the computing centre of this university.

The large amount of material I had the chance of collecting from all these sources also explains in part the eight years I have been working on this investigation. This material has demanded of me a very slow process of knitting into wider significant chains of minimal elements such as individuals, plots of land, households, etc. Thus, individuals have been incorporated into wide genealogical tables which I had to reconstruct from sets of relationships reported to me in different contexts which range from the genealogies reported to me straightforwardly by 15 individuals, to the relationships obtained from marriage records, from wills, or from enquiries into the nature of the links between people attending ceremonies, and so on. The plots of land have been knitted together according to their distribution in different agricultural areas whose location has been possible to amplifications of aerophotographs and maps of the area. A similar procedure has been followed with respect to households, except that this time I have not used aerophotographs but only maps provided by local people and by the Oficina Nacional de Estadísticas y Censo.

In so far as one of my major aims in this thesis has been to determine the nature of the social ties which are dominant in Andamarca, the genealogies have been basic to my work. They have provided me with a framework for determining the social composition of the residence and agricultural units, the pattern of sponsorship of religious cargos, the pattern of marriage, and the nature of the ceremonial kinship networks of an individual.

Some of the major difficulties encountered during my fieldwork, which partly explain my meticulousness in recording the actual behaviour of the people and the frequent use of statistical tables, consisted in the high degree of discrepancy between informants concerning their knowledge of the customs and social patterns of Andamarca. It was really striking to note, for example, that the Misti (Whites) were generally incapable of describing to me the ceremonies, ritual objects, myths and other elements of the cultural world of the Indians, which for these latter were part of their daily life. These latter, on the other hand, also manifested varying opinions among themselves concerning their society. For example, when I enquired about the pattern of inheritance, some replied that all the children of a couple inherited exactly the same, others told me that the daughters inherited only a half part of what the brothers received, or that the youngest child inherited the house, and so on. In ritual matters I also noticed some discrepancies and even

hesitations about the proper objects that should be used as offerings to the Earth. These kind of contexts enabled me to make the Andamarquinos realize the usefulness of my research, in so far as a book on their customs could help them to sort out their doubts and to perpetuate their ritual practices. In relation to this it must be understood that the proper accomplishment of the rituals was vital to them, for otherwise the Earth could kill the person who was in charge of displaying the offerings.

Indeed these discrepancies among my informants are an expression of the complex nature of the socio-cultural reality of Andamarca which in the case of some of its ceremonies, such as the Yarja Aspi (cleaning of the water channels), I could only reconstruct after observing it for three consecutive years. It can be understood therefore that only after having already organized a great part of my material did my questions begin to be more precise and much better oriented in terms of more definite problems. For this reason in the end it turned out to be advantageous that I should have done this research by stages.

Apart from the institutions and individuals mentioned above who have supplied me with materials, there are many others, who would be too numerous to mention, who in one way or another have made this research possible. Therefore, I shall only mention some of them. Among the Andamarquinos to whom I am especially grateful I have to mention in the first

place D. Fermín Miranda, his wife Da. Ana Galindo de Miranda and their son Rev. P. Rómulo Miranda, who since the very beginning of my research offered me their friendship and hospitality. Carlos and Jorge Herrera were also invaluable to me for their hospitality and for introducing me to Zenen Flores Caballa, who proved to be my most learned informant. These two brothers became so involved in my work that they became my closest collaborators in the search for information and in translating some Quechua versions of myths, songs, etc. I have partly made recognition of this fact by publishing together with Jorge Herrera a myth about Inkarrí in "Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino"(1973). I also wish to mention in particular the brothers Julian and Victor Ochoa Tito (Mayor) for the careful descriptions of ritual matters given by the former in Andamarca and for the patient information supplied by the latter while I was organizing my material here in Lima.

My Supervisor for the most part of this research has been P.G. Riviére but since he left Oxford on his Sabbatical Audrey Butt Colson has replaced him since the beginning of 1978. To both of them I wish to express my most sincere thanks for each in their turn has given me very useful advice and encouragement to continue this research until the end.

Finally, I have to mention that this research has been possible thanks to financial aid provided by the Wenner-Gren Foundation which permitted me to begin the research in the year

1970, by a generous grant kindly given to me by the Ford Foundation in agreement with the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, which allowed me my long stay in the field and the nine months period at Oxford, by several academic dispensations granted to me by this university in order that I could enjoy more time to finish my thesis, and the constant moral support of my colleagues, my students, and my wife to whom I dedicate this thesis for her confidence in my work and her patience.

CHAPTER I

The Setting

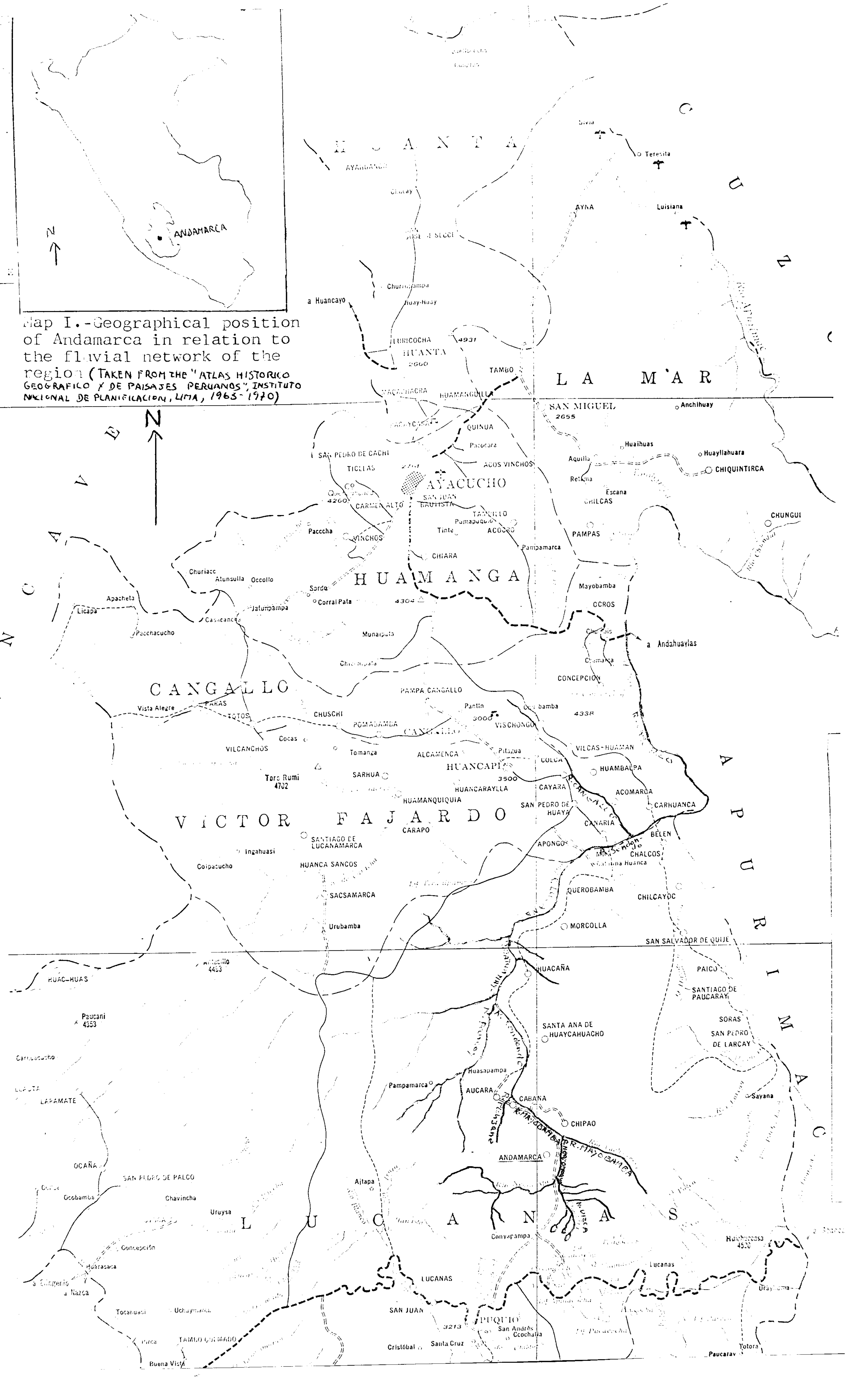
This chapter is intended to fulfill a double purpose: on the one hand to provide a description of the location, the ecology and the main economic activities of Andamarca and on the other hand to make a first attempt to assess the importance of kinship relationships in this community by studying the transmission of households and of land.

Another aim that we shall pursue is to resist a rigid adherence to those approaches which see economic activities as mostly influenced by ecological determinants. We shall suggest some alternative explanations which are more grounded on social facts. For example, we shall suggest that although there is some empirical and symbolic evidence that space is used and thought of in vertical terms, this does not constitute a complete explanation of the land-holding system. In order to explain the land-holding system fully, other ecological variants and some social facts have to be taken into account.

Some general descriptive features of the Comunidad de Andamarca

The Comunidad de Andamarca or Distrito de Carmen Salcedo is located at 14°23' South Latitude and 73°58' West Longitude in the Provincia de Lucanas, Departamento de Ayacucho (Peru). This is the southernmost community of the basin of a river which flows to the North almost as far as the Capital of the Departamento de Ayacucho, passing through the Provincias de Victor Fajardo and Cangallo. Along this basin are distributed a series of communities which are included for political purposes in the two Provincias just mentioned and in the Provincia de Lucanas. To the South and to the West, some thirty or forty miles of high Punas separate Andamarca from other populated centres. (See Map I).

The river that flows in this basin is fed in turn by other rivers that descend from the highlands, and as it merges with these along its course it receives different names. Negromayo (Black river) is the name that it holds while passing through Andamarca, after it joins the Mayobamba river it inherits the name of this river; after it joins the Pichjane river it is known as Sondondo; after joining with the Pancoy river it is called Hatun Mayo (Big river) and so on until just before it divides into the two Cangallo or Pampas rivers when it is known again as Sondondo. The repetition of this name, which is also that of a neighbouring community to Andamarca, suggests that there are some grounds for considering this basin as a kind of unit. Moreover this is the



Map I.-Geographical position of Andamarca in relation to the fluvial network of the region (TAKEN FROM THE "ATLAS HISTORICO GEOGRAFICO Y DE PAISAJES PERUANOS", INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE PLANIFICACION, LIMA, 1963-1970)

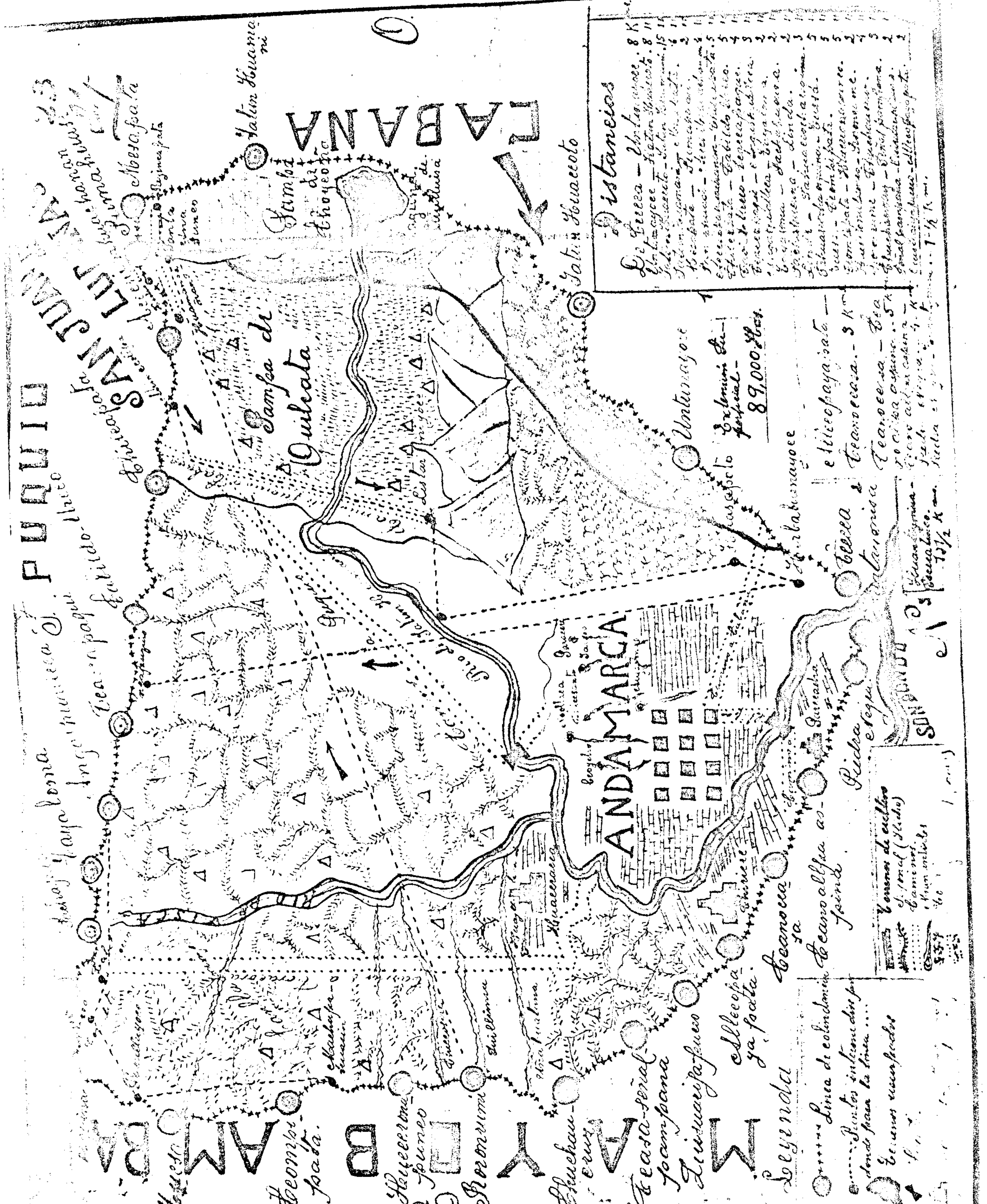
only river of the area which along one part of its course is known as Lucanas, which is the name of the Provincia to which Andamarca belongs.

The Negromayo river is made up in its turn of two other rivers: the Hatun Huamani (also known as Negromayo) and the Vizca. The former is thought to originate in the Laguna de Lliullisja and the latter at some point near Laguna de Sahuaqocha. Andamarca claims both lakes as part of its territories, but in the case of Lliullisja this claim is disputed by Cabana. The former river is considered as more important than the latter, and this corresponds to the fact that it is known by a name which is not lost after it merges with the Vizca river, and which is also the same as that of the mountain god (Huamani). The Hatun Huamani or Negromayo descends to the lowlands from the West and the Vizca river from the East, and the point where they merge marks the start of the cultivated plots of the Western hillside of the lowlands. From this point until its merging with the Mayobamba river it extends approximately 6 miles. The union between these last rivers is a northern landmark which divides Andamarca from Cabana and Sondondo.

It is important to describe this fluvial network fully because rivers play a very important symbolic role in the organization of space, as we shall have the opportunity to see later. For the present, we may note that the direction of flow of a river is an important criterion for classifying the

communities spread out along the course of the river, and even the internal lowlands of a community, in terms of a pattern of high and low. It would seem therefore, that because Andamarca sees itself as being at the southern extreme of the basin that we have mentioned and because the river that runs through this basin follows a South to North flow, the Andamarquinos conceive of their community as higher than the rest of the communities distributed along the basin. For example, when referring to northern communities such as Cabana, Aucará, Sondondo, etc., the Andamarquinos will say that they are lying uray (low). An informant even told me that Andamarca was the pupo (navel) of all the neighbouring communities and he added, "Entero mundopa chaupi punis Andamarca" (Andamarca is the centre of the world). Because of its position, he said, there were no illnesses; plagues common to low territories such as the Aqaruay (a caterpillar that eats the crops) did not affect their plants: lowland fruits did not grow, and in ancient times Andamarca may have been the head of all the communities of the region.

The South to North course of the river seems to have influenced their spatial orientations to such an extent that a map of Andamarca made by a native has been drawn in an inverted position, as can be seen in Map II. In contrast with Western conventions for drawing maps, where the North is always represented at the top and the South at the bottom, here the North is at the bottom of the map and the South is at the top. We may interpret this inversion as due to the fact that the



Map II.-Locally made up map of Andamarca (1944)

south is conceptually higher than the North and for that reason must occupy the top part of the map.

Further evidence of this will be mentioned later in relation to the internal division of some villages distributed along the basin, into a higher part, normally associated with the South, and a lower part, associated with the North. (See Note 11).

The village of Andamarca is 3,550 mts. above sea level and together with Chipao (which is 3,560 mts.) is one of the highest villages in the neighbourhood. The valley in which this village is located is narrow and it is flanked by very steep hillsides crowded with narrow land-terraces that impress the visitor with their symmetry and beauty.

According to the information supplied by the Andamarquinos in the year 1944 when they asked the Peruvian Government for formal recognition as an Indian community, the size of the community lands is 89,000 hectares. Of these, 2,000 are said to be for cultivation and the remaining 87,000 are described as pasture lands. It is difficult to tell how far these figures correspond to reality. However, after locating seven of the twenty seven boundary names included in the data supplied to the government, and also some other geographical landmarks, in the Carta Nacional (published by the Instituto Geográfico Militar), I estimated that these figures may be near to the truth. (See Map III).

MAP III RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BOUNDARIES OF ANDAMARCA

(TAKEN FROM THE INSTITUTO GEOGRAFICO-MILITAR)

SCALE: 1: 100.000

As is implied by the two types of land mentioned above, the main economic activities are agriculture and herding, and consequently the Puna and the valley become the most significant ecological realms. The validity of the association of these activities with these ecological realms is demonstrated by the fact that there are certain ecological limits to the development of these activities. Thus, none of the crops associated with agricultural activities may be grown in the Puna and only some of the animals associated with herding may be herded in the valley. However, as we shall see later the difference between the two ecological levels is denoted not so much by linguistic terms (Orgo designates the Puna as a whole but there is no equivalent term for designating the valley) but mostly through different symbols which may be, in their different expressions, natural objects, drinks, saints, etc.

The Puna or Orgo is generally situated higher than 4,000 mts. above sea level and the very low parts, such as the Mayo Pata (river border), at about 3,200 or less. Between these two extremes some intermediate levels are recognized, such as (starting from the top) the Pata Loma, the Mayopa Huacta and the Mayopa Jahuan. The first shares many of the characteristics of the Puna and additionally at least one crop can be cultivated. Perhaps because of the ecological adaptation of some varieties of a common species, the other levels tend to be less differentiated.

Apart from the altitude, other criteria based on the quality of the ground, the open or covered nature of space, the amount of water, etc., are also taken into consideration in classifying the land appropriate for the development of the two main activities of herding and agriculture.

Herding is associated with animals such as cattle, llamas, alpacas and sheep, (horses, donkeys and mules are also raised but not on a very large scale), with forage plants as Ichu, with a grass that grows in wet areas known as Chancha or Mojadal and with alfalfa which also has a part in the agricultural activities. Agriculture is on the other hand associated with crops such as maize, barley, wheat, broad beans, potatoes, ocas, ollucos, mashua, quinua, and some others.

The various activities associated with herding and cultivation are organized in such a way as to minimize any overlap between the times of year at which they are carried out. Thus each of the different activities tends to have a fixed place in the annual cycle, and correspondingly some of the months are named after activities associated with some of the crops. What overlap there is is generally between activities associated with herding and activities associated with agriculture, rather than between different activities within a single sphere.

This variety of economic activities means that mobility is the dominant pattern in Andamarca, so much so that it is difficult to speak of agriculture as a "sedentary" way of life for them. The variability of activities and the lack of overlapping between them seems to demand the joint participation of a group of individuals larger than that which can be mustered by the nuclear family alone.

Agricultural production is mostly for the Andamarquinos' own consumption whereas that derived from herding is their main source of cash income and their basic means of communication with the national society. Herding products are rarely sold in the neighbouring communities but are mostly taken to the markets of the coast where they realize high prices.

The Andamarquinos hardly sell any of their own products to neighbouring communities. Instead they sell manufactured products which have been obtained from the coast, such as sugar cane alcohol and flour. To a certain extent the Andamarquinos are becoming the intermediaries in the sale of national manufactured products to several communities which have no roads by which motor vehicles could reach them.

From the neighbouring communities, especially those localized in the very low regions, they obtain fruits, and during periods of scarcity they use them to supplement their low production of potatoes and maize.

However, interaction with neighbouring communities is not very intense. Only on certain occasions, and in isolated cases, may one see Andamarquinos moving away from their community either for these commercial reasons or in order to fulfill some bureaucratic obligation demanded by some of the national administrative offices located in Cabana or Puquio. Within the immediate region of Andamarca, Cabana has become the seat of the police headquarters, of a national bank, of the educational and religious institutions. Puquio, on the other hand, is the Capital of the Provincia de Lucanas and therefore the administrative offices here are at a higher level than those of Cabana and there is great commercial movement because it is an intermediate point in the Panamerican Highway that joins Cuzco with the coast.

Andamarca is surrounded by Cabana and Sondondo to the North, by Ccayao, Chaupis and Pisqachuri (which are three of the four communities that belong to Puquio) and San Juan de Lucanas to the South, by Mayobamba to the East and finally again Cabana to the West.

The actual boundaries of the Comunidad de Andamarca are based on a title which dates from 30th. December, 1700. It is according to this document that the inverted map mentioned before was made in the year 1944 when Andamarca requested official recognition as an Indian Community. The recognition was granted by the Peruvian Government of 25th. September, 1944 and from then

on the boundaries acquired legal status. However, this has not stopped the traditional boundary struggles between Andamarca and its neighbours for in 1972 I was able to witness one against Cabana.

As in many parts of the Andean World the interaction between neighbouring communities has been mostly expressed through disputes which sometimes have cost the lives of several people. Andamarca is not an exception to this and these perennial struggles have become a very important part of their history, especially because they have lasted over such long periods of time. It is interesting to note that when asking both adults and children to talk about their past, one of the things they always mention is a dispute with a neighbouring community that took place some time ago.

These disputes are also attested to by several old documents which are still conserved. In these documents I found that Andamarca fought with each of its neighbouring communities but especially with Mayobamba. The disputes with this community can be reckoned through the documents as having a continuity of 200 years. The earliest reference to them dates from 1760 and the most recent one from 1958 and 1961. This long duration of disputes is evidence of the slow rate of social change that characterizes these communities.

The dispute with Cabana has been in order to obtain their political freedom. Andamarca had earlier on been an Anexo of Cabana, which was the capital of the Distrito. In 1945, Andamarca succeeded in becoming an independent Distrito and from then on the Andamarquinos were no longer obliged to render services in the public works of the Cabaninos, although today they still take part in the Fiesta of the Patroness of Cabana and there they fulfill some voluntary roles.

One immediate consequence that followed from their independence was the building of the road that links Andamarca with the Panamerican Highway which comes from Cuzco. This was finished in the year 1955 and their initiative was imitated by other communities of the region. Today there is a daily bus service that joins these communities with the Capital of the Republic by two different roads. The journey generally takes between 18 or 24 hours depending on the season and the fares are equivalent to £4. Apart from buses, there is also a great movement of lorries and there are 4 Andamarquino residents who own this kind of vehicle. A 5th. lorry has been purchased at the end of 1977 but through a cooperative that has been organized.

The total population of Andamarca is, according to the 1972 national census, 2,862 inhabitants. Of these, 1,383 are males and 1.479 are females. The age range in which the

greatest number of people is concentrated is from a few months old to 14 years, while there is a decline from 15 to 65 years and over. If one compares these population figures with those mentioned in 1944 when the request to become recognized as an Indian community was made, it is apparent that there has been an increase of 938 individuals. Moreover, these figures also reveal similar proportions of males and females in the population. The total population mentioned at that time was 1,924 inhabitants and from this 878 are said to be males and 1,046 females.

The native language is Quechua, however the 1972 census states that of the 2,427 individuals who are more than 3 years old, 1,115 are bilingual and 1.173 are monolingual.* Although I do not possess statistical figures my impression is that it is mostly the men who are bilingual and literate. Women hardly spoke to me in Spanish during my field research and those who did, were mainly Misti,(white women), or school girls. In the information attached to the request for Andamarca's recognition as an Indian community, it is mentioned that of the 395 adult men, 47 were literate, whilst of the 298 adult women, all were illiterate. Today the lack of concern amongst females for school education is expressed in the high proportion of girls who leave school before they conclude their complete cycle of studies, and in the high rates of absenteeism during the year.

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* 139 individuals are not specified.

When saying that somebody is bilingual in Andamarca one has to be very careful because there are degrees of bilingualism. The Spanish spoken by those who learn it at rather a late period and who practice it less frequently than Quechua is very different from the Spanish spoken by those who learn it together with Quechua and who practice it as frequently as Quechua or even more. The first instance is characteristic of the Indians who will be further distinguished later; the latter is the case of the Misti. Typical bilingual Indians generally misconstruct the Spanish sentences and give different values to some phonemes. For example, they say "moro" intead of "muro" for wall, or "Filix" instead of "Felix" for the christian name, or "poide" instead of "puede" for the verb to be able, etc. The Mistis on the contrary do not make these mistakes when speaking Spanish but when speaking Quechua they gave me the impression that they did not use the same vocabulary as the Indians because on many occasions they could not translate for me some mythical texts, songs, etc. that I had recorded from my monolingual informants.

All this suggests that Andamarca is quite open to the national society and very much influenced by it. However, the inhabitants of the surrounding communities regard Andamarca as being a very traditional Indian community and as having skilled and industrious workers. They are thought to conserve most of the antiguas costumbres (old customs) and this is confirmed by referring to the large number of very ancient land-terraces that are still in use in Andamarca and to the maintenance of some customs that have disappeared in other parts.

It is difficult to say whether the Andamarquinos are more or less traditional than the inhabitants of the neighbouring communities but a feature that impressed me greatly was the amount of time and money they invested in celebrations and their overall ritualized behaviour and magical beliefs. Throughout the year there are celebrations not only for each of the twenty saints of the main village and of the saints of the Anexos, but also for activities such as sowing the fields, branding the cattle and other animals that are herded, roofing a house, rites of passage such as baptism, hair cutting, marriage, funerals and so on. The number of religious and non-religious cargos that the Andamarquinos have to sponsor for these celebrations is about 457 (See p.201). The most expensive cargos demand expenditure of the order of £200 or more, and the average amount invested by the Mayordomos, who together with the Adornantes and the Alfereses, are the most important sponsors of the feast of a saint, is about £40 a year.

Ritualized behaviour stands out in all these celebrations and in general in the daily life of the Andamarquinos. Whenever they are about to start any job they have to wet their fingers with the drink they hold and to sprinkle some drops to the spirit of the mountains, and then to pour a little on the ground so that Mother Earth may also have her share. Coca leaves must never be received with one hand, they have to be received with both hands. Omens, too are seen everywhere.

The costs of the cargos and the fact that five lorries belong to members of the community are eloquent evidence of the wealth of the Andamarquinos and of their participation in the cash economy. To this we must add that there are about 46 shops in the main village. These shops mostly provide sugar cane alcohol, coca leaves, sugar, spaghetti, rice, biscuits, tea, beer, oil, salt, coffee and medicines. Money has become so much a part of their life that in order to help the sponsor of a fiesta with the expenses demanded by the celebration, friends and relatives pin in his jacket lapel and in his wife's blouse the Kuyaq(literally "love") which consists of any denomination of Peruvian Soles notes. At marriages and at baptisms there takes place the Qelpuy (in the old vocabularies is written as Hillpuni and means to add water in a vase or food in a deposit) which consists of a contribution of money collected from both male and females guests, which is placed on two separate plates which are in the charge of the padrino and madrina respectively. After this, comes a second contribution which is called Puñuchi (sleep) in which the Qelpuy is distributed among the guests so that it may "sleep" in their pockets for a while in order that later it may be returned with extra money added to it. This is very interesting evidence of how the most relevant symbol of the cash economy is reinterpreted according to the mechanisms of reciprocity that dominates the social life of Andamarca.

Herding and Agriculture

As we mentioned before herding and agriculture are the most important economic activities performed in Andamarca and each of them is associated with a definite place in the space of this community and with a particular position in the annual cycle. In the context of space, the region associated with herding is the Puna or Orqo and that associated with agriculture is the lowlands or the valley, for which there is no single defining term. At the level of the annual cycle, while it is true that the calendar in general is dominated by the activities relating to agriculture, herding activities do tend to be associated with the period between December and March, which coincides with the rainy season.

The importance of these two economic activities is deduced not only from the actual behaviour of the Andamarquinos but also from their expression in some ritual and symbolic contexts. For example, it is interesting to note that the Andamarquinos resident in Lima out of the several religious fiestas they used to celebrate in Andamarca, have retained only two. One is the fiesta of the Holy Cross which takes place in May, and the other is Christmas which takes place in December. The former may be said to be associated with agriculture, in that crosses in Andamarca fulfill the role of protecting the crops from frost and other climatological catastrophes and in that this fiesta coincides

with the harvest time. One important detail of the celebrations which further emphasizes this association with agriculture is the removal of the crosses from their permanent positions and their storage in the church until the unproductive period is over and the new fertile cycle starts with the fiesta of cleaning the water channels. The latter takes place in August just a few days before the planting of maize starts (See Chapter II). Christmas, on the other hand, is associated with herding, for it takes place just when the rainy season is starting, and all the symbols of this fiesta are associated with herding. For example, the use of Ichu grass is very prominent in the Christmas celebrations and this is the only occasion when the dance of the Machus and Huaylias, which are the names given to the male and female herders, is performed.(1)

Some further symbolic expressions of herding and cultivation are also noticeable in the August fiesta already mentioned. Here the emphasis is on presenting the unity of Andamarca as the result of the convergence of opposite but complementary principles. As we shall see later (See Chapter II) these principles are expressed in terms of symbols which relate to these two activities.

The herding activity is expressed in Quechua by the verb Uyhua which means to raise, and the animals which are herded are cattle and those which produce wool, the llamas, alpacas and sheep. These two kinds of animals receive different treatment and there are even different branding rituals associated with them.

While wool-producing animals tend to be herded permanently in the Puna, cattle tend to spend the dry season in the different levels of the valley and the rainy season in the Puna. Moreover, in the Puna these two types of animals are herded separately because it is believed that cattle never eat in places where wool-producing animals had grazed before. This idea is taken so far that in order to avoid the penetration of cattle belonging to the neighbouring communities into Andamarca's territory, wool-producing animals are taken to graze in the bordering pastures.

It is so important that these two types of animals should graze separately that there have been several communal sessions to try to demarcate particular places dedicated exclusively to herding cattle. These places are generally very rich in Ichu and Huaylla ichu grass and have plenty of water resources. Wool-producing animals, on the contrary, generally graze in zones which are known as Chancha or Mojadal, for the nature of this kind of grass is to be permanently wet.

Cattle also differ from wool-producing animals because they participate more directly in the agricultural activities. For example in September, when sowing takes place, bulls pull the plough for cultivating the fields. The wool-producing animals only secondarily participate in agriculture for the only thing they contribute to it is their dung which is used as a

fertilizer. Sometimes cattle dung is also used for this purpose but generally it is preferred for cooking for when it is sufficiently dry it produces a good and lasting fire.

The branding rituals for these two types of animals differ in so far as they take place at different times of the year, and at different places, and in that they have different names. There are also some variations in the ritual practices and in the number of people who attend them.

Cattle branding rituals are known as Vaca Jerray, they take place in August and generally in different parts of the valley. Very few people brand their cattle in the Puna. The component parts of the ritual and the nature of things that go to make up the offerings are very similar to those in the ritual branding of the wool-producing animals. The most noticeable difference is that in cattle brandings the religious patrons are the three Evangelists, St. John, St. Mark, and St, Matthew, whose images are represented in a wooden decorated box, consisting of two shelves and known as Retablo or "St. Mark". These images are displayed on the upper shelf and above them, in what is considered to be the roof, the figure of the Huamani (2) in the shape of a Condor is represented. The lower shelf generally includes representations of cattle branding rituals. All these figures are in high relief and the composition of the paste from which they are made is a secret never revealed by the

artisans. On the other hand, in ritual brandings of wool-producing animals the patron of the celebration is an Illa (which has the connotation of brilliant light) and which is a small carved black stone (granito) in the form of an alpaca or llama. These stones are inherited from father to eldest son or sometimes from father-in-law to the son-in-law/to the married eldest daughter. The Illa are very similar to those which were used in preHispanic times and which can be seen in any museum. One feature typical of them is a hole carved in their back which is generally filled with fat that is removed from the chest of an alpaca. These Illas maintain the fertility of the wool-producing animals during the year and therefore they are carefully stored together with ritual items as llampu (flour made from maize cobs which contain two-coloured grains) and coca leaves. There are also Illas of cattle which receive ritual attention particularly on the second day of the branding ceremony, when a dinner is prepared by the owner of the branded cattle to reciprocate the assistance of those who helped him the previous day. During this occasion the Illa is stored with the same ritual objects as those for the other type of Illa.

On the occasion of the ritual branding of cattle all the attendants cover their faces with Aqarapi. This is a maize flour whose composition is the same as that which is used to prepare the Pito which is drunk together with Aqa or chicha when the sowing ritual takes place. When the wool-producing

animals are branded they cover their faces with Qeqara, which is another term for what we mentioned before as llampu. The branding of the cattle consists of stamping the initials of the owner on the skin of the animals with a hot iron; of cutting the ends of their tails, the points of their horns, and a piece of their ears and of tying colourful ribbons in these last. Wool-producing animals are branded just by cutting the end of their tails and a piece of their ears, and by tying ribbons to these as in the previous case. In these two ceremonies the ears are cut in such a fashion that certain recognizable designs remain. Moreover, in cattle branding rituals chicha or Aqa (brewed maize) is mostly used by women and sugar cane alcohol mostly by men, but in the branding of wool-producing animals only sugar cane alcohol is used by both men and women, when, for example, they sprinkle their animals.

The branding of wool-producing animals is called Cuchucuy (it has the connotation of corner) and it takes place only on the "Jueves de Comadres" (Thursday of ritual co-mothers), which is a movable date that corresponds to the Thursday in February just before carnival. This ritual is performed only in the stockyards near to the Puna ranches where the herdsmen live while fulfilling their herding activities.

Cattle and also llamas and alpacas are usually branded once a year, and sometimes cattle may be branded once every two years, whilst sheep, since they may lamb twice a year, are branded for a second time on the day of San Juan (June 24).

In contrast to the offerings associated with agriculture those which are associated with these branding rituals always include silver coins, which for this particular occasion are called Chaquicha. This is a word that means foot but when explaining the meaning of these coins the informants say that they are as the shoes of the animals that permit them to keep on moving.

The use of the silver coins in these contexts corresponds closely to the economic role fulfilled by herding. As we mentioned previously, it is mostly through this activity that the Andamarquinos participate in the national cash economy. (See p. 8)

The raising of cattle is more extensive among the Andamarquinos than the raising of any other animal. It is true that according to different agropecuarian censuses sheep appear as the most numerous, then follow the alpacas, then cattle and finally llamas, but according to their distribution by families it is more frequent to see people lacking wool-producing animals than cattle. From a sampling of 114 individuals, 85 or 76% mentioned that they owned at least one cow or bull, 36 or 31.5% mentioned sheep, 27 or 24.3% mentioned alpacas and 22 or 19.2% mentioned llamas. In similar terms the 1972 agropecuarian census shows that of 760 agrarian units, 594 or 78.1% own cattle, 305 or 40.1% own sheep, 259 or 34% own alpacas and 129 or 17% own llamas. (See Tables 1,2 and 3 of the 1972 agropecuarian census).

TABLE 1.- CATTLE STATISTICS (TAKEN FROM CUADRO 19 OF THE 1972 NATIONAL AGROPECUARIAN CENSUS)

SIZE OF THE AGROPECUARIAN UNITS (A.U.)	TOTAL OF AGROPECUARIAN UNITS	Nº OF A.U. WITH CATTLE	TOTAL Nº OF HEADS	Nº OF PEDIGREE ANIMALS	COWS	HEIFERS	FEMALES FROM 1 TO 2 YEARS OLD
	FEMALES 1 YEAR OLD	BULLS	OXEN	MALES FROM 1 TO 2 YEARS OLD	MALES 1 YEAR OLD	NUMBER OF MILKED COWS	PRODUCTION OF MILK BY LITERS
TOTAL	760	594	4,036	34	1684	48	679
	542	201	13	333	504	967	1,070
Unidades menores de 1 Ha. (UNITS LESS THAN 1 HA.)	298	198	683	00	258	07	114
	79	23	02	43	75	125	128
Unidades menores de 0.5 Ha. (UNITS LESS THAN 0.5 HA.)	107	52	82	00	00	00	00
	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
De menos de 0.5 Ha. FROM LESS THAN 0.5 HA.	40	39	175	00	71	03	35
	30	04	00	10	22	39	41
De 0.5 a menos de 1 Ha. FROM 0.5 to LESS THAN 1 HA.	151	107	426	00	187	04	79
	49	19	02	33	53	86	87
De 1Ha. a 5Ha. FROM 1 HA to 5 HA.	393	334	2,363	01	1010	26	396
	319	112	09	193	308	591	635
De 1Ha. a 2Ha. FROM 1 HA to 2 HA.	199	153	857	00	382	01	126
	117	50	02	63	116	200	223
De 2 a 3 Ha. FROM 2 to 3 HA.	100	90	664	01	292	07	106
	91	32	02	50	84	169	176
De 3 a 4Ha. FROM 3 to 4 HA.	59	57	453	00	181	02	89
	60	15	03	45	58	119	121
De 4 a 5 Ha. FROM 4 to 5 HA.	35	34	399	00	155	16	75
	51	15	02	35	50	103	115
De 5 a 500 Ha. FROM 5 to 500 HA.	68	62	1,030	33	416	15	169
	144	66	62	97	121	251	307
De 5 a 10 Ha. FROM 5 to 10 HA.	47	44	482	03	178	10	99
	59	26	00	44	66	109	119
De 10 a 20 Ha. FROM 10 to 20 HA.	13	11	179	00	81	03	17
	33	10	02	13	20	52	68
De 20 a 50 Ha. FROM 20 to 50 HA.	08	07	369	30	157	02	53
	52	30	00	40	35	90	120
De 500 Ha. a más FROM 500 HA. TO MORE	01	00	00	00	00	00	00
	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
De 2,500 a más FROM 2,500 to MORE	01	00	00	00	00	00	00
	00	00	00	00	00	00	00

FROM 2,500 HA. OR MORE

TABLE 2. SHEEP STATISTICS (TAKEN FROM CUADRO 20 OF THE NATIONAL AGROPECUARIAN CENSUS - 1972)

SHEEP, PRODUCTION OF THE AGROPECUARIAN UNITS ACCORDING TO THEIR SIZE

	- TOTAL - FROM 10 Hec. TO LESS THAN 20 Hc.	- LESS THAN 0.5 Hec - FROM 20 Hec. TO LESS THAN 50 Hc.	- LESS THAN 0.5 Hec - FROM 50 Hc TO LESS THAN 100 Hec	- FROM 0.5 Hec. TO 1 Hc - FROM 100 Hec. to 200 Hec.	- FROM 1 Hec TO 2 Hec. - FROM 200 Hec. TO 500 Hec.	- FROM 2 Hec. To 3 Hec. - FROM 500 Hec TO 1000 Hec.	- FROM 3 Hec. To 4 Hec - FROM 1000 Hec To 2,500 Hec	- FROM 4 Hec TO 5 Hec - 2,500 Hec OR MORE	- FROM 5 Hec TO 10 Hec - NOT DECLARED
TOTAL DE UNIDADES AGROPECUARIAS CENSADAS (TOTAL NUMBER OF AGROPECUARIAN UNITS WHICH HAVE BEEN COUNTED)	760 13	107 08	40 00	131. 00	199 00	100 00	59 00	35 01	47 00
OVINOS - Nº DE U.A. (SHEEP - Nº OF A.U.)	305 07	22 05	15 00	62 00	77 00	51 00	26 00	18 00	22 00
Nº TOTAL DE CABEZAS (TOTAL NUMBER OF HEADS)	6,453 202	115 135	206 00	1,040 00	1,344 00	1,306 00	993 00	497 00	595 00
Nº DE PUROS (Nº OF PEDIGREES)	30 00	00 15	00 00	08 00	00 00	06 00	01 00	00 00	00 00
ANIMALES ESQUILADOS (SHEARED ANIMALS)	924 24	00 35	22 00	191 00	158 00	144 00	123 00	119 00	108 00
PRODUCCION DE LANA EN KILOS (WOOL PRODUCTION IN KILOS)	954 22	00 35	19 00	189 00	164 00	168 00	100 00	141 00	116 00

TABLE 3: ALPACAS AND LLAMAS STATISTICS (TAKEN FROM CUADRO 21 OF THE NATIONAL AGROPECUARIAN CENSUS - 1972)

ALPACAS AND LLAMAS, POPULATION AND PRODUCTION OF WOOL FIBER OF THE AGROPECUARIAN UNITS AND ACCORDING TO THEIR SIZE

TAMAÑO DE LAS UNIDADES AGROPECUARIAS (SIZE OF THE AGROPECUARIAN UNITS)	ALPACAS				LLAMAS		
	TOTAL DE U.A. CENSADAS (TOTAL NUMBER OF A.U. WHICH HAVE BEEN COUNTED)	Nº DE U.A. (UNIDADES AGROPECUARIAS) (Nº OF A.U.)	- CABEZAS (HEADS) (Nº OF SHEARED ANIMALS) - Nº DE ANIMALES ESQUILADOS	- MADRES (MOTHERS) (FIBER IN Kgs) - FIBRA EN Kg.	Nº DE UNIDADES AGROPECUARIAS (Nº OF AGROPECUARIAN UNITS)	- CABEZAS (HEADS) (Nº OF SHEARED ANIMALS) - Nº DE ANIMALES ESQUILADOS	- MADRES (MOTHERS) (FIBER IN KILOGRAMS) - FIBRA EN KILOGRAMOS
TOTAL	760	259	5,449 873	3,769 1,681	129	1,564 17	1,025 27
UNIDADES MENORES DE 1 Ha. (LESS THAN 1 Hec.)	298	93	967 116	655 195	42	340 03	193 03
DE MENOS 0.5 Ha. (LESS THAN 0.5 Hec.)	107	16	70 00	00 00	07	22 00	00 00
DE MENOS 0.5 Ha (LESS THAN 0.5 Hec.)	40	16	192 24	126 45	09	71 03	39 03
DE 0.5 Ha a MENOS DE 1 Ha. (FROM 0.5 Hec. to LESS THAN 1 Hec.)	151	61	705 92	529 150	26	247 00	154 00
UNIDADES DE 1 Ha. A MENOS DE 5 Ha. (UNITS OF 1 Hec. TO LESS THAN 5 Hec.)	393	144	3,636 599	2,517 1,198	73	1,081 14	734 24
DE 1 Ha. A MENOS DE 2 Ha. (FROM 1 Hec. TO LESS THAN 2 Hec.)	199	68	1,224 157	886 352	31	313 10	212 20
DE 2 Ha. A MENOS DE 3 Ha. (FROM 2 Hec. to LESS THAN 3 Hec.)	100	41	1,207 223	856 417	20	393 00	282 00
DE 3 Ha. A MENOS DE 4 Ha. (FROM 3 Hec. to LESS THAN 4 Hec.)	59	24	853 172	554 327	14	245 04	170 04
DE 4 Ha A MENOS DE 5 Ha (FROM 4 Hec. TO LESS THAN 5 Hec.)	35	11	352 47	221 102	08	130 00	70 00
UNIDADES DE 5 Ha. A MENOS DE 500 Ha. (UNITS FROM 5 Hec. TO LESS THAN 500 Hec.)	68	22	846 158	597 288	14	143 00	98 00
DE 5 Ha A MENOS DE 10 Ha (FROM 5 Hec. TO LESS THAN 10 Hec.)	47	18	718 132	507 243	11	103 00	71 00
DE 10 Ha. A MENOS DE 20 Ha. (FROM 10 Hec. TO LESS THAN 20 Hec.)	13	04	128 26	90 45	03	40 00	27 00
DE 20 Ha A MENOS DE 50 Ha. (FROM 20 Hec. TO LESS THAN 50 Hec.)	08	00	00 00	00 00	00	00 00	00 00
DE 500 Ha. O MAS (FROM 500 Hec. OR MORE)	01	00	00 00	00 00	00	00 00	00 00
DE 2,500 Ha. O MAS (FROM 2,500 Hec.	01	00	00 00	00 00	00	00 00	00 00

According to the 1972 census mentioned above there are 4,086 head of cattle for 760 agrarian units. Of these, 3,035 are female animals and 1,051 are male animals. Thus there are more female than male cattle. From my sampling of 114 individuals I have calculated that the most frequent number of cattle that a nuclear family owns is between 1 and 3, which are generally cows. The maximum number of cattle owned by a family was reported, according to this sampling, to be 20. The person who declared this number is a foreigner from the village of Lucanas which used to be the old Capital of the Provincia. Indeed, the Lucaninos settled in Andamarca are regarded as the cattle raisers par excellence and I noted that they owned proportionately much more cattle than the native Andamarquinos, and that some even owned 120 head of cattle. These Lucaninos, as we shall see, are the ones most commonly assimilated to the category of Misti.

The reason for the numerical difference between the male and female cattle is that the meat of the former is mostly exploited for commercial purposes while the second are kept to be used for procreation and to provide the necessary milk to produce cheese which is also used in commerce.

Those who exploit the meat of their cattle for commercial reasons are principally people such as the Misti, who own a large number of heads, and the intermediarios or middle men, who collect bulls and other male cattle from different stock

raisers. These middle men are, in the majority, people that have come either from Puquio or Huancavelica and have settled in Andamarca or in the neighbouring communities. However, the Misti still tend to monopolize this business and their incomes seem to be considerable, for apart from owning large properties in Andamarca many of them also own properties in Lima. In the year 1973, I estimated that a Misti could sell to the slaughter houses on the coast, 36 head of cattle per annum and obtain a net profit equivalent to £1,000.

Cheese trading is a commercial activity which is mostly associated with the local Andamarquinos or those who, in comparison to the Mistis, are regarded as Indians. In this commercial activity it is more common to see local middle men than foreigners; it also seems to be very profitable, for the majority of the 46 shopkeepers are said to have started as cheese traders.

On 19th. May, 1972, I was able to make the following estimates concerning a cheese trader who was packing some cheese to take to Lima. The cheese had been packed in 6 boxes each containing an average of 250 cheeses. Some of the cheese was his property and the rest he bought at an equivalent price of 5p for each cheese, the value of the whole stock being about £75. The price he was going to ask of the consumers in Lima was equivalent to 10p and the amount he was going to invest in travel expenses

and expenses in Lima was about £16.35p. His net profit therefore was about £58.65p for one trip. As this cheese trader carries a similar load of cheeses every two months, it may computed that his yearly profit is around £343.90p.

Together with being a source of cash income, cattle also demand capital investment for their upkeep. Natural pastures that grow in the Puna and in the valley are not enough to maintain the standards of weight demanded by the meat market. Therefore, their diet has to be supplemented by alfalfa or by some other type of forage imported from the coast.

Alfalfa only grows in the valley and in places where abundant water may reach it. Of all the products cultivated in the valley, alfalfa is the one which demands most water as it is irrigated by flooding the field. No matter how much rain has fallen during the rainy season, alfalfa fields have to be irrigated three times during the year: once before the maize harvest (end of April and beginning of May), again after the maize harvest (August) and finally after the maize planting (November). It seems that the logic behind these irrigating stages is related to the fact that alfalfa grows from its roots every three months and to the fact that the cattle have to remain in the Puna during the rainy season. Because of the heavy use of water demanded by alfalfa fields, the owners have to pay a fee

equivalent to 50p for each day they use the water, and they have to carry the heaviest expenses in the maintenance of the water channels and in the celebrations of the Yarja Aspi or cleaning of the water channels.

Of course not only meat producers make use of the alfalfa plots. Cheese producers also need them, although not on the scale of the former. This is because the natural pastures in the Puna and in the valley are not sufficient for increasing the weight of the animals and because during the period when all the inhabitants are involved in agricultural activities it is important to have at least the cows with their calves near them in order that they may be milked on time.

All this has led to an extensive commercialization of the alfalfa plots, involving buying and selling and even renting. This is particularly so because the cattle's rate of consumption is very high. I have been told that a 2,500m^2 (equivalent to 1 yugada) alfalfa field lasts only 15 days for ten animals. This makes an average of 16.6m^2 per animal per day. This daily consumption by an animal is called a cenada (supper). Because of this heavy consumption and because the size of the plots tends not to be very large, the animals have to keep moving during their stay in the valley, more frequently even than when they or the wool-producing animals are staying in the Puna. However, the ideal is to concentrate alfalfa plots where the

terrain is not very steep and where it is wide open. These less steep and wider areas allow for a longer stay and greater concentration of cattle and for the use of lower land terraces, which are preferable to high ones where the cattle may fall and the amount of water needed for irrigation may endanger the walls. It is true that these less steep and more open terrains are affected by frost but alfalfa and the crops that renew the fertility of the land such as potatoes, barley and the broad beans (in this order), are the most resistant to this climatological threat. All this partly explains why the middle and northern parts of the western side of the village of Andamarca are the most crowded with alfalfa plots. However these alfalfa plots are often not enough for the meat traders and then they have to rent alfalfa plots in the neighbouring communities or to buy some industrialized forage produced in the coast.

Further costs for the cattle raisers are salt purchases to provide salt licks for bulls, vaccination against foot-and-mouth disease (aftosa) performed by the regional veterinary surgeon twice every year, and the use of medicines.

Except when used for increasing the weight of the cattle whose meat will be traded, alfalfa plots and other pasture land of the lower part of the valley are reserved mostly for cows and their calves. Cows are always cared for by women and they are so much identified with each other that both are said to be "Taje" (which is the term for the maize deposits). Male

cattle, are on the other hand, mostly herded by men in the higher parts. In both cases relatively few people are required to take care of them, but nevertheless, as with the wool-producing animals, somebody has to watch them constantly. It is difficult for the same person to watch them throughout the year because of the varied nature of the activities everybody performs. For this reason there is the tendency for animals from different families who are united by kinship links to be grouped together in one herd and the members of those families take turn to watch the herd. If by any chance somebody is not able to take turns then he accepts to go "al partir" (half and half) with the owner of the largest number of animals who is the one who generally spends the most time in herding activities. By "al partir" is meant that the latter has rights over 50% of the production of the animals he has in his custody. In some other cases the "al partir" contract works the other way round. This happens when owners of large numbers of cattle, such as the Misti, cannot herd their animals by themselves for reasons of their multiple occupations, and have to seek the assistance of peones (workers). In these cases the peones herd the animals of a Misti and as compensation they receive the right to herd their own animals in the pastures of the Misti and to keep about 50% of the cheese that is produced.

In the past, wool-producing animals participated in the national market economy mostly through their wool but today it is their meat which is the item most common commercialized.

This last is especially the case with llamas for they provide a greater quantity of meat than sheep and alpacas, which on the contrary, provide more wool, and of much better quality than llamas. Perhaps because they are slaughtered with greater frequency the number of heads of llamas for a total number of 760 agrarian units according to the 1972 agropecuarian census is 1,564 whilst alpaca number is 5,449 and sheep 6,453. Correspondingly, it is also possible to see from this census that of these totals only 17 llamas had been sheared, whereas 873 alpacas and 924 sheep had been sheared. Moreover, for llamas and alpacas we see the same pattern as with cattle in that there seems to be a preference for keeping the female animals and getting rid of the males. From the above totals we can see that this 1972 census identifies 3,769 breeding alpacas, representing 69.16% of the total number, and 1,025 breeding llamas which are equivalent to 65.53% of the total. (See Tables 2 and 3).

Llama and some alpaca meat is taken to the coast markets in the form of charqui, which is the name given to this meat when it is dry and processed with salt. I have been told that today there are about 20 local Andamarquinos who are engaged in the charqui trade and for this reason they are known as Charqueros. People also agreed in considering this kind of business as highly profitable although none of the 20 charqueros impressed me as being very wealthy or as possessing profits for investment

in alternative commercial activities. Indeed, they seemed to me to be not very acculturated and possessing only a very weak knowledge of the Spanish language.

I once had the opportunity to travel in a lorry with two charqueros who were taking to Lima a load of about 2,400 Kg. of llama and alpaca charqui. As the price paid by the coast middle men is equivalent to 21p per kilogram one can compute that the amount they were to receive was about £504. If one subtracts £5 for every 30 Kg. (which is the average meat weight for llamas together with alpacas, and the average local price for each of them) and £30 for the freight, it is possible to estimate their net profit as £74 which had to be distributed between the two of them.

Perhaps I have estimated too low a price for that paid by the coast middle man, nevertheless I still do not think that the profit that is obtained in this business is larger than the one which is obtained from cheese or from cattle meat. One further reason for this is that although the costs of maintenance do not demand heavy expenses since wool-producing animals are herded in communal lands where pastures grow without too much care, the costs of preparing the charqui are higher than those of preparing cheese. The process of preparing cheese is a simple one that can be performed by one person in a short period of time, while the process of preparing charqui demands the

participation of different individuals, first to do the collecting and second to slaughter the animals. The costs involved in these occasions result from the obligation to reciprocate with food and drinks the services that are being rendered.

Formerly, more emphasis was given to the commercialization of both alpaca and sheep wool but today it is mostly used for the Andamarquinos' own consumption. From alpaca wool they make very thick ponchos or blankets which generally weigh about 3 Kg. and there fore one can estimate that the wool of two alpacas is required, for the average weight of the wool of an animal is about 1.5Kg. or perhaps a bit more. These ponchos and blankets are sold in Puquio at a price equivalent to £4, which in terms of the wool employed and of the work it demanded is not very high. Ponchos made from sheep's wool are thinner and less heavy than those of alpaca and generally are sold at prices which are above £10.

Andamarquinos prefer to eat the meat of alpaca, llama and sheep rather than beef. Whenever the sponsorship of a cargo is celebrated, some 4 or 5 alpacas are usually slaughtered. Alpaca meat is generally preferred to that of llamas because the meat of the latter is considered to be too cold. Sheep are also slaughtered although they are more frequently reserved for use as presents for some ritual occasions.

From all this description it may be gathered that cattle are most involved in commercial activity and correspondingly I have noticed that in contrast to wool-producing animals these are mostly acquired by purchase. Hence, of those 85 family heads of my sampling who mentioned that they owned cattle, 57.47% said they had purchased them, 32.18% said they had inherited them or received them as dowry, Suñay , Toro Jaycu (a present consisting of a bull received when sponsoring a fiesta), etc.; 6.89% said they had inherited and purchased them and 3.44% did not specify the way in which they had obtained them. On the other hand, llamas and alpacas are mentioned as mostly inherited and sheep are rather more frequently inherited than purchased.

We have already mentioned that the Orqo or Puna, is the proper region for herding activities. Corresponding to the commercial nature of these activities the Puna is associated symbolically with the outside world which is generally represented as a savage or non-social world. We shall see later (p.172) how the Eastern side of the Negromayo river, which is explicitly associated with cattle during the rituals of the cleaning of the water channels, is thought of as the realm of the gentiles and of the red colour which in some other contexts is explicitly associated with the outside world. Moreover, the Puna is generally the scene of the myths of origin, whilst the human groups who lived permanently in this region are called sallqa runa which is a term that in the old vocabularies is translated as "savages".

Except for the branding of wool-producing animals in February and June, no major social events take place in the Puna; and except for some irrigation channels to provide pastures with water this region has been untouched by man. Herding is a lonely activity which demands moving from one place to the other and therefore does not give rise to the development of very concentrated residence sites. We shall see that the most concentrated of all has developed thanks to its proximity to the road that joins Andamarca with the Panamerican Highway coming from Cuzco.

As a non-social realm the Puna contrasts strongly with the valley, for this is the setting of full social life. It is in the valley that the main village lies and this is the region which has suffered most transformations by the hand of man. It is here where the land terraces which decorate the hillsides flourish and it is here where a highly elaborated irrigation system that consists of a complicated network of water channels and water tanks, has been built. All this implies a very elaborate system of labour organization and of water distribution which demands a close and sustained co-operation from the Andamarquinos.

As a region associated with commercial activities, the Puna also contrasts greatly with the valley where productive activity is mostly related to the subsistence of the Andamarquinos themselves.

Of all the crops grown in the valley, maize is the most widely cultivated and the one which receives most technical and ritual attention. It is around this crop that the whole annual cycle is organized and it is the one for which the irrigation system is most carefully adapted.

It really arouses admiration to see the amount of work this crop demands, the amount of time that is dedicated to it and the frequency with which almost the emtire crop may be lost. Maize cultivation is considered to be one of the most delicate activities for it is said that either too much rain or too little rain may interrupt the growing process of this crop. Too much water may cause rotting of the roots and too little may create favourable conditions for frost which is considered to "burn" the small plants. These difficult climatic conditions, plus the reduced number and size of the individual maize plots, make it almost impossible to obtain any surplus that could be traded. More often it happens that the Andamarquinos have to supplement their production by purchasing maize elsewhere.

The best evidence for the care which is granted to maize may be seen in the complex technology and in the elaborateness of the rituals which are associated with it, and also in the rich classificatory system which distinguishes various varieties of maize according to the different criteria.

The most important technological feature associated with maize production is the land terraces. Their importance is not only suggested by their large number but also from the use that is made of part of the specialized vocabulary associated with terraces to designate the dual barrios (sections) of the main village. As we shall see later the main village is located on the western side of the Negromayo river, and it is divided into an eastern and western barrio. The first, which is the nearest to the Negromayo river, is called Pata and the second one is called Tuna. These terms are the same which are used to designate the border of a land-terrace, in the first case, and the corner of a land-terrace, in the second case.

I have not been able to determine the age of these land-terraces but even the oldest people generally told me that they had always been there. Perhaps they date from the pre-Hispanic period, for in some parts the containing walls or Huacca present some characteristics which are typical of Inca architecture.

Perhaps they developed because the steep hillsides of the lower part of the valley made them necessary. This zone of the valley is the most favourable to the cultivation of maize, because there is less frost at this altitude and because water resources are available.

In this steep environment the land-terraces contribute to the protection of the ground from the erosion produced by the rains. So positive is the result of this technique that

hardly ever does the land have to be renewed by growing other crops or by fallow periods. Therefore most of the land-terraces have been continuously cultivated with maize since time immemorial. The only possible damage that they may suffer is when an excessive amount of rain or too much irrigation water loosens the stones of the Huacca and causes it to fall down.

To avoid the damage which too much irrigation water may cause, a technique has been developed, dating back to pre-Hispanic times, which permits this water to be distributed evenly throughout the whole cultivated space of a land-terrace. This technique involves the use of eqas, which are like farrows which serve the purpose of distributing the irrigating water evenly to prevent it accumulating in some parts of the land-terrace and therefore being the cause either of the rotting of the maize plants or the collapse of the wall. These eqas are made only by women after sowing a maize field and the form they take depends on the degree of steepness of the land-terrace.

Other activities which are related to maize cultivation and which are developed in successive stages throughout its productive cycle are weeding, earthing up (aporcar) and irrigation. The first two are performed together four times during the cycle and the third one, three times. The first operation of weeding and earthing up is called Qallmay and takes place in December just after the first irrigation; the second is called Qoray and it is performed between January and February depending

on the quantity of weeds which have grown; the third is Qachi and it is performed in March; and the last one is Qatachay which is performed according to whether weeds are threatening the land-terrace wall. Irrigation,is first performed before sowing the maize fields in September and it is known as Chasqui . Then again it is done in December when it is known as Mallhua and finally the third irrigation is known as Ñiti and it may take place in March depending on whether the rains have been sufficient or not.

Maize cultivation techniques are also very elaborate. They start with the training of the bulls that will pull the plough for sowing the fields and with the selection of the seeds. During July and part of August the training of the bulls takes place and this is generally a slow process. The need to carry out this activity every year is partly related to the fact that, as we have seen, bulls are frequently disposed for commercial reasons and because both for their fertility and also for mystical reasons, bulls are preferred to oxen because of their reproductive power. Moreover the training is also necessary because the land-terraces where they will perform their work are frequently very narrow and therefore they need to learn the different commands of the plougher which cause them to move backwards and forwards to turn around, to stop when it is necessary, etc. In other words, it is possible to say that this training consists of teaching the bulls a language.

The selection of seeds is an activity exclusively associated with women. It consists of removing the middle grains of a corn cob because the grains at either end are considered to be unproductive.(3) The seeds are selected from the largest maize cobs and they are frequently separated according to the different varieties that are available. This latter activity is important because not all the plots of land are equally suitable for all the varieties of maize.

One important characteristic of maize cultivation in Andamarca is that this crop is never cultivated alone. Generally some broad beans, peas, quinua or some barley are planted as well. The first two are frequently planted on the borders of a land-terrace or in parts where water may tend to accumulate. The reason is that these crops are much more resistant to water than maize.

In contrast to the rest of the crops available in Andamarca maize is the only one which has associated with it an elaborate sowing ritual which is attended by many relatives of the owner of the land-terrace. This ritual only takes place in the land-terraces or plots of land which are known as Hatun lucri chacra or "big plots of land" and that are thought to be the ones that render the best production every year.

The whole celebration starts with the burial of some offerings consisting of Llampu and brewed maize covered with carnation flowers. The next stages are the sprinkling of a

maize brew to honour the mountains and the mother earth and to bless the seeds. There follows the communal meal and the drinking of brewed maize with Pito (maize flour mixed with spices and sugar). On this occasion a small horn made from the tail of a calf and known as Pururo is played by the son-in-law of the owner of the land-terrace. In the meanwhile, the women sing the Qarawi song. The final part of the maize sowing ritual is the Jaurama, which consists of again drinking the fermented maize brew with Pito but from two identical glasses which have to be held one on top of the other. Afterwards the owner of the land-terrace and his wife, who at this stage are completely drunk, are carried either by their sons-in-law or their compadres on their backs and taken to their house.

Maize also occupies a prominent place as a ritual object. For instance, it is used to prepare llampu, Pito, and also Qaqopa which is maize flour for cleaning oneself from impurities, and Aqarapi, Qeqara and Guamani (the latter being a quadrangular pyramid made from maize flour mixed with fat obtained from the chest of a llama). Apart from all this a pair of maize cobs (of the almidón or "starch" variety) are generally buried as offerings. Anomalous specimen of maize cobs such as the taje, which consists of a maize cob from the sides of which other incomplete maize cobs have grown, are considered to bring good luck, and are hung inside the houses.

Apart from all this, maize is eaten daily as cancha (toasted maize) and as mote (boiled maize) and it is the basic ingredient for the patachi or sarapela which is a food eaten only on ceremonial occasions.

The Andamarquinos recognize about eleven or twelve varieties of maize, and they ascribe particular qualities to them. The most important are Yuraq Saracha or white maize (almidón) and Uchu Kullu (morocho). The first has been already mentioned in relation to maize offerings and now we can add that it is this variety which is used in the Hatun lucri chacra . It is considered to be the most resistant to frost and to be the one which takes longer time in growing and which gives the best return. Uchu Kullu, on the other hand, is said to be less resistant to frost, to grow in shorter time and to be sweeter than the former one. For this reason it is considered as very good for brewing maize drink whereas Yuraq Saracha is considered to be good just as food. Other varieties of the Yuraq Saracha species are: Paro, Peqpe, Accra, Competes, Culli, Mesa, Oqe, Cinto; and of the Uchu Kullu species there are: Q'ello, Chullpi, Puca Moro.

The importance given to maize is further suggested by the 1972 agropecuarian census and by my own sampling, mentioned before. Just as cattle are the most widely distributed herding animal, so maize is the most widely distributed crop. Out of a total number of 760 agrarian units, mentioned by the 1972 census,

464 grew maize, 398 grew barley, 251 grew broad beans and 140 grew potatoes. The rest of the crops mentioned are grown by so few agrarian units that it is not worthwhile mentioning them here. However, it is important to notice that alfalfa, which is consumed by the most widely distributed herding animal, is not associated with as many agrarian units as is maize. It is associated with 390 but it occupies a larger area of land than maize. Whereaa the 463 agrarian units associated with maize occupy an area of 169.23 hectares, the agrarian units associated with alfalfa occupy an area of 255.01 hectares. (See Tables 4 and 5).

Maize and alfalfa are the most contrasted crops cultivated in the valley in so far as the first is the basic crop for human consumption and the second, the best crop for cattle consumption. From the point of view of the productive cycle, they are also contrasted because there is only one crop of maize per annum whilst there are three crops of alfalfa. Moreover, maize plots embody more than any other the idea of permanence because they do not need to be renewed and have been continuously cultivated from ancient times. Alfalfa plots, on the other hand, are impermanent because their land has to be rotated (Cutirpo) with other crops introduced every seven, ten or twelve years. From the point of view of maintenance, maize and alfalfa share the same need for irrigation, although alfalfa consumes much more water. Their different degree of resistance of frost also contributes to the contrast since it explains in

TABLE 4 MAIN CROPS CULTIVATED IN ANDAMARCA (TAKEN FROM CUADRO 14 OF THE NATIONAL AGROPECUARIAN CENSUS. 4 ITEMS HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED, AS NOT BEING REPRESENTATIVE: HORTALIZAS (COEBOLLAS), VERGEL (GARDEN STUFF) (ONIONS) (FRUIT AND HORTALIZA LEGUMBRES Y CAÑA DE AZUCAR)
(GARDEN STUFF LEGETABLES and SUGAR CANE)

CENSO AGROPECUARIO 1972 | PRODUCCION DE LOS CULTIVOS TRANSITORIOS CON RIEGO Y EN SECANO, Nº DE SUPERFICIE COSECHADA Y PRODUCCION DE LA UNIDAD AGROPECUARIA.
AGRICULTURAL CENSUS OF 1972 PRODUCTION OF SEASONAL CROPS WHICHARE IRRIGATED and NON-IRRIGATED, AREA HARVESTED and PRODUCTION OF THE AGROPECUARIAN UNIT.

SIZE OF THE AGROPECUARIAN UNITS
TAMAÑO DE LAS UNIDADES AGROPECUARIAS

		TOTAL	FROM LESS THAN 1 Hct	FROM 1 TO LESS THAN 5 Hct	FROM 5 TO LESS THAN 20 Hct	FROM 20 TO LESS THAN 100 Hct.	FROM 100 TO LESS THAN 300 Hct.	FROM 300 AND MORE	NOT DECLARED
TOTAL OF AGROPECUARIAN UNITS (A.U.) COUNTED	TOTAL DE UNIDADES AGROPECUARIAS (U.A.) CENSADAS								
NUMBER OF A.U.	Nº U.A.	760	298	393	60	08	00	01	00
AREA	SUPERFICIE	61,810.85	152.28	876.77	483.45	261.35	00	60,037.00	00
TOTAL OF SEASONAL CROPS	CULTIVOS TRANSITORIOS TOTAL								
NUMBER OF A.U.	Nº U.A	641	186	391	57	07	00	00	00
AREA	SUPERFICIE	429.99	69.62	275.0	69.94	9.42	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº U.A	638	186	390	55	07	00	00	00
AREA	SUPERFICIE	417.72	69.56	272.22	66.71	9.23	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº U.A.	19	01	12	05	01	00	00	00
AREA	SUPERFICIE	6.27	0.06	2.79	3.23	0.19	00	00	00
CEREALS	CEREALES								
BARLEY TOTAL	CEBADA TOTAL								
Nº of A.U.	Nº U.A.	398	100	243	44	05	00	00	01
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERFICIE SIN PRODUCCION	1.69	0.6	0.38	1.25	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	105.32	14.09	73.42	16.63	4.18	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUCCION EN T.M.	37.97	5.72	22.33	8.23	1.69	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº U.A	393	100	245	43	05	00	00	00
AREA OF NON PRODUCTION	SUPERFICIE SIN PRODUCCION	1.69	0.06	0.38	1.25	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	106.19	14.09	72.42	15.50	4.18	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUCCION EN T.M.	37.17	5.72	22.43	7.63	1.69	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE U.A.	09	00	16	03	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERFICIE SIN PRODUCCION	00	00	0.00	0.00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	2.13	00	1.00	1.13	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUCCION EN T.M.	0.80	00	0.20	0.60	00	00	00	00
MAIZE TOTAL	MAIZ TOTAL								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE U.A.	464	132	288	40	04	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERFICIE SIN PRODUC	1.26	0.12	0.44	0.57	0.13	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	169.73	33.29	111.78	22.34	2.32	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUCCION EN T.M.	103.63	22.00	67.15	12.60	1.88	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE U.A.	463	132	287	40	04	00	00	00
AREA OF NON PRODUCTION	SUPERFICIE SIN PRODUC.	1.26	0.12	0.44	0.57	0.13	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON PRODUC.	169.23	33.29	111.47	22.34	2.13	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUCCION EN T.M.	103.03	22.00	66.87	12.60	1.56	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE. U.A.	02	00	01	00	01	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERFICIE SIN PRODUC	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	0.50	00	0.31	00	0.11	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUCCION EN T.M	0.60	00	0.28	00	0.32	00	00	00
QUINUA TOTAL	QUINUA TOTAL								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE. U.A.	05	00	02	03	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERFICIE SIN PROD.	0.00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	0.98	00	0.26	0.72	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUCCION EN T.M.	0.18	00	0.03	0.15	00	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE U.A	05	00	02	03	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERFICIE SIN PROD.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	0.98	00	0.26	0.72	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUCCION EN T.M.	0.18	00	0.03	0.15	00	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE U.A.		00	00	00	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD		00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "		00	00	00	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.		00	00	00	00	00	00	00
WHEAT TOTAL	TRIGO TOTAL								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE U.A	07	00	00	01	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PRODUCC	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
AREA OF PRODUCTION	" CON "	0.25	00	00	0.25	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUCC. EN TM	0.05	00	00	0.05	00	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE U.A	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T. M.	00	00.	00	00	00			
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE. U.A.	01	00	00	01	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	0.25	00	00	0.25	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUC. EN T.M.	0.05	00	00	0.05	00	00	00	00
MAIZE COBS TOTAL	MAIZ CHOCLO TOTAL								
Nº of A.U	Nº DE U.A	155	52	89	14	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	2.08	0.00	0.00	2.08	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON PROD	65.02	14.08	42.13	8.81	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.	32.23	8.44	19.04	4.75	00	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE. U.A.	153	52	89	12	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD	2.08	00	00	2.08	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON PROD	63.43	14.02	42.13	7.34	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.	31.48	8.42	19.04	3.99	00	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE U.A	02	01	00	02	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	1.59	0.06	00	1.47	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.	0.78	0.02	00	0.76	00	00	00	00
BROAD BEANS TOTAL	HABA TOTAL								
Nº of A.U.	Nº DE U.A	251	54	163	30	04	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	1.26	0.06	0.32	0.88	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	43.69	5.44	27.77	8.72	1.16	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.	18.91	2.58	11.84	3.85	0.64	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO								

PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD EN T M							
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A.							
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF SIN PROD							
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "							
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD EN T.M							
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A							
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF SIN PROD							
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "							
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD EN T M							
BROAD BEANS TOTAL	HABA TOTAL							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A							
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF SIN PROD							
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "							
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD EN T M							
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A							
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF SIN PROD							
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "							
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD EN T M							
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A.	01	00	01	030	04	00	00
AREA OF NON PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	00	00	00	0.68	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	0.15	00	0.15	8.72	1.16	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.	0.21	00	0.21	3.85	0.64	00	00
TUBEROSE	TUBEROSAS							
MASHUA TOTAL	MASHUA TOTAL							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A.	02	00	02	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	0.06	00	0.06	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.	0.29	00	0.29	00	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A	02	00	02	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	06	00	0.06	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.	0.23	00	0.23	00	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO : 00							
OCA TOTAL	OCA TOTAL							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A	12	02	10	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF SIN PROD.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON PROD.	1.11	0.19	0.12	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUCCION EN T M.	1.48	0.13	1.35	00	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A	12	02	10	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	1.11	0.19	0.12	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M	1.48	0.13	1.35	00	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO : 00							
OLLUCO TOTAL	OLLUCO TOTAL							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A.	14	04	07	03	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	0.08	00	00	0.08	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	1.14	0.35	0.53	0.26	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.	1.01	0.15	0.69	0.17	00	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A	14	04	07	03	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	0.08	00	00	0.08	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	1.14	0.35	0.53	0.26	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M	1.01	0.15	0.69	0.17	00	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO : 00							
POTATO TOTAL	PAPA TOTAL							
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A	140	21	92	23	04	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPER. SIN PROD.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	25.58	1.81	14.79	7.35	1.63	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.	32.13	2.15	18.78	8.16	3.04	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO								
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A	137	21	90	22	04	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	24.94	1.81	14.53	6.97	1.63	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUC. EN T.M.	31.48	2.15	18.61	7.68	3.04	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO								
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A	04	00	02	02	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	0.64	00	0.26	0.38	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUC. EN T.M.	0.65	00	0.17	0.48	00	00	00	00
FORAGE	FORRAJERAS								
MAIZE STALKS	MAIZ CHALA								
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A.	01	00	01	00	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	0.38	00	0.38	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON PROD.	0.00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PRODUC. EN T.M.	0.00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION	CON RIEGO								
Nº OF A.U.	Nº DE U.A	01	00	01	00	00	00	00	00
AREA OF NON-PRODUCTION	SUPERF. SIN PROD.	0.38	00	0.38	00	00	00	00	00
" " PRODUCTION	" CON "	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
PRODUCTION IN TONNES	PROD. EN T.M.	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION	EN SECANO : 00								

TABLE 5 ALFALFA STATISTICS (TAKEN FROM CUADRO 17 OF THE NATIONAL AGROPECUARIAN CENSUS - 1972)

TIERRAS CULTIVADAS AL PASTOREO CON RIEGO Y SECANO, Nº Y SUPERFICIE APROVECHADA DE LAS UNIDADES AGROPECUARIAS SEGUN SU TAMAÑO

CULTIVATED LANDS DEDICATED TO HERDING WITH IRRIGATION AND NON-IRRIGATION; NUMBER AND AREA USED BY THE AGROPECUARIAN UNITS ACCORDING TO THEIR SIZE.

	TOTAL	LESS THAN 1 Hec. MENOS DE 1 Ha.	FROM 1 Hec. TO LESS THAN 5 Hec. DE 1 Ha A MENOS DE 5 Ha	FROM 5 Hec. TO LESS THAN 20 Hec. DE 5 Ha A MENOS DE 20 Ha.	FROM 20 Hec. TO LESS THAN 100 Hec. DE 20 Ha. A MENOS DE 100 Ha.	DE 100 Ha. A MENOS DE 500 Ha. FROM 100 Hec. TO LESS THAN 500 Hec.	DE 500 Y MAS FROM 500 OR MORE	NO DECLARADO NOT DECLARED
CULTIVATED PASTURES FOR PASTURING								
- NUMBER OF AGROPECUARIAN UNITS	390	75	262	47	06	00	00	00
- AREA	255.01	12.36	134.90	59.50	48.25	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION								
- Nº OF A.U.	389	75	261	47	06	00	00	00
- AREA	254.70	12.36	134.59	59.50	48.25	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION								
- Nº OF A.U.	1	00	01	00	00	00	00	00
- AREA	0.31	00	0.31	00	00	00	00	00
ALFALFA								
- Nº OF A.U.	390	75	262	47	06	00	00	00
- AREA	255.01	12.36	134.90	59.50	48.25	00	00	00
WITH IRRIGATION								
- Nº OF A.U.	389	75	261	47	06	00	00	00
- AREA	254.70	12.36	134.59	59.50	48.25	00	00	00
NON-IRRIGATION								
- Nº OF A.U.	1	00	01	00	00	00	00	00
- AREA	0.31	00	0.31	00	00	00	00	00

great part the need for the application of a different technology to each. As alfalfa is more resistant to frost it may grow in the open as well as in high fields and therefore the land-terrace technique is not so vital to it. Consequently, it may be fully irrigated to the point of flooding the ground without the risk of causing the land-terrace to fall down. By contrast, maize may only grow in the less open and lower fields. Accordingly, land-terraces afford the best technique for taking the maximum advantage of those terrains which are steepest.

Barley, broad beans, potatoes and such other edible roots as ollucos and ocas may be said to share some of the qualities of alfalfa and therefore they are nearer to it than to maize. The importance of these crops is not only evident from the statistics mentioned above but from the fact that their sowing periods are used to name some of the divisions of the annual cycle. For instance August is called Habas Yapuy (Broad bean sowing); September and October are called Sara Yapuy (Maize sowing); November is called Papa Yapuy (and December is Cebada Yapuy . All these crops have, in common with alfalfa, a resistance to frost and therefore they may be grown in open and high fields. Correspondingly, potatoes, broad beans and barley are included within cutirpo rotation system of the alfalfa plots. Broad beans in particular also have in common with alfalfa a great capacity for water consumption and when water is free in August both kinds

of crops are irrigated at the same time. We have already seen that for this reason broad beans, together with peas, are generally sown in the parts of a land-terrace where water tends to accumulate.

The planting of both maize and broad beans in a land-terrace is referred to as Imis ja (mixed crops). The idea behind this is to obtain the maximum advantage from a land-terrace and to lessen the risk of total loss if the land-terrace is affected either by frost or by too much rain. Indeed this is a technical device common to the cultivation of all the crops used for human consumption and which is also extended more widely. For example, in a similar fashion people prefer that their plots of land which are devoted to crops destined for human consumption should be geographically dispersed. Since bad weather conditions do not affect all areas equally, this means that if some of their crops are damaged, others may escape. Variability seems to be a dominant concern in the Andean World, as has already been emphasized by anthropólogists such as John Murra, César Fonseca and others.

Barley, potatoes, ocas, ollucos and mashua, are generally cultivated away from the maize producing areas and near to the alfalfa producing areas, however, as potatoes do not need as much water as alfalfa, barley and the other edible roots, they

are also grown in non-irrigated areas. These areas are called terreno de secano (dry terrains) because irrigation there depends on the rains. As in the case of the lands of the Puna these are not privately but communally owned. Their name is Aypo (to distribute) and in Andamarca there are three of this kind. (See p. 122.)

In so far as all these frost resisting crops used for human consumption are closely associated with alfalfa and may be planted in places which are above the limits of maize productivity, it may be said that their realm is located between the Puna and the valley. Correspondingly, in the three-layered hole in which the offerings to the mountains are displayed during the celebrations of the Limpieza de la Acequia , maize products go into the bottom layer, Waylla Ichu or Ichu, which grow in the Puna, are placed in the top layer and in the intermediate layer, the seeds of these frost resisting crops are distributed in pairs.

It should be noted however that the fact that they grow above the limits of maize cultivation does not make the high altitudes of the valley the exclusive realm of these crops, nor is their mediating status between the Puna and the valley derived solely from this ecological position. I think that the intermediate role assigned to these crops should also be understood in terms of their close association with alfalfa, which as

we have seen embodies values associated with the most important activities practiced in Andamarca, namely those of herding and agriculture.

I emphasize this point because since John Murra introduced the concept of vertical ecology for understanding the exploitation of the environment and of economic transactions in the pre-Hispanic world, there has been a tendency among his followers to interpret the economic activities of the Andean World (past and present) as determined by the ecological levels. Consequently they have explained the Andean ideal of having dispersed plots of land as being simply caused by the verticality of their environment. That this is a technique adapted to the variable climatic and other physical conditions of an environment exploited in common, may be true. But is this the only explanation for the pattern of dispersal? I would say not, because I think that there are also social processes operating that may contribute either to the fragmentation and dispersion of the land or to its concentration. It is in relation to these two possible tendencies that we shall later attempt to understand the residence pattern and the land holding system. In the meantime, let us consider the annual cycle in order to visualize more clearly the multiplicity of activities that are performed in Andamarca and the degree of overlapping that may take place among them.

The Annual Cycle.-

We shall be very brief in dealing with this section because in the previous section we have mentioned several aspects related to this topic and because we consider that Table 6 gives a very detailed view of the elements of this annual cycle. The first thing to be noted is that it is organized within the framework of annual divisions which correspond to a Western system of time reckoning. Hence the relevant divisions are the Western months but these in their turn are grouped in a more local annual division which is based on the recurrence of certain climatic conditions. Therefore the year is conceived as divided into a Pogoy Mita (rain season) period which covers part of December and the following months until Easter (Pascua de Resurrección); then follows Pascua Mita which lasts from Easter until July. Finally, the last period is Chaqui Tiempo (dry season) which starts on 1st. August when the "earth opens" and ends in December. Except for Pascua Mita, the other two periods are not clearly delimited for there is no precise date for determining the end of the Chaqui Mita and the beginning of Pogoy Mita. (See Table 7 in order to obtain an idea of the intensity of rain falls during the year. This table has kindly been given to me by the National Meterological Service known as SENAMHI).

TABLE No. 6 THE ANNUAL CYCLE

MONTHS OF THE YEAR	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
SEASONS	P O Q O Y	N I T A ⟶		⟵ P A	S C U A	N I T A		C H A Q U I	T I E M P O			PUCUY (RAINY SEASON)
ASTRAL CYCLE AND THE FROST THREAT	EPIPHANY ON THE 6 TH	CELEBRATION OF THE VIRGEN CANDELARIA PATRON OF CABANA ON THE 1ST MIERCOLES DE CENIZA CCOLLCCA OR THE SEVEN SISTERS APPEAR AT DAYLIGHT. THE ANARU THAT LIVES IN LINTAHUAY MAKES ITS APPARITION AND HAIL FALLS AS A CONSEQUENCE	EASTERN		CCOLLCCA COMES OUT WHEN IT IS STILL DARK. ACHIQUIAQ OR VENUS COMES UP IN THE EAST. THE SOUTHERN CROSS COMES UP STANDING STRAIGHT. PEOPLE WILL SAY" CRUZ SAYARIRANUNYA" CABEZA IS ANOTHER STAR WHICH AT THIS TIME COMES OUT IN EVENING, WHEN THE PEOPLE GO TO SLEEP		IF MAYU OR THE MILKY WAY IS SEEN CLEARLY, THE YEAR WILL BE PRODUCTIVE	ACHIQUIQ HUAÑUY OR WHEN VENUS IS AT THE ZENITH				IMMACULATA CONCEPCION (DE THE
SOWING PERIOD							NICHICA OR EARLY SOWING OF BROAD BEANS JEWA TARPUY BULLS TRAINING FOR PULLING THE PLOUGH	THE EARTH OPENS NICHCA OF MAIZE, BROAD BEANS, OCA, OLLUCO, MASHUA	MAIZE	MAIZE	POTATOES	BARLEY POTATOES
HARVEST PERIOD			GREEN CORN COBS OR LLULLU CHOCLO NICHCA OR EARLY MAISE MALLICHE or MAIZE SE PRESENTS	NICHCA MAIZE POTATOES NICHCA BROAD BEANS	MAIZE BARLEY, BROAD BEANS MASHUA, OLLUCO, OCA, QUINUA, ACHITA	MAIZE WHEAT						
IRRIGATION OR PARCOT PERIOD				SITI OR LAST IRRIGATION OF MAIZE ALFALFA				CHASQUI OR FIRST IRRIGATION FOR PLANTING MAIZE ALFALFA RAIN WATER CELEBRATIONS			ALFALFA	MALLICHA OR SECOND IRRIGATION OF MAIZE
WEEDING AND EARTHING UP		JOMAY (not regular weeding) JAYLI (Maize weeding) JOTOY (Potatoes earthing up)		JAYMAY OR MAYMAY (weeding of the walls of the land-terraces) HUISCHUMAY (Potatoes earching up)								JAMAMAY OR FIRST WEEDING OF THE MAIZE
HERDING	P U N A ⟶		LARGER PRODUCTION OF CHEESES	⟵	V	A L		L E			Y ⟶	⟵ PUNA
		CUCLUCUY OR THE EAR MARKING OF THE WOOL PRODUCING ANIMALS WOOL CLIPPING				SECOND EAR MARKING OF SHEEPS (San Juan)		BRANDING OF CATTLE				
BUILDING OF HOUSES					C L A Y	B R I C K S	P R O D U C T I O N					⟶
RELIGIOUS CELEBRATIONS	VIRGEN CONCEBIDA NIÑO REYES NIÑO JESUS DE PRAGA	JUEVES DE COMPADRES JUEVES DE COMADRES CARNIVALS		VIRGEN DOLOROSA SEÑOR RESUCITADO SAN JOSE	SANTA CRUZ DE LA APARICION ESPIRITU SANTO (PASCUA) VIRGEN ENCARNACION (PATRONESS) SANTISIMA CUSTODIA SANTISIMA TRINIDAD	VIRGEN DEL PERPETUO SOCORRO SAN PEDRO		VIRGEN DE LAS NIEVES SEÑOR DE PLATA VIRGEN DEL CARMEN SANTISIMO CORAZON DE JESUS SA. ISIDRO SANTA ROSA DE LIMA SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS			FIESTAS DE LOS SANTOS DIFUNTOS	NAVIDAD Y SANTO NIÑO VICTOR

Table 7.-Intensity of rainfalls

DIVISION DE CLIMATOLOGIA

ESTACION DE [illegible] PUERTO

OBSERVACIONES DE PRECIPITACION TOTAL MENSUAL Y FRECUENCIA

MONTHLY TOTAL AND FREQUENCY OF THE RAIN PRECIPITATION

LAT 11°02' "S" DATO [illegible]

LON 75°00' "W" PERIODO [illegible]

ALT 3400 m. REGION [illegible]

AÑOS YEARS	ENERO JANUARY	FEBRERO FEBRUARY	MARZO MARCH	ABRIL APRIL	MAYO MAY	JUNIO JUNE	JULIO JULY	AGOSTO AUGUST	SETIEMBRE SEPTEMBER	OCTUBRE OCTOBER	NOVIEMBRE NOVEMBER	DICIEMBRE DECEMBER	TOTAL
[illegible]									7 15.4		5 [illegible]	5 [illegible]	
[illegible]	1 19.2	12 57.7	9 49.0	2 [illegible]						2 3.2	3 39.6		
[illegible]	3 24.4	13 165.6	12 64.6	2 5.7	0.0	0.0		2 10.0	5 47.5	4 2.9	1 3.6	2 62.9	
[illegible]	15 76.2	13 90.8	11 177.1	4 10.2 T	6 43.0 T	0.0	1 2.4	0.0	3 4.8 T	1 47.0 T	1 2.0 T	4 [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	2 211.3 T	21 153.0 T	23 168.5 T	13 46.0 T	5 6.0	0.0	4 18.5	6 11.3 (22)	6 22.2 T	6 9.9	2 2.4	4 14.6	
[illegible]	15 117.7	9 64.1	11 165.3	3 4.7	6 19.9 T	6 24.2 T	0.0	4 13.3	1 4.3 T	4 14.5	3 [illegible]	3 [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	3 36.0 T	11 66.0 T	15 80.3	3 4.5	2 4.0 T	0.0	0.0	1 5.0	2 21.3		1 [illegible]	2 [illegible]	
[illegible]	1 116.9	12 73.0	3 31.1 T	2 [illegible]	4 11.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	6 31.2	1 [illegible]	1 [illegible]	2 [illegible]	[illegible]
TOTAL													
MEDIA													
[illegible]	2 84.1	12 115.8	2 145.4	1 60.8 T	2 1.1 T	1 1.0 T	0.0	1	2 [illegible] T	1 [illegible] T	1 [illegible] T	1 [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	1 79.1 T	12 165.1	23 207.8 T	6 16.4	1 8.4 T	2 1.6	0.0	1 3.0 T	2 13.0	3 [illegible] T	3 [illegible]	2 [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	1 72.6 T	1 95.1 T		2 [illegible] T	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1 [illegible] T	1 [illegible] T	[illegible]	
[illegible]							0.0	1 12.1	2 [illegible] T				

Given the nature of Andamarquino technology, which is mostly based on human and animal energy, and of their productive activities this tripartite division of the year is the most significant to them. Hence, Pogoy Mita coincides with the period when herding becomes the dominant activity and when people spend most of their time in the Puna, and the crops are growing in the valley (Pogoy also means to ripen). Pascua Mita coincides with the period of harvest, and Chaqui Tiempo with the period of sowing.

Apart from these divisions there is another which relates to the cycle of the growth of maize and which has a more ritual character. This cycle starts in August when the "earth is open" and the rituals in connection with water take place. From this time onwards the fertile cycle begins and consequently the crosses, which protect the fields against climatic calamities, are returned to their original positions in the higher parts. Maize is sown in September (they begin on the 10th or 12th) and during part of October; it is harvested nine months later, in May and June - a period which recalls the gestation period of a woman. Correspondingly, on May 16th the Fiesta de la Santa Cruz (Feast of the Holy Cross) is celebrated and the crosses are removed from their places in the higher altitudes and stored in the church until August. Moreover, in relation to this cycle, it is important to note that May and August are the months in which the largest number of fiestas is

concentrated in comparison to the other months. In May the fiestas of six saints are celebrated (4 of which are considered to be at the top of the hierarchy of saints) and then follow in August the fiestas of seven saints (all of them except for one are lower rank saints). The saints celebrated in these fiestas represent 65% of all the saints that constitute the religious hierarchy. The period that follows after the harvest is also known sometimes as Chaqui Tiempo because it scarcely rains and for this reason it is during this period that the activities switch from agriculture and herding to house building. As no rain falls and the weather is sufficiently hot, the period from June to August is very appropiate for making adobes (clay bricks) and for building the walls of new houses. Consequently, August to December is the period for roofing the houses.

Two other significant periods of the year which are also linked by certain parallels are February and August. They are similar in that they are associated with the ritual branding of wool producing animals and cattle respectively. Also it is only for the celebrations of Carnival and of the Limpieza de la Acequia (cleaning of irrigation channels) celebrated at these times of year that competitions are organized between the inhabitants of the two Barrios (sections) of the main village. The Chegollo competition, involving two men of opposed barrios whipping the calves of each other legs, takes place during Carnival in February. In August there is the Maqta Tusuy (youngsters' dance) competition between young people

of both sexes from each Barrio. Moreover it is only at these two times that the whole community participates in the celebrations, and all the Mayordomos (yearly sponsors of the saints) have to prepare food and drinks for their friends and relatives to partake of during these days. It is important to mention in this respect that in some communities of the Provincia de Victor Fajardo (Ayacucho) it is believed that the earth opens both in August and in February.

Finally, the only contexts in which a certain kind of activity is associated with individual months are those relating to sowing, when each month is named in relation to the sowing of some particular crop. Apart from the michca which consist of crops sown almost inmediately after harvest but not by everyone, the first crop to be sown by all the people is broad beans. This is performed in August and for that reason this month is also known as Habas Yapuy. September and October are known as Sara Yapuy. November is known as Papa Yapuy and it is very interesting to note that corresponding to the fact that in this month the dead are celebrated (on the 2nd), potatoes tend to be associated with death. For example, people believe that if a plot of land renders a very good harvest of potatoes some member of the owner's family will die. Moreover, maize which is sown very late, nearly in November, is called Sepultura (burial). The same term is given to a potato that cracks when ripening. December is known as Cebada yapuy and

barley and wheat are sown in this month. Because they are sown last these crops are regarded as lazy (gellay).

Except for potatoes, the harvesting of the other crops has less association with specific months and the majority of them tend to be harvested on May and June. The last crop to produce is wheat, and the first is potato which is harvested in April. In March maize is harvested when it is still green. Correspondingly, this maize is part of a ceremonial food known as Ulla and which is eaten only at Easter.

The Pattern of Residence.-

In this section and in the next we shall be interested in determining the role of kinship, marriage, and productive activities in relation to the social composition and actual configuration adopted by the residence units and the agricultural sectors. Consequently, special consideration will be given to the role of kinship in determining the nature of the transmission of property.

Corresponding to the nature of the productive activities which are practised in Andamarca and associated with both the Puna and the valley, it is noticeable that there is a wide variety of residence units which range from the scattered ranches of the Puna to the compact villages of the valley.

Moreover, given that the families that inhabit this community generally participate in different productive activities, these families tend to be associated with more than one residence unit although this does not exclude the possibility that some limits may be imposed in their expansion and some settlements may appear to be identified with only certain families. Concentration and dispersion are therefore two opposite tendencies which characterize the residence pattern, and also, as we shall see in the next section, the land tenure system. To these two tendencies we have to add a third one which is related to the tendency to dispersal and which consists of a dynamic of alternation.

Alternation is a tendency mostly prominent in the Puna and between the Puna and the valley, but not so much within the valley itself. In the Puna it is so institutionalized that the houses that make up the Estancias (cattle ranches) or some other more isolated houses are known by the term Asta, which is a nominal verb that means "to change place".

In the valley it is also possible to note certain tendencies towards alternation, especially between the lower settlements and those located in the neighborhood of pasturelands. However, none of the houses of the valley are ever known by the term Asta.

The residence units of the valley are not known by any special terms except those which have been borrowed from Spanish and very especially from the national political division. The largest of the residence units within this realm is in the first place the main village, which holds the name Andamarca, as does the whole community, and then the Anexos of Chiricre, Huaccracca and Huayllahuarmi. Next follow the Caseríos. These are a class of residence units into which the rest of the rural settlements of the valley tend to fall. And finally we have to add the internal divisions of the main village which are known as Barrios (sections) and the minimum residence units which are the wasi or individual houses.

The terms Anexo and Caserío have been borrowed from the national political division. These are the internal subdivisions of a Distrito, which in its turn is a political sub division of a Provincia. Of these two terms the first is most commonly used while the second is more frequently called junto-yawasi, laroncachayawasi or achka wasi, which are terms that denote the idea of houses grouped together.

The term wasi generally refers to an adobe wall construction which used to have a thatched roof, replaced in successive periods by tile, tin and very recently, eternit fiber plate roofs. From my own observations I have noticed that it is common for one room to be designated a storeroom, and another

as a kitchen, and that the inhabitants prefer to sleep in a corridor which is generally adjacent to the storeroom.

Indeed, it is difficult to determine the number of rooms that houses normally have because the limits of a house are very imprecise, especially among those residence units which consist of several adjacent houses organized in a system of blocks. One thing that struck me particularly was that the walls that delimit the houses are demolished and rebuilt with great facility. As we shall see later this is due to the fact that extended families tend to settle together, and they normally have more common property rights than non-relatives.

a. Anexos and Caseríos.-

The existence of Anexos in the Comunidad de Andamarca dates from 1945, when shortly after its recognition as an Indian Community it also became politically separated from the Distrito de Cabana and the status of Distrito was assigned to it. Previously, these Anexos had been ranked just as Caseríos and the whole community simply ranked as an Anexo of Cabana.

On becoming a Distrito the other name adopted by the community was Carmen Salcedo, which was the name of the mother of President Augusto B. Leguia,[4] and it obtained the right to have an Alcalde, a Gobernador and a Juez de Paz.

The Anexos on the other hand, became entitled to have attached to them the offices of Agente Municipal (under the Alcalde) and Teniente de Gobernador (under the Governor).

When Andamarca became a Distrito, the Caseríos of Parccacha, Chiricre and Huaccracca were changed into Anexos and the main village became the capital of the whole Distrito and therefore the residence of the District officers. Later Parccacha lost its status as an Anexo and about a year ago this status was granted to Huayllahuarmi. A common feature of all these caseríos which were turned into Anexos is that all of them are located on the Eastern side of the Negromayo river, which is the side opposite to where the main village is located. Moreover, it is noticeable that they are distributed in a vertical pattern which corresponds with the ecological levels which we mentioned before as significant for the Andamarquinos. Thus Parccacha is in the lower norther zone (Mayu Pata) of the Eastern side, it is considered to be very warm but without very much water; Chiricre may be said to be a smaller replica of Andamarca village because it is exactly at the same altitude and they are located in a position in which one faces directly towards the other. This Anexo is the largest of all and together with the previous one its surrounding area is favourable to maize production. Huaccracca lies above and to the south of Chiricre in an agricultural area where no maize plant is capable of growing but only those crops and pastures which, as we saw, are resistant to frost. Finally the recently made Anexo de Huayllahuarmi is right up in the Puna and to the south of Huaccracca. Indeed, this last

Anexo conserves the typical features of the Estancias of the Puna and therefore the only activity practised here is llama, alpaca and sheep herding.

The rural origins of these Anexos and their respective positions along this vertical distribution is further noticeable in the context of the symbolic role of their patron saints. Apart from the administrative offices mentioned above, the Anexos are generally supposed to have (like any important village) a church, a cemetery and a school, so that these were the first public enterprises undertaken by the inhabitants of these Anexos.

A year later, in 1946, after Andamarca's transformation into a Distrito, Huaccracca built its own chapel which was placed under the patronage of the Santa Cruz. This example was followed by Chiricre in 1949 placing its chapel also under the patronage of the Santa Cruz. Together with the chapels their cemeteries were also built and some houses were transformed into schools. Parccacha, on the other hand, did not develop perhaps because of the lack of sufficient water (as the irrigation channels from the Vizca river do not reach that zone) and because it is quite distant from the roads that were built. Consequently, it has now lost its Anexo status. Instead the Puna caserío of Huayllahuarmi succeeded in obtaining this status about one year ago and now it owns a chapel, a cemetery and has hired the services of a schoolteacher. In this case its development seems

to be related to its nearness to the road which links Andamarca with Puquio and to the profitable economic activities carried on by its inhabitants.

The rural or Caserío origin of Chiricre and Huaccracca is expressed by the fact that both of them began by having Santa Cruz as their Patron's Saint. We have already described the protecting role of the crosses which are scattered all over the valley, but here we should also add that these crosses also serve as symbols of certain spatial units known as Barrios in terms of which the productive land is organized. It is the duty of all the members of the Barrio to sponsor at least once the offices associated with these symbols. Therefore, most of the caseríos scattered in the valley have as their patron saint the Holy Cross that belongs to their Barrio and consequently it was generally under the patronage of this religious symbol that the Anexos started. However, this is not the only religious symbol of an Anexo. Indeed, just as it is considered that important villages should contain a chapel, a cemetery and a school, it is equally important that they should develop a hierarchy of saints where those which are at the top are organized in a triadic structure. This triadic structure consists of the following positions which may be occupied by any saint selected by the members of the residence unit: one is a position known as Yayanchic (the Father) which is occupied by a male saint regarded as the Patron; another position is known as

Mamanchic and is occupied by a female saint regarded as the patroness and the third one is a position known as Amunchic and which is conceived of as intermediary between the other two. This last position is frequently occupied by Qollana Amo which is the Quechua name for the Holy Monstrance and perhaps the term Amunchic is a derivation from Amo (master). This triadic structure is moreover needed whenever a cemetery is attached to a residence unit because it is the duty of the sponsors of the saints who fit into these three positions to accompany a dead body to its burial.

Today in Huaccracca the Holy Cross is still the Patron Saint and its position is therefore that of Yayanchic. Saint Rose of Lima is in the position of Mamanchic and Niño Jesús de Praga in the position of Amunchic. In Chiricre and in Huayllahuarmi, on the other hand, the Holy Cross is no longer the patron of these residence units. San Martín de Porres has become the Patron of the first, and instead the Holy Cross of Parccacha has been incorporated into the position of Amunchic. In this way Parccacha and Chiricre have now been united by a religious link and both residence units attend the religious services which are performed in Chiricre's chapel.

Until 1969 the Holy Cross was the Patron of Huay llahuarmi and therefore it occupied the position of Yayanchic but in this year one of its residents brought from Lima an image

of San Cristóbal and from then on it was decided that this Saint should replace the Holy Cross in the position of Yayanchic. The replacement took place and the Holy Cross adopted the position of Amunchic.

From this evidence it is clear that the religious Patron that lay at the base of all these Anexos at their beginning was the Holy Cross and that when it became replaced by some other saint the tendency was to remove it to the position of Amunchic. The logic and social forces behind the incorporation of new saints is something that I still need to investigate in more detail: however I shall venture to suggest that perhaps the pre-eminence of certain saints in these residence units is due to their association with certain values granted to the ecological levels, where these residence units are located.

The pre-eminence of a saint is commonly expressed in the name held by the residence unit. In the same way as individuals have a family surname that may be of Quechua origin as well as a Christian name, so the residence units generally have a Quechua name, as for example Andamarca, and a Christian name which derives from either the Patron or the Patroness of the residence unit. Thus, in the case of Andamarca the Christian name chosen is the name of the Patron (who stands in the position of Yayanchic) and so its complete name is Espíritu Santo de Andamarca. In other cases the name is that of the Patroness such

as for example, Santa Ana de Huaycachuacho. Correspondingly, the Saint giving its name to the residence unit becomes the most important.

With this background in mind it is interesting to note that the privileged saint in Huayllahuarmi is San Cristóbal while that of Chiricre is Virgen Candelaria. I would suggest, from this, that Chiricre's emphasis on a female saint and Huayllahuarmi's emphasis on a male saint is related to their respective ecological positions: the valley is thought of as female and the Puna as male. Moreover, San Cristóbal is the Patron Saint of drivers, throughout all Peru, and we have seen that Huayllahuarmi owes its development in great part to its proximity to the road that joins Andamarca with the Panamerican Highway, and to the productive activity carried on by its inhabitants whose nature it is to bring them into contact with the outside world. Virgen Candelaria, on the other hand, is the main saint of Cabana. In so far as Cabana was the old District Capital of Andamarca and is conceived of as below it in the northern valley that extends from Andamarca, it may therefore be assumed that while San Cristóbal emphasizes the idea of the Puna and the outside world, Virgen Candelaria emphasizes the idea of the valley and the local world. Finally, corresponding with its position in the valley, Huaccracca also emphasizes a female saint, Saint Rose of Lima.

The Anexos and Caseríos are distributed along the valley in an area which stretches approximately 6 kms. on both sides of the Negromayo River. Apart from the Anexos already mentioned, the Eastern side of the Negromayo river also includes from North to South the following Caseríos: Panqapata, Yanacocha and Jeruicha. All of them are located almost directly above Chiricre. On the Western side, from North to South there are the following Caseríos: Chulluca, Yarpu, Millupampa, Puca-Puca, Choqoiso, Juichu, Mullacata, Purica and Chicahua.

The number of households in each of these residence units is very variable, ranging from 3 or 4 households to more than 40. According to the 1972 National Census (see Table 8), which coincides very closely with my own observations, Chiricre has 46 households with a total population of 166 individuals, Huaccracca 23 with 109 individuals, Millupampa 18 with 57 individuals, Mullacata 16 with 71 individuals, Huayllahuarmi 14 with 45 individuals. Apart from these, the 1972 National Census also mentions ten rural residence units consisting of one household with a total of 38 inhabitants. Parqacha is no longer mentioned in this Census; however the one that took place in 1940 recorded that there were 3 families and 12 individuals in one of its sectors and in the sector Toroccocha 14 families and 55 individuals. Today most of the houses of this old Anexo are uninhabited and although I did not count them my impression is that the number of families mentioned in that Census tends to remain constant

TABLE 8. DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF THE RESIDENCE UNITS (TAKEN FROM CUADRO 1 OF THE 1972 NATIONAL CENSUS ON "VIVIENDAS") (HOUSEHOLDS AND COUNTED POPULATION IN THE REPUBLIC, IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, ACCORDING TO THE DEPARTAMENTS, PROVINCES, DISTRICTS AND POPULATED CENTERS)
VIVIENDAS, HOGARES Y POBLACION CENSADA EN LA REPUBLICA, EN AREAS URBANA Y RURAL SEGUN DEPARTAMENTOS, PROVINCIAS, DISTRITOS Y CENTROS POBLADOS

CENTRO POBLADO (POPULATED CENTER)	⊙	CATEGORIA (CATEGORY)	TOTAL	URBANA (URBAN)	RURAL			HOGARES VIVIENDAS PARTICULARES (HOUSEHOLDINGS)	POBLACION CENSADA (COUNTED POPULATION)				
					TOTAL	CONTIGUAS (CONTIGUOUS)	DISPERSAS (DISPERSE)		TOTAL	URBANA (URBAN)	RURAL TOTAL	RURAL CONTIGUAS (CONTIGUOUS)	RURAL DISPERSAS (DISPERSE)
CARMEN SALCEDO			845	660	185	16	169	700	2,862	2,266	596	72	524
1 ANDAMARCA		03 PUEBLO	660	660				558	2,266	2,266			
4 CHIRICRE		11 ANEXO	46		482		46	35	166		166		163
5 HUACCRACCA		11 ANEXO	23		23		23	20	109		109		109
7 HUAYLLAHUARMI		10 CASERIO	14		14	1	13	10	45		45	2	43
10 MILLOPAMPA		10 CASERIO	18		18		18	14	57		57		57
11 MULLACATA		10 CASERIO	16		16	15	1	15	71		71	70	1
18 VISCA		99 OTROS (OTHERS)	11		11		11	8	16		16		16
1 CENTRO POBLADO (POPULATED CENTER) CON 9 VIVIENDAS (HOUSEHOLDS)			9		9		9	7	11		11		11
1 " " CON 8 VIVIENDAS (HOUSEHOLDS)			8		8		8	6	1		11		11
1 " " CON 7 VIVIENDAS (HOUSEHOLDS)			7		7		7	7	45		47		47
1 " " CON 5 VIVIENDAS (HOUSEHOLDS)			5		5		5	3	5		5		5
3 " " CON 4 VIVIENDAS (HOUSEHOLDS)			2		12		12	7	15		15		15
3 " " CON 2 VIVIENDAS (HOUSEHOLDS)			6		6		6	2	5		5		5
10 " " CON 1 VIVIENDA (HOUSEHOLD)			10		10		10	8	38		38		38

noticeable during the celebrations of the Limpieza de la Acequia, for each half is concerned with its own irrigation system. It is also noticeable from the fact that there are identical officers from either half who fulfill the role of watching the fields, and finally from the fact that the Anexos are distributed only on the Eastern side of the Negromayo river and the main village is on the Western side.

To begin with Huayllahuarmi, (see Table 9 and Diagram 1), which is a small settlement for which I have a relatively large amount of information, we may say that the distribution of its households follows a pattern which is similar to other Puna Estancias. Hence, the houses are not organized in a rectilinear pattern of squares, as is the tendency in the lower Anexos and in the main village, and therefore they tend to be separated from each other. As no crops grow in this environment, the gardens that are normally attached to the houses in the valley, are replaced here by stockyards where llamas, alpacas and sheep are kept.

The 14 households mentioned above are grouped into three sectors: one which is adjacent to the road that links Andamarca with the Panamerican Highway and Puquio, which we shall call Sector A; another which is about 300 mts. away from the first and towards the West and which we shall call Sector B, and finally another which is also about 300 mts. away from this last sector and towards the South, this we shall call Sector C.

TABLE 9 ANEXO DE HUAYLLAHUARMI .- STATISTICAL DATA CONCERNING THE ADULT POPULATION, THE LOCAL ORIGINS OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE.

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS : 56

NUMBER OF COUPLES : 28

LOCAL ORIGINS OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE

- HUAYLLAHUARMI	- HUAYLLAHUARMI	= 7 COUPLES	= 25%
- "	- HUACCRACCA	= 7 "	= 25%
- "	- PANGAPATA	= 4 "	= 14.2%
- "	- CHIRICRE	= 4 "	= 14.2%
- "	- ?	= 3 "	= 14.2%
- "	- DISPERSED	= 2 "	= 7.1%
- "	- MILLUPAMPA	= 1	

TOTAL = 28 COUPLES

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE TO THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

- PATA - PATA	: 14	50%
- PATA - TUNA	: 7	25%
- PATA-HUAYLLA-HUARMI	: 3	10.9%
- HUAYLLAHUARMI TUNA	: 1	3.5%
- TUNA - ?	2	7.1%
- HUAYLLAHUARMI - HUAYLLAHUARMI	: 1	3.5%

TOTAL : 28 COUPLES

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

TUNA
- NORTH: 6
- SOUTH: 2
- NOT IDENTIFIED: 2

PATA
- NORTH : 7
- SOUTH : 33

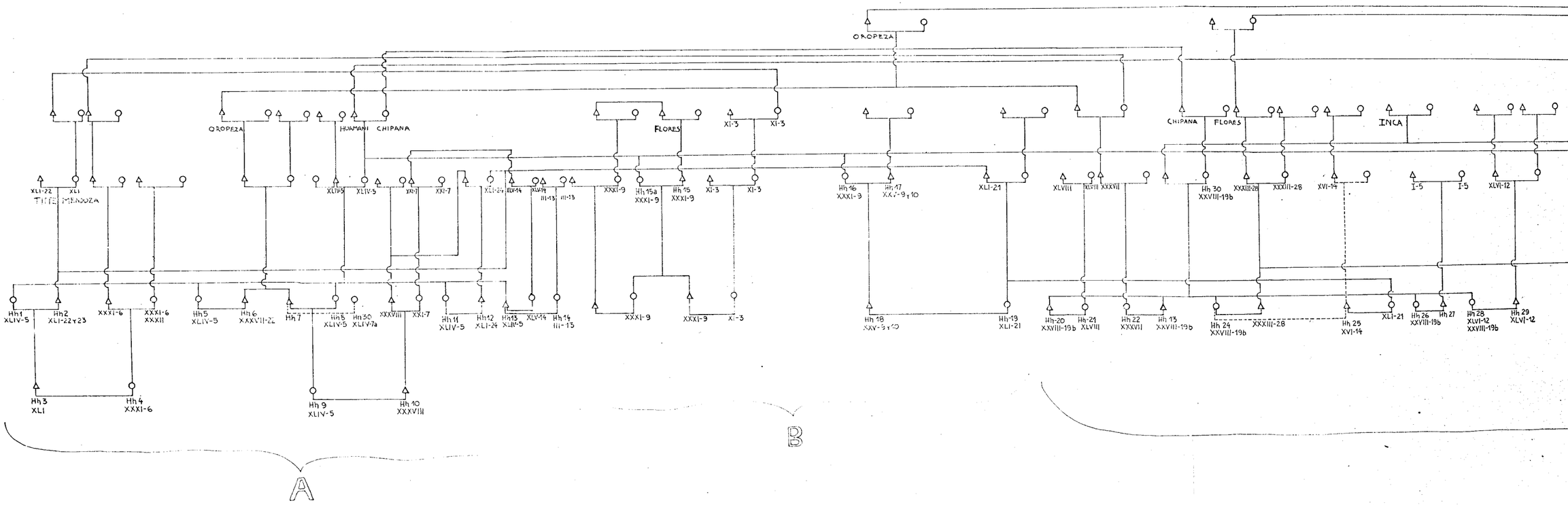
IN HUAYLLAHUARMI : 6

TOTAL : 56

0

The first point to be noted about the social composition of Huayllahuarmi is that there are about 5 dominant castas[5] or families, and that these same castas, together with others, are also dominant in the Anexo de Huaccracca. According to the genealogies I have been able to reconstruct, Sectors A and B, and part of C are dominated by the third generation descendants of a brother and a sister who belonged to the Chipana Casta. These same sectors are also dominated by the third generation descendants of two brothers of the Huamani Casta, one of whom married the Chipana woman. Third generation descendants of two brothers from the Oropeza Casta dominate in Sectors A and C and finally the children of a brother and a sister of the Inca Casta dominate in part of Sector C. (See Diagram 1). Another Casta which is associated with the three Sectors, although not in dominant terms, is Tipte.

The second feature to be noticed about this Anexo is that these Castas which are associated with Huayllahuarmi tend to intermarry and therefore the surnames of the individuals are commonly Huamani Chipana, Inca Chipana, etc... Taking marriage, or just mating, as an expression of the range of interaction among these Castas in 1973, I recorded the names of all the couples, married or not, who were actually residents of Huayllahuarmi or simply associated with it. From my survey I recorded 28 couples or a total population of 56 adult individuals.


OROPEZA
OROPEZA
HUAMANI
CHIPANA
FLORES
XI-3
XI-3
CHIPANA
FLORES
INCA
XLI-22
XLI
TITE MENDOZA
XLIV-5
XLIV-5
XXI-7
XXI-7
XLI-24
XLV-14
XLV-14
III-13
III-13
XXXI-9
Hh 15a XXXI-9
Hh 15 XXXI-9
XI-3
XI-3
Hh 16 XXXI-9
Hh 17 XXV-9 y 10
XLI-21
XLVIII
XLVIII XXXVII
Hh 30 XXVIII-19b
XXXIII-28
XXXIII-28
XVI-14
I-5
I-5
XLVI-12
Hh1 XLIV-5
Hh2 XLI-22 y 23
XXXI-6
XXXI-6 XXXII
Hh5 XLIV-5
Hh6 XXXVII-22
Hh 7
Hh8 XLIV-5
Hh30 XLIV-7a
XXXVIII
XXI-7
Hh 11 XLIV-5
Hh12 XLI-24
Hh13 XLIV-5
XLV-14
Hh 14 III-13
XXXI-9
XXXI-9
XI-3
Hh 18 XXV-9 y 10
Hh-19 XLI-21
Hh-20 XXVIII-19b
Hh-21 XLVIII
Hh 22 XXXVII
Hh 13 XXVIII-19b
Hh 24 XXVIII-19b
XXXIII-28
Hh 25 XVI-14
XLI-21
Hh 26 XXVIII-19b
Hh 27
Hh 28 XLVI-12 XXVIII-19b
Hh 29 XLVI-12
Hh3 XLI
Hh4 XXXI-6
Hh 9 XLIV-5
Hh 10 XXXVIII
A
B

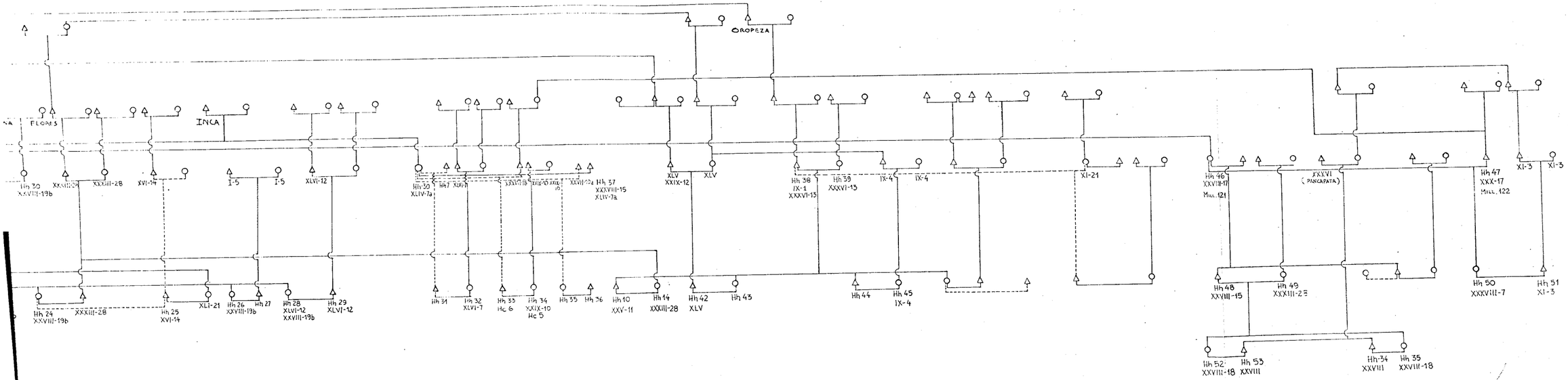


DIAGRAM 1

HUAYLLAHUARMI

As may be seen in Table 9, 25% of the couples were both from Huayllahuarmi, 25% had one from Huayllahuarmi and the other from Huaccracca, 14.2% had one from Huayllahuarmi and the other from Panqapata, and so on. Only in 7.1% of the cases was one of the partners fully associated with Huayllahuarmi while the other belonged to one of the Castas which were widely dispersed and not associated with any locality in particular.

The high frequency of marriage exchanges between Huayllahuarmi and Huaccracca correlates with the degree of endogamy within the Anexo, since many of the families dominant in Huaccracca are the same as those which are dominant also in Huayllhuarmi, and these two localities are perceived as closely united. An expression of this perception is the fact that the inhabitants of lower settlements call both these residence units by the nickname Qoricancha (golden stockyard) and their inhabitants are jokingly regarded as Gringos (whites).(6)

Apart from intermarrying with Huaccracca, Huayllahuarmi preferentially intermarries with families associated with other residence units which are also located on the Eastern side of the Negromayo River. Indeed, 78.4% of the couples associated with Huayllahuarmi include individuals whose families are attached to residence units of this side of the Negromayo River.

In Huaccracca the households tend to be grouped in a grid pattern but several of them still remain dispersed. On a reduced scale it has the same shape as the typical urban settlements of the Peruvian Highlands with a square at its center and a few streets at right angles. As in other larger residence units of the zone, the chapel lies to the East and faces one of the sides of the square. Instead of stockyards most of the households here have gardens at their back where some vegetables are planted.

Here I recorded 45 couples or 85 individuals attached to this Anexo (See Table 10 and Diagram 2). Of these, 27 couples or 59.9% included individuals who were both from Huaccracca; 11.1% of the couples included one individual from Huaccracca and the other from Huayllahuarmi; 2.2% of the couples included one individual from Huaccracca and the other from Panqapata, and so on. 77.6% of the couples associated with this Anexo include individuals whose families are associated with residence units of the Eastern side of the Negromayo River.

Apart from the families which are also dominant in Huayllahuarmi, there are another seven in Huaccracca. One of them is also dominant in Chiricre. It seems that in the past more families of Chiricre were also linked to Huaccracca. I have deduced this from the fact that four family heads whose descendants are today associated with Chiricre are included in the list of people who built the chapel of Huaccracca in the year 1949, and

TABLE 10 ANEXO DE HUACCRACCA .- STATISTICAL DATA CONCERNING THE ADULT POPULATION, - THE LOCAL ORIGINS OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS : 85

NUMBER OF COUPLES : 45

LOCAL ORIGINS OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE

- HUAYLLAHUARMI	- HUACCRACCA	= 5 COUPLES	= 11.1%
- HUACCRACCA	- HUACCRACCA	= 27 "	= 59.9%
- "	- PANGAPATA	= 1 "	= 2.2%
- "	- CHIRICRE	= 2 "	= 4.4%
- "	- MILLUPAMPA	= 1 "	= 2.2%
- "	- FOREIGNER	= 2 "	= 4.4%
- "	- ?	= 7 "	= 15.5%

TOTAL = 45 COUPLES

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE TO THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

- PATA - PATA	= 22 COUPLES	= 48.8%
- TUNA - TUNA	= 3 "	= 6.6%
- PATA - TUNA	= 7 "	= 15.5%
- PATA - HUACCRACCA	= 6 COUPLES	= 13.3%
- TUNA - "	= 1 "	= 2.2%
- PATA - MILLUPAMPA	= 2 "	= 2.2%
- " - CHIRICRE	= 1 "	= 2.2%
- PATA - FOREIGNER	= 2 "	= 4.4%
- TUNA - "	= 1 "	= 2.2%
- HUACCRACCA - HUAYLLAHUARMI	= 1 "	= 2.2%

TOTAL = 45 COUPLES

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

TUNA
- NORTH : 2
- SOUTH : 6
- NOT IDENTIFIED: 5

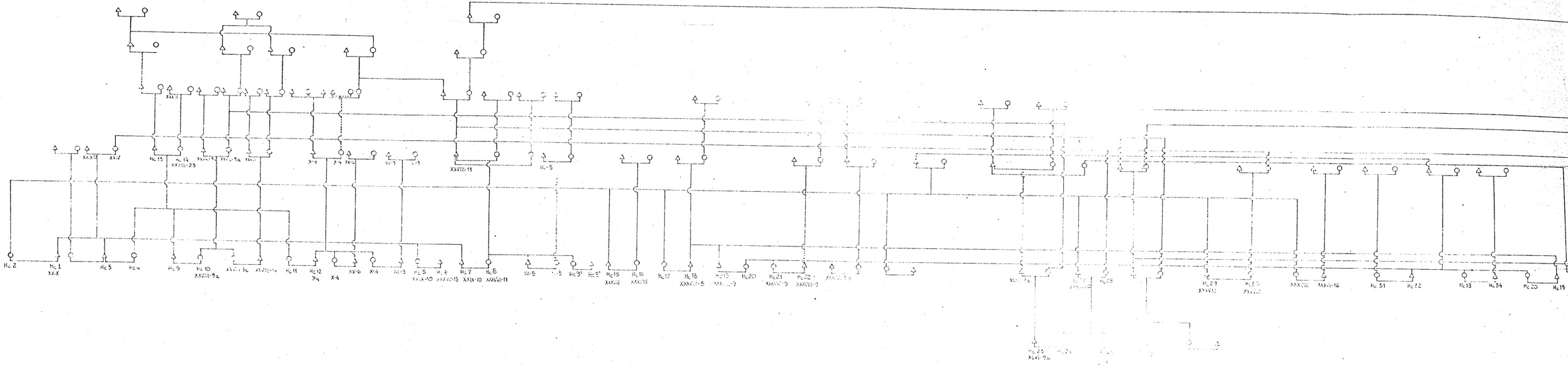
TOTAL : 13

PATA
- NORTH : 43
- SOUTH : 6
- NOT IDENTIFIED: 9

TOTAL : 58

58	ARE FROM PATA	68.2%
13	" " TUNA	15.2%
8	" " HUACCRACCA	9.4%
3	" FOREIGNER	3.5%
1	IS FROM CHIRICRE	1.1%
1	" " HUAYLLAHUARMI	1.1%
1	" " MILLUPAMPA	1.1%

85 INDIVIDUALS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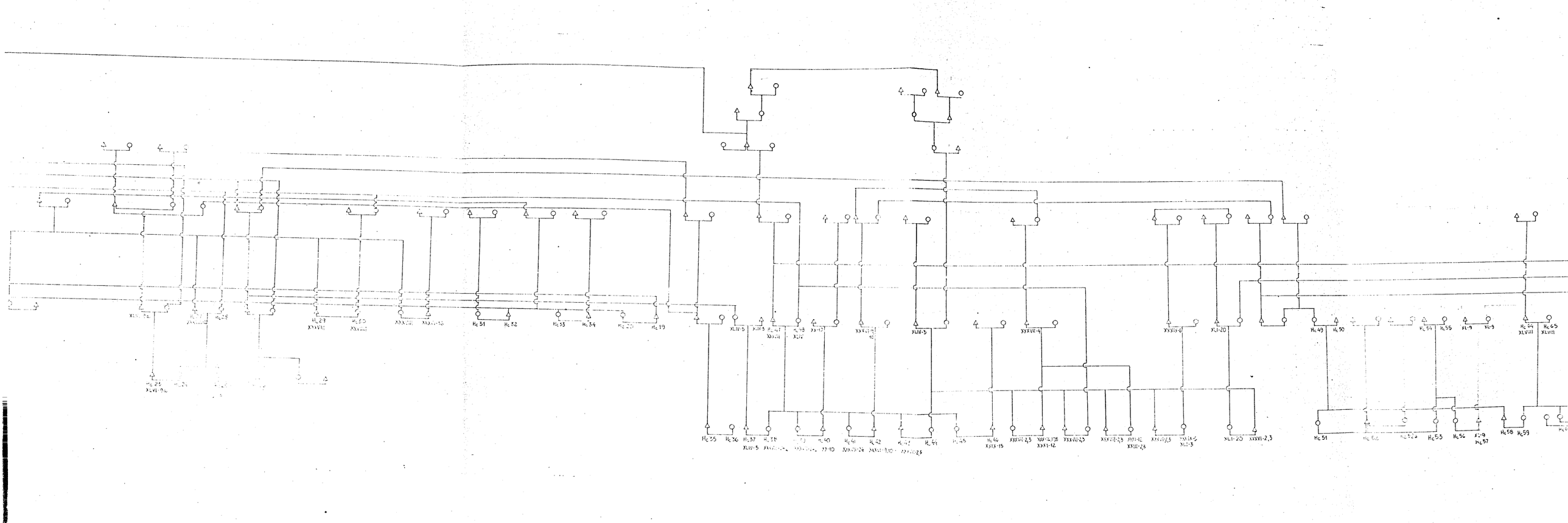
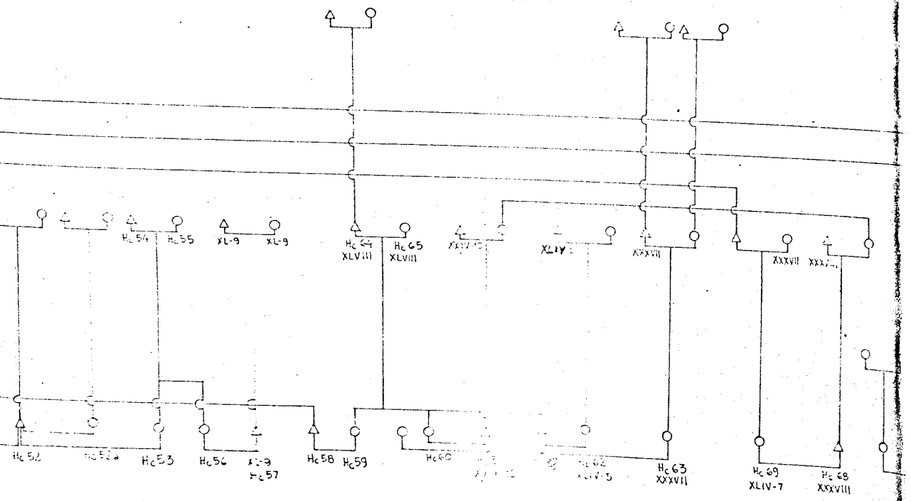
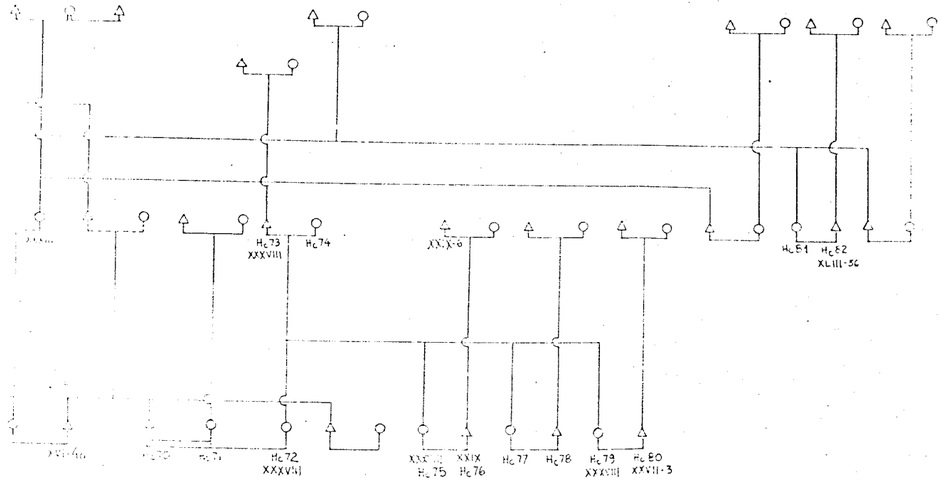






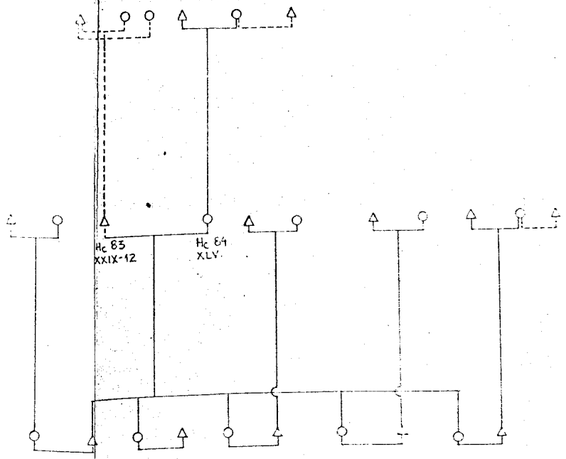


DIAGRAM 2

HUACCRACCA

one of them is even mentioned as a local authority of that Anexo.

Nowadays, Chiricre has closer links with the former Anexo of Parccacha than with Huaccracca. Several of the families which are dominant in Chiricre are also dominant in Parccacha and we have already said that the Holy Cross of this Anexo has been included within the hierarchy of Saints of Chiricre. Therefore we may distinguish two groups of residence units on the Eastern side of the Negromayo river; to the North and in the lower part of this side, Parccacha and Chiricre; and to the South and in the higher part, Huaccracca and Huayllahuarmi. This division into two groups is further confirmed by the rivalry that is said to exist between Chiricre and Huaccracca.

Chiricre is the largest Anexo of all and, as we have already mentioned is a small replica of Andamarca. It is organized in a pattern of cuadrangular blocks which tend to become rather compact at the center, while at the Northern and Southern extremes the households are somewhat loosely distributed. Correspondingly, at these extremes the households are adjacent to stockyards while at the center they are adjacent to gardens.

For this Anexo I have distinguished about eight dominant Castas, one of which has members distributed in more than half of the households of this Anexo. Most of these Castas include up to three or four generations of descendants. People beyond these limits are generally regarded as non-relatives, as we shall see later.

The number of adult individuals associated with Chiricre has been estimated at 170, including some who were away, and the number of couples at 87. Of these, 42 or 48.2% are endogamous with respect to Chiricre, 2 couples or 2.2% include one individual from Huayllahuarmi, 6 couples or 6.8% include one individual from Huaccracca, 12 couples or 13.7% include one individual from Parccacha, and so on (See Table 11). The total percentage of couples associated with Chiricre which include individuals belonging to residence units on the Eastern side of the Negromayo River is 72%.

The evidence from these three Anexos is enough to confirm that the tendency is to seek a partner within ones own residence unit or alternatively within the nearest one. Accordingly, we maintain that the smallest local units of interaction within this context are each of the Anexos, then Huayllahuarmi, Huaccracca and Panqapata, on the one hand, and Chiricre and Parccacha, on the other hand, and finally the Eastern side of the Negromayo river with 75% out of a total of 160 couples being endogamous to this Eastern side of the river. Marriage

TABLE 11 ANEXO DE CHIRICRE.– STATISTICAL DATA CONCERNING THE ADULT POPULATION, THE LOCAL ORIGINS OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS : 170

NUMBER OF COUPLES : 87

LOCAL ORIGINS OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE

- CHIRICRE - CHIRICRE	= 42 COUPLES	= 48.2 %
- CHIRICRE - HUAYLLAHUARMI	= 2 "	= 2.2 %
- CHIRICRE - HUACCRACCA	= 6 "	= 6.8 %
- CHIRICRE - PARQACHA	= 12 "	= 13.7 %
- " - YARPU	= 1 "	= 1.1 %
- " - PATA	= 5 "	= 5.7 %
- CHIRICRE - TUNA	= 3 "	= 3.4 %
- CHIRICRE - FOREIGNER	= 5 "	= 5.7 %
- CHIRICRE - ?	= 7 "	= 7.9 %
- CHIRICRE - PANQAPATA	= 1 "	= 1.1 %
TOTAL = 87 "		

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE TO THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE.

- PATA - PATA	= 29	33.3 %
- TUNA - TUNA	= 5	5.7 %
- TUNA - PATA	= 18	20.6 %
- " - ?	= 4	4.5 %
- PATA - ?	= 2	2.2 %
- TUNA/PATA - PATA	= 1	1.1 %
- " - TUNA	= 1	1.1 %
- " - ?	= 1	1.1 %
- PATA - CHIRICRE	= 7	
- TUNA - "	= 4	
- CHIRICRE - CHIRICRE	= 5	
- " - ?	= 1	
- TUNA - FOREIGNER	= 2	
- PATA - "	= 3	
- ? - ?	= 2	
- MILLUPAMPA - TUNA	= 1	

TOTAL = 87 COUPLES

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

TUNA
- NORTH : 25
- SOUTH : 12
- NOT IDENTIFIED : 3

PATA
- NORTH : 31
- SOUTH : 21
- NOT IDENTIFIED : 33

IN TUNA/PATA NORTH : 1
IN TUNA/PATA SOUTH : 1
IN MILLUPAMPA : 1
IN CHIRICRE : 25
FOREIGNER : 5
UNCERTAIN : 12

TOTAL : 170 INDIVIDUALS

PATA	= 86 INDIVIDUALS	50.5 %
TUNA	= 42 "	24.7 %
CHIRICRE	= 25 "	14.7 %
?	= 12 "	7.0 %
FOREIGNER	= 5 "	9.0 %

TOTAL = 170 INDIVIDUALS

exchanges with individuals associated with the Western side of the Negromayo river are not very frequent and when they take place it is mostly between individuals associated with residence units which are facing each other. Thus the Northern extreme of one side of the river intermarries with the residence units of the Northern extreme of the other side of the river, and the same occurs amongst the residence units of the Southern extreme.

The analysis of the social composition of the residence units of the Western side of the Negromayo river has been more difficult than for those located on the Eastern side because here we are dealing with a side of the river that includes amongst its residence units the main village and Caseríos with widely scattered households. The combination of these residence units on this side seems to have had as a consequence the fact that the Caseríos are not such discrete units nor are they inhabited as permanently as the Anexos. Perhaps for this reason my estimates of the number of households in Millupampa do not coincide with those of the 1972 Census. This last gives 18 dispersed households, while according to my estimates the number was 6 or 7 households. The reason for this discrepancy is that the 1972 census has lumped together with Millupampa the households of Huashuanqana and Chulluca, which are two Caseríos adjacent to Millupampa, whereas I have ennumerated them separately. Nevertheless, in the end I also preferred to treat them together because a close interaction exists among them.

The nearness of the main village to these Caseríos has led to the fact that the inhabitants of the latter tend to alternate frequently between their households located in the main village and those located in the Caseríos to such a degree that it is difficult to determine with precision who really is permanently associated with which unit. Moreover, as the Caseríos of the Western side of the Negromayo river are less populated than the Anexos, are nearer to each other and are distributed (excepting Chicahua) at not very different ecological levels, more interaction seems to exist between them irrespective of their Northern or Southern location. Consequently, the members of the families associated with this side are more widely distributed and tend to be slightly less endogamous than the inhabitants of the Eastern side of the Negromayo river.

Millupampa and the neighbouring Caseríos of Huashuanqana and Chulluca are mostly inhabited by members of five Castas whose association with these residence units I have been able to trace for three generations. Beyond these generations some of these Castas also include relatives who are associated with Parccacha or Chiricre.

The number of couples attached to these Caseríos has been estimated at 78 (See Table 12). Of these, 46 or 58.9% are endogamous with respect to these three Caseríos, 3 couples or 3.8% have one partner from Yarpu, 3 couples or 3.8%

TABLE 12 CASERIO DE MILLUPAMPA .- STATISTICAL DATA CONCERNING THE ADULT POPULATION, THE LOCAL ORIGINS OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS : 155

NUMBER OF COUPLES : 78

LOCAL ORIGINS OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE

- MILLUPAMPA	- MILLUPAMPA	= 46 COUPLES	= 58.9 %
- "	- CHIRICRE	= 3 "	= 3.8%
- "	- MILLUPAMPA/CHIRICRE	= 1 "	= 1.2%
- MULLACATA	- "	= 1 "	= 1.2%
- MILLUPAMPA	- MILLUPAMPA/HUACCRACCA	= 2 "	= 2.5%
- "	- HUACRACCA	= 1 COUPLE	= 1.2%
- "	- PANGAPATA	= 3 "	= 3.8%
- MILLUPAMPA/CHIRICRE	- ?	= 1 "	= 1.2%
- MILLUPAMPA	- MORRO DE ARICA	= 2 "	= 2.5%
- "	- YARPU	= 3 "	= 3.8%
- "	- PATA	= 3 "	= 3.8%
- "	- ?	= 10 "	= 12.8%
- "	- FOREIGNER	= 2 "	= 2.5%

TOTAL = 78 COUPLES

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MEMBERS OF A COUPLE TO THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

- TUNA	- TUNA	= 21 COUPLES = 26.9 %
- PATA	- PATA	= 12 " = 15.3%
- TUNA	- PATA	= 20 " = 25.6%
- TUNA	- ?	= 8 " = 10.2%
- PATA	- ?	= 6 " = 7.6%
- "	- ?	= 4 " = 5.1%
- TUNA	- FOREIGNER	= 2 " = 2.5%
- TUNA	- MILLUPAMPA	= 3 " = 3.8%
- TUNA	- TUNA/PATA	= 2 " = 2.5%

TOTAL = 78 COUPLES

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

TUNA
- NORTH : 33
- SOUTH : 42 } ——— 48.3%

PATA
- NORTH : 31
- SOUTH : 16 } ——— 30.3%

- TUNA NORTH / PATA NORTH = 1 ——— 0.6%
- TUNA NORTH / PATA SOUTH : 1 ——— 0.6%
- TUNA NOT IDENTIFIED : 1 ——— 0.6%
- PATA " " : 5 ——— 3.3%
- FOREIGNER : 1 ——— 0.6%
- ? : 19 ——— 12.2%
- NOT IDENTIFIED : 2 ——— 1.2%
- MILLUPAMPA-CHIRICRE : 2 ——— 1.2%
- " : 1

TOTAL: 155 INDIVIDUALS

have one partner from Panqapata; 1 couple or 1.2% includes one partner associated with both Millupampa and Chiricre and the other with Mullacata, and so on. Therefore, it again becomes evident that the tendency is to seek a partner within one's own residence unit, or within a neighbouring one, although this time some evidence has been added which indicates that among the inhabitants of the Western side of the river there are more couples containing one partner from the opposite side of the river, than is the case among the residents of the Eastern side.

For the Southern Caseríos of the Western side of the Negromayo river, my information is less complete. However, I have noticed that the inhabitants of the Caseríos of this zone tend to interact very closely with those of the Northern ones and that the inhabitants of Puca-Puca, Mullacata, Juichu, Pururo and Chicahua also keep some few links with the Anexo de Huaccracca. For example, the maternal grandfather of Hc 10, Hc 23 and Hc 63 owns houses both in Huaccracca and Pururo, the brother Hc 8 is married to a woman whose family is associated with Chicahua and Puza Huaycco (See Diagram 2). On the other hand, as the agricultural area surrounding Huaccracca and Huayllahuarni is not appropriate for maize, many of the inhabitants of these residence units compensate for this lack by owning plots of land in places such as Acco, Huaylla, etc., which are near the Southern Caseríos of the Western side of the Negromayo river. We shall return to this kind of evidence when dealing with the land tenure system. (See p.110).

This analysis suggests therefore that the residence units are not merely inhabited by a collection of unrelated individuals, but on the contrary, by rather large extended families whose members, in some cases, have been traced up to the third degree. Moreover, it has also been suggested that there is a tendency to seek a partner within one's own residence unit or within a neighbouring one, or at least within one's own side of the Negromayo river.

Since the dual division of the main village resembles the division of the valley into two sides of the Negromayo river, in the next sections we shall attempt to see whether some common social basis underlies these divisions. Apart from this we shall try to visualize the degree of space concentration of the extended families.

b. The main village or Andamarca llaqta.-

As already indicated, the main village or Andamarca llaqta is located on the Western side of the Negromayo river, about 100mts. above the river and in a central position with respect to the Northern and Southern rural areas. Its shape resembles that of other Highland villages, with streets intersecting each other at right angles and the houses distributed within rectangular or cuadrangular blocks of variable size. The whole village gives the impression of a rectangle whose length

N

I

II ESCUELA DE MUJERES (antes convento de la iglesia)

SUB ESTACION

LINEA DE ALTA TENSION

III IV V VI VII VIII IX X

JIRON ALFONSO UGARTE

XI XII XIII XIV XV XVI XVII XVIII XIX

PLAZA DE ACHO

JIRON JORGE CHAVEZ

AYA ORQO o MORRO DE ARICA

CALLE AYACUCHO

CALLE CACERES

CALLE GRAU

CALLE SAN MARTIN

CALLE BOLIVAR

CALLE 9 DE DICIEMBRE

CALLE GRANDE

CALLE LEGUIA

CALLE ATAHUALPA

CEMENTERIO

CARMENCCA

XX XXI XXII XXIII XXIV XXV XXVI XXVII XXVIII XXIX XXX XXXI XXXII XXXIII XXXIV XXXV XXXVI XXXVII XXXVIII XXXIX XL XLI XLII XLIII XLIV XLV XLVI XLVII XLVIII XLIX

JIRON LIMA

JIRON TUPAC AMARU

JIRON HUASCAR

ESCUELA DE XXXIV VARONES

ANTARA

RUINAS DE CANICHE

CAPILLA

AYA ORQO

LEYENDA

- 1 FLOOR HOUSE — CASA DE UN PISO
- 2 FLOOR HOUSE — CASA DE DOS PISOS
- HOUSE BEING BUILDED — CASA EN CONSTRUCCION
- ALUMBRADO PUBLICO — LIGHT WIRES

MAP IV
ANDAMARCA LLAQTA

from North to South is 800mts. and its width about 350mts. Five parallel streets known as jirones (main streets), and a sixth one which is still incomplete, run the length of the rectangle and these are intersected by nine transverse streets.

The intersections of these streets divide the village into 50 blocks which, according to the 1972 Census, included 660 households and, according to my own estimates, 658 households. This same Census estimates the total population of this village to be 2,266 inhabitants who are distributed in 558 hogares (or domestic units which are defined as familes united around a common kitchen).

The whole village is surrounded by agricultural areas devoted to maize, alfalfa and the production of natural pasture. Just below this village, towards the East, runs the Negromayo river and adjacent to it lies the agricultural area which is known by the descriptive term Mayupata or "border of the river". This area is held in high esteem by the Andamarquinos because, as they state, it produces very big maize cobs. This is a very steep area and hence it is crowded with land terraces. Towards the West, the slopes of Anyanaiso and Huayllura descend very smoothly, leaving a wide and open agricultural area which is the least steep in the entire valley. It is here where alfalfa and potatoes become dominant. The Southern extreme of the village ends in Morro de Arica (or sometimes called Ccayacc Orcco or Hill

from where one calls" or "Hill of the extreme end".)[7] where 25 households are grouped together. Beyond this hill lies a relatively small piece of flat field which produces natural pasture and several other agricultural Barrios. Finally, adjacent to the Northern extreme is Millopampa, mentioned before, and inside this sector is the cemetery.

Andamarca means, according to Monzon's description of the year 1586 (MONZON, L., 1965, p. 237), "Village of Copper" but he is not able to state the reasons for this name. Instead he makes and interesting remark which suggests that the history of this village extends back to a very remote past. He says that this name "... takes its origin from a village called as such, which was inhabited from ancient times (gentilidad) by an ayllu known today also as Antamarcas which is resettled in another village called La Vera Cruz de Cauana ..." (MONZON, L., 1965, p.237)

It is true that this reference is somewhat vague and that there is no written evidence that present day Andamarca could have been linked to that old village. However, it is striking to notice that towards the NE of the present village, on an elevated area of approximately 240,000mts.^{2}, there still exists the remains of a pre-Hispanic village. The name of these ruins today is Caniche, which according to some informants means to bite.

These ruins have been very well preserved, especially those located in the higher part. Those of the lower part, and adjacent to the modern village, have been demolished to make way for modern houses. The people even recall that when the boy's school, which is adjacent to these ruins was constructed, a lot of pottery was removed from the ground and even traces of old buildings were found. Indeed, the remains of pottery are frequently found, even in the adobes or clay bricks, from which the walls of the houses are now made. Some of these pottery have been examined by the Peruvian archaeologist, Dr. Duccio Bonavía, and he has confirmed that some of them date from the Middle Horizon (600 Ad. to 1000 Ad.) and others from the Inca period (1200 Ad. to 1532 Ad.).

From my observations of different ruins located within this area of the Provincia de Lucanas, I should say that none of them are as big as Caniche. The dominant shape of the buildings of Caniche is circular and the material from which they are made is stone. Not many of the architectonic features of these ruins have been inherited by the modern village.

The uniqueness of the size of Caniche plus the fact that the modern village (and consequently the whole Community) inherited the name Andamarca is very strong evidence in favour of the identification of Caniche with the old Andamarca. This

evidence is moreover supported by the fact that the modern village of Andamarca did not originate from the 1580 Reducciones (8) ordered by Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo.

The Ayllu Antamarca was one of the four Ayllus which inhabited the provincia or Repartimiento (9) de los Rucana Antamarcas in the XVI century. The others were Apcara, Omapacha and Uchu Ayllu. With the Reducciones introduced by Toledo, these Ayllus were settled in 14 villages. Eight of them were located together in a common territory, while the other six were located far away in the territories of other Repartimientos. These last Repartimientos were, Parinacochas, Hatun Rucanas and Vilcashuaman.

The villages in which all these Ayllu were settled still survive to our day with the same Quechua names with which they started, although perhaps in some cases their Christian names have changed. However, there is no reference to indicate that the modern village of Andamarca originated from these Reducciones. Monzon mentions that the inhabitants of the old village of Antamarca were resettled in La Vera Cruz de Cauana, but does this mean that it was abandoned completely? Perhaps some day the archaeologists will provide us with an answer. In the meantime we can only say that because of the Quechua name it still holds, and because until 1945 it was an Anexo of Cabana, the village that concerns us now descends from the members of the Ayllu Antamarca.(10)

The earliest reference to Andamarca as already populated is to be found in the baptismal records of the year 1693. These documents also report that since that time Andamarca was an Anexo of Cabana, together with Sondondo and Guaycahuacho. This confirms once more the links of these four villages with the original Ayllu known as Antamarca.

The fact that Andamarca does not derive from the Reducciones of Viceroy Toledo, perhaps led to the fact that, until not so long ago, a non-linear pattern of households distribution was maintained which was foreign to the European tradition embodied in the Reducciones. Today it is possible to talk to some old people who recall that before it became a Distrito the streets of Andamarca were very narrow and curved, resembling the horns of their cattle. These statements are confirmed when one looks carefully inside some of the present rectangular blocks where a few of the old houses still remain. Some examples of these may be observed in blocks IV, VII, VIII, XIV, XXV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLI and XLIV of Map IV. In all these cases it is possible to see that a very narrow and non-linear passage links several old houses located inside the blocks with the outside main streets.

A second consequence of the relatively late emergence of Andamarca as a colonial Indian village is that the church seems to be fairly new and its altars lacks the baroque

ornamentation typical of the churches of Cabana and Aucará. Apart from this, there is not the least trace of paintings, carved wooden images and other religious paraphernalia as old as the ones that are still conserved in Cabana, Aucará, Chipao, etc. which are villages originating from the Reducciones of Toledo.

Andamarca began its transformation when it became a Distrito and this historical event is still within the living memory of the people. The reasons for the transformation are undoubtedly connected with the construction of the road and in general with the progressivist ideals of the Misti (or Whites). These had been the ones mainly responsible for Andamarca's new status and these were the most interested in connecting Andamarca with the outside world because of the nature of their economic activities.

The construction of the road brought as a consequence the need to widen the narrow streets of the village in order to facilitate the movements of lorries and other kinds of motorized vehicles. It seems that from this time dates the organization of the village into the rectilineal streets that we see now.

This transformation is indirectly reported in the Civil Marriage records kept in the Town Hall. In them we may see that from the time of a wedding which took place on October 17,

1952 the names of the present streets began to be used to identify the residence of the individuals contracting marriage. Previously, individuals were registered just by reference to their residence in Tuna, Pata or Chaupi (middle) calle, which were the main divisions of the village.

This dual division into a Pata Barrio and Tuna Barrio still survives to this day and, as we have seen earlier, these terms have been borrowed from the vocabulary associated with land-terraces. This division is so alive that even the five parallel main streets which have been superimposed on top of it maintain certain features which relate to this division. This is noticeable from the names of each of the main streets. Hence, the name of Chaupi Calle or "Middle Street" is now called Jirón Lima, which is the name of the Capital of Peru. Therefore the idea behind the term Chaupi, which is that of "middle", "centre", etc., has not been lost because Lima is conceived to be a Centre in so far it is the Capital of Peru. The names of the two Jirones of Pata Barrio are Huascar and Tupac Amaru, who are two Peruvian Indian heroes, and those of Tuna Barrio are Jorge Chavez and Alfonso Ugarte, names, which in opposition to the first two, belong to two white national heroes. We shall see later that this opposition between Indian and white heroes receives empirical confirmation in that the main Square and the buildings associated with national institutions are located on the side of the white heroes, whereas the ruins of Caniche are associated on

the side of the Indian heroes. Correspondingly, we shall see later that Tuna is more populated by Misti and Pata more populated by Indians.

A second significant division of the village is phrased again in dual terms. This consists of two opposite sectors called Ccarmencca (11) and Antara (12). The first is located at the Southern end of the village and seems to group together blocks which are included either in Tuna and Pata. Although people are not too precise in stating their boundaries I presume that it includes blocks No. I, III, XI, XXVIII, XXXVI and XLIV. Antara is in contrast located at the Northern end and again its boundaries are not very definite. However, a certain agreement existed among informants, who considered that blocks XIX, XXVII, XXXV, XLII and XLVII belonged to this sector. In contrast to Tuna and Pata these two last Barrios apparently do not receive any ritual expression. However, in 1972 I noticed that these were very significant in the fiesta in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29).

Apart from these sectors organized in terms of dual divisions, the Andamarquinos recognize three other Barrios which are included within the division Tuna and Pata and also within Ccarmencca. One of these Barrios is Morro de Arica, already mentioned. Because of its close links with blocks III and IV, I have treated this Barrio as if it were another block of Tuna.

The other two sectors are Ayaq Orcco (Hill of the Dead) or Cayacc Orcco (Hill of the End) (13) as is written in an old document, and Caniche. As these two Barrios are generally considered as part of Pata I have followed this criterion. Hence the first consists of blocks XLIV, XLV, and XLVI, while the second consists of blocks XLVII, XLVIII and XLIX.

The division into all these different sectors is perhaps a survival from a time when the village was not as big and as compact as it is now. As this village did not originate from the Reducciones of Toledo and the people still remember when the streets were non-linear and narrow, it is possible to assume that sometime ago the village consisted of different clusters of houses grouped in these sectors.

According to some informants, not so long ago the village was delimited by four chapels where the residents went to pray the Miserere on Good Friday. One chapel was located in Ccarmencca, facing Jirón Alfonso Ugarte. Continuing through this Jirón, in Plaza de Acho, another chapel existed. A third chapel was located in the Eastern Ccayacc Orcco and finally a fourth one was located in Ayruicha, which is a sector adjacent to the footpath that leads to the Eastern side of the Negromayo river.

The reference to a terminal chapel existing in Plaza de Acho coincides with the fact that the cemetery, a typical marginal site, was located in there. Later it was transferred further to the North, to Millupampa. This transference is indicative of the fact that the expansion of the village follows a northern direction and perhaps the day is not very far away when the Caserío de Millupampa will become part of the main village. In this respect a first step has been taken by locating the new building of the technical school in this place.

Today the most encompassing division and the one most preferred by the villagers for identifying their residence, together with the names of the streets, is that between Tuna and Pata. Its recognition as two separate Barrios is further expressed by the appointment of a Teniente de Gobernador (an office under the Governor) for each of them. A remarkable feature about this division is that it corresponds closely to the division between the two sides of the Negromayo river. In both cases we may see that a South to North axis divides the space in two halves oriented respectively towards the West and towards the East. Moreover, in the same way as the square of the village is located in the Western Tuna Barrio, Andamarca llaqta itself is also located on the Western side of the Negromayo river. In other words, it is possible to state the following equivalences -- square: village::Tuna: western side of the Negromayo river.

In what follows we shall try to see if some further correspondence exists between the social composition of the residence units of both sides of the Negromayo river and the two main Barrios of the village.

Firstly, it is important to mention that Tuna and Pata are not identical. The fact that the first includes within its boundaries the Plaza de Armas and the Plaza de Acho or Canto Plaza (square of the end) makes a very important difference and one which also relates to the fact that on this side there are more public buildings, more Misti residents and fewer households than in Pata. As may be seen on Table 13, Tuna has 9 public buildings and Pata only 4, Tuna includes 29 houses owned by Misti and 11 houses inhabited by other foreigners, and Pata just 6 houses owned by Misti (3 of the owners which are married to Indian women) and 5 houses inhabited by other foreigners. Finally in Tuna there are 264 households inhabited by Indians (including the 25 houses of Morro de Arica) and in Pata 330. It is important to keep these differences in mind, as well as the ecological differences between the two sides of the river, for they will partly explain the difficulties of Tuna, and hence of Pata, in fulfilling in absolute terms the endogamous tendencies disclosed by our analysis of the rural residence units, and also in maintaining an absolute correspondence with the social composition of the two sides of the Negromayo river.

TABLE 13.-TYPES, SOCIAL COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO THE BARRIOS TUNA AND PATA OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE

	TUNA	PATA	TOTALS
PUBLIC BUILDINGS	9	4	13
HOUSEHOLDS OWNED BY MISTI	29	6	35
HOUSEHOLDS OWNED BY FOREIGNERS	11	5	16
HOUSEHOLDS OWNED BY INDIANS	264	330	594
TOTALS	313	345	658

The analysis that follows concerning the similarities in the social composition of the two Barrios and those of the rural residence units of the two sides of the Negromayo river has been made possible by the fact that most of the inhabitants of the Anexos and the Caseríos are also associated with one or more households in the main village. The association with a household in this last area has been deduced either because an individual in my village census was reported explicitly to be the actual owner of a household or to be a child of the actual owner. However, this procedure was not adequate for my purpose of determining the pattern of marriage exchanges by referring to the original residence of the husband and wife, since these two were already living together. As I did not interview all the people concerned, when direct information about the residence of an individual was lacking I tried to supplement this deficiency by using the Civil Marriage records of the Town Hall.(14) Fortunately, since 1949 these records include the original residence of the bride and of the groom. When the residence was given with reference to Tuna and Pata there was no problem in determining attachment to these Barrios, but when the residence of the marriage partners was given with reference to the names of a transverse street, it became more difficult to determine this association. The reason for this is that the houses were not yet numbered, and a transverse street runs through both Barrios.

Therefore, whenever possible I had to use some further evidence such as looking for the particular spot in that street where a sibling or a parent's sibling might be living, in order to succeed in my identification. However, many times I was unsuccessful in this search for further evidence and consequently there is a large number of individuals who have been left unidentified.

Tables 9, 10, 11 and 12 display the results of this analysis. Starting with Hayllahuarmi we note that 71.4% of the residents are also associated with Pata and of these 82.5% are associated with the Southern sector of this Barrio. Only 13.7% are associated with Tuna. Among the residents of Huaccracca, 68.2% are associated with Pata and of these 74.1% are associated with the Southern sector of this Barrio. Only 15.2% are associated with Tuna. Therefore the analysis of these two Anexos suggests that there not only exists a correspondence between each Barrio and a particular side of the Negromayo river but also between the Southern extremes of both regions.

Among the residents of Chiricre it is also noticeable that a majority of them are associated with Pata and particularly with the Northern sector of this Barrio. The Northern sector is also predominant among the 24.7% of the residents associated with Tuna.

Taking the residents of Huayllahuarmi, Huaccracca and Chiricre as a whole we found that 59.1% of them are associated with Pata, 20.2% are associated with Tuna, 12.5% are associated

only with their own rural residence unit, 8% are foreigners, 4.5% are not identified with any particular residence and 0.9% are associated with a rural residence unit other than the one where they are actually living.

Moving across to Millupampa, the link with Pata is inverted and it is Tuna which is the Barrio most frequently associated with this Caserío. 51.6% of the Millupampinos are associated with this Barrio, while 30.9% are associated with Pata. As in the case of Chiricre, here again the Northern sector of both Tuna and Pata is the most significant for the Millupampinos.

Given this direct relationship between the Barrios of the village and the residence units of the two sides of the Negromayo river, it should not be surprising that the former manifest similar endogamous tendencies to the latter. In Table 9 we can see that 50% of the couples associated with Huayllahuarmi are also associated with Pata. Of these, 64.2% are mostly associated with the Southern sector of this Barrio. Only 25% of all the couples include individuals associated with opposite Barrios. In Huaccracca, 48.8% of the couples include both partners attached to Pata and only 15.5% include individuals from opposite Barrios. (See Table 10). In Chiricre 33.3% of the couples include both partners associated with Pata and 20.6% include individuals associated with opposite Barrios. (See Table 11) Finally among the residents of Millupampa 26.9% of the couples have both partners associated with Tuna, 25.6% with opposite Barrio and 15.3% have both partners associated with Pata. (See Table 12).

The high proportion of residents of Millupampa who live in Pata correlates with the high percentage of couples associated with this Caserío which includes individuals either from opposite Barrios or both from Pata Barrio. The fact that the correspondence with Tuna is not complete may be explained partly by the smaller number of households in Tuna in comparison with Pata. However this explanation is not sufficient, since Chiricre, which is associated with Pata, has also many residents associated with Tuna and consequently a high percentage of its couples, too, include partners associated each with opposite Barrios. Therefore, apart from the physical limitations imposed by the number of households in each Barrio, the relatively low correspondence between the sides of the Negromayo river and the Barrios of the Northern extreme, indicates a greater degree of interaction between them than occurs in the case of the Southern ones. Another significant point is that there are several residents in this Northern extreme who own houses in the rural residence units on both sides of the Negromayo river, as well as in the two Barrios of the main village. Although I still do not have a definite explanation for this it seems that the inhabitants of the residence units located in the lower parts of the valley are involved in more varied and wider networks. Perhaps this is a consequence of the direction that the expansion of the main village follows and of the proximity of these residence units to it.

One further piece of evidence concerning the endogamous tendencies of the Barrios Tuna and Pata, may be observed in Table 26.which is based on the civil marriage records kept in the Town Hall. This Table only takes into account the cases in which the residence of the bride and the groom are mentioned and therefore covers a period of 24 years (from 1949 to 1973). According to these records 59.2% of the marriages were endogamous to Pata or Tuna and 22% were exogamous.

Further statistical evidence that confirms once more the endogamous tendencies of these Barrios derives from data concerning those residents who own two or more households. These number up to 101 and they represent 15.6% of all the family heads associated with the households of the main village. As may be seen in Table 14, of the 87 family heads who are associated with two different households, 60 or 68.9% have both their households in the same Barrio (20 in Tuna and 40 in Pata), and of the 14 family heads who are associated with three different households, 5 or 35.7% have all their households in the same Barrio (and in this case all are located in Pata).

We may assume that this evidence is related to the tendency towards endogamous marriages in Andamarca because property is mostly inherited bilaterally through dowries and wills; so that people who own more than one house generally inherit one from their own parents and one from their wives' parents. In

this respect it is important to note that in the four cases of dowries that I recorded, apart from the land and other property, both the groom and the bride each received a household from their parents. In two of these four cases the houses received were both located in the main village and in the other two cases the groom received a house located in Chiricre and the bride a house within the main village. These cases explain in part why so many people are associated both with rural residence units and with the main village and thus also explain why so many people own more than one house in the main village.

In theory, every married couple should own at least two households, and if the bride and the groom belong both to the same Barrio, their two households should be located in their Barrio. However, according to my survey of the different residence units in Andamarca, a large majority of family heads owned just one house. The reason for this is that the property of individuals is not static, but varies according to their position in the life cycle and according to their economic capacity, which impels them to sell and to buy.

Most commonly a newly married couple starts with either two households, two urban plots of land for building a house or with a combination of these two. Some informants insisted that this pattern varied because the custom previously was for men only to inherit households whilst women only inherited agricultural

TABLE 14 OWNERSHIP OF MORE THAN ONE HOUSEHOLD WITHIN THE MAIN VILLAGE AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO THE BARRIOS TUNA AND PATA

2 HOUSEHOLDS DISTRIBUTED IN DIFFERENT BARRIOS	2 HOUSEHOLDS DISTRIBUTED IN THE SAME BARRIO		3 HOUSEHOLDS DISTRIBUTED IN DIFFERENT BARRIOS	3 HOUSEHOLDS DISTRIBUTED IN THE SAME BARRIO		TOTALS
	TUNA	PATA		TUNA	PATA	
	20	40		-	5	
27		60	9		5	101 from 645 or 15.6%
31.1%		68.9%	64.3%		35.7%	
	100%			100%		

land. However, I have not found evidence for this, either in the written dowries mentioned before, or in the 27 written wills (some of them dating from the last century) that I managed to consult. These latter seem rather to confirm in some cases an old inheritance rule which was stated to me by several Andamarquinos, namely that sons inherited from their fathers and daughters from their mothers.

This topic of parallel inheritance of property will be dealt with later in relation to the land tenure system. In the meanwhile, it will suffice to mention that only three of the 27 wills that I have consulted suggest this possibility, and even then somewhat indirectly. The reason is that the donors did not always distinguish the property that belonged exclusively to them, nor did they mention from whom they received it, nor which of their children was going to receive it. To this difficulty was added the problem that the donor did not, in all cases, have a similar proportion of sons to daughters, nor even both sons and daughters, but either just sons or just daughters.

As we said before, at marriage a couple acquires its rights to a household through the dowry but this does not mean that the household is inhabited immediately. It frequently happens that the household is uninhabited either because what has been received is just a piece of ground and the house is still not constructed or it is too old and it has to be repaired

either entirely throughout or perhaps just the roof. Correspondingly, the Andamarquinos used to tell me that, during the first four or five years after marriage, a couple, had to go to live with the wife's parents. In this respect it was emphasized that this was a kind of service rendered by the son-in-law to his father-in-law. (15) This temporary uxorilocal residence also seems to relate to the fact that women are, symbolically and in practice, associated with the kitchen and it is therefore the duty of a wife to cook for her husband in her own kitchen, or alternatively in her mother's kitchen.(16) This feminine connotation of the kitchen is clearly expressed by the term concha given to the cooker. In the old Quechua Vocabularies this term also had the meaning of sister's children.

Four or five years later (perhaps more), and once the married couple has increased their capital and begun to build a new family, construction of their new house starts, ending in the complicated ceremony of the Huasichakuy or "house roofing".(17) Except in the case of foreigners married to Andamarquina girls, or illegitimate children, and the very youngest children, the tendency is to construct the new house on the husband's property. For this reason it is more frequent to see adjacent households inhabited by brothers than by sisters. However, no explicit residence rule nor was any particular term mentioned to me for those men who lived permanently with their parents-in-law. The most I could obtain was a very vague reference about them being the subject of jokes but the nature of their content was not specified.

With the increase of the number of children over the years, parents put great emphasis on increasing their property, not forgetting the fact that they will also have the duty of distributing it to their children once they begin to marry. This increase in their property is obtained through different mechanisms, which can include wills, gifts and most commonly, purchases. These commercial transactions are generally carried out between relatives. If they take place between unrelated people disputes may arise with the relatives of the vendor who consider themselves to have more right to acquire the property in question. In the Actas del Juez de Paz there exists a great deal of evidence for this. Since property is ideally only bought and sold between relatives, the frequency of property transactions is not a disruptive factor, and it in fact contributes to the maintenance of the correspondences previously mentioned between each side of the river and the Barrios of Tuna and Pata.

A study of the social composition at the level of the residence blocks reveals a tendency amongst relatives to live near each other either within the same block or in neighbouring blocks, in a fashion similar to what was described for the Anexos and Caseríos. Although I have not been able to trace the nature of the kinship relationship for all the individuals who own neighbouring households, some few examples will illustrate what I am stating.

Diagrams 3, 4,4(a)and 5 describe the links that I have determined for some household owners of blocks IX, XI, XX, XXIV, XLI, XLVII. XLVIII and XLIX and on Map V the distribution of these links within the blocks is described. Let us start with Block XXIV (See Diagram 3) because this is the one for which I possess the most complete information thanks to two wills which date from the end of the last century and the beginning of the present one. In this case, 50% of all the family heads who inhabit this block have been identified as belonging to one extended family which extends as far as second cousins. An interesting feature of this example is that women are responsible for maintaining the integrity of the property and the cohesion of the group.

The history of the property of this extended family has a certain depth which can be reckoned back to the past century. In 1919 an individual named Mariano Flores wrote his will and in it he mentioned that he had seven legitimate children and an illegitimate daughter. Except for one, all his legitimate children were girls. Of these only three daughters survived to adulthood and the other four died without leaving any descendants. The descendants of the two youngest surviving daughters of Mariano Flores are the ones who inhabit Block XXIV, while the descendants of the eldest surviving daughter are today inhabiting Block XL. This property was inherited from Mariano Flores' parents but it is not specified which of his parents

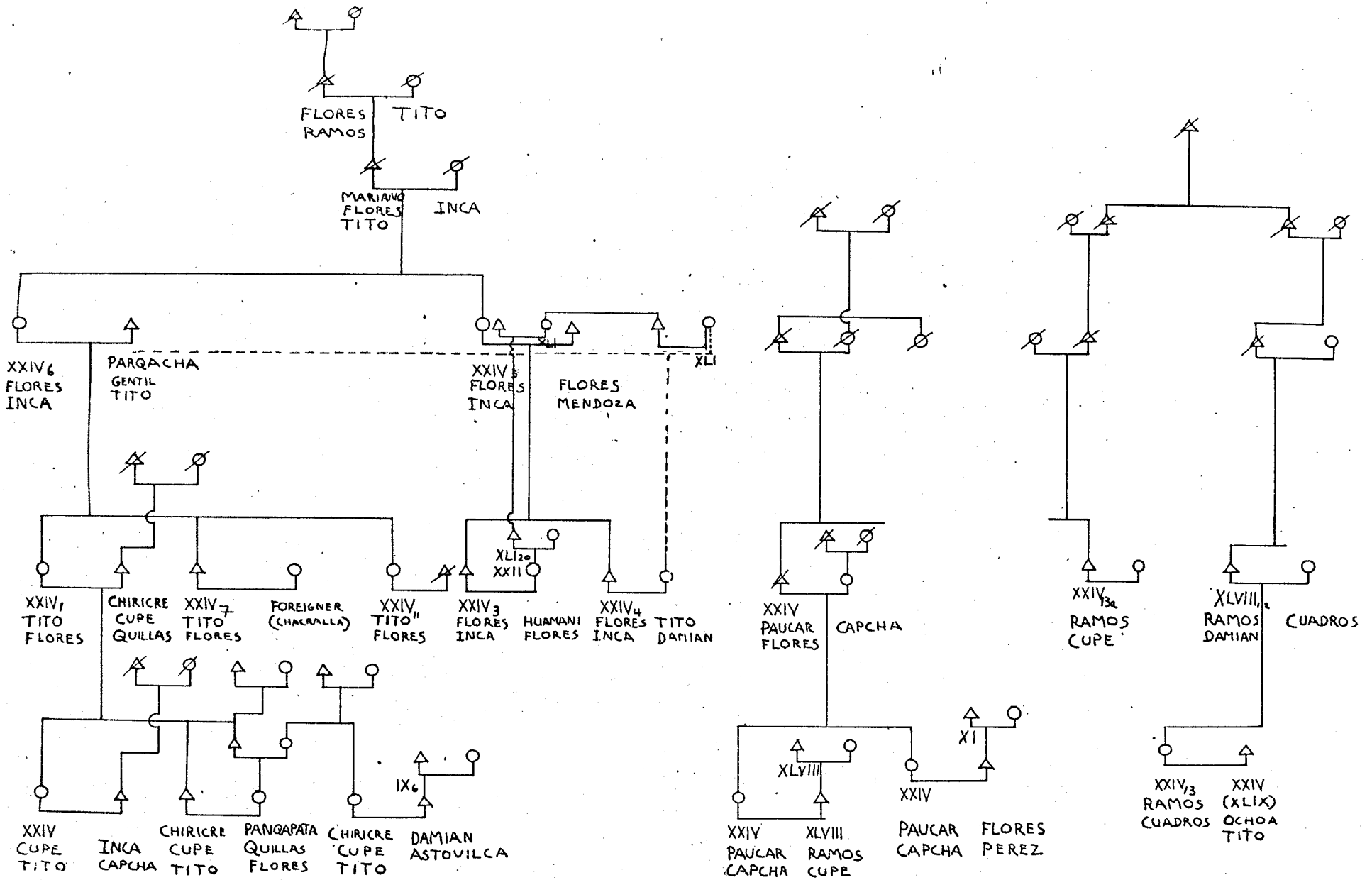


DIAGRAMA 3

BLOCK XXIV

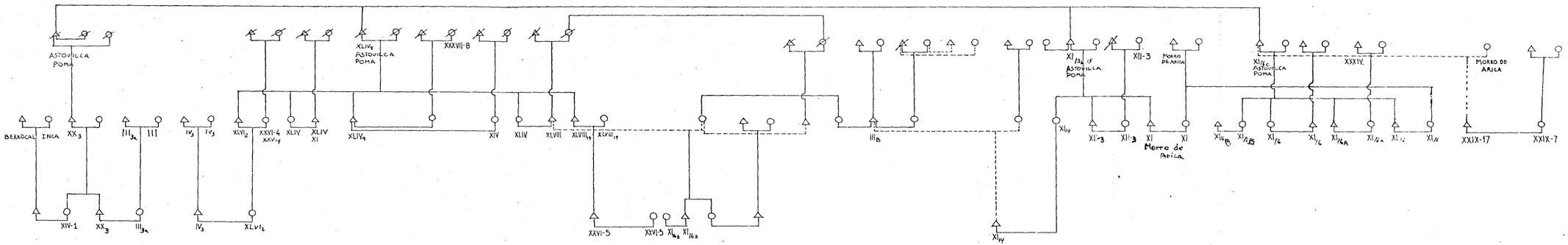


DIAGRAM 4

CASTA ASTOVILCA POMA

SECTOR CCARMENCCA

BLOCKS XI – XX

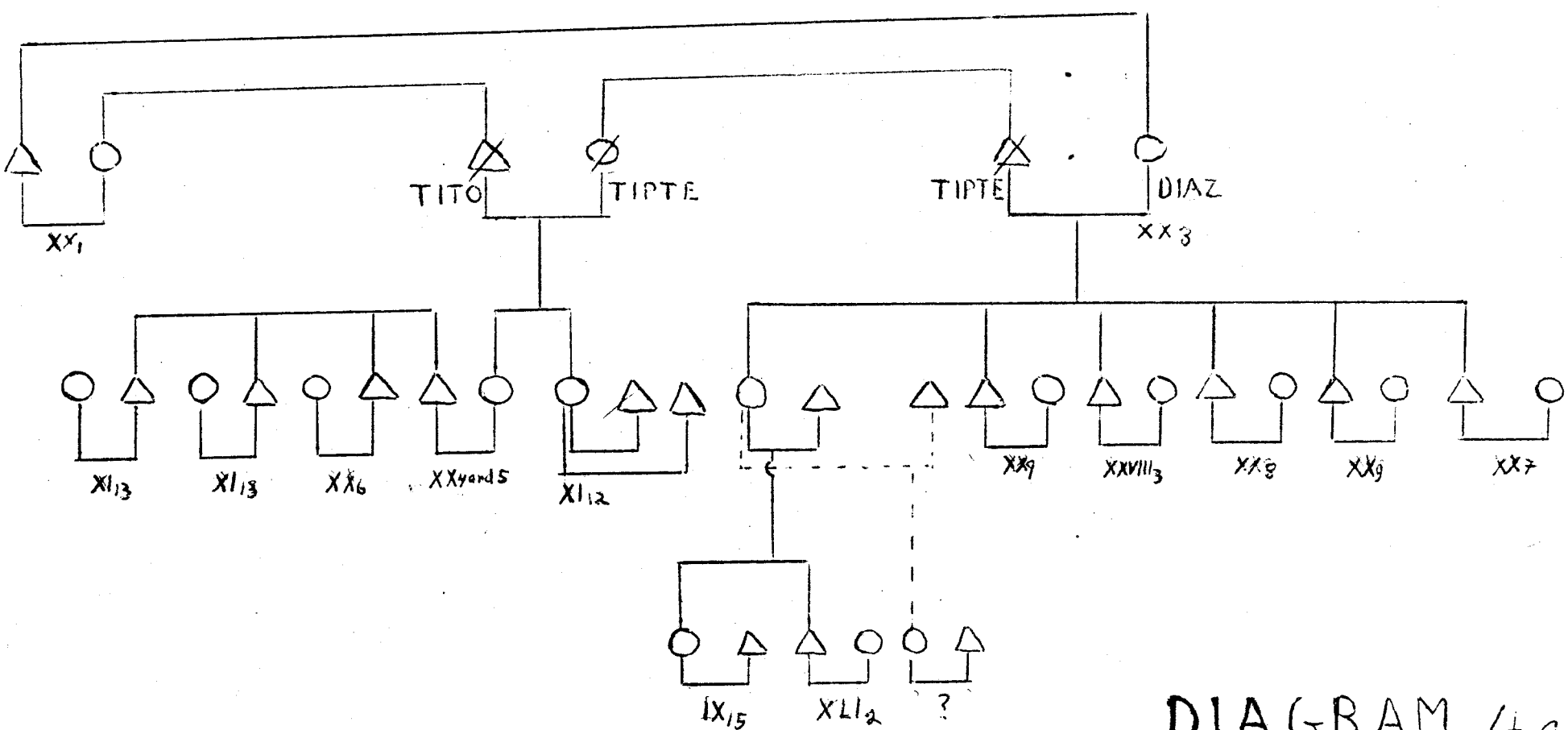
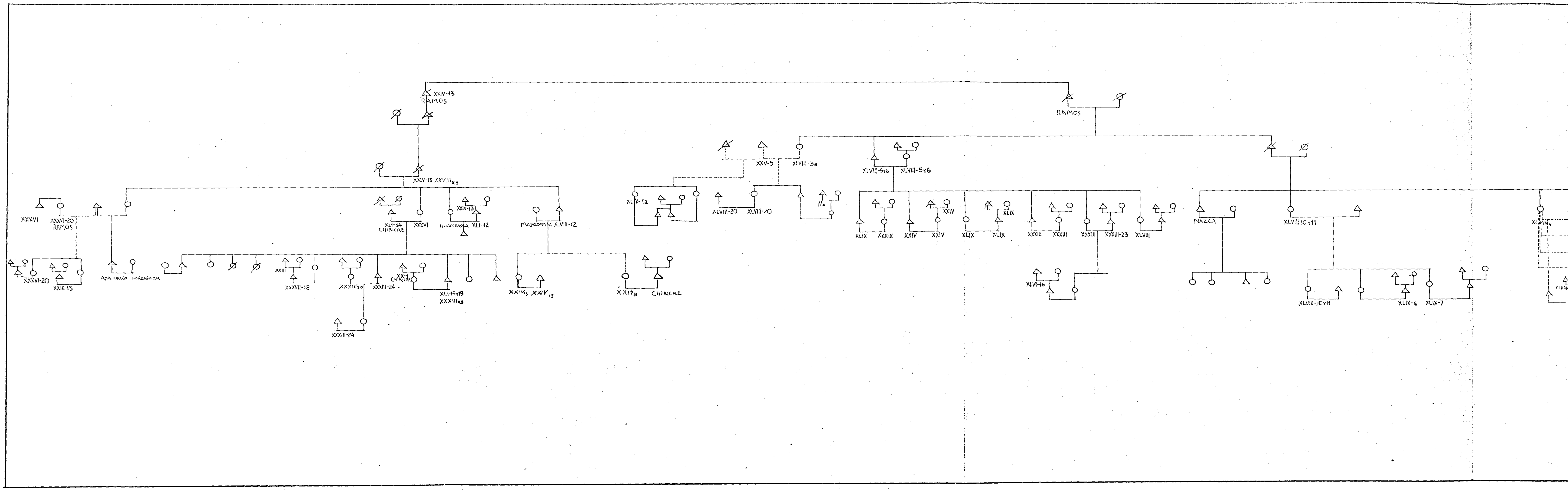


DIAGRAM 4c

BLOCK XX

TIPTE AND TITO CASTAS



XXIV-13
RAMOS
RAMOS
XXIV-13 XXVIII
XXXVI
XXXVI-20
RAMOS
XXXVI-20
XXIX-13
AYA ORCCO FOREIGNER
XLI-14
CHIRICRE
XXXVI
HUACCRACCA
XXIV-13
XLI-12
MAYOBAMBA
XLVIII-12
XXXVII-18
XXXIII-24
XX-1
CHIRICRE
XLI-15 y 19
XXXIII-24
CHIRICRE
XXV-5
XLVIII-3a
XLVIII-20
XLVIII-20
XLVII-5 y 6
XLVII-5 y 6
XLIX
XXXIX
XXIV
XXIV
XLIX
XLIX
XLIX
XXXIII
XXXIII
XXXIII
XXXIII-23
XLVIII
XLVI-16
NAZCA
XLVIII-10 y 11
XLVIII-10 y 11
XLIX-4
XLIX-7

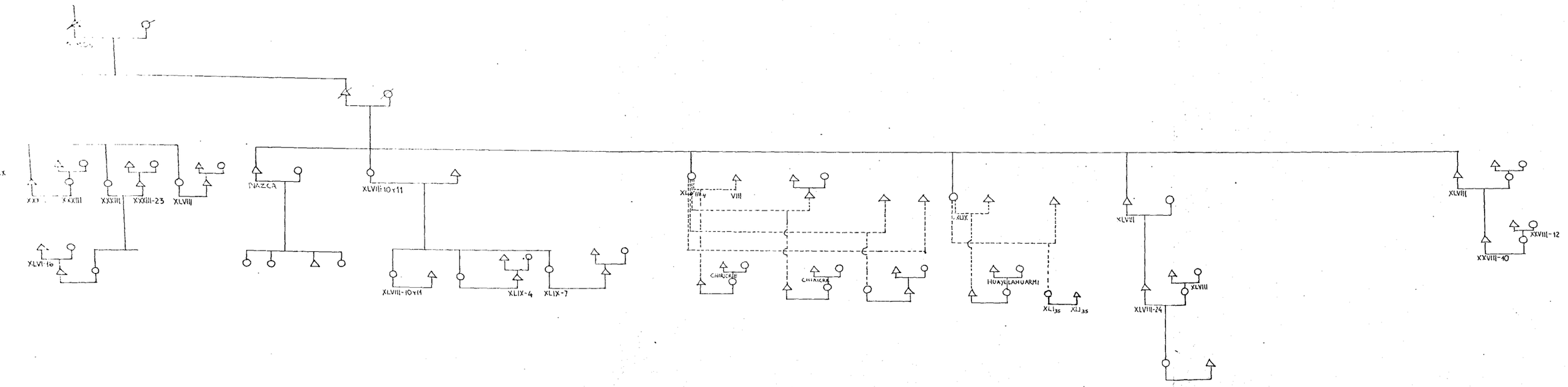


DIAGRAM 5

RESIDENCE IN CANICHE

CASTA RAMOS

transmitted to him either the property in Block XXIV or in Block XL. The urban site corresponding to Block XXIV is named in the document as Pampahuasi (which is another term given to Tuna Barrio) and that corresponding to Block XL is named Patahuasi (which is the same as Pata). It is also stated that part of the Pampahuasi property was inherited and another part purchased.

Following the general Andean pattern by which the surviving parent lives with the youngest children, Mariano's wife inherited a household in Block XXIV which is mentioned as being newer than the ones received by her daughters.

The three daughters are still alive. The three got married and now the eldest two even have great grandchildren. One interesting feature of this case is that two of the daughters married two socially anomalous individuals, while the other daughter married an individual about whom I know very little. The eldest one married an illegitimate son of a man from a wealthy family of Cabana and a woman from Andamarca, the second one married an individual about whom I do not have information concerning his family, and finally the third one married an illegitimate son of a man who had several children by a woman who was the third daughter in a wealthy family but who had also had a son by another man.

These three marriages led ultimately to permanent uxorilocal residence which was continued later by the children. Thus to continue with the families of Block XXIV, I have also

identified three children of Mariano's second daughter. The first and the last are girls, while the second is a boy. All three are married. The eldest one is married to the second son of a man associated with Chiricre; the boy is married to a foreign woman from Chacralla and the youngest daughter is already a widow and has migrated to Lima although she still keeps rights in Block XXIV. The one married to the man of Chiricre has in turn two daughters and a son already married. The son, who is younger than the daughters and who married later than them, alternated between his residence at Chiricre and that of his parents-in-law, while the daughters and their respective husbands still live in Block XXIV. Recently I have heard that the husband of the eldest daughter has become very prosperous; has even bought a lorry and has moved to a household located in the Plaza. Except for the son, the two daughters have married individuals associated with Tuna and whose households are very near to Block XXIV. Thus, the eldest daughter married a man whose family is associated with Block XXV and the youngest one, a man whose family is associated with Block IX.

Mariano's younger daughter had four sons and a daughter. The two eldest sons (these are the only ones that figure in Diagram 3) are married and they are very popular among the Andamarquinos for having accomplished several important political offices, which in some cases were previously reserved only for the Misti. The third son studies philosophy in the

Universidad de Huamanga (located in the city of Ayacucho) and the daughter studies in the Centro de Capacitación. The Second son married an illegitimate daughter of the husband of Mariano's second surviving daughter, who used to live with her mother in Block XLI, and the eldest son is married to the present MHZSD of his BW, who is also associated with Block XLI and with Block XXII.

The other residents of this Block are the daughter of Mariano's second daughter's HB and her husband, who are associated with Chiricre, two relatives in the fourth degree whose families are also associated with Chiricre and a woman, her three daughters and the respective husbands of the first two (the last is still unmarried).

Blocks XI and XX, (See Diagram 4) which are facing each other and still conserve the traces of the narrow streets that existed before the building of the road, exemplify very clearly how the division into Blocks does not impose a limit on the family household property. Thus we note that there are siblings who own households in Blocks which are opposite to each other. Moreover, unlike Block XXIV, in this case married siblings of both sexes tend to be grouped together. Unfortunately I have not succeeded in obtaining any will for the families of these Blocks and therefore it is very difficult to determine the transmission of the property within them.

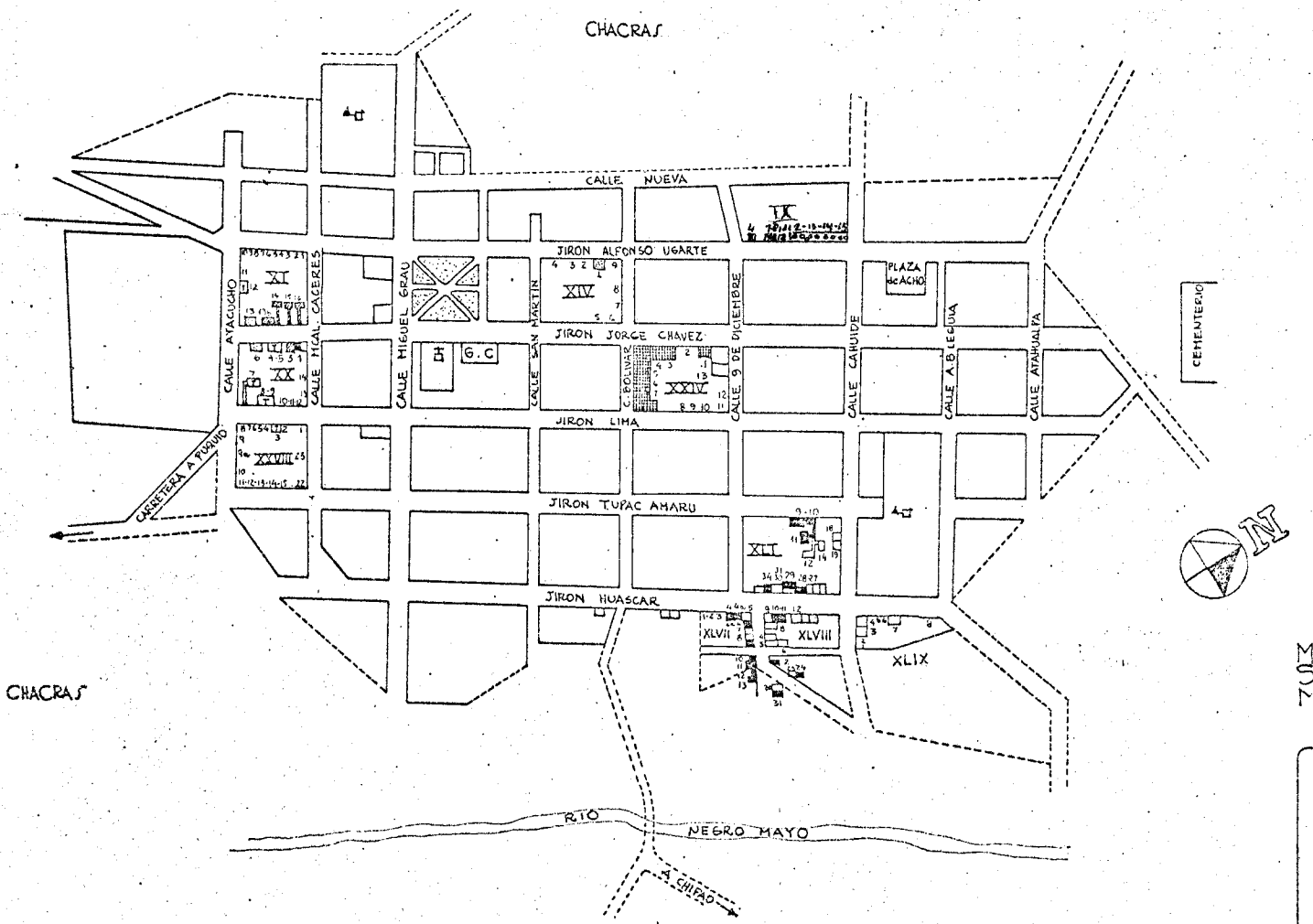
In Block XI (See Diagram 4) there are two brothers (Astovilca Poma) with their respective descendants who are also married, living in households XI (13b), XI(14), XI(15), XI (16), XI (16b) and XI (16c). Two sons of the first brother live respectively in Block XII and in Morro de Arica which is adjacent to this Block and in Block XX, household No. 3 lives the son of the eldest brother of these together with his married son. The married daughter of the latter lives in XIV (1) with her husband. Another brother of the first two (who is also Astovilca Poma), for reasons that I still do not know, went to live in Pata and almost all his children have married with people associated with residences of this Barrio.

Households XX (7), XX (8), XX (9) are inhabited by four married brothers and their mother (See Diagram 4a). One of their two sisters lives in XXVIII (3) with her husband in a household which is located in a Block belonging to Pata Barrio but facing the households of her brothers. The other sister, who is the eldest of them all, used to live in Block XX, but now I do not know where she is living. In households XX (4 and 5) lives a FZD of these siblings who is married to an individual whose brothers and their children are distributed between Blocks XX and XI. Thus, one lives in household XX (6) and two other brothers in XI (13). Map IV shows that these last households are exactly opposite each other. A sister of this woman

associated with households XX (4 and 5) lives in XI (12) with her husband. Finally a FZ of these last sisters lives in XX (1) and she is actually married to a MB of the four brothers mentioned above.

Blocks XLI, XLVII, XLVIII, and XLIX belong to the sector of the main village known as Caniche which is located at the NE end of the Pata Barrio (See Map V). According to several informants, these blocks, together with that which includes the school for boys, were built on top of the ruins of the pre-Hispanic village.

It is in this sector that we have been able to determine the largest number of neighbouring households occupied by single extended families. For example, the majority of the members of the Ramos Casta are distributed among the following households: XLI (11), XLI (12), XLI (14), XLI (18,19), XLI (27), XLI (28,29), XLI (30,31), XLVII (5), XLVII (7), XLVII (8), XLVIII (3a), XLVIII (4), XLVIII (5,6), XLVIII (8,9), XLVIII (10,11), XLVIII (12), XLVIII (23), XLVIII (24), XLVIII (24a), XLVIII (28), XLVIII (30), XLIX (3), XLIX (4), XLIX (7). Those of the Tito Casta, on the other hand, are mostly distributed in households XLI (9,10), XLI (11), XLI (28,29), XLI (34), XLVII (4), XLVII (4a), XLVII (6), XLVII (6a), XLVII (10), XLVII (11), XLVII (12), XLVII (13), XLVIII (2), XLVIII (10, 11), XLVIII (24), XLVIII (31).



MAP V. DISTRIBUTION OF SOME CASTAS WITHIN THE MAIN VILLAGE

LEYENDA

- CUPE R.
- ASTOVILCA
- HUAMANI
- FLORES
- RAMOS
- TIPTE
- TITO
- FLORES Q.

This evidence is sufficient to give an idea of the concentration of the members of some Castas in some particular sectors of the main village, however, it remains to consider evidence concerning the degree of dispersion. Starting with the Casta Allqa Ramos, whose residence concentration we have seen above, we have noticed that except for one member who inhabits household XXIV (13), the rest remain concentrated in Pata, most particularly in the Caniche area. On the other hand, another Ramos Casta, which is known as Yarpu Ramos, and which is regarded as Caru Casta (distant relatives) of the first tends to be concentrated in Tuna, especially in Blocks VI, VII, VIII and XXVI. Of this Casta only one member owns a household in Lima Street in Block XXXIV. The name Yarpu for this Casta relates to the fact that its members also tend to be concentrated in the Caserío of Yarpu, which is on the Western side of the Negromayo river. The Allqa Ramos are known as such because each of their members has as a distinctive feature a white spot on their back. In contrast to the Yarpu Ramos the members of this Casta tend to concentrate their land in the agricultural area surrounding Chiricre. Hence they maintain very close links with the inhabitants of Chiricre.

The Tito Casta mentioned above is the Gentil or Rosas Tito Casta. It is a larger Casta than the Ramos one and is one of the dominant Castas of Chiricre. Its members are largely concentrated in the Pata Barrio. Some of them, however, live in

the Tuna Barrio - a larger proportion, in fact, than in the case of the Allqa Ramos Casta. Of the 55 members of the Gentil Tito Casta whom I identified, 20% are attached to Tuna, some 27% to Chiricre only, and some 45% to Pata only. About 2% are associated both with Tuna and Pata.

My statistical evidence is not sufficiently complete to support this hypothesis, but I would suggest that one of the possible reasons for the dispersal of some members of the Castas is that they become too numerous for the space they occupy, and that there are not enough women within that space to provide wives for all the men, Thus some members of the Casta may be forced to increase the available space by marrying exogamously. Generally it is the illegitimate children or the offspring of adulterous relationships who will feel the effects of the shortage, though there is no rule concerning who must marry out first. However, it may also be not shortage of space or women which is the cause of the dispersal of some of the members of a Casta, but rather an excess of wealth. This is the case with some Castas associated with the Tuna Barrio and some of the Caseríos of the Western side of the Negromayo river.

In the next section we shall try to establish some correlations between these tendencies which we have observed at the level of the residence system and those which may be deduced from the land tenure system. By means of this analysis we hope to clarify with more detailed evidence some of the issues which we have touched upon in this section.

The Land Tenure System

The analysis that we shall attempt in this section is based on evidence provided in the 1973 Declaración Jurada de Bienes , on a partial census of plots of land in some of the Northern agricultural sectors (and middle sectors) of both sides of the Negromayo river, on a questionnaire answered by about 118 individuals, on 27 wills which I was able to study, and on some land litigations which are recorded in the Actas del Juez de Paz . While the first three sources permitted me to reconstruct the general distribution of land, the wills and the land litigations introduced me to the dynamics of its transmission.

The Declaración Jurada de Bienes (Declaration of property under oath) is an annual report of the amount of property owned by family heads, which the Peruvian Government demands in order to determine the amount of tax that each should pay. This information is written down on special sheets which are distributed by the Alcalde for this purpose. The owner is required to write down on one sheet of paper complete information concerning the households or urban sites which he owns, their present condition, the materials from which the houses are made, how he acquired them, etc. On another sheet of paper he has to provide complete information concerning his plots of land such as the names of the places where they are located, their size, their use (cultivation, or potential for cultivation, pasture land, etc.),

how he acquired them, and so on. Finally, on a third sheet of paper the estimated value of both these kinds of property has to be summarized.

The information provided by these Declaraciones Juradas is very accurate because since very few people were able to understand how to complete them, other more educated individuals did it for them and these required each owner to supply his (or her) legal titles in order to confirm the veracity of the declarations.

The total number of Declaraciones which came into my hands was more than 500; however, for computing purposes I only used 454. The computer analysis was undertaken by the computing centre of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú under the sponsorship of the Departamento de Economía of the University.

The partial census of plots of land was made with the assistance of the Alcaldes de Agua (water distributors). Since many people were mistrustful about giving me information directly concerning their property, I avoided this problem by formally requesting the Alcaldes de Agua to accompany me to the agricultural fields, to show me the various plots of land and to tell me the names of the owners and their relationships with the owners of neighbouring plots. Because of the large number of plots of land in Andamarca, I could only do this in some sectors.

As one of my purposes in collecting all this information has been to determine the degree of concentration and of dispersal of the land, I began the analysis of all this material by making a list of the different agricultural areas where the Andamarquinos own plots of land or land terraces (chacras). In this respect the Declaraciones Juradas and my own survey with the Alcaldes de Agua were of great help in recording the different names fof the places where the plots of land are distributed. The latter was especially helpful in identifying the precise location of these names, at least in the small area that I surveyed. This identification was later completed with the help of a Map (See Map VI), an aerophotograph, and some informants who identified the positions of some of the places with these two cartographic aids. Once the different names of the agricultural places were identified on the Map, it was possible to go back again to each Declaración Jurada and to determine whether the different names associated with each plot of land were located in adjacent or widely separated agricultural areas.

About 750 names were recorded for the agricultural area devoted to cultivation and about 200 names for the area devoted to pasture. What I have not been able to determine entirely is the nature of each of the agricultural units which has a particular name, since they do not have fixed boundaries, nor is their social composition completely distinct from that of other neighbouring units. Moreover, in some cases I noted that

Map VI.-Distribution of land units (RECONSTRUCTION BASED ON A MAP OF THE INSTITUTO GEOGRAFICO MILITAR)

N

Ichuac

PYJOCHA

CHICO

MUDAMARCA

JAMARCA

Yanahuanca

Sector A
huayllahuarmi

Sector B

Sector C

Cuspanosa

Tayapampa

Cerro

Yanahuanca

Co. Larigoto

ANCASH

Co. Idasia Machay

ANDAMARCA

ANDAMARCA

one particular unit may be known by more than one name by different individuals and that two different units may be known by the same name. Also, frequently several adjacent agricultural units share a name in common but are differentiated internally by a second name. This suggests that the agricultural units may be included within wider units and that perhaps the largest encompassing units are the two sides of the Negromayo river. However, as the structure of these units is so fluid because of the lack of fixed boundaries and of clearly bounded kin groups, (See p.257), I doubt whether any fixed number of levels of segmentation can be found. The names that are used to designate the agricultural units generally refer to some physical characteristic of the terrain in which the agricultural unit is located. For example, within the wide sector known as Acco (which means sand) the subsectors hold as second names the following terms: pampa (flat terrain), huaycco (small ravine), qata (steep terrain), pata (border), pucro (depression in a flat terrain), and so on.

The only terms that I have heard used to refer to an agricultural unit are either Barrio or Huaq'cha. These are generally used regardless of the level of segmentation within which a unit may fall. The unity of a Barrio is generally denoted by a Cross and it is the duty of those who hold land in a Barrio to sponsor once in their lifetime some of the annual roles associated with the cross. However, again because of the lack of rigid boundaries, one plot of land may be linked to more than one Barrio.

The Huaq'chas, on the other hand, are agricultural units derived from the distribution of water. The term Huaq'cha denotes a particular measure of water which is estimated according to the carrying capacity of a water channel. For example, the main water channel of the Western side of the Negromayo river has a capacity of four Huaq'chas which tend to decrease (for some make filtrations) to three Huaq'chas at the end of the water channel. Along this course of this channel several other smaller channels known as Allasca branch off from it and these in their turn are subdivided into other smaller channels, and so on. When the water of this main channel is released in order to prepare the ground for maize cultivation, all the four Huaq'chas are let out through an Allasca which is at the beginning of the main channel and each of these four Huaq'chas are in their turn distributed among the following agricultural units: Acco, Umajunto, Milagro and Huayllura. Since for each of these sectors there is a corresponding water channel whose carrying capacity is that of one Huaq'cha they are also known as Huaq'cha Acco, Huaq'cha Umajunto, etc. There is no fixed number of subdivisions for a Huaq'cha nor have I heard of any particular term for these subdivisions. However, sometimes they are distinguished in very general terms according to their altitude and then people speak of a Hanan Huaq'cha (high Huaq'cha), a Chaupi Huaq'cha (middle Huaq'cha) and Uray Huaq'cha)(lower Huaq'cha). Correspondingly, the water carrying capacity of these three kinds of Huaq'chas is

thought to follow a decreasing order from the first to the last. The term Chaupi Huaq'cha is also used to refer to a water channel whose capacity is only that of half of a Huaq'cha.

The allascas are also known as such whatever their level of segmentation and below the level of a Huaq'cha I have not heard of any water channel giving rise to a recognizable agricultural unit. Indeed, as I have not been able to reconstruct in detail all the irrigation system I am not able to determine with precision if the segmentation of the agricultural units is related to the irrigation channels. However, there is some evidence that suggests that not necessarily an agricultural unit derives from the irrigation system because there are Barrios such as Parccacha which lack an irrigation system but nevertheless are segmented into different units.

Some further parallels between the Barrios and the irrigation system are to be seen in relation to the religious symbols associated with each of them and in relation to the officers in control of them. Just as the Barrios are associated with crosses, so some water sources or particular points in the main irrigation channels are also associated with particular saints in the religious system, although in this case the owner of a plot of land who benefits from these water sources is not compelled to sponsor the roles associated with the saint in question. These water sources or particular points in the water channels are

distributed both along the water channels, on either side of the Negromayo river and in some lakes or water tanks. Each of them tends to be additionally associated with different Yacu Alcaldes. Hence the main water channel of Andamarca, which is that located on the Western side of the Negromayo river, has four saints associated with different points distributed along it, and three Yacu Alcaldes. Each of the latter controls one of three wide sectors which are irrigated by this channel. The first sector is known as the Toma (hatch) and lies towards the South, the second is the Estanque (water tank) and lies in the middle and the third one is the Punta (the extreme) and lies towards the North. The opposite side of the river has two water channels, and each is associated with three saints and with one Yacu Alcalde. Unlike the first water channel, which is supplied by waters of the Negromayo river, these two water channels are supplied by waters of the Vizca river. They run parallel to one another, and the upper one is known as Orqo because it is nearer to the Puna and the lower one as Vizca (See p.161).

In a similar way to the irrigation system, the agricultural areas of the two sides of the Negromayo river are divided into three sectors which are dominated by maize-producing plots of land, and each is controlled by one of three Alcaldes Campos (field watchers). One is known as Mayor Campo (Major field watcher) and controls the sectors that lie towards the south, the

second is known as Chaupi Sullca Campo (Middle minor field watcher) and controls the middle sectors, and the last one is the Sullca Punta Campo (Extreme minor field watcher) and controls the sectors that lie towards the North. The areas which they control on the Western side of the Negromayo river correspond very closely to the areas to which each of the three Yacu Alcaldes distribute water, but the areas which they control on the opposite side do not correspond in the same way because the area itself is much smaller than that on the Western side. Together with the Yacu Alcaldes these officers fulfill their role for just one year and for the harvest period. It is their duty to watch the cultivated fields, to protect them against thieves and aagainst possible damage that might be caused by cattle or other kinds of animals.

In order to determine the degree of dispersion and concentration of land holdings, the basic sectors that we have taken into consideration are the two sides of the river, three sectors of the Western side of the Negromayo river which roughly correspond with the sectors controlled by the three Alcaldes Campo and three other sectors of the opposite side which we have arbitrarily delimited and which roughly correspond to the agricultural areas near the Anexo of Parccacha. Apart from this we have introduced a further subdivision in each of the three sectors on both sides of the river, distinguishing between a higher and a lower part.

The first thing we note from this analysis is that of 451 [18] Declaraciones Juradas which have been analyzed by computer, 372, or 82.48%, mention plots of land located on both sides of the Negromayo river. Of the 79 remaining Declaraciones which mention plots of land located on only one of the two sides of the river, 69, or 87.34%, mention that the plots of land are located exclusively on the Western side of the river, and 10, or 12.65%, on the Eastern side. (See Table 15).

With respect to the 6 sectors of the two sides of the river, it is most common for a family head to own plots of land in a total of three different sectors. These are usually two sectors on one side of the river and one sector on the opposite side but facing one of the other two sectors. It is also notable that when the three sectors do belong to just one side of the river this tends to be the Western side (19 cases, as against 2 cases on the Eastern side recorded from the Declaraciones). Next in order of frequency are the cases in which the plots of land are distributed in four sectors: then those in two sectors, in five sectors, in one sector and in six sectors. There are 58 cases in which family heads own land in 5 sectors and 9 cases where a family head owns land in six sectors.

In relation to the distribution of the plots of land in terms of the higher and lower parts of the sectors we find that all family heads owned at least one plot in the lower

TABLE 15 DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILY HEADS' LAND HOLDINGS UNITS ACCORDING TO THE TWO SIDES OF THE NEGROMAYO RIVER TO SIX AGRICULTURAL SECTORS AND TO LOWER AND HIGHER PARTS IN WHICH THE SIX SECTORS HAVE BEEN SUBDIVIDED

SAMPLING: 451 "Declaraciones Juradas de Bienes"

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND HOLDING UNITS

DECLARACIONES JURADAS	BOTH SIDES OF THE NEGROMAYO RIVER	ONE SIDE OF THE NEGROMAYO RIVER	1 SECTOR	2 SECTORS	3 SECTORS	4 SECTORS	5 SECTORS	6 SECTORS	LOWER PART OF A SECTOR	LOWER AND HIGHER PART OF A SECTOR
NUMBER	372	79	15	77	162	130	58	9	451	253
PERCENTAGE	82.48%	17.52%	3.32%	17.07%	35.92%	28.82%	12.86%	1.99%	100%	56.09%

WESTERN SIDE	EASTERN SIDE
69	10
87.34%	12.65%

part of the sectors and 56.09% owned plots of land distributed both in the higher and the lower parts of the sectors. These percentages possibly relate to the predominance of maize cultivation in the lower areas.

This evidence suggests, therefore, that dispersal is a dominant pattern in the land tenure system and that this relates to the different productive activities that are performed in Andamarca. Moreover, it also suggests that the Western side of the Negromayo river provides more agricultural land for the people of Andamarca than the Eastern side, as can be seen from the cases of individuals whose plots are located on only one side of the Negromayo river.

Bearing this evidence in mind, we shall now proceed to the second part of this analysis. The purpose of this is to determine some interelationships between the distribution of residence units and the distribution of plots of land or land terraces belonging to the inhabitants of these units. In particular, we shall attempt to determine whether the parallels between each of the two Barrios of the main village and the residence units distributed on the two sides of the Negromayo river also persist at the level of the land tenure system.

Given that there is a high percentage of people who own land on both sides of the Negromayo river or in more than one of the sectors into which the two sides of the river are divided,

and given that the Western side has more agricultural land than the Eastern side, it is obvious that there are no correspondences in absolute terms. However, certain correspondences may be observed, if the estimates are made in relation to the number of plots of land or in relation to the extension of the land owned by a family head on either of the two sides of the Negromayo river.

I shall begin with the Anexos and Caseríos, since it is easier at this smaller scale level to perceive the relationships between residence pattern and land holdings. There are 28 Declaraciones Juradas which relate to the inhabitants of Huaccracca. Of these, two mention only plots of land in the Southern sector of the Western side of the river, one mentiones plots of land whose location I could not identify, and a fourth mentions equal amounts of land held in the Southern sectors of both parts of the river. Apart from these four, the remaining Declaraciones all mention a greater proportion of land located on the Eastern side of the river and specifically in the area surrounding Huaccracca. Of these 24 Declaraciones, two refer only to land on the Eastern side, while the remaining 22 mention land on both sides, especially in the Southern sectors, but with a greater proportion of plots and a larger total area of land being located on the Eastern side and near Huaccracca. Altogether around 79% of the total number of plots mentioned in these Declaraciones are on the Eastern side of the river. The relationship between the number of plots an individual owns on each side of the river is generally in the order of

3 - 5 plots on the Eastern side as opposed to 2 plots on the Western side. In terms of the total area of land owned, the relationship varies between about 68 hectares on the East as opposed to 1,300 m^2 on the Western side, on the one hand, and a proportion of 1½ or 2 to 1, on the other.

There are 15 Declaraciones Juradas relating to Chiricre, and in these there are no cases of people who own plots of land on only the Western side of the Negromayo river, nor even people owning considerably more land on that side. Rather, in these Declaraciones, we find a predominance of land holdings on the Eastern side of the river, and particularly in the middle and Northern sectors. In four cases, people owned land only on the Eastern side, and in the other eleven the predominance of the Eastern side is even more marked than is that of the Western side in the Declaraciones from Huaccracca. The proportion of land held on the Eastern as compared to the Western side is not as low as 1½ to 1 in any of the Chiricre Declaraciones, nor is there any individual who owns as much as 68 hectares, as in Huaccracca. The largest amount of land held by any individual is 4 hectares, and the proportion of land held on the Eastern as opposed to the Western side is generally in the order of 2½ or 3 to 1.

For Millupampa there are 9 Declaraciones and all of them mention plots of land on both sides of the river, especially in the Northern and middle sectors. This time the differences in the amount of land on either side are not as great as in the case of Chiricre, and there is one case in which a family head owns equal amounts on either side and another case in which the larger amount is located on the Eastern side. The 7 remaining cases show larger amounts of land held on the Western side, in particular in the agricultural area that surrounds Millupampa.

This evidence reveals a tendency for land holdings to be concentrated in the area surrounding a residence unit, while at the same time there is also a generalized pattern of dispersal which means that individuals frequently own land in opposite sectors of each side of the Negromayo river. Of the three residence units, Chiricre has the most land holdings concentrated in the surrounding area. The residents of Huaccracca tend to have a relatively large area of land in the immediate vicinity, because the land surrounding Huaccracca is not devoted to maize cultivation, which is generally carried out on narrow land terraces, but rather to pasture or frost-resistant crops, which occupy the wide flat chacras which are relatively extensive. In the case of Millupampa, both the number of plots and the total area of land owned are more evenly distributed on the two sides of the river than in the case of Chiricre or Huaccracca. This

corresponds to the fact that the Caserío of Millupampa, as we have already observed, is comparatively less endogamous in its marriage pattern than the other residence units, and maintains links with Castas associated with other residence units -- Parccacha and Chiricre.

We shall now attempt to establish whether there is any relationship between the ownership of agricultural land distributed on the two sides of the Negromayo river and the households of the main village which are distributed in the two Barrios, Tuna and Pata. In order to evaluate correctly the figures that we shall give it is important to bear in mind the fact that 82.30% of the Declaraciones Juradas mention plots of land located on both sides of the Negromayo river, that the Western side of the river has more agricultural land than the Eastern side, and that the Barrio Tuna has 37 fewer households than Pata.

Of 452 Declaraciones Juradas, 265 refer to individuals who are residents of Tuna and 187 to individuals who are residents of Pata. Of the 265 Tuna residents, 195, or 73.86%, own more plots of land on the Western side of the Negromayo river; 55, or 20.83%, own more plots of land on the Eastern side; and 15, or 5.68%, own an equal number of plots of land on both sides of the river. Of the 187 Pata residents only 74, or 39.57%, own more

plots of lands in the Eastern side of the river (which is the side that corresponds to Pata, as we saw earlier); 99, or 52.94%, own more plots of land on the Western side and 14, or 7.48% own equal numbers of plots of land on both sides of the river. (See Table 16).

The high percentage of Tuna residents who own plots of land on the Western side of the river indicates a clear relationship between these two spatial divisions, evèn more so if we consider that there are 45 Tuna residents who own land only on the Western side, against 3 Tuna residents who own land only on the Eastern side. The Pata residents, on the contrary, do not manifest such a close relationship with the agricultural areas of the Eastern side. In this case we note that there is a majority of Pata residents who own more land on the Western side of the river, and even 15 residents who own land only on this side as compared to 7 who own land only on the Eastern side.

This lack of correspondence between the Barrio and the distribution of the agricultural sites of the Pata residents may be explained by the fact that Pata has more inhabitants than Tuna, that the Western side has more agricultural land than the Eastern side and by the fact that a large proportion of the agricultural sites of the Eastern side is already in the hands

TABLE 16 CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN THE LOCATION OF THE "CHACRAS" AND THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE ACCORDING TO THEIR DISTRIBUTION ON THE TWO SIDES OF THE NEGRO AYO RIVER AND ACCORDING TO THEIR DISTRIBUTION IN THE BARRIOS TUNA AND PATA

SAMPLING: 452 "Declaraciones Juradas"

DISTRIBUTION OF THE "CHACRAS"

BARRIOS OF THE MAIN VILLAGE	MORE CHACRAS ON THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE NEGRO AYO RIVER	EQUAL NUMBER OF CHACRAS ON THE TWO SIDES OF THE NEGRO AYO RIVER	MORE CHACRAS ON THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE NEGRO AYO RIVER	TOTAL
TUNA				
NUMBER	195	15	55	265
PERCENTAGE	43.23%	3.32%	12.19%	58.74%
PERCENTAGE OF TUNA RESIDENTS	73.86%	5.68%	20.83%	100.3%
PATA				
NUMBER	99	14	74	187
PERCENTAGE	21.95%	3.10%	16.40%	41.45%
PERCENTAGE OF PATA RESIDENTS	52.94%	7.48%	39.57%	99.9%

of the residents of the Anexos. Taking all these factors into consideration, it is nevertheless significant that 39.57% of the Pata residents own a majority of chacras in the Eastern side, while only 20.83% of the Tuna residents have a majority of chacras on this side.

Hence, from this analysis we may deduce that, at the level of land tenure, the correspondences between the Barrios Tuna and Pata and the two sides of the river are maintained. We can see that this is possible in that as there is a tendency to concentrate more land holdings in the area near to the residence units and inasmuch as land is mainly transmitted along family lines which originate in certain endogamous tendencies. Because of this last reason it is also possible to see, as in the case of the residence units, that the members of Castas tend to be concentrated in certain agricultural sectors. For example, the Allqa Ramos Casta, whom as we have seen are mostly concentrated in Caniche (Blocks XLVII , XLVIII and XLIL) tend also to concentrate their land holdings in Qaqatuna which is located in the lower middle sector of the Eastern side. The Casta Gentil Tito is mostly concentrated, together with the Casta Quispe, in Pumaccauri; and in the sector Huaca Huaycco located in Parqacha all those who hold land are members of the Casta Gentil Tito. These are the children of four Tito siblings (2 full brothers, 1 full sister and 1 half brother). As we have seen previously, this

Casta is associated both with Chiricre and Parqacha, and with the Blocks XLI, XLVII and XLVIII in the main village. The Casta Quispe, associated with Pumaccauri, tends to be concentrated in Chiricre. The sector Huahuanccana, which is regarded as part of Millupampa, is dominated by the Casta Flores, Astovilca and a branch of the Casta Gentil Tito, and these three Castas tend to intermarry heavily.

Each of the Castas in Andamarca therefore tends to be associated with some agricultural areas which are generally near to the residence unit with which they in their turn are associated. However, there are members of some Castas who are more dispersed than members of other Castas, and in my census of some agricultural sectors I have noticed that some sectors have a more heterogeneous composition than others and that this tends to correspond to the frequency with which the land has been sold, and to the size of the sector.

Another piece of evidence that suggests that land is mostly transmitted along family lines derives from the fact that neighbouring chacras generally belong to relatives. Very often when I asked my informants if two individuals were relatives, the answer was given in terms of the distribution of their property. Hence, if their houses or their plots of land were together, that served as confirmation that the two individuals in question were relatives.

Before entering into the rest of the details about the modes of acquiring property we shall give some further statistical information derived from the Declaraciones Juradas concerning the number of plots of land and the area of land holdings of the Andamarquinos. This information will consist of the average number of plots of land, the average size, and the degree of accumulation of land by the different family heads of the Declaraciones Juradas, and it will be divided according to whether the land is actually cultivated, has potential for cultivation, or is destined for pastures or for Bofedales (wet grass for cattle).

As may be seen in Table 17, from 454 Declaraciones, the average number of Chacras owned by a family head is 8.95. There is one case where no chacra is mentioned and at the other extreme we have a case where 95 chacras are mentioned. The average area of land owned by a family head which was actually under cultivation is 1.050 Hect., and the area of potentially cultivable land per family head is 1.210 Hect. There is a large number of cases (111) where family heads own less than 1 hect. and one case where a family head owns 8 hect. The average area of land potentially for cultivation per family head is 1.210 hect., but for this type of land there are 283 Declaraciones which lack information. There are 65 family heads who own less than 1 hect. of potentially cultivable land, and the maximum that is

TABLE 17 NUMBER AND EXTENSION OF THE LAND OWNED BY A FAMILY HEAD

FRECUENCIAS DE MINI-TAB ENCUESTA COMUNIDADES INDIGENAS
MINI TABULATIONS FREQUENCIES INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES STATISTICS

VARIABLE = 2 CULTIVATED LAND
AVERAGE = 1.050 Hc. STANDARD DEVIATION = 1.003
UNITS = 454 EXCLU DEV. + WEIGHT = 420.00
EXCLU = 999

CATEGOR	VAL	FREC	PERCEN	ACUM
	0hc.	111.	26.428	26.428
	1	227.	54.047	80.476
	2	54.	12.857	93.333
	3	17.	4.047	97.380
	4	4.	0.952	98.333
	5	5.	1.190	99.523
	6	1.	0.238	99.761
	8	1.	0.238	99.999
	999	34.	0.000	0.000

VARIABLE = 3 LAND FOR CULTIVATION
AVERAGE = 1.210 Hc. STANDARD DEVIATION = 2.737
UNITS = 454 EXCLU. DEV. + WEIGHT = 171.00
EXCLU = 999

CATEGOR	VAL	FREC	PERCEN	ACUM
	0	65.	38.011	38.011
	1	76.	44.444	82.456
	2	20.	11.695	94.152
	3	3.	1.754	95.906
	4	2.	1.169	97.076
	6	1.	0.584	97.660
	12	2.	1.169	98.830
	19	1.	0.584	99.415
	25	1.	0.584	99.999
	999	283.	0.000	0.000

VARIABLE = 4 NATURAL PASTURES
AVERAGE = 1.764 Hc. STAND. DEVIATION = 4.699
UNITS = 454 EXCL. DEV. + WEIGHT = 272.00
EXCLU = 999

CATEGOR	VAL	FREC	PERCEN	ACUM
	0	89.	32.720	32.720
	1	98.	36.029	68.750
	2	41.	15.073	83.823
	3	16.	5.882	89.705
	4	7.	2.573	92.279
	5	8.	2.941	95.220
	6	5.	1.838	97.058
	7	1.	0.367	97.426
	8	1.	0.367	97.794
	9	2.	0.735	98.529
	11	1.	0.367	98.896
	17	1.	0.367	99.264
	25	1.	0.367	99.632
	68	1.	0.367	99.999
	999	182.	0.000	0.000

VARIABLE = 5 WATER MEADOWS
AVERAGE = 0.309 STAND. DEVIATION = 0.766
UNITS = 454 EXCL. DEV. + WEIGHT = 55.00
EXCLU = 999

CATEGOR	VAL	FREC	PERCEN	ACUM
	0	45.	81.818	81.818
	1	6.	10.909	92.727
	2	1.	1.818	94.545
	3	3.	5.454	100.000
	999	399.	0.000	0.000

VARIABLE = 6 TOTAL AMOUNT OF LANDS
AVERAGE = 2.522 STAND. DEVIATION = 4.416
UNITS = 454 EXCL. DEV. + WEIGHT = 454.00
EXCLU = 999

CATEGOR	VAL	FREC	PERCEN	ACUM
	0	65.	14.317	14.317
	1	156.	34.361	48.678
	2	102.	22.466	71.145
	3	52.	11.453	82.599
	4	25.	5.506	88.105
	5	16.	3.524	91.629
	6	11.	2.422	94.052
	7	6.	1.321	95.374
	8	3.	0.660	96.035
	9	5.	1.101	97.136
	10	1.	0.220	97.356
	11	4.	0.881	98.237
	13	1.	0.220	98.458
	19	1.	0.220	98.678
	20	1.	0.220	98.898
	21	2.	0.440	99.339
	25	1.	0.220	99.559
	31	1.	0.220	99.779
	68	1.	0.220	99.999

VARIABLE = 7 NUMBER OF LAND-HOLDINGS
AVERAGE = 8.959 STAND. DEVIATION = 5.850
UNITS = 454 EXCL. DEV. + WEIGHT = 447.00
EXCLU = 999

CATEGOR	VAL	FREC	PERCEN	ACUM
	0	1.	0.223	0.223
	1	4.	0.894	1.118
	2	9.	2.013	3.131
	3	14.	3.131	6.263
	4	35.	7.829	14.093
	5	35.	7.829	21.923
	6	46.	10.290	32.214
	7	49.	10.961	43.176
	8	50.	11.185	54.362
	9	43.	9.619	63.982
	10	25.	5.592	69.574
	11	32.	7.158	76.733
	12	21.	4.697	81.431
	13	23.	5.145	86.577
	14	16.	3.579	90.156
	15	15.	3.355	93.512
	16	7.	1.565	95.078
	17	3.	0.671	95.749
	18	8.	1.789	97.539
	19	2.	0.447	97.986
	20	3.	0.671	98.657
	21	1.	0.223	98.881
	22	1.	0.223	99.105
	23	1.	0.223	99.328
	24	1.	0.223	99.552
	28	1.	0.223	99.776
	95	1.	0.223	99.999
WITHOUT INFORMATION	999	7.	0.000	0.000

owned is 25 hect. Concerning the pasture lands there are 182 Declaraciones which do not give any information, while the average area of pasture land mentioned in the others is 1.74 hect. There are 89 family heads who own less than 1 hect. and the maximum amount owned by a family head is 68 hect. Finally for the Bofedales there are 399 Declaraciones which do not give any information, and the average area of this type of land mentioned in the remaining Declaraciones is 0.309 hect. per family head. There are 3 family heads who declare holdings of 3 hectares. The total area of land owned by the authors of the Declaraciones has been estimated at 2.522 hectares. (See Table 18).

Of these 4 categories of land the most frequently inherited are those actually cultivated. From the 454 Declaraciones Juradas which have been computed, 323, or 77.2%, show that the land actually cultivated was inherited and 94, or 22.4%, that it was purchased. There are 36 Declaraciones which lack information in this respect. Concerning the land which is potentially for cultivation, 285 Declaraciones lack information, 108 show purchase, and 60 show inheritance as the form of acquisition. For the pasture lands the number of Declaraciones without information is again very high; they number 185, with inheritance shown in 186 of the remaining cases and purchase shown in 82. Finally, for Bofedales there are 400 Declaraciones without information, 42 show inheritance and 11 show purchase. Once more this evidence suggests that the dominant form of acquisition of land is along family lines.

TABLE 13 FORMS OF TRANSMISSION OF THE LAND

USE OF THE LAND / FORMS OF TRANSMISSION	CULTIVATION	POTENTIALLY FOR CULTIVATION	PASTURE LANDS	BOEDALES
PURCHASE				
Frecuency	94.	108.	82.	11.
Percentage	22.488%	63.905%	30.483%	20.370%
Accumulation	22.727	64.497	30.855	22.222
INHERITANCE				
Frecuency	323.	60.	186.	42.
Percentage	77.272%	35.502%	69.144%	77.777%
WITHOUT INFORMATION				
Frecuency	36.	285.	185.	400.
MEDIA	1.770	1.349	1.687	1.759
STANDARD DEVIATION	0.426	0.490	0.472	0.473

So far we have tried to convey an idea of the actual distribution of the valley land in Andamarca and of its relationship to the distribution of the residence units. Now we shall try to give an idea of the different modes of land tenure and of the dominant patterns of transmission of this agricultural land which we have already began to see. With respect to the pasture sites in the Puna, I have preferred to leave them aside on this occasion since there are still several details concerning which I do not have full information. However, we can state that in this case the land is conceived of as being communally owned, but that nevertheless the families tend to be associated permanently with particular sites. This is important to bear in mind, since communal ownership is not radically opposed to property held privately.

I insist on this point because there has been a long tradition which maintains that the ownership of land in Andean communities has evolved from a collective to a private system due to the recent tendency for land to be bought and sold. However, this is far too simplistic, as is apparent from the data we have already considered and that which I shall now present.

The basic criterion for holding land in Andamarca is that of being a member of the community; and this membership is obtained either by birth or by marriage. For this reason, rights

to hold land are generally denied to any foreigner who is not married to some member of the community. Hence, in the next chapter we shall see that the Misti, who are regarded as the foreigners "par excellence", are denied their rights to the land they hold by adducing that they usurped it by force from the previous owners and that they came to Andamarca in order to evade justice. Other foreigners, who came carrying a saint and who later married women from Andamarca, are considered to have more legitimacy.

In similar terms, but on a reduced scale, it is considered that a relative has more rights to a piece of property than a non-relative. For this reason purchase is a transaction that tends to take place among relatives, although in some particular areas purchase tends to take place among non-relatives. This is the case, for example, for most of the lands devoted to alfalfa production, such as Ccantocchi, Luquio, Balcón, Soq'ari, Huallacca, Ayasccapata, Rosaschayocc, Alfacorral, etc., which are located in the Middle Sector of the Western side of the Negromayo river and which are mostly owned by members of Misti families. The heavy commercialization of the alfalfa-producing plots relates to the purpose they fulfill, which is to provide the necessary forage for cattle, which are the main source of cash income to the Andamarquinos.

Maize-producing chacras or Sara Tarpuna chacra, on the other hand, are hardly ever sold, and when they are it is usually to relatives. Here we have to make a distinction between maize-producing areas which, on account of their being less susceptible to the rigours of frost, yield very good harvests and are highly esteemed by the people, and those maize-producing areas which generally suffer from this calamity, and consequently from a frequent loss of harvest. The chacras located in these latter areas are often sold while the former are only acquired through marriage donations or willed inheritance. Indeed these chacras, since they are highly esteemed, are the ones which receive more ritual attention and are the ones where the sowing celebrations take place. Apart from this, the maize-producing chacras are also divided into the comun chacras, which lack walls and may be used by any member of the community for putting in their cattle or sheep to eat the maize stalks that have been left after the harvest, and the chacras which are surrounded by walls (cerco) and which cannot be used after harvest for pasturing any individual's animals. In both of these two kinds of maize chacras the community recognizes individual rights to hold land in perpetuity in the different plots into which an area has been fragmented. However, in one case rights are recognized only with respect to the crops for human consumption - and in the other they are recognized with respect to these and also to the remains which are consumed by the animals.

Apart from these two types of chacras there are also others known as yapanchicpa which are owned in common by the members of a family. Sometimes the misno or group of land terraces which lie one above the other are thought of as belonging to this type.

Another typical form of communal property in the valley is the Aypo. In the XVII century vocabulary of Gonsalez Holguín (GONSALEZ, HOLGUIN, D., 1952, p. 40) this word is mentioned as Aypucuni or raquircarini and it is translated as "To distribute... or to give to many together". This translation corresponds exactly to the meaning that this property has today in Andamarca, since it consists of a yearly distribution of plots of land to all the members of the community. The sectors which are used for this purpose are three in number and consist of a considerable area of terrenos de secano or land which is watered only by rainfall and which only produces potatoes. These sectors are distributed by the communal authorities in a rotating system once every year.

Gluckman's definition of ownership as "... the relation between a person and any right that is vested in him." (GLUCKMAN, M., 1968, p. 8) and also his concepts of "estates of holding" and "hierarchy" of those estates are highly relevant to the study of the land-tenure system of Andamarca because in no case is there an inherent relationship between an individual and a thing, and because any given level of property rights is always subsumed within a wider system.

Hence we can see that the widest category from which rights are derived is the community of Andamarca itself, then the Castas or the bilateral extended families and finally there are instances where an individual may grant rights in a part of his property to another individual. This form of land transference is known as Alimso or Alimuso and it is remarkable that this same word, with its present day connotations, is also recorded in the Gonsalez Holguín vocabulary. Here it is written as Arimsac and it is translated as "The one who sows in a borrowed or somebody's else land or"chacra". (GONSALEZ HOLGUIN, 1952, p.34). It is significant that this form of tenure is recorded in so old a document because it suggests that early Andean society had also developed individual rights in property, a topic which has been neglected by all those who thought of this society as being essentially collectivist, socialist or even communist.

Alimso or Alimuso is today in Andamarca a form of land tenure which fits perfectly well with the meaning given by Holguin to "Arimsac" about 300 years ago. It consists in the usufruct of a piece of a chacra that is given to another person for one year or more either as a return for a service rendered or as assistance for a poor relative who lacks the means of maintaining himself. Very frequently those who benefit by this kind of land tenure are parents who, because they are old, have already distributed all their land to their children so that the latter are obliged to give something back to their progenitors to provide a

means of subsistance during their last years of life. The alimso pieces within a chacra are divided from the part reserved by the owner by a farrow that has been planted with a crop which is different from the one that dominates the chacra as a whole. For example, if the chacra is mostly devoted to maize-production then the division may be made by planting a farrow of broad beans, peas, or quinua, etc.

Finally, we shall comment on some of the forms of land transmission and on the dynamics of the accumulation of property. This time most of the evidence derives from the 27 wills, the court suits, some contracts of land purchase and from about four marriage donations that I had the opportunity to study. Apart from these, I shall also mention some verbal information that I have tried to confirm through these documents.

Concerning the dynamics of the accumulation of property, the pattern that emerges is that of a cycle in which a married couple starts with a few plots of land that have been donated by their parents and ends up with very few, or sometimes none, because they in their turn have had to distribute among their children all the property they have accumulated during their married life. It is for this reason that both in the questionnaire answered by more than 100 family heads and in the Declaraciones Juradas, the youngest and the oldest people are the ones who possess least land and the middle-aged people those who own most.

In contrast to property in animals, which may be acquired at any time during the life of individuals through the Suñay (animal donations made during any of the branding ceremonies of either cattle or wool-producing animals), land starts to be acquired at the moment of marriage(19). Until this time it may be under the control of the parents, of somebody else who raises the children, or of the spiritual godparents. Sometimes, individuals do not receive any legal title to inherit land even at marriage but have to wait until their parents decide to write their will. When this occurs then the first land titles derive from purchase.

Marriage donation (Donación) is the first modality of land transmission through family lines and the best expression of the bilateral nature of property transmission. In contrast to many other societies where the allocation of dowry is the responsibility of either the bride's or the groom's family, in this case it is responsibility of the families of them both. It is only with respect to the financing of the wedding costs that we see a difference between the responsibilities of the two families since the wedding celebrations take place in the groom's house and it is his parents' duty to provide the drinks and food for the guests.

A marriage donation is generally written on a sheet of paper and it consists of houses or sites to build houses, land for planting (mostly for maize or broad beans) and animals.

In the four donations I had the opportunity to see I noted that the bride and the groom tend to receive equal amounts of property, although sometimes a competition takes place to see whose family gives more. In two of the four donations, the bride's family gave rather more than the groom's family, In one case the difference was of one plot of land and in the other of four plots of land, a cow and a young bull. The total number of items given by the bride's family in this last case was 9 and that of the groom's family only four. In the other cases the average number of items given was 6 or 7. It proved difficult to determine the average area of land donated, since only one of the Donaciones specified the sizes of the plots, while the others simply gave the number of plots and specified their type. The various types of land units donated are the following: an Andén or pata (land terrace); a group of land terraces in a vertical sequence which is known as misno; a wide and flat land terrace which is known as tablón; a wide and flat chacra or piece of land which is surrounded by walls which is known as corral; a narrow land terrace which is known as llayhua; a very small land terrace which is at the extreme of another larger land terrace which is known as chupan (tail); a terminal land terrace which is known as quichqui patachan, and so on.

Whenever the size of a plot of land is given, the kind of measure which is used is the yugada. According to Billie Jean Isbell, "...A yugada is the Spanish term for the amount of

land that can be plowed in one day by one pair of oxen ..." (ISBELL, B.J., 1974, p. 44) and I have noticed in the Declaraciones Juradas that for converting this kind of measure into metres it has been estimated that 1 yugada is equal to 2,500m^2 or that 4 yugadas is equal to 1 hectare. These equivalences are not yet officially recognized but they tend to be common to all of the Ayacucho and Apurimac Department. The common area of the plots of land which are donated to an individual might be of 1/8 or ¼ or ½ of a yugada or of 1, or 2 yugadas.

The fragmentation of the parents' property that takes place in making a donation has to be carefully planned in order that the rest of the children who are still unmarried may also have a share in that property on their wedding day and that these shares should not be too dispersed. For this reason it is preferred at this stage to distribute small portions of land units and to try to keep the children together.

It is at the moment when the children start marrying that the parents' property reaches its apex as regards its area. From then on it starts decreasing until finally they feel death to be near and they request the Juez de Paz or the Notarios in Puquio to write their wills.

As the amount received through donations and through wills is generally insufficient to maintain all the children, especially since, as we shall see, there is an ideal

of having 12 children, the parents may adopt the alternative of increasing their property by purchase. The property acquired by a married couple in this manner is known in Spanish as bienes gananciales, or in Quechua as Quscanchicpa armacusqanchic (rantinsqanchic) (what the couple purchase) in contrast to that which is inherited , which is known in Spanish as bienes parafernales or in Quechua Taytaypa cajmi Mamaypa cajmi (my father's and my mother's property) or Taytapa johuasqan Mamaypa johuasqan ("what has been given by mother and father).

As has already been mentioned, not all productive land is equally likely to be purchased, nor do all individuals equally need to purchase land. Hence the amount of land purchased by a married couple during their life tends to vary enormously from case to case, but from the Declaraciones Juradas and from the wills it may be seen that only in very few cases is the amount larger than that which is inherited. Frequently, those for whom it is most necessary to purchase land are the churi apacuy (adulterine children) or the huacha apacuy (natural children), since they receive less property than the legitimate children.

Together with plain and straight forward purchase, land may also be acquired through permuta and by anticresis or prenda, which consists of land given as guarantee for a loan. Permuta differs from a cash purchase insofar as it is an exchange

of land for another kind of property, which may be animals, crops, a house, etc. Anticresis or prenda on the other hand is the most general form through which the Misti and other foreigners have obtained land in Andamarca. The reason is that these foreigners, because of the nature of their productive activities, were more closely associated with cash income and therefore they were most ready to satisfy the cash needs of the Indians. The Indians on the other hand, needed cash principally to finance their religious celebrations which demanded a heavy consumption of products such as coca leaves, sugar cane alcohol, spaghetti, sugar, etc., which are produced outside Andamarca and can only be obtained for cash.

A piece of land that is given as guarantee for a loan is often recovered. However, in several wills I have noticed that the land which is serving this purpose is generally included together with the other property that is being left to descendants with the additional remark that the owner will be he who manages to rescatar (rescue), or to cancel, the debt. In similar terms there is a type of land purchase by which the descendant who succeeds in paying all the expenses required by the funeral ceremonies acquires the piece of land which was left for this purpose in the will. Almost all the wills that I had the chance of reading include these pieces of land destined to cover the funeral expenses.

With respect to inherited property, and particularly land, today the general idea is that of all the legitimate children of a married couple, regardless of their sex and age, have equal rights to the property of their parents, especially to the property known as Quscanchicpa armancusqanchic. The terms in which this equality is defined relates basically to the area of land. It is supposed that all the children will receive an equal amount of land and if by any chance some inequality emerges from the wills, the siblings will later try to arrive at a fair settlement by their own efforts. So important is it that the siblings should receive equal areas of land that the practice of naming peritos or experts for measuring it has developed. These are individuals highly esteemed for their capacity in measuring and dividing the land and for their strong character which causes their decisions to prevail in cases of conflicts which may possibly arise between the siblings.

This idea that the siblings should receive equal shares from the property of their parents is nothing more than the expression of certain bilateral tendencies which we shall have the opportunity to examine in the third and fourth chapters. However, together with this idea I have also heard that formerly sex and age were taken into consideration and that these factors have not disappeared completely. As has already been mentioned, many people insisted that in the past sons inherited the property of their father and daughters that of their mother. Apart from

this I have also heard that even up to the present the hatun lucri chacra or the maize-producing land terrace which is the one reserved for the ritual events of the sowing, is generally inherited by the eldest child and that the youngest child receives the property that is retained by the parents until the end of their lives.

From some of the wills and the court suits that I had the opportunity to study, it may be noted that inherited property and the property purchased by a married couple receive different treatment. The former may be inherited both by the legitimate and the illegitimate children of an individual, while the latter may be inherited only by the offspring of the married couple who purchased the land and who are regarded as the legitimate children. Apart from this, I have also noted that the Quscanchicpa armacusqanchic property is equally distributed amongst all the legitimate children while the inherited property may be transmitted to the legitimate children according to certain preferences of the parents. It is in relation to this kind of property that certain overtones of the parallel transmission pattern emerge in one of the 27 wills. In the other wills these overtones are not so clearly evident since generally it is not specified which of the children will receive what. Or if it is specified, then the two sexes are not equally represented among the children. Alternatively, if they are equally represented then the information is lacking which states from which of the parents the inherited property derives.

The will in which we have noticed overtones of a system of parallel transmission dates from December 10, 1874 and belongs to members of a Casta which is associated with Huaccracca. We have preferred to talk about overtones because the tendency to parallel transmission is not presented in clear cut terms, perhaps because the children do not belong in equal numbers to the two sexes. The author of the will is a woman whose husband had died a year previously without writing a will. She mentions that they had 9 legitimate children and that only five of them remained alive. Four of the children are of the female sex and there is only one male. It is not clearly specified who is older and who younger; however, they are listed in the following order: Casimira, Petrona, Mariano, Santona and María Concebida.

The total number of land units that are mentioned is 28. Of these, 8 had been purchased, 1 was "rescued", 5 derived from the father, 13 derived from the mother and 1 derived from a godmother. The parallel transmission overtones are noticeable from the fact that of the 5 land units inherited from the father 4 were given to Mariano and 1 to Petrona; of the 13 land units inherited from the mother 10 were given only to the sisters, and 1 was given to Mariano and Santona with the obligation to give a share to the rest of the siblings after the mother's death. Another land unit was given to Mariano but was adjacent to one of the land units destributed among the four sisters. The unit

inherited from the godmother was a piece of land devoted to potato-production, which was inherited by all 5 siblings. One of the land units purchased was given to the five siblings, two were exclusively given to Mariano, two to Casimira, o to Petrona, 1 to Mariano and Petrona and 1 to Casimira and María Concebida.

It is important to mention that most of the land purchased, as well as the inherited units which had been distributed in an individual form among all the children were pasture lands, while that owned in more individualistic terms was land devoted to the cultivation of crops for human consumption. Apart from this, it is also noticeable that while each of the daughters received an average of 9 units of land the son received 13, and that all of them tended to concentrate larger portions of land in the area surrounding Huaccracca.

I think that this will synthetizes very clearly the points we wanted to bring out in this chapter. Through it we can see once more that the dispersion pattern of land owned by a family or an individual relates both to the variety of productive activities performed by the Andamarquinos and to the bilateral tendencies underlying the transmission of rights which made them adopt a pattern of parallel transmission. In addition, we can state that other factors relating to dispersion include the ideal of bearing 12 children which impels married couples to increase their land in order to provide for all their children, and the

fact that it is not only from the parents that it is possible to inherit property. This will suggest that it is possible to inherit land even from godparents. Together with these factors of dispersion there are also factors of concentration. For example, of the 28 land units mentioned in this will there are 19 which are very near Huaccracca, including several land units which have been purchased, 5 which are located in the Southern extreme of the Western side of the Negromayo river, 1 in the middle sector and 3 in the Northern extreme of this same side of the river. Four of the land units inherited from the father and 9 of the land units inherited from the mother are located in the surroundings of Huaccracca. Moreover, 6 of the 8 land units which were purchased are near Huaccracca. Hence, there can be no doubt about the association with Huaccracca of the children mentioned in this will, through their father and mother, and it is remarkable to note that after five generations the descendants of the author of this will still remain associated with most of these same land units and with Huaccracca.

The permanent association of the members of a Casta with a particular residence unit and agricultural area is therefore possible in that property is basically transmitted along family lines, even when it is purchased, and in that the dominant tendency in marriage patterns at different local levels is towards endogamy.

Throughout this chapter we have attempted to give a detailed description of the material components of the Comunidad de Andamarca and of the nature of the social mechanisms by which these components become incorporated into communal life.. We have noticed that the Andamarquinos perform a multiplicity of productive activities which are related either to herding or to agriculture and that correspondingly the most significant realms are the Puna and the valley. Moreover, we have noticed that corresponding to the limits imposed by the altitude to the ecological adaptation of some of their products (Maize does not grow above certain limits, for example) the environment is perceived in vertical terms. However, this does not mean that the altitude should be considered to be the sole factor in relation to the development of the products, since the texture of the land, its configuration, the water supplies, etc., are also some additional factors which are taken into account and which may even lead to the cultivation of higher altitude crops in positions which are beneath those of crops whose limits of adaptation are lower. Hence one frequently sees potatoes planted below the land terraces which are destined for maize production.

In so far as altitude is one among several other criteria for exploiting the environment one has to be very careful when characterizing the ecology in vertical terms, for this is valid only in certain contexts and not in others. Also, if taken too literally, it may lead to some simplistic explanations which

may lead to the neglect of the elaborate observations and classifications of the Andean people concerning their environment. Apart from the value that a notion of vertical ecology may have we are indebted to Murra, for having suggested in addition that in Andean society before the Conquest there were zones specializing in certain products and that it had developed an ideal of controlling a maximum number of different ecologies, or as many varieties of products as possible.

The access to different resources, to different environments, the production of different crops in a single environment or of one crop in different environments or at different times, are indeed features which dominate today in Andamarca and which seem to have been present since the pre-Hispanic period. Corresponding to this ideal it is also possible to see that the good health of an individual is conceived of as the equilibrium between hot and cold substances, and therefore meals always consist of the combination of several products which embody these kind of substances.

However there are certain limits to the tendency towards maximization of different resources, limits which are expressed in the self-sufficient nature of the Comunidad de Andamarca as a whole and in the tendency to concentrate the land units in the areas surrounding the different residence units. Through

this tendency we have been able to note that the dichotomous values granted to the two sides of the Negromayo river and to the Barrios Tuna and Pata of the main village have some social basis in so far certain families are permanently associated with them, and in that kinship is still a dominant force in Andamarca. Indeed, the pattern of concentration is nothing else but the expression of the endogamous tendencies that operate at different levels within the community and of the importance granted to the family lines for the transmission of property.

The pattern of dispersion is, on the other hand, the expression of the maximization of resources, which in terms of the family is expressed in the ideal of having 12 children and in the parallel values granted to the two sexes.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE

In this chapter we shall be concerned with the symbolic and social aspects through which Andamarca expresses its unity. It will be our purpose to describe the symbolic context in terms of which this unity is expressed, the broader social categories of individuals and their mutual interaction, and finally the participation of the Andamarquinos in the system of *cargos* associated with the religious hierarchy. Through these topics we hope to provide the symbolic counterpart to what we saw in the first chapter and to explore again through a ritual context the range of interaction of the members of the community.

Our point of departure in this analysis will be the *Yarĵa Aspi* or "Cleaning of the water channels" which is a celebration that takes place in August and is the one which includes the largest number of ritual roles and involves the most intensive participation of all the members of the community.

The "Yarqa Aspi" rituals and the representation of the idea of unity.-

In the previous chapter we advanced certain ideas about the role of the rivers in the spatial orientation of the Andamarquinos (See p.3 and 4) which suggest the enormous importance that these have. Here we shall provide some further evidence about their importance, their meaning and the meaning of water in general.

Before entering into the symbolic details of the Yarqa Aspi we shall summarize the only origin myth that for the community as a whole we have been able to find. This myth was collected by Cecilio Ignacio Santaria, a student in the technical school of Andamarca, and published in vol. 3, 1975, of the mimeograph journal La Voz de Accaimarca edited by the teachers of that school. This student belongs to a different community but the version was collected from an Andamarquino whose name I unfortunately do not know. I must say that this version is not widely known by the people but bears some resemblance to other myths which are more popular. The reason why we start with this myth is because of the prominent role it grants to the rivers that flow within Andamarca and because it discloses certain values that correlate with those expressed in the rituals of the Yarqa Aspi. Especially relevant is the fact that in both

contexts the rivers are closely associated with the representation of Andamarca as a totality. Moreover, this myth is additionally relevant because it presents striking similarities to the Inca origin myths recorded by the ancient chroniclers, and in particular with the myth of the Ayar Brothers (SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, 1960, etc.)

Once more this myth tells the story of four brothers who emerged, on this occasion, from the Yaurihuiri lake which is located towards the southeast of the main village in the Puna. It is said that on the shores of this lake there was a stone in the shape of a truncated pyramid which had a silver window at its base and on its sides the names of some individuals were written. Every 25th. August a flame used to burn on its top and one day, after an earthquake, this stone changed into water and from the foam of the waves the four Mayu (river) brothers, Mayu Sahua, Mayu Huaylla, Mayu Huacca, and Mayu Anta, emerged.

As soon as they stepped on land they followed a Northern direction searching for fertile land. It was decided that at the place where their golden sandals wore out they would found a city. Passing through Pucaorcco hill, which is immediately before Vizca, Mayu Sahua accidentally fell into the abyss and turned into a lake which is known as Sahuaccocha. Crying for this loss, his brothers' tears contributed to the increase of the waters of the lake.

Continuing always to the North they passed Canllapampa and started to descend into the valley. Huaylla was very thirsty and to satisfy this thirst, he went to drink from a water spring which was charmed, and he disappeared. The water spring was a woman and around it grew Huaylla Ichu grass. For this reason that place became known as Huayllahuarmi (woman of Huaylla).

Huacca and Anta, frightened at the hidden dangers in these places began to run but on his way Huacca lost one of his sandals. Returning for it he felt attracted to a beautiful woman who held a child in her arms and when trying to embrace her he was transformed into a black stone. The place where all this happened became known from then on as Huaccracca.

Feeling lonely, Anta continued running until, sitting later at the base of a big promontory, he cried very heavily. His tears gave rise to the Supaymayo river (another name for Negromayo river). From the tears of his left eye originated the Vizca river and from those of his right eye the Negromayo river.

Finally Anta decided to settle himself in the place where his tears under the course of the river had made a pool form. This happened in front of a big hill and there he founded the city of Andamarca. It is added that this city was built on the site of a dry lake.

Unfortunately the text of this myth is given in Spanish and therefore it is difficult to determine the degree of faithfulness to the original version. However, there are certain features which we shall encounter again in relation to the organization of the rituals of the Yarja Aspi. One of these features is the orientation followed by the Mayu Brothers along their itinerary which starts from the Southeast. Another one is the association of water with tears, for the concept Ñahuin or eye is used in various contexts related to water. This association may even be traced back as far as to the Middle Horizon (600 .A.D.-1000 A.D.) where it is common to see the representation of a divinity with tears running from its two eyes that give the impression of turning into water channels. The association of the Vizca river with the left eye and the Negromayo river with the right eye moreover corresponds to certain values associated with the East and with the West. Finally the truncated pyramid recalls the Huamani which is the main ritual object included among the offerings to water while August 25 is the date when all those who benefit from the irrigation system of the Easternside of the Negromayo river perform the central celebrations of the Yarja Aspi in the main village (See p.169).

As may be seen on Table 19 the Yarja Aspi celebrations take place in August throughout nearly the whole month. Because of its position within the annual cycle and because of the nature of its different events we agree with Billie Jean Isbell's

TABLE 19 SEQUENCE OF THE "YARJA ASPI" CELEBRATIONS

1st August ... The Earth opens.

8th August ... First "Yaku Oqari" (to let the water free) ritual performed by the retiring "Yaku Alcaldes" of the Western side of the Negromayo river.

14 August ... Santa Rosa de Lima and Niño Jesus de Praga start the burial of offerings to water in Supaymayo Cucho located at the origins of the Visca Water channel on the Eastern side of the Negromayo river.

15 August ... The virgen del Perpetuo Socorro meets the two previous saints in Huayllahuarmi and in that place buries an offering to water.

16 August ... The Virgen Concebida starts the burial of offerings on the Western side of the Negromayo river. The places where the offerings are buried (from S to N) are Tomacucho and Qollpa.

17 August ... Santa Cruz buries offerings in San Ramón and Jonicha which are two sectors of the Negromayo water channel.

Niño Reyes buries offerings in Huayllura, a water tank located on the Western side of the Negromayo river.

18 August ... Second "Yaku Oqari" ritual performed by the new "Yaku Alcalde" of the Negromayo water channel.

San Francisco buries offerings in Jausía and Mayoqocha which are sectors of the Negromayo water channel.

Espíritu Santo buries offerings in the Chitjansa water tank located on the Western side of the Negromayo river.

19 August ... Virgen del Carmen buries offerings in Pataimiri and Alfapampa which are sectors of the Negromayo water channel.

Santísima Custodia (Qollana Amo) and San José bury offerings in Cheqosno and Uña Huatana which are two sectors located at the beginning of Orqo water channel on the Eastern side of the Negromayo river.

TABLE 19

20 August ... San Pedro (who replaces Señor Santiago Apostol) meets the two previous saints in Matara Qocha and in that place buries an offering to water.

The Jayllay, or burial of private offerings by several families, begins. The offerings are buried in the Barrios where the families own land.

21 August ... Señor Resurrección (or San Pascual) buries offerings in Totora water tank located on the Western side of the Negromayo river.

The Virgen Encarnación (Mamanchic) buries offerings in the Auqatunco water tank located on the Western side of the Negromayo river.

22 August ... San Isidro buries offerings in Curhua and Yanaqocha lakes located on the Western side of the Negromayo river.

Virgen Dolorosa buries offerings in the Mullacata water tank located on the Western side of the Negromayo river.

23 August ... Simultaneous burial of offerings in Yarpuqocha, which is located on the Western side of the Negromayo river, and Jeruicha, which is located on the opposite side of the river. These are two lakes and the first is associated with Señor de la Ascención and the second one with Santísima Trinidad.

"Víspera" (Eve) performed by the "Danzantes de Tijeras".

24 August ... Events start in the main village. On this day the sponsors are those who benefit from the irrigation system of the Western side of the Negromayo river. The fiesta of this day is associated with San Isidro.

25 August ... This day the sponsors are those who benefit from the irrigation system of the Eastern side of the Negromayo river. The fiesta of this day is associated with Santa Rosa de Lima.

26 August ... End of the "Yarja Aspi" celebrations. All those who have sponsored the "Cargos" associated with these celebrations prepare "Despachos" (purification rituals and gifts for those that have helped them). The Crosses are restored to their original places and on this day San Francisco is celebrated.

TABLE 19 COMPLEMENTARY OPPOSITIONS IN THE "YARJA ASPI"

WESTERN SIDE	EASTERN SIDE
Señor de la Ascención associated with Yarpuqocha and with agriculture.	Santísima Trinidad associated with Jeruicha and with cattle herding.
Negritos: face painted black and wear straw hats (agriculturalists).	Pucas: face painted red and wear fur hats (herders).
Black ants: Peruanitas.	Red ants: Chilenitas or Huamanguinitas.
24th August San Isidro is celebrated.	25th August Santa Rosa de Lima is celebrated.
Yayanchic and Mamanchic and the Sullca of the former bury offerings on this side.	Amunchic, its Sullca and Sullca Mamanchic bury offerings on this side.

interpretation of the Yarja Aspi celebrations that take place in Chuschi (Provincia de Cangallo - Ayacucho). Following her, we too think that this is a fertility rite by which the Earth Mother is impregnated by the water that descends from the Puna and that nourishes the water channels of the valley. Together with the Chuschinos, the Andamarquinos also share the belief that the earth opens itself in August, particularly on the 1st. and 2nd. day of this month, and in this month both communities also return to their original places the crosses that were removed on May for the celebration of the Holy Cross.

The expression "the earth opens itself" or "allpa quicharayachcan" seems to suggest a reference to a state of receptivity or fertility developed by the earth during this month. This period is considered to be very dangerous, and particularly the 1st. of August, for it is said that on this day certain emanations flow from the entrails of the earth that may produce illnesses related to the heart or may lead to spiritual disturbances. Apart from this it is thought that the ground cracks and that one should avoid putting a foot into these cracks since the earth can take hold of a person. The illnesses which are associated with the earth are called by the generic term Pachapaq and they can be cured by the Jacañan which is the liquid inside the placenta of a vicuña or alpaca.

The return of the crosses to their original places in this month, an event which takes place on the 26th., just when the last celebration of the Yarja Aspi is performed, suggests the opening of the fertile cycle for as we have indicated on p.16 the crosses protect the crops against any climatological calamity and general planting starts from this month on.

Since the publication of "Puquio: Una Cultura en Proceso de Cambio" (Puquio: A Culture in the Process of Change) by José María Arguedas (ARGUEDAS, J.M., 1964), the active part in this fertilizing process has been associated with the Huamani, and later Ulpiano Quispe and Billie Jean Isbell supported this interpretation. According to the reports of Argueda's informants:

> "The Aguay Unu is a gift of the Wamanis. "Wamanikunamantan llocsi muchkan yawar bena, Uno. Ima wawanchikpaq todo, lliopaq, riki", said the Regidor and Auki menor of Chaupi: "From the Wamanis flows the vein of blood, the water. For our children of all kinds, all, for all then." "Orqotaytapa venan, riki unuqa, aguay unu", affirms Don Viviano; "The water is the vein of Father mountain, the aguay unu." In the story of the myth of Inkarrí, Don Viviano also said: "Taytanchik wamanikunamantaqa aguay unullata chaskinchik" (From our fathers, the wamanis, we receive the water, only the water). Because rain is the work of God. The Aguay Unu is thus the water that flows from the earth." (ARGUEDAS, 1964, p. 239) (My translation)

Arguedas continues by affirming that "All our informants conceive of the Aguay Unu only as the fertilizing blood of the Wamanis." (My translation).

Ulpiano Quispe, on the other hand, suggests that there is a close association between water and the Amaru (mythical animal that is thought of as having the shape of a serpent with some feline attributes) in its role as mediator between Heaven and Earth, and Billie Jean Isbell thinks that it could be said that water is the semen of the Huamani in his role as fertilizer of the Earth. (ISBELL, 1974, p. 133). In the Andean World there is a gread deal of evidence for the association between water and the Amaru, however since this mythical animal is frequently linked with the underworld I doubt whether it can be asserted very convincingly that its role is to mediate between Heaven and Earth. Besides, Arguedas' reference suggests very explicitly that the Puquio informants distinguish between the rain that is supposed to be sent by God and the water that flows from the Earth.

The association between water and semen seems more valid, although we should note that it is not very explicitly stated in Andean society. More explicit is the association of water with Yawar, or blood, as is again apparent from Arguedas' reference or when the Andamarquinos say about the rivers "llapayan orqocunapa yahuarmi" (it is the blood of all the mountains).(1) This association emphasizes the nature of the vital principle of water. In Arguedas' material the fertilizing nature of water is more clearly seen in his version of the myth of the Wachoq. These mythical beings were the ones who distributed the land to the four Ayllus (social groups) of Puquio. They came before the

sallqa runa or savage men, and they discovered water penetrating through the mountains until it arrived at the heart of the Wamanis. They themselves penetrated through the vein of water carrying a golden tinya (small drum) on top of their heads and dressed with anako (female dress) and a shining waistcoat made from gold and silver (ARGUEDAS, 1964, p. 242). The connotation of fornicator given by Gonsalez Holguín to this term and the link between these beings and water suggest that a fertilizing role is assigned to this element.

Just as the Earth is referred to by a secular term and a sacred term which are allpa and pacha respectively, so the water is also designated by a secular term, yaku, and a sacred term, Uno [2]. Guaman Poma de Ayala (1968), for example, when referring to ordinary water mentions only yaku, whilst when he talks about the Deluge he says "Uno yaku Pachacuti" (my emphasis). Arguedas states:

> "If one refers to water as Unu (my emphasis), whether to a misti, a native, or a mestizo, he will not understand. Nevertheless the name of water in the hymns of the aukis (minor priests) during the fiesta of the Sequia (water channels) ... is Unu ..." (ARGUEDAS, 1964, p. 238) (My translation).

In the XVI and XVII century vocabularies Unu is mentioned as equivalent to yaku and translated as water. Moreover, Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (1951) mentions the verbal form

Unoyani as equivalent to yacoyani and it is translated as to run or something melting itself. In the Aymara vocabulary written by Ludovico Bertonio (1879) there is also a verbal form which is Unukhtatha or Unukhtaatha and is translated as to move. The term Unuqueña is translated as movement, and about Unu as a noun he says:

> "Unu: just one, only. It seems to be a term borrowed from Spanish although I am inclined to say that it is native, because it is very clear. (BERTONIO, 1879, p. 377). (My translation)

It is important to note that the term Sapa, which belongs both to Quechua and Aymara, designates the idea of oneness, which was one of the attributes of the Inca King (OSSIO, 1973, p. XIV) and that in Aymara it also has the connotation of semen. Bertonio mentions that Sapaca means "The seed of animals and men" and he moreover adds "... Man, or any other animal, which engenders many offspring by one or more females" (BERTONIO, 1879, p. 309). According to a verbal communication of Juan Víctor Núñez del Prado an adulterous man in Cuzco is called Inca, and in Andamarca a ram with 4 horns which is generally used for breeding is called by this same term. According to Núñez del Prado, this same ram in Cuzco is known as Encaychu.(3)

Therefore, it can be said that for the Andean man the image of water conveys the ideas of oneness and vital force. This second idea correlates with the belief that the dead cannot

cross the rivers by themselves and they have to request the help of a living person. Related to this it is stated as a requirement to become Yaku Alcalde or Water Distributor that the candidate should be a very active and rapid person, for otherwise the water will not flow. Correspondingly, on several occasions I observed that the Yaku Alcalde had to walk very fast trying to keep their pace to the rhythm of the flowing water, for they believed that if they walked slowly the water would not flow.

Apart from this, it is explicitly stated that flowing water is alive and sometimes the people heard it cry, as if it were a baby. Concerning the sex of water it is sometimes thought of as being masculine especially when it is associated with the blood of the Huamani, and sometimes as feminine when it is conceived of in its role as mother of the Ampatos or tadpoles, which are impersonated during the central celebrations of the Yarja Aspi. These Ampatos are also known as Yacupa Huahua or Children of the Water. As huahua is the term used by the female sex for referring to children, in contrast to churi which is used by the male sex, this confirms the female connotation of water in this context.

In contrast to the flowing water which is used by the Andamarquinos for their productive activities, certain lakes whose waters remain unused are regarded as dangerous and all sorts of stories are told about their power to eat people or animals, and about certain evil beings who inhabit them.

Together with this image of vitality and fertility suggested by flowing water the image of oneness associated with rivers receives graphical expression in Andamarca through the central position of the Negromayo river with respect to its two sides (the Eastern and Western sides), which as we have seen are significant in relation to a dual organization of space. The position of the river in this context is similar to that of the Calle Lima in relation to the Barrios Tuna and Pata (See p.78) which as we have seen is also known as Chaupi (middle, centre) calle; and to the central beam which divides the two sides of the roof of the house and which, strikingly enough, is known as Mayu or river.

Indeed, it is precisely this image of the river which is the one that is activated throughout the different stages of the Yarja Aspi and it is in relation to it that the Comunidad de Andamarca expresses its unity. As we shall see, the different stages depict a process by which the Comunidad de Andamarca is reconstructed from its parts following an organization which is formed by a combination of principles of which dualism is the one which is most encompassing because this fiesta follows a sequence and relates to certain places we shall pay particular attention to the conceptions of time and space that lie behind it and to the different levels into which the whole Comunidad is divided.

At the outset it is important to note that in order to understand the organization of the whole fiesta we have to take at its face value the sequence of the events and their spatial distribution according to an E to W and a S to N axis. By means of these two criteria one can immediately grasp the existence of an order throughout the different parts of the Yarja Aspi. However, since it contains many details and informants were often not aware of their meaning, I was not always able to determine the significance of some of the parts, and therefore this analysis is still open to further interpretations. Nevertheless, I do not think that these will substantially alter the basic conclusions at which we have arrived.

The main events that take place during the Yarja Aspi celebrations are:

1. The Yacu Ogari (or letting the water free) which is performed twice in the water channel that is supplied from waters of the Negromayo river and lies towards the Western side of this river. This ritual is performed first by the Yacu Alcaldes or Water Distributors who are retiring and then by those who are taking their place. In both cases the ritual presents similar features except that in the second ritual there is greater concern for omens which may indicate whether the agricultural cycle that is about to start will be good or bad, and also may indicate the personal destiny of the Yacu Alcaldes.

2. The burial of offerings in different places associated with the irrigation network and connected with each of 18 saints in the religious hierarchy of the main village. These offerings are displayed in holes divided into three layers which are known as Cajas or Espiritu Santo. The bottom layers consists of the Guamani, (the same term as the Mountain God), which has the shape of a quadrangular pyramid (sometimes it has the shape of a corn cob) resting on top of a quadrangular base and decorated with pairs of coca leaves at each of its extremities (a total of 5 pairs); the Blancuchas, which are two clay jars containing brewed maize (chicha or Aqa) in one and Aqnu (natural water that flows from the underground mixed with Qora or germinated maize) in the other; a small bottle containing wine, and a pair of very large Almidón (white) corn cobs with their tops decorated by three pairs of coca leaves. All these objects are displayed in the bottom layer on top of some carnation flowers. The most important of all these objects and the one which is placed in the centre is the Guamani, and by its sides are the pair of maize cobs, and also the pair of jars and the bottle containing wine (sometimes these three are all bottles and those containing wine and chicha or Aqa are capped with carnation flowers, and that containing Aqnu, with Waylla Ichu . Maize is the dominant ingredient in this layer, for even the Guamani is made from it. The paste from which the Guamani is made consists of a mixture of misa sara (flour made from corn cobs with grains of two colours) and fat removed from the breast of a llama. Another peculiarity of these objects is that, together with the stones that divide the layers, each is correntado (rubbed) three times with 12 different minerals.

On the layer immediately above, pairs of the following kinds of seeds are displayed: broad beans, potatoes, ocas, ollucos, mashuas, quinua, wheat and barley. Finally on the very top layer, which is at the level of the ground surface, some bunches of Waylla Ichu are displayed. As we said before (on p.44) the distribution of these vegetables throughout the three layers corresponds to their distribution in the three ecological levels (Valley, Puna and intermediate zone between the valley and the Puna) which are significant to the Andamarquinos.

These burials of offerings are performed by a ritual specialist who is known as Ñahuin Churaq and an assistant. The sponsor of the entire event is the Mayordomo of the Saint associated with the place where the offerings are buried. This last attends together with his Previstes and Muñidoras (See p.211) and with some relatives, but they are not supposed to be allowed to observe the burial of the offerings (although frequently they do so against the wishes of the Ñahuin Churaq).

After this event the Previstes generally distribute Waylla Ichu (Calamagrostis recta, Gramineae family) or Jori Waylla Ichu (Calamagrostis ovata, Gramineae family) and Raki-Raki (Polypodiaceae)(4) which is a bracken, to all the people present. On other more public occasions the Ñahuin are those responsible for distributing these plants. This is a role performed by the young men who have recently married and it is closely associated with the Yaku Alcaldes. There are supposed to be two

Mahuins to each Yacu Alcalde of the main water channel of the Western side of the Negromayo river, and those associated with the Yacu Alcalde of Orqo distribute Waylla Ichu or Qori Waylla Ichu, while the rest distribute Raki-Raki. Each person present receives both plants and they put them on their hats. Since Waylla Ichu and Qori Waylla Ichu only grow in the Puna and Raki-Raki, only in the very bottom of the valley, near the shores of the river, and since these two Puna grasses figure prominently in the rituals related to herding activities, the simultaneous use of them and the bracken on this occasion suggests an emphasis which expresses the union of the most relevant ecological areas of Andamarca, with which the dominant activities of herding and agriculture are associated.

The concluding part of the entire ceremony is the mitu pugllay or mud game which consists of a mud battle between the opposite sexes. Back in the village there is a final reception at the house of the Mayordomo and on this occasion the Jayra songs are performed. These are sung in competition between men and women and their lyrics generally refer to flowers or other plants such as the Sunchu (Yellow flower) and the Waylla Ichu.

Apart from this burial of offerings in places associated with each of 18 saints of the main village, there are some further burials of offerings in places associated with some of the saints of the Anexos of Chiricre, Huaccracca and Huayllahuarmi and in places associated with some of the agricultural Barrios.

Celebrations take place in the main village, which consist of a number of events ranging from masses and processions, the blessing of water tanks, display of mocking ritual performances by the Mayordomos, competitions between Danzantes de Tijeras (Scissor dancers) (See p.174) and finally the performance of a collective dance known as Caramuza.

4. Finally comes the restoration of the crosses to their original places.

The Yaku Oqari, performed by the retiring Yaku Alcaldes in charge of the water channel of the Western side of the Negromayo river or Negromayo Yarja, takes place on the 8th. of August and it consists of a number of rituals in which different offerings are firstly buried, then burned and finally displayed on the top and at the bottom of three rocks which are placed at the beginning and inside the water channel. The last two rituals are performed by each of the three Yacu Alcaldes. The first two rituals are performed inside a small cave which is almost adjacent to the hatch which lets out the waters and faces towards the West. Above this cave and oriented towards the West there is a wide opening which fulfills an important role in the second ritual. The third ritual is performed on the three rocks mentioned before.

The Tomero is the Yacu Alcalde in charge of burying the offerings, which consist of sugar cane alcohol, three pairs of carnation flowers and llampu (misa sara flour or maize flour made from a corn cob which has grains of two or more colours mixed with Qori Qollqe or gold silver (sic) powder derived from the scrapings of twelve different minerals). (See p. 151). The second ritual consists of the burning of the Saymi as an offering to each of the three places of worship (sometimes referred to as Guamani) which are associated with each of the three Yacu Alcaldes.

The Saymi is a small offering which is wrapped up in the maize leaves that cover a corn cob and which consists of "female" incense of yellow colour, unto or fat removed from the breast of a llama and misa sara flour. The first to start burning his Saymi is the Tomero; the Alcalde Estanque follows him by placing his Saymi in the fire to the left of the previous one, and finally the Alcalde Punta places his Saymi in the fire to the right of that of the Alcalde Tomero so that the Saymi of the Tomero ends up in the middle of the other two. While the Saymi is burning they carefully watch the direction of the smoke when it goes up and out through the opening of the cave. If it follows the direction where the Guamani of the three Yacu Alcaldes are located the conclusion is that it is a good sign because these divinities are accepting the offerings that are being burnt.

The place of worship used by the Tomero is a mountain known as Osqonta, which is considered to be a powerful Guamani, and which figures in several myths as the mountain from which the mythical heroe Inkarrí threw his barreta (metal bar) in order to determine the place where Cuzco should be founded. The Alcalde Estanque, on the other hand, worships Santa Ana Punco which is a lake which is to be enlarged in the future for use as a reservoir to provide water for Andamarca, Cabana and Aucará. Finally the Alcalde Punta worships Timpuq (boiling water) which is a name given to a place on the Negromayo river which gives the impression that its waters are boiling. These three places of worship are located in the Puna along the course of the Negromayo river or Hatun Guamani river. Osqonta is very near to the source of the river, while Santa Ana Punco is a little further away along the course of the river, and Timpuq is the furthest from the source, being situated not far from the bridge of the Negromayo river. It is important to notice that the hierarchy of these three places of worship corresponds to the hierarchical relationship between the three Alcaldes and that their successive order along the course of the river resembles the order adopted by the Yacu Alcaldes when they walk during some ritual occasions. Thus, they walk forming a row in which the Tomero, who is the highest in status, goes at the end, in front of him is the Alcalde Estanque, and in the very front is the Alcalde Punta who is the lowest in status. Since the three places of worship associated

with each of the Yacu Alcaldes are distributed along the course of the Negromayo river, and the Yacu Alcaldes have to move fast in order to prevent the waters of the river from stopping flowing, it may be said that their walk in these ritual contexts represents the flowing of the Negromayo river itself. This conclusion is further supported by the fact the Tomero, who is related to a place of worship located almost at the very source of the Negromayo river, walks behind the other two Yacu Alcaldes.

The highest position of the Tomero in the hierarchy seems to derive from the association of the Tomero with the origins of a water source be it a river, as in the case of the Negromayo, or a water channel. This correlates with the fact, previously noted, that the South is also generally conceived of as being higher than the North, for it is from here that the Negromayo river flows. Another related association is that of the three Yacu Alcaldes with the Divine Persons of the Holy Trinity. This is especially noticeable in those contexts in which consecrations by rubbing minerals or pouring liquids are performed in the name of these Three Divine Persons and in the context in which each of the Yacu Alcaldes burns his saymi. In the contexts in which the consecration is performed in the name of the Holy Trinity, that of the Father is always the first, then follows that of the Son which goes to the left hand side of the first, and then that of the Holy Ghost which goes to the right hand side of the first. Similarly the Tomero is the first to put his saymi on

the fire, then towards the left hand side of this the Alcalde Estanque burns his Saymi, and to the right hand side of that of the Tomero the Alcalde Punta burns his Saymi. This evidence suggests therefore that the positions of the Yacu Alcaldes are analogous to that of the Divine Persons of the Holy Trinity and that the highest position of the Tomero corresponds to the highest position of the Father, who in the context of the belief in three mythical ages[5] represents the first Age, in which Humanity has its origins.

The three rocks associated with each of these Yacu Alcaldes and which are placed inside and at the beginning of the Negromayo water channel are also ordered in a similar way to the Saymi, although the middle one is separated a little from the other two in the direction of the hatch. Wine and sugar cane alcohol are poured on each of the three rocks and then three pairs of Iris leaves, three pairs of coca leaves and carnation flowers are placed ontop and all of them have llampu poured over them. The Guamani and two white carnation flowers are generally displayed on the Tomero rock, but on the particular occasion when I witnessed the Yacu Ogari ritual, they were displayed on top of the two rocks which are associated with the Alcalde Estanque and the Alcalde Punta and to the offerings already mentioned was added a white flower known as Cartucho. Once all these offerings are ready the hatch is opened by the Tomero and all of them are swept along the channel by the waters.

Ten days later, on August 18, the new Yacu Alcaldes perform their first Yacu Ogari. On this occasion all the village authorities again attend the site where the hatch of the Negromayo channel is located. Apart from them, the Ñahuin of each of the Yacu Alcaldes also attends carrying large quantities of Waylla Ichu or Qori Waylla, Ichu and Raki-Raki. Finally a Ñahuin Churac is also present whose role is to display some offerings on top of the rocks associated with the Yacu Alcaldes.

The first part of this ritual is performed exclusively by the Yacu Alcaldes in a backwater of the Negromayo river which is not very far from the hatch. This place is known as Tomacucho and here the three Yacu Alcaldes remove their clothes and enter the stillest part of the backwater so that each of them may submerge a clay jar, known as Blancucha, containing brewed maize and covered with carnation flowers. Once these Blancuchas are deposited in the water they watch very carefully to see whether they remain vertical for it is believed that if any of them falls to one side then the Yacu Alcalde who placed it in the water will suffer some misfortune during the year.

The next part of the ritual consists in the display of the offerings on top of three rocks mentioned previously. This is performed by the Ñahuin Churac with the help of the Ñahuin associated with the Yacu Alcaldes. They prepare the offerings inside the small cave near to the hatch and they are

later distributed thus in relation to the three rocks: on top of the rock associated with the Tomero are displayed two tiny bottles containing wine, covered with reddish carnation flowers and with a ribbon coloured as the Peruvian flag (red, white and red) tied round the neck of each bottle; below each of the two remaining rocks are displayed two dozen of coca leaves and twelve carnation flowers. As in the previous Yacu Oqari the hatch is opened to let the water carry away the offerings. This time the attendants observe carefully the moment when the water strikes the offerings, for it is said that if the tiny bottles fall facing with their tops towards the West it is bad luck, but if they face towards the East it is good luck and the year will be properous.

The burial of offerings in the places associated with each of the saints of the main village starts on August 14 in Supaymayo Cucho which is near to the source of the Vizca river. As we have seen this is the source of water for the channels of the Eastern side of the Negromayo river. On this occasion the offerings which are buried are associated with the Vizca water channel. In contrast to the distribution and organization of the saints associated with the sites where offerings are buried on the Western side of the Negromayo river, those saints associated with sites on the Eastern side of the Negromayo river are grouped in a pattern of three for each water channel and within these groups of saints are represented each of the three categories into which the saints are hierarchically organized in Andamarca: Propietario, Sullca (both are included within the category of Constaticio) and Oculto. (See Table 20 and 21).

TABLE 20 THE SAINTS' HIERARCHY

C O N S T A T I C I O S

PROPIETARIOS

	Saint's Day
YAYANCHIC: Espíritu Santo	... 21 May
MAMANCHIC: Virgen Encarnación	... 22 May
AMUNCHIC: Santísima Custodia	... 25 May (Corpus Christie)
Niño Jesús de Praga	... 25 January
Santísima Trinidad	... 28 May (recently incorporated into this category)

SULLCA

SULLCA YAYANCHIC: Señor Resurrección	... Easter Sunday
SULLCA MAMANCHIC: Virgen de las Nieves Santa Rosa de Lima	... 5 August (losing sponsors) 25 August
SULLCA AMUNCHIC: San José	... 14 April
Virgen Dolorosa	... Easter Friday (recently incorporated)
San Pedro	... 7 July (recently incorporated)

OCULTOS
MASCULINE SAINTS

Señor de la Ascención	... 11 May
Santa Cruz	... 10 May
San Francisco	... 26 August (sponsored together with Santa Rosa)
San Isidro	... 24 August
Niño Reyes	... 6 January
Sagrado Corazón de Jesús	... 7 August
Señor Santiago	... 5 August (sponsored together with the Virgen de las Nieves)

TABLE 20 THE SAINTS' HIERARCHY

FEMININE SAINTS

	Saint's Day
Virgen Concebida	... 6 January (sponsored together with Niño Reyes)
Virgen del Carmen	... 6 August (sponsored together with Sagrado Corazón de Jesús)
Virgen del Perpetuo Socorro	... 28 June

TABLE 20 SAINTS' HIERARCHY IN HUACCRACCA

		Burial of offerings
YAYANCHIC:	Santa Cruz	
MAMANCHIC:	Santa Rosa de Lima	
AMUNCHIC:	Niño Jesús de Praga ...	Ayacca
SULLCA MAMANCHIC:	Virgen Dolorosa...	Qochapata

SAINTS' HIERARCHY IN HUAYLLAHUARMI

YAYANCHIC:	San Cristóbal ...	Achcapuquio
MAMANCHIC:	Virgen Dolorosa	
AMUNCHIC:	Santa Cruz ...	Uña Huatana Huaicco

SAINTS' HIERARCHY IN CHIRICRE

YAYANCHIC: San Martín de Porres
MAMANCHIC: Virgen Candelaria
AMUNCHIC: Santa Cruz
SULLCA MAMANCHIC: Virgen de Fatima
San Juan Evangelista
Virgen del Perpetuo Socorro
Virgen Dolorosa

TABLE 21 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAYORDOMOS AND PREVISTES IN DIFFERENT RITUAL

CONTEXTS

RIGHT	LEFT
	Amunchic
Yayanchic	Mamanchic
Santísima Trinidad	Niño Jesús de Praga
Sullca Yayanchic	Santa Rosa de Lima (Sullca)
Sullca Amunchic	Virgen de las Nieves (Sullca)
San Pedro	Virgen Dolorosa
Señor de la Ascención	Virgen Concebida
Santa Cruz	Virgen del Carmen
(San Francisco)	Virgen del Perpetuo Socorro
San Isidro	
(Niño Reyes)	
Sagrado Corazón de Jesús	

A Santo Propietario and a Sullca are associated with the respective sources of both the water channels of the Eastern side of the Negromayo river, and offerings are buried on the same day in the places associated with each of them. Indeed, these places are situated facing each other on the opposite sides of the water channel. On a second day, following immediately after the first, the Mayordomo of a Santo Oculto with his companions, is supposed to meet the Mayordomo who buried offerings the previous day at a place associated with the saint he is sponsoring. At this place some further offerings are buried and later all three Mayordomos with their companions return to the main village, walking along the border of the water channel that has mjust been celebrated.

In these rituals and the hierarchy of the saints we can see once more othat the sources located towards the South rank higher than the places located to the North. Moreover, when we compare the saints associated with each water channel we note that corresponding to its position near the valley the Vizca water channel is associated with saints who are classified as female (6), and corresponding to its position near the Puna and to the name it holds the Orqo water channel is associated with masculine saints.

As may be seen in Table 19 the saints associated with Supaymayo or the origins of the Vizca water channel are Niño Jesus de Praga (Propietario), and Santa Rosa de Lima (Sullca The Mayordomos of these two saints are met the next day in

Huayllahuarmi by the Mayordomo of Vírgen del Perpetuo Socorro (Oculto). Those associated with Cheqosno and Uñahuataena or the origins of Orqo water channel are Qollana Amo or Amunchic (Propietario), and San José (Sullca Amunchic); and the Mayordomod of these saints are met the next day by the Mayordomo of San Pedro (Oculto but recently has become Constaticio) or, as in previous years, by Señor Santiago (Oculto), in Matara Qocha.

On August 16, the burial of offerings on the Western side of the Negromayo river starts and the place which is selected for this is the beginning of the Negromayo water channel. In contrast to the water channels of the Eastern side of the Negromayo river already mentioned, there are four saints associated with this water channel and all of them belong to the category of Oculto. Hence, in this case the distribution of saints among the different water channels is not ordered in terms of the division into Propietarios, Sullca and Oculto. However, the four saints are not arbitrarily chosen but there is an underlying pattern which has to do with certain values associated with these saints, values which concern life and death.

In the places associated with these saints, offerings are buried on four successive days, starting on August 16. On this day, all the village authorities, the Yacu Alcaldes, and other prominent people attend the ritual which is sponsored by the Mayordomo of Vírgen Concebida and the offerings are buried successively in two different spots: Tomacucho and Qollpa(7)

On the next day the sponsor is the Mayordomo of Santa Cruz and the offerings are buried in San Ramón and Qonicha. The next day the sponsor is the Mayordomo of San Francisco and the offerings are buried in Jausía and Mayoqocha; and finally the cycle is closed by burying offerings in Pataimiri and Alfapampa under the sponsorship of the Mayordomo of Vírgen del Carmen.

The most obvious pattern which emerges from the distribution of the saints is one which shows that they are organized in couples in the same way that the places where offerings are buried are organized in pairs. The first couple is thus Vírgen Concebida (female) and Santa Cruz (male) and both of them have in common an association with the idea of life. Both because of the place with which she is associated (the hatch of the water channel) and because of her name (Conception) Vírgen Concebida is thought of as a source of life (8). With respect to Santa Cruz, we have already seen that its role is to protect the agricultural fields against any climatological harm. The second couple is San Francisco (male) and Vírgen del Carmen (female) and it is clear that they are associated with the idea of death, for the first is said to guard the souls in the Qoropuna (See p.347) and the bodies of dead men are dressed in a Franciscan habit when they are buried, while the second is said to be at the doors of Purgatory and dead women are buried in the habit of Vírgen del Carmen. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the cemetery of the main village is located facing the place with which this latter saint is associated.

The burial of offerings in association with water sources other than those already mentioned, starts on August 17 in the Estanque (water tank) de Huayllura, which is associated with Niño Reyes (Oculto). They continue up to August 23, when offerings are buried simultaneously in two important lakes which are located one on each side of the Negromayo river.

Unfortunately, in this case I have not been able to decipher completely the logic that underlies the distribution of the saints of these water sources and apart from saying that "this is the custom" informants were unable to specify the reasons for the association of a particular saint with these water tanks and lakes. The only recurrent features that I was able to note were that once again there is the tendency to associate male saints with the higher water sources and female saints with the lower ones. For example, Huayllura, which is associated with Niño Reyes, is above the main village not very far from the Puna; Chitjansa, which is associated with Espíritu Santo (the Patron saint of the main village), is also above the main village and at the same level as the previous water tank; and Curhua which is associated with San Isidro is located on the Puna above the Mullacata sector. Moreover, it is noticeable that the water tank to which Chitjansa supplies water and the water tank to which Curhua supplies water are located in the valley and are both associated with female saints. Chitjansa supplies water to Auccatunco, and

this water tank is associated with Vírgen Encarnación who is the Patroness of Andamarca and therefore the partner of Espíritu Santo. Curhua, on the other hand, supplies water to Mullacata which is associated with Vírgen Dolorosa (9). The only male saint associated with a water tank in the valley is Señor Resurrección which is associated with Totora, and it may be assumed that this exception occurs because his role is to represent the Patron saint in the valley. This may be deduced from the fact that his rank in the hierarchy of saints is Sullca Yayanchic (younger father), from the fact that the water tank with which he is associated is very near to the one associated with the partner of Espíritu Santo, and from the fact that on 21st. August offerings are buried simultaneously at these two water tanks. Apart from this, these water tanks both provide the water for the gardens of the main village, and receive special ritual attention on August 24, when the central celebrations of the Yarja Aspi take place in the main village (See below).

Another significant feature concerning the association between saints and water tanks or lakes and relative to the sequence of the burial of offerings, is that on August 23rd., the day before the central celebrations of the Yarja Aspi begin to take place in the main village, offerings are buried simultaneously in connection with two lakes which are located on either side of the Negromayo river. One of these lakes is Yarpuqoc a, located towards the North of the Western side of

the Negromayo river, and the other lake is Jeruicha, located towards the South of the Eastern side. The burial of offerings at these sites takes place 10 days after the first burial of offerings, and the fact that two lakes located on the opposite sides of the valley have been selected for the simultaneous burial of offerings suggests the restoration of the whole community to its basic duality -- a duality which had been dismembered through the burial of offerings in scattered places. This interpretation is moreover supported by the fact that associated with Yarpuqocha is Señor de la Ascención (who is always celebrated together with Santa Cruz) and therefore both are related to agriculture) and associated with Jeruicha is Santísima Trinidad (closely related to herding) (10). In other words through this dualism is expressed the end of a cycle of dismemberment and the reconstitution of the two parts which make up the totality of Andamarca through the terms of the basic complementary activities which are performed in Andamarca.

Between the 20th. of August and the 23rd. there takes place the burial of offerings by particular families in places which are not associated with any saint in particular and from the 21st. August to the 23rd. each day receives a particular name.

August 21st. is known as Pampa, and sometime ago, apart from burying offerings in Auccatunco and Totora, a portable platform (anda) was made to bear an image of Vírgen Encarnación in

procession. On this date the Scissors Dancers (Danzantes de Tijeras), who during the main days of the Yarja Aspi perform the most prominent role in entertaining the people, used to begin to dance. Since the celebrations on Pampa day have lost their importance, the Scissors Dancers nowadays start their performance on August 22nd. and for this reason this day is known as Anticipo (Advance). Another name by which this day is known is Cheque (dispersion)(11) for on it several burials of offerings by particular families take place in scattered places. Finally, August 23 is known as Víspera (eve) because it is the day before the celebrations take place in the main village.

From this description of the burial of offerings we can see that there is a sequence of places where these offerings are buried, running from East to West and from South to North. We also see that there are various criteria which lie behind the distribution of the saints of the main village and their respective associations with the places where offerings are buried. One of these is that generally the male saints are associated with places near the Puna and that female saints are associated with places near the valley. Other criteria which are taken into account are the position of the saints in the hierarchical categories into which they are organized, their meaning in relation to values associated with life and death, and also their meaning in relation to the main activities performed in Andamarca. In the case of the first of these three criteria, we

can see that the saints who rank in the highest position are associated with the origins of a water channel in the same way as the Tomero is higher than the other Yacu Alcaldes, and in the case of the second we can see that the saints which are associated with life are at the beginning of the Negromayo water channel, while those associated with dead are at the end. Finally the association of Santísima Trinidad with a lake on the Eastern side of the Negromayo river and the association of Señor de la Ascención with a lake on the Western side suggest that the former is related to Puna values (herding is associated with the Puna) and the second to valley values (agriculture is an activity associated with the valley). In so far as the Puna is associated with origins, this last interpretation perhaps explains why the cycle of burial of offerings starts in the East. Thus we may suggest the following equation: East: South:: West: North.

This equation corresponds to the sequence of events mentioned in the Myth of the Mayu Brothers, for as we saw their itinerary is also from the South East to the North West. In the next chapter we shall come across some other myths where the East is consistently associated with origins and appears to share the non-social characteristics which are generally associated with the Puna, in contrast to the social attributes of the valley.

In the organization of the ceremonies that take place in the main village the two sides of the Negromayo river also play an important role, suggesting once more the recreation

of the totality through the activation of its dual parts. On the 24th. of August the celebrations are concerned with the Western side of the Negromayo river, for it is the duty of all those who benefit from the irrigation system of this side to sponsor the different cargos or roles associated with the fiesta. On the 25th. of August the celebrations are concerned with the Eastern side, for it is the turn of those who benefit from the irrigation system of this side to sponsor the roles associated with this second day of fiesta. Finally, on the 26th. of August the Despachos are made, the crosses that have remained in the church since the Fiesta de las Cruces in May are restored to their original places and the Yarja Aspi celebrations come to an end.

Each of these days is also associated with the celebration of a particular saint. Thus, associated with the 24th. of August is San Isidro, who is assimilated to the image of the plougher who sows a maize field. Associated with the 25th. of August is Santa Rosa de Lima, who has no particular connection with any activity, the only meaningful correlation being that this saint is the Patroness of Huaccracca which is an Anexo located on the Eastern side of the Negromayo river. Associated with the 26th. is San Francisco de Asís, who as we have seen is associated with the idea of death.

It is important to note that in relation to the celebrations in the main village the order of precedence of each of the two sides of the Negromayo river is inverted with respect to the sequence of the burial of offerings. On this occasion it is the Western side of the Negromayo river which starts the celebrations. It is my impression that the reason for this inversion is that, in this case the celebrations take place in the social context of the main village whilst in the case of the burial of offerings the setting is the non-social context outside the main village.

Through the events and roles that are enacted during the 24th. and the 25th. of August one can see that, corresponding to the separate celebrations of those who benefit from the irrigation systems of the Western and Eastern sides of the Negromayo river, these two sides are conceived of as independent from, yet complementary to, each other. This may be deduced from the fact that, apart from some differences in the attributes of certain roles all the events and roles that are enacted during the two days are exactly the same for both sides of the river.

During both days the roles that are impersonated are those of the National Authorities, such as Subprefecto, Gobernador and Juez de Paz, Chasqui or messenger, Soldiers (impersonated

by authentic ex-army men or licenciados del ejército), Arador or Machu (Plougher or old man) and his partner the Vieja (old woman), Ampatos (tadpole), and Danzantes de Tijeras (Scissor Dancers). Some time ago Llamichus (llama herds) were also impersonated. The only role that varies in its attributes according to whether it is performed in relation to the celebrations of the Western or Eastern side of the Negromayo river is that impersonated by adolescents and children who jokingly try to rape the unmarried women and who pretend to behave wildly, speaking with thin voices and making all sorts of erotic jokes. The variation consists in the fact that those related to the Western side of the Negromayo river paint their faces with black colour and wear straw hats on their heads, whilst those related to the Eastern side paint their faces with red colour and on their heads they wear a Pasamontaña (Balaclava helmet) made from the skin of llamas or alpacas. The former are known as Negritos and the latter as Pucas. In so far as the straw hat is generally associated with the agricultural activities of the Peruvian Coast and the Pasamontaña is a typical hat of those who are active in the highlands, we can see that what is again emphasized here through these differences is the association of the Western side with agriculture and the valley and the Eastern side with herding and the Puna(12).

These sets of associations are further supported through the values associated with black and red in Andamarca. These may be deduced from the ant fights, which the Andamarquinos enjoy organizing, in which individual ants of certain varieties are set againts each other to fight to the death in a struggle that may last for an hour or so. One variety is red and they are known as Chilenitas or Huamanguinitas and the other variety is black and they are known as Peruanitas (Peruvians). Red is therefore associated in this context with two typical kinds of outsiders: the Chileans against whom the Peruvians fought in the last century and the Huamanquinos who are identified with commercial activity. By contrast black is associated with the Peruvians and therefore with the inside. As we saw in the previous chapter these connotations of colour correspond with the values associated with agriculture and herding respectively. This corresponds as well with the nickname gringo (typical adjective for outsider in Latin America) given to the Pucas.

The oppositions inside/outside and valley/Puna are indeed the ones mostly emphasized during these celebrations in the main village and this seems to express a re-creation of the unity of the Comunidad de Andamarca. Hence the first part of the celebrations consist of a joking imitation of the National Authorities emphasizing their condition as Mistis (or Whites) in ridiculous terms. The sponsors of these roles dress themselves

in a two piece suit, polished shoes, white shirt, a tie, sun glasses and a stick and they very solemnly walk through the streets of the main village reading magazines or newspapers (generally those who fulfill this role are illiterate) and inviting the best quality cigarettes. The three National Authorities walk together side by side, their way being cleared by the soldiers. The latter continually assist them, helping them to cross tiny water channels or to climb small walls. The idea behind these jokes is that the National Authorities are so useless that they require help in performing the most simple things. In addition, the Soldiers explain to them the meaning of the most obvious things such as, for example, the fact that a chair is used for sitting on, because they are thought to be completely ignorant of everything which exists in Andamarca. Apart from this, the soldiers together with the Chasqui fulfill the role of asking all the men, especially the eldest ones, for their papeles (documents of identification). If they and the National Authorities do not consider that a papel (any sheet of paper) is valid the man who produced it is recruited "para servir a la patria" (to serve the country) and is tied with a rope and let free only after the blessing of the water tank has ended. All these events, therefore, contribute to marking the distance that exists between the local Indians and the National society.

The second part of the celebrations consists of a Mass and procession in honour of the saint who corresponds to the particular day, and also of the blessing of a water tank performed

by a Catholic priest, (Totora on the Western side and Chimpa-qocha on the Eastern side). The blessing of the water tank takes place when the tank begins to fill with water. At this moment the Ampatos or Yacupa Huahua (children of the water) get into the water tank and the Arador, the Vieja and the Negritos (or Pucas) make their appearance, coming at the same time as the water that will fill the tank. As well as blessing the water tank, the priest also blesses the seeds that are taken to him by some families and which will be sown later during the following months. When this ceremony is over the Ñahuin distribute Waylla Ichu or Qori Waylla Ichu and Raki-Raki to all the people present. They repeat their distribution of these plants when the competition between the Scissor Dancers is about to start in the afternoon.

Once in the main village all the Mayordomos of the Saints with their respective Previstes and Muñidoras drink Pito (See p.211) ceremonially in the Plaza (Square).

Finally the third part of the celebrations consists of the competition of the Danzantes de Tijeras. As in the case of many of the dances in Andamarca, the one performed by the Danzantes de Tijeras implies two sets of Dancers for it involves a competition, and it implies two individuals who sponsor the Dancers. The sponsors are known as Mayor de Danzantes or

Mayso and this is considered to be the most expensive of the cargos fulfilled during the Yarja Aspi (the expenses are generally more than £200). For this reason the sponsors of this cargo are the ones who consume the largest amount of water for irrigation.

The participation of the Danzantes de Tijeras in the context of these celebrations around the Yarja Aspi is full of significance. Their "scissors" are indeed two steel bars, in the shape of scissors of which one is considered to be feminine and the other masculine. The first one is shorter than the other one and its position in the hand of the Danzante is below the masculine one. The sound produced by the contact of the two "scissor blades" is therefore very appropriate for conveying the idea of unity which the Yarja Aspi tries to express through different symbols.

After the competitions involving Danzantes de Tijeras, which develop in different stages and which generally end in a dance on top of the church tower, two groups form. These two groups are composed of all the people present, and represent almost the entire community. They are headed by the Danzantes de Tijeras who competed previously, and holding hands they begin the Caramuza dance.

From all this description we can see that the dominant values in terms of which the unity of Andamarca is expressed are related to the ecological areas which are associated with the activities of herding and agriculture, with the orientation of the flow of the river, and with the rising and setting positions of the sun. The whole ritual of the Yarja Aspi can be seen therefore as a text whose constitutive elements are organized in dual terms and whose syntaxis is given by the sequence of events. The structure of the message that is transmitted is that Andamarca is re-created as a whole from its parts which are organized in dichotomous terms in the same way as life is re-created from opposite but complementary elements and in the same way as the river flows in between two sides of a valley.

Furthermore we must add that this unity is not only re-created symbolically but also actively, because with the large number of cargos that has to be fulfilled for the celebrations of the Yarja Aspi there is scarcely any individual who does not participate in one way or another in them. Indeed this is the only occasion during the whole year on which it can be said that literally the whole community participates as a totality in a single event.

Indians and Mistis.-

During these last ten years of Nationalist military government in Peru and with the collaboration of a great deal of functionalist and marxist sociological theorists there has been a strong campaign to abolish the term "Indian" for referring to the rural populations of the highlands who still maintain languages other than Spanish and who exhibit several other cultural features inherited from the pre-Hispanic period. The arguments put forward to justify this campaign are, that the term "Indian" is loaded with negative connotations which contribute to the denigration of and discrimination against the rural populations; that it is used generally as an insult, that this is not a native term but an imported one, and that, as the Peruvian anthropologist Matos Mar holds, it is an instrument of colonial domination just as, according to Franz Fanon, is the concept of "blackness". Matos Mar considers therefore that the indigenous of today is the traditional, and "...constitutes the survival of a category from Spanish domination which now serve the same to other domination ends. With this consideration, emphasis has to be placed on acknowledging the underdeveloped situation of our country, considering this as a universal phenomenon of a form of alienation and domination" (MATOS MAR, J., P. 207, 208). (My translation.)

Following these same socio-economic considerations, the term put forward to replace "Indian" was "Campesino" (Peasant) and even the military government was disposed to sanction this since under the Agrarian Reform the rural inhabitants of Peru were to be referred to as such and correspondingly their socio-political territorial units were to be known as "Comunidades Campesinas" (Peasant Communities). This term fitted very well with the nationalist aims of the military for it gave them the opportunity of treating all those born in Peruvian territory as if they were all members of a uniform nation for participating in a common economic system, and so to legislate without taking into consideration their social and cultural differences. This was indeed a very comfortable assumption made in order to justify the policy they were starting to implement in the rural populations and to ignore completely the social and cultural reality of these communities.

The most positive contribution of the anthropologists and sociologists who approached the rural reality from the perspective of the domination or dependency theory, as in the case of Matos Mar, is that they at least introduced a certain systematization grounded on theoretical models where before common sense or a total lack of interpretation only had prevailed. Moreover, thanks to the functionalist overtones of their models, social reality was no longer seen as a collection of different and unrelated compartments but of parts which were intertwined in a causal relationship, whose attributes tended to change according to the context.

This last tendency is very marked in the work of Fuenzalida (1970), who introduced the model of the "arborescent chain" (Cadena arborecente) to explain inter-ethnic relations in the Andes. He emphasizes the need to take the context into account when evaluating concepts such as "Indian", "Misti", "Cholo", etc. The basic idea of the model of the arborescent chain is that social units at any given level of the chain are only connected to one another by virtue of the mediation of a higher point. Each point of articulation or mediation is also a focus of power, whose capacity for decision-making and control of wealth and information is in direct proportion to its position along the hierarchical chain. Thus those who occupy the positions at the apex of the system will have absolute control over decisions wealth and information, while those at the bottom will have very little. Given the dynamic and contextual emphasis of Fuanzalida's model, such categories as Indian, Misti, etc., are seen in relative rather than absolute terms. These categories cannot be defined in terms of biological criteria of race, nor cultural criteria such as language, dress or occupation, according to this model, since there are always instances where any particular criterion does not apply. For example, there are people who have white skins but are regarded as Indians, while there are also people with dark skins who are regarded as Mistis. (FUENZALIDA 1970, p. 25). Equally in the case of language, there are white-skinned as well as "Indian" speakers of Quechua and Aymara, and so on. Thus for Fuenzalida such terms can only be contextually

and relatively defined in individual cases. For instance, one and the same person may be a "Misti" in his local context but be considered an "Indian" in an urban context. The concept of the "arborescent chain" is an attempt to account for the organization of just such variations as these.

As a consequence of the development of this theoretical position there emerged a reaction against some previous attempts such as those of the Indigenista movement, to define Peruvian society in dualistic terms. According to Fuenzalida, the application of these terms to Peru leads,

> "... to an image of a country composed of two inarticulated segments. One dynamic, modern or at least modernist, open to change and innovation and inclining towards industrialization. The other, static, traditional and conservative, agricultural and pre-industrial". (My translation)

The former was associated with the coast and the latter with the "Sierra" (Highlands); the former were the inheritors of Spanish values while the latter held pre-Hispanic values (FUENZALIDA, 1970, p. 21, 22).

We can see therefore, form this brief survey, that up to now studies of contemporary rural reality in the Andes have been dominated by two different kinds of approaches: an early one which emphasized the socio-cultural differences between two segments, and a later one which can be characterized as "actional" in so far as emphasis is placed on the interaction

between categories which are vertically distributed. The early approach we have denominated "cultural" and the later approach, "empiricist", or "positivist".

To me, neither of these two approaches is completely satisfactory, although we have to admit that I have more sympathy with the first one in so far as it allows us to see significant rather than mechanical entities and to give a better account of the creative potentialities of the rural inhabitants. However, we agree that it also tends to give a static image of the rural reality and nowhere do we see the interacting parties that embody those ethnic terms. The second approach, on the contrary, has the great disadvantage of presenting an amorphous image of Andean society, deriving its reality solely from the impact of external forces dismissing the value of the local meanings granted to the ethnic terms. Indeed, the reality presented by both these approaches is incomplete and it is my contention that if the two are combined the resulting analysis would be more fruitful, for then both culture and behaviour would be taken into account.

When advocating this kind of approach I must state that I fully coincide with Pierre Van Den Berghe when he says:

> "First, it is incumbent on us social scientists not only to be abstractly aware that the interaction between the observer and the observed affects the reality studied, but explicitly to <u>incorporate that awareness into our methodology</u>. It should

> at all times be clear to the reader whose vision of reality he is being exposed to: the author's or his subjects', and, in the latter case, whose. Second, we need to take systematically into account something which many of us accept as axiomatic but so often forget in the actual process of conducting research; namely that a person's position in the social structure profoundly affects his vision of reality, and that this axiom includes us as social scientists. The powerful have the built-in limitation of presenting an image of social stratification that attempt to justify the status quo. The vision of the vanquished, to borrow Wachtel's phrase (1968), has neither that advantage nor that shortcoming, and thus is complementary to that of the elite. It behoves us as social scientists to look at both, and to know where we stand". (VAN DEN BERGHE, P. 1974, p. 21).

In what follows I shall try to illustrate this approach by describing the relationships between Indians and Mistis in Andamarca. Hence this section will provide an opportunity of contrasting my theoretical view point with the approaches of others in relation to an essential topic of the Andean studies-of the question of the existence of Indians in modern Peru. It will also provide an opportunity to describe the broadest social categories in Andamarca and to confirm the persistence of certain pre-Hispanic structural models.

In so far as the terms Indian and Misti are used in Andamarca to describe the basic categories of individuals associated with this community, we could say that at least at a conceptual level they are real, although sometimes in practice an

outsider may have problems in identifying them. In this respect we have to be aware of the fact that these terms do not refer to social groups, such as clans, lineages, castes, etc. with stereotyped symbols and boundaries, but rather to the outcome of historical events at whose roots lies the confrontation of two different traditions. The Mistis and the Indians are therefore the result of this confrontation, and each group tends to represent the other according to the cultural values which have been inherited. Consequently, the Indians will say that the Misti do not dress as they do, or that the tuning of their musical instruments is different from theirs and therefore the music they play is different; that they are irreverent towards the saints and consequently they are responsible for the calamities which are suffered and for the existing disorder; that they are literate, and light skinned, that they are foreigners whose rights in the community have been mainly supported by the use of force. The Misti, in their turn, consider the Indians to be ignorant, untrustworthy, troublesome, etc.

Utilizing these criteria it is often difficult to find out whether a person is a Misti or an Indian. The Misti may point out some individual as being an Indian but it may happen that in reality this individual has finished his schooling and even it may be that he has become a school teacher. Alternatively, some individuals regarded as Misti by the Indians were indeed very dark skinned, not very different in their dress from other Indians and quite reverent towards the saints.

However, there were also more objective criteria, recognized by both groups, through which an outsider could identify the parties and describe their interaction. These criteria were the location of their residence within the village and their surnames. Thus, the place the Misti generally inhabit is the Plaza (Square), or alternatively the Chaupi calle or Calle Lima, whilst the surnames related to them are Munarriz, Garayar, Cabrera, Gallegos, Herrera, Miranda, etc. Of course not only Misti live in the Calle Lima, although this tends to be the case in the Plaza, and not only Indians live outside those places. Moreoever, sometimes Misti surnames are held by Indians and sometimes (although less frequently) Indian surnames are held by Misti. Nevertheless, these exceptions are few in comparison with the large number of cases of people who fulfill both criteria and who are recognized, on the whole unambiguously, as Misti and Indian by most Andamarquinos. Through these cases I could determine that if the two social categories existed at all, and if the criteria for marking the differences had a certain permanence it was due to the fact that the dynamics of their social interaction were slow. Thus, I noted that these criteria were maintained by virtue of the fact that they practised endogamous marriages and that surnames and property were mostly transmitted along family lines.

In this respect it is important to mention that the Misti living within the Plaza were descendants of fully endogamous, legitimate marriages and that their houses had been inherited

or purchased from other Misti, whereas the Misti living in the Calle Lima were frequently illegitimate children, or married to indigenous women, or simply newcomers. As we mentioned in the previous chapter, the Calle Lima is the street in which most of the commerce of the main village is concentrated. Of the 46 shops that exist, 26 are located in this street and of these 13 are owned by local Indians, 6 are owned by people from Puquio married to local Indians, 4 belong to those ambiguous Misti, 1 belongs to a trademan from Huancavelica who is married to a Misti woman, and 2 belong to people from Cuzco. The other shops are not concentrated to the same extent in other streets. Tupac Amaru street, which has the next largest number of shops after Calle Lima, has only six. Deriving from all this, plus the fact that it divides the two barrios Tuna and Pata, this street may be considered as an ambiguous area.

Once Andamarca becomes more familiar to the outsider and once he has become aware of the differences between Mistis and Indians, already mentioned, then he will be able to perceive some further differences. These often confirm some of the criteria used by the members of the two groups for differentiating themselves, and he may even attempt to make an estimate of the number of Mistis that live in Andamarca.

Thus, the outsider may notice that the Misti never pass through the offices related to the religious hierarchy but that they generally fulfill the District offices such as

Governor, Juez de Paz and Alcalde. We may notice that they prefer to consume beer instead of sugar cane alcohol (trago); that in their economic activities they manifest a great preference for the herding of cattle rather than of any other kind of animal, and for herding as opposed to subsistence agriculture. When practising this kind of agriculture their preference is for potatoes, broad beans and barley, as opposed to maize. Indeed, alfalfa planting is their major agricultural concern and as a consequence most of their land is concentrated in the less steep areas, where water is abundant, areas belonging to the sector irrigated by the Estanque de Huallaga which lies in the middle part of the Western side of the Negromayo river just above the main village. As a matter of fact, all these preferences tie up with their interest in cattle, which is their major source of income. Through their cattle they participate in the national market economy by trading in meat, and they maintain their ties in the community be means of the money obtained. Their profits are generally reinvested in small businesses such as restaurants and shops, and they engage in buying more land and cattle, in lending money to other Misti and Indians, in sending their children to study outside Andamarca, in seeking labour assistance and in financially contributing to the public affairs of the community.

In order to understand how all these different features tie together it is important to add that the Misti represent a minority in Andamarca, that their activities demand great personal dedication, and that consequently they need labour assistance.

Although it is difficult to state their numbers exactly, since they are too mobile spatially, I have estimated that of the 2,862 inhabitants of Andamarca about 70 or 2.5% may be regarded as Misti. They comprise 16 nuclear families.

While it is true that cattle raising does not demand an excessive use of human energy, it is nevertheless time consuming and demands a great deal of dedication. The animals need to be watched constantly to avoid them getting lost, causing damage to neighbouring fields or being stolen by abigeos (cattle thives). As we have seen before, their pastures need to be constantly rotated, given their rates of consumption and the small size of the plots of land. The heaviest tasks are those concerned indirectly with cattle raising, such as the renewal of an alfalfa plot which begins with the chacmeo or ground turning, a task which demands several individuals. One further point that is implied in this description is that in order to be a successful cattle raiser extensive plots of land, and a large number of them, are required. This does indeed seem to be the case of the Misti who own proportionately more land than the Indians.

This description shows, therefore, that because of their small number and the large amount of land and number of cattle they possess, because they have to leave Andamarca at frequent intervals in order to trade the meat on the Coast and because of the nature of herding activities, the Misti need to be assisted. This assistance comes from the Indians.

The assistance given by the Indians is returned by the Misti in money or in products convertible into money, but they are delivered not in a cold and impersonal transaction proper to a market system but in a context of mutual obligations which cannot be measured by any objective standards. In this respect they have to adapt themselves to the rules of reciprocity which dominate the exchange of goods and services among the Indians themselves. Indeed, this is enforced by the nature of the activities demanded by cattle, in that cattle need people of both sexes to take care of them and in so far as individuals are required for the owner can rarely watch over them himself. Hence, I saw that some Misti families tended to establish fairly permanent links with some Indian families. Through different documents I was able to trace some of these as far back as 1930. These links were not only evident in activities related to production but also appeared in different contexts such as attending each others' celebrations, becoming Padrinos and Ahijados de Matrimonio (this is the most common form of ceremonial kinship by which they are united), advising on legal matters, arranging property transactions, etc. Consequently, one could also observe that the Misti who maintained these links were the most successful in obtaining labourers whenever they needed them and they were the mostly highly esteemed. Those who disregarded the rules of reciprocity generally had to threaten the Indians, reminding them of their previous monetary debts, and of the danger of losing the land they had left as guarantee, or by using other coercive arguments.

It is important to remark, however, that although the Misti have generally been supported by the Provincial authorities, because generally they were part of their kinship networks (which in contrast to those of the Indians extend beyond the area of the community and even beyond that of the Province), they could not go beyond certain limits in coercing the Indians. In the community records there is evidence of two cases of Misti who were almost lynched by the Indians. One case took place in the 40's and another in 1958. The people who remember the events of the latter date told me that a huge crowd of Indians met at the Plaza after hearing the bells calling for tumulto (tumult). The Misti man, being aware that he was the cause of what was happening, decided to escape through the back part of his house since the front was facing the Plaza. Nevertheless, he was caught and his hands were tied with a rope. The idea was to kick and hit him. Fortunately for him a couple of policemen came from Cabana and only by deceiving the people did they succeed in liberating the Misti and escaping to Puquio in a small lorry.

The Indians, on the other hand, given that their habits of consumption are not restricted to what is produced locally but also include what comes from outside and is sold in the shops, and given that they are generally ignorant about the national legislation, need the assistance of the Misti whose range of interaction is wider, who participate more intensively in the national culture, and whose cash incomes are larger.

As we mentioned in the first chapter, Indian production is mostly directed to their own subsistence and proportionately the cash incomes they obtain from trading cheese, wool and charqui or dry meat, are not as high as those obtained by the Misti. Maize production is still their dominant activity and it is only used for their own consumption, to fulfill their reciprocal obligations known as Ayni, on festive occa ions, and in exchange for services. Indeed the emphasis that they put on this activity corresponds to their lack of desire to accumulate, and this in its turn corresponds to the nature of their exchanges. These are mostly based on reciprocity, and relate to the nature of the social system which is based largely on kinship, and to the fact that the hierarchical system of religious cargos and the celebration of religious fiestas are still important mechanisms for strengthening their links to other Indians and for obtaining prestige.

Their lack of an accumulative sense is clearly expressed in a belief, which we shall see again in the coming chapters, which draws a parallel between a person who does not share his wealth and an incestuous individual: both are considered to become "condenados" (condemned) after dying and as such to become a threat to the community, since they eat living beings. Moreover, the shopkeepers confirmed what people generally told me, namely that of all the articles obtained through the national market the most in demand were sugar cane alcohol and coca leaves, which are articles used only in contexts of reciprocal exchange.

This suggests therefore that among the Indians money is not an instrument for accumulation but for redistribution. Correspondingly, it is also striking that the Soles (Peruvian currency) coins and notes acquire some new uses: they become the Kuyaq, the Qeqpuy, the Puñuchi (see p.15).

It is in relation to this meaning given to money that the Indians explain the settlement of the Misti in Andamarca. When questioned about why they sold their land to the Misti they almost unanimously replied that it was in order to afford the expenses of the religious cargos. This answer seems to be correct since the religious cargos demand heavy expense and the Misti still supply loans of money to help the Indians afford this. In the next section we shall give more details of the organization of these cargos.

Another area in which the Misti are significant to the Indians is that concerning the public welfare of the community and the maintenance of law and order. It is mostly they who hold District offices such as Alcalde, Gobernador and Juez de Paz. The reason adduced by them (and recognized by the Indians) for holding these offices is because they are educated people. However, in 1973 an Indian defeated a Misti in a general election for the appointment of Alcalde. The general comment of the Misti was that an ignorant person, like the one elected, would never be able to run the affairs of the Alcaldía

because it involved a lot of writing that had to be properly performed. Apart from this, they added that it also involved contacts with important people at the Provincial and Capital levels, and that the Indian would not know how to behave in front of these. Later, in private, the Indian confessed to me that those limitations were true and that he was thinking of withdrawing from the candidacy. In the end, a Misti, was appointed to the office. That same year another Indian was appointed to the office of Gobernador and later the general comment was that because he did not know how to handle affairs he had become the servant of the police. Moreover, he was constantly seeking the advice of the Misti for the writing he had to do and for interpreting the bureaucratic documents which came from the Provincial administrators.

This habit of seeking the advice of the Misti whenever an Indian deals with affairs involving the national regulations is a very common one. This was clearly evident when, in 1973, they had to complete their Declaración Jurada de Bienes (sworn statements of wealth). On that occasion several of the Misti made good profits by filling in the forms for the Indians. On other occasions Indians seek legal advice in disputes against other Indians and against Misti. A normal practice in a land dispute is for one of the parties to decide to sell it to a Misti and leave him responsible for handling the legal procedures. Probably the idea underlying this practice is that a Misti, because of his knowledge and personal contacts, may cope more successfully with the problem than the Indians. All this upholds the fact that the Indians accept the Misti designation of them as ignorant.

However, to be ignorant in the context of this knowledge is not shameful because, ultimately, this kind of knowledge is seen to be untrue, and indeed the Misti are the ones who appear as ignorant, as we noted when describing the mocking representations of the Misti during the celebrations of the Yarja Aspi in the main village.

My general impression is that the affairs relating to the national system do not motivate the Indians very strongly, and that if they get involved in them it is more in spite of themselves rather than through a willingness to participate wholeheartedly. This is particularly evident with respect to public works in Andamarca, which are performed under the inspiration and guidance of the Misti. I have several times observed that the District Officers have to be helped by the police in order to recruit labourers to perform such communal works as repairing the roads, building an irrigation channel, etc. Some years ago the recruitment took place accompanied by the rhythm of a big drum (bombo) and under a Peruvian flag to indicate that the service was being donated to the "Patria". As we have seen in the previous section this is the way the Indians represent their recruitment into the army during the Yarja Aspi.

This lack of interest in affairs connected with the National system is consistent with the Indians' rejection of the Misti. For them there are no good Misti, all of them are

equally evil. According to the most widespread version of the origin of the Misti, they were delinquents evading justice whom by taking advantage of the ignorance of the Indians' forebears, appropriated their land and cattle and settled in Andamarca. How far this image corresponds to reality is very difficult to tell because there are not many historical records which refer to the arrival of the first Misti families. However, it seems to be true that they are indeed of foreign origin. This is confirmed by the Misti themselves, since they almost unanimously stated that they were from the village of Lucanas, the old Provincial Capital, which was later replaced by Puquio. When questioned on their reasons for emigrating to Andamarca they were not certain and only suggested to me that perhaps their parents or grandparents had owned land in this area. This last suggests that they were not such recent arrivals. Indeed, certain records from the end of the XVII century confirm that there were at that time some individuals in Andamarca who held some of the surnames of the present day Misti.

It seems therefore that the notion of outsider as applied to the Misti by the Indians is not so much related to the fact of their being newcomers as to symbolic and structural considerations which are associated with the lack of marriage exchanges and other kinds of exchanges of a symmetrical kind. Not even relationships of compadrazgo are exchanged between them in a symmetrical fashion. It may also relate to the Mistis' participation in the national csociety, which is conditioned by the nature of cattle raising, their dominant activity.

The status of outsider granted to the Misti by the Indians is further emphasized by the values associated with their dominant activity, as we saw in the previous section in relation to the meaning of the Puna and the Eastern side of the Negromayo river, and expressed in the nickname which they have been given. Hence we saw that the Puna is the region associated with animal husbandry and in contrast to the valley it is thought of as being non-social, in the sense that it has hardly been transformed by man and in the sense that those who inhabit it permanently are called Sallqacha, a term generally translated in the old vocabularies as savage. Besides this, together with the Eastern side of the Negromayo river, it is always the scene of the myths of origin or of events that have taken place in a very remote mythical time. In contrast to the Western side, where the main village is located today, the Eastern side is the realm of the Anexos and of the Gentiles who survived the rain of fire. Correspondingly, we have seen that the Eastern side is associated with cattle herding and the notion of outsiderness, for related to this side is Santísima Trinidad and the Pucas (Gringos with their fur hat), while the Western side is associated with Agriculture, and has related to it Señor de la Ascensión and the Negritos (who wear straw hats).

All these associations make it clear, therefore, that the Eastern side of the river is equivalent to the Puna and the Western side to the valley, and that they are equivalent in so far as they are related to the notions of outsider and insider

which for the Indians also represent the idea of non-social as opposed to social life. Moreover, they also point out the symbolic association of the Misti with the Eastern side and the Puna and therefore with the outside. This symbolic association of the Misti to a non-social realm is further expressed by the nickname qala which is generally applied to them. This nickname is translated as "naked". If we recall that in the Andean world dress has always been a symbol of status, and hence of social life, it becomes clear why the Misti are called qalas.

When seen from this point of view, the relationship between Indians and Mistis emerges as one in which their structural positions are not new, since there is evidence that ever since the pre-Hispanic period the Andean world coped with a structurally similar situation. This is the case of the Huaris and Llacuaces studied very carefully by scholars such as Duviols (1973), Mariscotti(1973) and Zuidema (1973). From the evidence supplied by these three authors it is clear that Huari was the name given to the people who were native to a village and who were regarded as the owners of the land. It was also the name given to an underworld god who was associated with agriculture, most particularly with maize, and who was thought to have existed in a very remote period. The Llacuaz, on the contrary were foreigners or those who, although born in a village, had parents who had come from somewhere else. Apart from this, they were considered as a "nation" who had always inhabited the Puna and who

ate guanaco, llama and taruca (deer) meat. In other words, they were supposed to be herders who lived a nomadic life. They were said to be descendants of the lightning (Illapa or Liviac) and for this reason they considered it to be their most important divinity. In addition, they were also said to have been created in the Puna, and some further evidence suggests that they were seen as conquerors of the Huari.

This comparison between the Indian/Misti and Huari/Llacuaz oppositions suggests therefore that within the system of categories of the Indians there is room for the inclusion of a dominant group which has not been able to alter the social system upon which these categories rest, although today their illegitimate status is perhaps more marked than before because the idea of progress that the Misti use to justify themselves is not shared by the Indians. In the past, in contrast, both conquerors and conquered shared a common system of values in that both were inheritors of the Andean Culture.

Once we have reached this point there begins to emerge from the relationship between Indians and whites a completely different image from that suggested by the Domination theory, and also from those theories which were developed earlier. Firstly it becomes clear that the interacting parties have to adapt to each others' rules and that therefore the approach suggested by the Theory of Domination is useless since it describes this

interaction in unilateral terms. Secondly, it becomes evident that here we are not dealing with either classes or castes but with social groupings which originate in the confrontation of two distinct social systems and whose criteria for ascription reside mainly in heredity and marriage. Finally the aggressiveness of the Indians against the Misti may not be explained as originating in a sense of class exploitation but as deriving from the fact that they are seen as illegitimate or non-social beings who have disrupted the ordered life of the Indians.

From this analysis it may be seen that I acknowledge an interacting set of relationships which is the product of historical circumstances but that I also acknowledge the fact that the Indians perceive the Misti in a way different from that in which the National society perceives both of them, and in a way different from that which has been assumed by the Domination Theory (which coincides in a certain measure with that of the National society). By concentrating on action alone, this last theory risks being ethnocentric, whereas, by taking into consideration concepts and values together with actions we are at least allowing the people under study to express themselves and consequently the risks of ethnocentrism are decreased.

The Religious Hierarchy and the System of Cargos.-

It is my purpose in this section to give an account of the different religious and ritual Cargos that are fulfilled by the Andamarquinos every year, to explore the possible rationality underlying the sponsorship of those Cargos, and the nature of the social networks behind those who sponsor the Cargos.

In the first section we saw that through a symbolic context related to water the saints express both the unity of the Comunidad de Andamarca and the parts from which it is made up. Indeed, the whole sequence of the burial of offerings in places associated with the saints expresses the idea of the integration of the community. This comes at the end of a process during which, day after day, the parts are knitted together in wider and more significant units. Here, in this section, we shall try to explore the nature of the saints' integrative role at a social and symbolic level.

The material upon which I shall base this description derives principally from the analysis of the "books" of each of the saints that are worshipped in Andamarca, from the books of some of the crosses, from my observation and participation in each of the Fiestas of the Annual Cycle, from some of the weekly Doctrinas, and from reports given by older informants. The "books" are notebooks which register information concerning

the people who, each year sponsor the roles associated with a saint, and information about the saints, property and wealth. Indeed this last consideration explains in great part the reson why each saint has its own notebook. Since each saint is an owner of clothes, various ornaments, animals, wax, and consequently money, and since this wealth is administered by different persons every year, written inventories are necessary. This is even more so because each of the saints is the owner of an amount of cash which may be lent to anyone who requests it at a yearly interest rate of 30%.

Hence there are 21 "books" of saints, and there may be a similar number of "books" for the crosses, but for these last I have been able to check only two. Apart for one "book" that belongs to Niño Víctor, I had the opportunity of studying all the books of the saints and even some inventories that were made on loose sheets of paper. The oldest inventories that I had the opportunity to consult date from 1916.

Through my participation in the different Fiestas of the annual cycle and in the Doctrinas I was able to determine the different roles associated with each of the saints and their respective positions within a hierarchy. This was because the sponsors of the saints, such as the Yacu Alcaldes in certain ritual contexts and in the Doctrinas (Doctrines) that take place twice a week a little after midnight, organize themselves according to their rank.

As may be seen from Table 22 there are roles which are properly religious and which are associated with saints and crosses and also roles that may be called ritual ones, in so far as they have a festive character and are enacted either in relation to the celebration of a saint or in relation to other events. Among the first we can include the roles of Mayordomo, Previste, Muñidora, Adornante, Alferez, etc., and among the second ones, roles like Mayor de Danzantes, Chamicero, Chasqui, Ñahuin, Ñahuin Chuaq, Misti, etc. I have estimated that about 20 or 25 years ago both numbered up to 533 in all, but of these nearly 76 have disappeared in recent times. So it is possible that today only some 457 roles still survive. It is important to remark that this is an approximation only, because I am not quite certain about the total number of crosses that are sponsored nor whether the same number of roles is associated with each of them. This last applies as well to some of the saints, for there are some who are less important than others and correspondingly, as not so many people are interested in sponsoring them, their associated roles have been reduced to very few. For example, instead of having two Previstes or two Muñidoras, as is the normal practice, they may have just one of each. Or, instead of having two Tesoreros (accountants) they may have only one or even none. As the Previstes and Muñidoras are not always recorded in the "books" of the saints, nor are the Tesoreros, it is difficult to determine the total number of these roles. However, I do not think that these uncertainties alter the estimates at which we have arrived to any great extent, for there is sufficient documentation in the majority of cases.

TABLE 22 RELIGIOUS AND FESTIVE ROLES

RELIGIOUS ROLES

Priest

Sacristán Ecónomo

Roles associated with each of the Saints in the main Village and the Anexos

1 Mayordomo
2 Previstes
2 Muñidoras
1 Alferez
1 Adornate (Have merged)
1 Tesorero de Dinero
1 Tesorero de Cera (Depends on the amount of wax for candlelight that belongs to a saint)

Novenantes (Niño Jesús de Praga Saint's day eve)

These roles are associated with nearly 20 crosses in addition

There are also 2 Alferez de Anima

FESTIVE ROLES

Mayor de Negritos and their respective "Capataces" (no longer in practice)

2 for Niño Reyes Saint's day
2 for Virgen Concebida Saint's day
2 for Niño Jesús de Praga Saint's day

Vasallo

Performed only during Carnavales, when there was one for Tuna and another for Pata.

Mayor de Danzantes and their respective "Capataces"

2 for Espíritu Santo Saint's day
2 for Virgen Encarnación Saint's day
4 for Qollana Amo Saint's day

2 for Santísima Trinidad Saint's day
2 for San Pedro Saint's day
2 for Santa Cruz Saint's day (one for Anjanaiso and the other for Accaimarca)
2 or more for San Isidro Saint's day
2 for Santa Rosa Saint's day

Mayor de Pastores and their respective "Capataces"

2 for Christmas eve

Altareros (altars built at each of the 4 corners of the Square)

4 for Espíritu Santo Saint's day
4 for Qollana Amo Saint's day
4 for Santísima Trinidad Saint's day
4 for Virgen Encarnación Saint's day

Villano Mayor

2 for Espíritu Santo Saint's day

Maricha, Marcha or Capitana (no longer sponsored)

2 for Virgen de las Nieves Saint Day
2 during the "Yarja Aspi" celebrations

Toro Obligado (Toro Jayaycu)

2 for Santa Cruz
2 for Espíritu Santo
2 for Amunchic or Qollana Amo
2 for Santísima Trinidad

Chamicero

2 for Christmas

Roles associated with the "Yarja Aspi"

18 Ñahuin Churaq (approximately)
3 Ñahuin ... 6 Negritos ... 2 Ampatos (Western side)

2 Ñahuin ... 4 Pucas ... 2 Ampatos (Eastern side)

1 Arador for each side of the river and their respective "capataces"

1 Vieja for each side of the river and their respective "capataces"

3 Misti for each side of the river and their respective "Secretarios"

1 Chasqui for each side of the river.

1 group of "Pacos" for each side of the river.

CIVIL ROLES

Varayoq (no longer in existance)

Macho Alcalde

2 Alcalde Campo

Juez Inspector

Dueño Regidor

Wirajo Regidor

Mayor Albacil

Sullca Albacil

Yaku Alcalde

There are approximately 18. Those associated with water channels have 2 "Comisiones" while those associated with water tanks have only 1.

3 Campos for each side of the river

6 Members of the Consejo de Administración

3 Members of the Consejo de Vigilancia.

District Offices

1 Gobernador

6 Teniente de Gobernador

8 Members of the Consejo Municipal ... 3 Agentes Municipales

1 Juez de Paz and 2 Accesitarios

1 Sub-Administrador de Aguas.

457 is thus a high number of roles, especially if we consider that the total population of Andamarca according to the 1972 National Census is only 2,862. In other words, this means that there are about 6 individuals for every role, and perhaps fewer if we consider that children who are less than six years generally do not hold any of them. (The total population of those under 6 years old is 664).

Except for the Cargos of Mayor de Danzantes, during the central days of the Yarja Aspi fiesta, Chamicero during Christmas, and some of the roles associated with Niño Víctor, who is also celebrated at Christmas and who does not have a position in the religious hierarchy, the Misti do not fulfill any other ritual and religious obligations. This situation was the same in the past although there were some few exceptions, when Misti sponsored roles of saints included in the religious hierarchy. Today this is no longer so and the Indians are the ones who sponsor the majority of the Cargos and sometimes even those which are generally sponsored by the Misti. The latter are regarded as the most expensive for the sponsors have to feed the whole community during the days that the celebration lasts. The sponsorship by the Misti of these Cargos, when the whole community participates, corresponds to their central position and recalls the existence of an undivided collectivity which exists in opposition to them. Moreover, it is important to notice that the Cargos they sponsor are associated with the central days of the Yarja Aspi, which is an occasion on

which the whole community participates most intensively and with Christmas, which, as we have seen, is closely associated with herding activities (see p.17). Indeed the nature of the Cargos which the Misti sponsor correlates with the nature of the Main Square and the Calle Lima or Chaupis, which are the realms that the Misti inhabit in the main village and all of them suggest the image of undividedness and of the unity of the Comunidad.

Given the magnitude of the expenses involved in the Cargos sponsored by the Misti they are as we have seen very few while those of the Indians do not require that the whole community should be fed, but only the relatives and friends of the sponsors. These are less expensive, but an individual during his lifetime has to sponsor several of them and, as we shall see, the hierarchy of the saints orders the sequence in which these cargos are sponsored. The contrast between the Cargos sponsored by the Misti and those sponsored by the Indians already suggests that they have different meanings and a different social basis. The range of the Cargos sponsored by the Misti always includes the whole community while the Cargos of the Indians, usually include fractions of the community and only occasionally include the whole community. Correspondingly, the celebrations sponsored by Indians are always attended by people with whom the sponsor maintains direct relationships of reciprocity, while those sponsored by the Misti are not necessarily restricted in this way.

Apart from this division between Cargos that are sponsored by Misti and those sponsored by Indians, it is important to distinguish between Cargos which involves expenses because the sponsors have to serve food, drinks, etc. to the attendants, and other Cargos which do not involve these expenses, their contribution consisting of helping those who sponsor the Cargos that do demand expenditure. Accordingly this second kind of Cargo may be sponsored by children while the first ones are normally sponsored by adults, although on some occasions a child may be appointed by his parents to sponsor a Cargo but the latter finance it. This is the case among those who fulfill the role of Adornantes (Decoraters) of the "Throne" in which the image of a saint is taken in procession, but roles like Mayordomos, Mayor de Danzantes and certain others are always sponsored by adults, and principally by men. Women who sponsor these Cargos tend to be widows, but it seems that there are certain female saints for whom they manifest a preference, regardless of their marital status.

With this background in mind we can now proceed to describe the nature of the hierarchical order of the saints and the organization of the Cargos that are associated with them. The most striking features of the saints of Andamarca is that although they derive from the Christian tradition they have been organized into an hierarchical system whose principles of classification have a long tradition in the Andean World.

Indeed, I doubt very much whether anything similar can be found in Christian tradition and I hope that the evidence I shall provide may encourage other investigators to look for similar systems in other parts of Andean society, since so far these have not been recorded in the anthropological literature that deals with this part of the world.

With the exception of Niño Víctor and San Martín de Porres, the rest of the 20 Saints who are worshipped in Andamarca are classified in two broad categories, as may be seen in Table 20.and 21. These two categories are "Constaticios" (principals) and "Ocultos" (hidden). The former are regarded as higher than the latter. The Constaticios are also hierarchical ordered: "Propietario" (owners) and "Sullca" (younger or minor). These two categories are in their turn subdivided in a triadic pattern which consists of the following categories: Yayanchic, Mamanchic and Amunchic; and Sullca Yayanchic, Sullca Mamanchic, and Sullca Amunchic.

These categories represent a basic framework which is also used by the Anexos and the neighbouring communities to classify their saints. For this reason and because each village has a different corpus of saints these structural positions are filled with different saints in each case, except for Amunchic, which in several communities is filled with Qollana Amo or the Holy Monstrance.

Because of the large number of saints of Andamarca who are incorporated into this classificatory system and because their positions whithin the structure seem to derive from the distant past, I have not been able to make a complete study of the rationality behind the position of each saint. When questioned on this informants usually replied that it had always been like that , and in general their answers were too vague for me to be able to unravel this problem completely.

From this classificatory framework we can see that the saints of Andamarca are arranged by their hierarchical position and by sex. Hence the triadic categories of Yayanchic (the Father), Mamanchic (the Mother) and Amunchic (perhaps a derivation from Qollana Amo or the Great Master, or from Amu which means dumb), express the idea of the two sexes which are mediated by a neutral category such as is the Holy Monstrance.(13) Correspondingly, it is possible to see that whenever the sponsors (Mayordomos or Previstes) of the different saints adopt a spatial arrangement in different ritual contexts the one who sponsors the saint who falls into the category of Amunchic always goes to the centre and towards his right hand side follows Yayanchic and the rest of the male saints in a decreasing hierarchical order; towards the left hand side of Amunchic follows Mamanchic and the rest of the female saints in the same decreasing order as the male saints. (See Table 21).

Apart from the fact that the Patron and Patroness of a village are always classified as Yayanchic and Mamanchic, and apart from the fact that the Amunchic category is generally filled by the Holy Monstrance or by the Holy Cross, it is difficult to determine the reason for the hierarchical position of the rest of the saints. The most probable is that they derive from historical considerations which have to do with the pressure exerted by some groups of people who favour some saints against others who may have lost popularity. This possibility is suggested by our analysis of the saints associated with the Anexos (see p.56 and by the fact that saints like Santísima Trinidad, who used to be Oculto, and San Pedro, whose introduction to Andamarca dates from very recent times, have been incorporated not long ago into the category of Propietario, Something similar is occurring with Saint Rose of Lima who is displacing Vírgen de las Nieves, and with Vírgen Dolorosa who has been fairly recently incorporated into the category of Constaticio.

One common attribute of the Constaticios, remarked on by most of the informants, was that in contrast to the Ocultos they were more prestigious and wealthy, The term "Propietario" was explained to me, in relation to this, as a category that indicated the high status of the saint and his command over the other saints. As a consequence of their status they were also regarded as more wealthy in the sense that they owned more cattle, land and other properties. The Sullca, on the other hand, were

seen as the lugartenientes (subordinates) of the Propietarios, and generally they acted either to replace the functions performed by the Mayordomos of the Propietarios or as their messengers for recruiting the rest of the Mayordomos for the performance of public religious work, such as fixing the roof of the church, or preparing the reception when the Bishop visits the Comunidad, etc.

The lower categories of saints are the Ocultos (hidden) and, as this term suggests, they are not supposed to fulfill any overt major role. The Mayordomos and the rest of persons who fulfill roles associated with these Saints limit themselves to just accompanying the religious servants of the Constaticio saints during the events in which the latter participate. These events are, for example, the Doctrinas that take place every Wednesday and Sunday at dawn, and which have to be sponsored by each of the Mayordomos of the Constaticio saints. Every Wednesday and Sunday in rotation, each of the Mayordomos of this kind of saint sponsors the Doctrina. Another context in which the Constaticio sponsors participate is that of the communal ritual in October in which the Mayordomos sow maize on the Yayanchic qata land owned by the Constaticio saints.

This is now no longer practised because the terrain was appropiated by the communal authorities for building the school for girls. Another occasion in which the Constaticio

saints participate is Carnaval when the Mayordomos of these saints have the duty of preparing the Ulla [14] (a ritual food prepared only for this celebration consisting of meat, corn on the cob, potatoes, cabbage and peaches). Also there is the occasion when the Previstes and Muñidoras of these saints have to perform the Pacha Tacsi ritual (to wash the cloth of the images of the saints). For Todos los Santos (1st. November) it is possible to see once more the Previstes of both the Constaticios and Ocultos saints concentrated in the Plaza de Acho, but only those of the first type take part in a competition which consists of carrying a big round stone with a hole in its centre, known as Ara Rumi, from the Plaza de Acho up to the door of the church. The stone probably weighs somewhat more than 50Kg. and the competition consists of supporting the stone on their shoulders for as long as possible and running in the direction of the Church without letting it fall to the ground. During the race each of the Previstes takes turns in holding the stone.

Finally, another context in which the saints in the category of Constaticios figure prominently is in relation to the burial of the dead. However, this time not all of them participate. According to my informants the ones who take part are: Yavanchic, Mamanchic, Amunchic, Niño Jesús de Praga, Sullca Yavanchic, Sullca Mamanchic, Sullca Amunchic and Vírgen de las Nieves (other informants told me that only the first three Propietarios and their Sullca participate). As in the case of the Doctrinas each of them rotate the role of sponsoring the

burials but in this instance they take turns at every third burial.

With respect to the specific duties that each saint performs within the religious system the only piece of information I gathered is that the Mayordomo de Yayanchic punishes the rest of the Mayordomos if they fail to attend the Doctrinas and that the Mayordomo de Mamanchic punishes the Previstes for this same reason. Should they be away their respective Sullca may replace them. The punishment consists of whipping them or their backs three times (in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost).

This fact moreover suggests that there is a certain correlation between the organization of the saints and the organization of the roles associated with the saints. Among these last we have to distinguish between those roles which are strictly associated with the yearly religious services, those others which are enacted only for the celebration of the saints' fiestas or the ones that are associated with the accounting related to the saints' capital.

The first kind of roles are those of Mayordomo, Previste and Muñidora, the second ones are the Adornantes (Decorators) and the Álferez, and the last ones are the Tesorero de Cera (Accountant of Wax) and the Tesorero de Dinero (Accountant of Money).

As in the case of the organization of the saints, there is one central figure who is the Mayordomo, and male and female roles over which he has command. His male assistants are the Previstes and the female ones are the Muñidoras. These in their turn are divided into two categories: there are Major and Minor Previstes and Major and Minor Muñidoras. Hence the cluster of yearly religious service roles is made up of 5 categories.

All of them have the duty of attending the Doctrinas and the major religious events such as Carnavales, Easter, Yarja Aspi central celebrations, Todos los Santos, etc., and all of them have to fulfill their role for a period of one year which starts from the moment that the saints' fiesta is celebrated.

The relationship between the Mayordomo and the Previstes and Muñidoras resembles very closely the relationships between a father-in-law and his children-in-law. This can be seen on several occasions but particularly during the ceremonial drinking of the Pito on the day on which San Isidro is celebrated. As we mentioned before, this is the day when those who benefit from the irrigation channels of the Western side of the Negromayo river celebrate the Yarja Aspi fiesta in the main village, and the Pito is the drink made from brewed maize, covered with flour made from toasted maize, which is consumed during the sowing activities. The resemblance consists of the fact that, on San Isidro's day just before the competition of the Danzantes de

Tijeras starts the Previstes have to blow the Pururo (a small horn made from the calf's tail) while the Mayordomos drink the Pito and in the same way the Son-in-law performs this act for his father-in-law during the sowing ceremonies. Another occasion is when some time ago in identical form as the sons-in-law, the Previstes carried on their backs the Mayordomo and his wife after having sown ritually in October the chacra of the saints known as Yayanchic qata.

The Cargo of Mayordomo is always fulfilled by adult males or widows, and involves heavy expenditure. Apart from the costs which arise from the services of the priest on the day when the fiesta of the saint is celebrated, the Mayordomos have to provide food and drinks on the different festive occasions, already mentioned, in which they have to participate. The Cargo of Previste and Muñidora, on the other hand, does not involve any cost. Those who belong to the Major category are always adults, while those of the Minor category are always children. One of the most salient obligations of the Previstes Mayores is to bury the dead. They are the ones who dig the graves in the cemetery and who take turns in accompanying the dead to the cemetery. They are also the ones who participate in the competition of Todos los Santos, when the Ara Rumi has to be carried to the Church, and which again is a ceremony associated with the dead (the Ara Rumi is kept in the cemetery the whole round, and the day after Todos los Santos is the Día de los

Difuntos, or Day of the Dead). Apart from this occasion the two kinds of Previstes generally act together. For example, they have to attend the two days of Doctrina, Via Crucis at Easter, to dance holding a flag during Carnavales, to participate in the public works related to the church, etc.

In these different ceremonial contexts the role of the Muñidoras or Muñecas (dolls), as they are sometimes called, is to provide the brewed maize for the Mayordomos and Previstes and to change the flowers of the saints (wayta watay) every Wednesday, during the time that the Doctrinas are celebrated, and every Friday, during the time of Cuaresma (Lent). One noticeable feature is that the Muñidoras never remove the flower stands (floreros) from the altars. Those in charge of doing this are the Previstes and they hand them to the Muñidoras in order that they may put the flowers in them. Later, the Previstes return these stands to the altar. This ceremony of changing the flowers of a saint is known as Qauro Muray. The participation of the Muñidoras in the cycle of Doctrinas only relates to the day that flowers are changed, for on Sunday they never attend the church.

As we mentioned before, the Doctrinas are performed every Wednesday, and Sunday during the whole year except for Lent, when instead of Doctrinas the Via Crucis is celebrated every Friday during the seven weeks that this period lasts. During

the Doctrina time Wednesdays are known as Qayaycu (to call) and Sundays are known as Yananchay (the last). Both Doctrinas and Via Crucis are sponsored in rotation by the Mayordomos of the Constaticios saints, who take turns in sponsoring the rituals that are performed inside the Church on these days. These rituals consist of prayers, songs and processions in honour of the saints. The only difference between the Doctrinas and the Via Crucis is that the first are sponsored for two days by the same Mayordomo, while the second ones are sponsored for one day by one Mayordomo. As there are ten Mayordomos for Constaticios Saints and Lent only lasts 7 weeks, the Via Crucis is performed on other days apart from Friday in order that each may have the opportunity of sponsoring at least one Via Crucis, during the last week of this period.

The sponsors of the rest of the Cargos associated with a saint do not participate in either of these religious services but mainly do so on the day of the celebration of the saint or some days later when the inventory of the property of the saint is publicly made. These other Cargos are: Adornante, Alferez, Tesorero de Cera and Tesorero de Dinero. Today the Cargo of Alferez has merged with that of Adornante and both are sponsored by a single person. Sometime ago the Alferez was the one who sponsored the Víspera (eve) or religious ceremonies performed the evening before the celebration of a saint's day, and the Adornante was the one who paid for all the expense of decorating the portable platform or "throne" on which the saint

was taken in procession. Apart from this, both of them had the duty to invite the people who accompany them food and drinks. These Cargos were sponsored by adults and children but especially by those who had reeently married and it was common for the Mayordomo to request them to fulfill this role.

The Tesorero de Cera and the Tesorero de Dinero are Cargos which the people readily volunteer to perform because they involve the administration of money and the privilege of borrowing some of it. However, they have to be accepted by the Mayordomos. Itisat the moment when the inventory of the saints' property is made that their roles become most evident for they have to repay the exact amount they received when they began their role plus the interest that it had earned through the loans. The inventories generally take place on the day immediately after the celebration of the saint, or some days later, and it is at this moment that the sponsorship of all the Cargos associated with a saint, starting with that of Mayordomo, is transferred to other individuals. The Tesorero de Cera administrates the wax for candle lights owned by a saint and also the money deriving from all those who had to pay a return for using it. This money is spent on the replacement of the wax that has been used up for this is obtained from the coast. On the other hand, the Tesorero de Dinero administrates the money received from spontaneous donations to the saint, from selling some of the property such as animals, or from the interest obtained by making loans.

It is today assumed that a saint will be associated with 8 Cargos: Mayordomo, 2 Previstes, 2 Muñidoras, Adornante-Alferez, Tesorero de Cera and Tesorero de Dinero. However, there are cases in which a saint does not possess much money, nor very much wax and therefore the number of Cargos associated with two saints (especially Ocultos) are now sponsored as if they were of one. This is principally the case with saints whose celebration days are very close together, like Santa Rosa, who is celebrated on August 25th. and San Francisco, who is celebrated on August 26th. I have recorded 5 cases of this kind and it is very remarkable that in four cases the saints that have been united stand in a relationship to each other of male and female, whilst in the fifth case the saints in question are Santa Cruz and Señor de la Asención whom we have seen to be associated with agriculture (see Note 10).

Apart from these Cargos associated with each saint and which are common to the majority of them, some also include additional festive Cargos which are enacted on the day the saint is celebrated. These other Cargos include the Mayor de Danzantes, Mayor de Negritos, Villano Mayor, etc. and some other Cargos with more religious connotations, like the Novenantes associated with the celebration of Niño Jesús de Praga and Vírgen del Perpetuo Socorro.

Having presented all this background material we shall now try to discover the rationality underlying the sponsorship of the religious Cargos. To start with we could say that one level of explanation could be deduced from the role played by the saints during the Yarja Aspi celebrations, where they clearly appear to be conforming to a system be means of which the whole community expresses itself as a single entity. This would, moreover, be emphasized by their association with water sources and with the water festivities which, as we have seen, express the idea of unity. In relation to this it is also relevant to note that all of the saints are included within a hierarchical system in which each of them occupies a different structural position according to rank and sex; that those who sponsor the saints in these positions interact simultaneously on different occasions, and that those who sponsor the Constaticio saints may take turns in leading some ceremonial events which are included within different ritual cycles.

Another level of explanation for the sponsorship of religious Cargos relates to the belief that if saints are not honoured then the crops may not grow and various calamities may affect the community. This explanation was given by some of my informants, while many others told me that people sponsored the saints out of devotion, or for competitive reasons, in the sense that many were challenged to accept the sponsorship because a

person who does not sponsor Cargos is considered to be an "Acallamunto" (a pile of shit). These last explanations, which related to individual motivations, were generally put forward whenever I directed my enquiries in order to find out whether a connection existed between the saint an individual sponsored and the location of his chacras. This possibility occurred to me because each of the saints is associated with particular points in the irrigation system. It was also suggested by the fact that those who sponsor the festive Cargos of the main days of the Yarja Aspi celebrations are people who benefit from the irrigation systems of either the Western or Eastern sides of the Negromayo river, and by the fact that those who sponsor the Cargos associated with a cross are generally people who own chacras in the Barrio where the cross is located. However, as there were too many exceptions contradicting this theory, informants preferred to base their explanations on individual motivation. It became clear, also that my assumption was apparently in contradiction with the stated ideal that the sponsorship of the saints by individuals should follow the hierarchical order in which the saints are organized. In other words. I was told that one should begin by sponsoring the Oculto saints first, then the Sullca and finally a Propietario. Another reason advanced was that sponsors had to be sufficiently wealthy and to have already built a permanent house, in order to undertake certain cargos.

From all these possible explanations for sponsoring a religious Cargo as a Mayordomo, we can see that there is both a structural and an individual dimension to be taken into account

when selecting a saint. These two dimensions may further be deduced from an analysis derived from the lists of people who have sponsored a Mayordomía which are included in the inventory books of each of the saints. They also emerge in the answers given to a questionnaire which was applied to 114 family heads.

The answers to my questionnaire show that Mayordomías are not the most common type of Cargo sponsored by an individual during his lifetime. Thus out of perhaps 7 cargos which an average individual had sponsored up to the time of my interview, 2 or 3 would be Mayordomías. I also noted that young family heads had never sponsored so many Cargos as men in their thirties and older. The maximum number of Mayordomías sponsored by any one of the 114 family heads was 6. Another said he had sponsored 5. Both of these men were over 70 years old. But there were several other old men who had not sponsored such a large number of Mayordomías. One man of about 80 said he had sponsored one, and of 12 men in their 60's two had not sponsored any Mayordomías and the rest had sponsored an average of 2 or 3. The great majority of family heads interviewed utilizing this questionnaire were between 30 and 60 years old, and they were mostly men. Among them, the average number of Mayordomías they stated that they had sponsored was 2. Women, on the other hand, generally stated that they had sponsored a Cargo as Capitana or Marcha, which consists of leading a dance, whose rhythm is marked by a big drum, during the celebration of Vírgen de las Nieves.

In the lists of people who had sponsored Mayordomías, which are included in the books of inventaries of each of the 20 saints, I saw again that the maximum number of Mayordomías sponsored by an individual was no more than six; that the average number of Mayordomías sponsored by the individuals listed was two or three, and that even among the sponsors of the Mayordomías of the Propietario saints a large number were not listed as sponsors of the Mayordomía of any other saint. For example, of the 48 individuals who had sponsored a Mayordomía associated with Espíritu Santo (Yayanchic) there were 24 who were not listed as Mayordomos of any other saint, 19 were listed as having sponsored the Mayordomía of one other saint, 4 were listed as having sponsored the Mayordomía of two other saints, and 1 was listed as having sponsored the Mayordomía of 5 other saints. A similar pattern emerged in the case of those associated with the Vírgen Encarnación, the rest of the Constaticio saints, and the Ocultos. In this last respect it is important to mention that most of those Mayordomos who were listed as sponsoring one saint were at the beginning of the lists and therefore date from a time for which there is very little evidence to show whether they had sponsored the Mayordomía of any other saint as well. We have to bear in mind the fact that some lists date from 1916 or 1920,(particularly among the Constaticios) while the majority (particularly among the Ocultos) date only from 1944.

In the majority of the cases in which individuals had sponsored more than one Mayordomía I noted that they had complied with the ideal of sponsoring first a low saint, and then a higher one. However, there were also some cases of individuals who, after having sponsored Yayanchic, Amunchic or Mamanchic, had returned to sponsor a saint in the Oculto rank. These cases are few, for generally people who do this are criticezed and considered to be fools. In addition, I have noticed that there are cases in which an individual has twice sponsored the Mayordomía of a saint, either in consecutive or separate years, and also cases where only Constaticio saints have been sponsored. Among those who have sponsored the Mayordomía of more than one saint there are also some cases where only Oculto saints have been sponsored. The period between the sponsorship of Mayordomía of one saint and another is very variable, however, it is most commonly from 3 to 10 years.

Although there is a great deal of variation concerning the Cargos sponsored by different family heads, in the sense that it is rare that two family heads should sponsor the same Cargos, it is noticeable that in relation to the Mayordomías there were several cases in which a set of two or three saints tended to be sponsored by more than one individual. For example, I noticed that seven individuals included in their lists of Cargos the sponsorship of the Mayordomías associated with Yayanchic (Espíritu Santo) and Mamanchic (Vírgen Encarnación);

another seven included the Mayordomías associated with the Vírgen Encarnación and the Vírgen de las Nieves; six included the Mayordomías associated with the Vírgen Encarnación and the Santísima Trinidad. In a set of three saints I noted a correspondence in the saints sponsored by two individuals. These saints were: Espíritu Santo, the Vírgen Encarnación and Señor Santiago. Apart from these saints there was no single further coincidence between the saints sponsored by two individuals. It is interesting to note that except for Señor Santiagò all these saints are Constaticios and that among the Oculto saints the proportion of coincidence is much less. This situation suggests that there is a preference for certain saints who rank high, who formerly used to own some property and whose fiestas were celebrated sumptuously. These saints are similar to Niño Víctor, who does not figure in the hierarchical system of saints, but who is popular, to the point where there are waiting lists of those wishing to sponsor the Cargos associated with him.

One final hypothesis, that I tried to explore through the lists of Mayordomos included in the inventories, was that concerning a particular kind of kinship or compadrazgo link which might have united those who had sponsored a saint in consecutive or alternative years. This exploration relates to my attempt to find out whether any kind of overlap existed between the location of an individual's chacras and his sponsorship of a

saint. In this respect I noted that among the Oculto saints this overlap was more frequent than among the Constaticio saints and that correspondingly many of the sponsors of a particular Oculto saint were related through the kinship or compadrazgo links referred to above. The most remarkable cases are that of Niño Reyes and Vírgen Concebida who are sponsored together since 1957 and are associated with the Western side of the Negromayo river: the former is associated with the Estanque de Huayllura and the latter is associated with the Toma of the Negromayo water channel. Among those listed in the inventory book of Niño Reyes I could ascertain that the sponsors of Mayordomías for the years 1971, 1970, 1969, 1968 and 1967, 1961 and 1946, belonged, either through their wives or themselves, to the Puza Casta and to the Cupe Casta. The 1971 sponsor's wife, for example, was FFBSD of the 1970 sponsor and the latter's wife was Z of the 1969 sponsor's wife and of the 1961 sponsor (these three siblings are Cupe Quillas). The 1971 sponsor's wife was also the BD of the 1967 sponsor's wife, the FBSD of the 1968 sponsor and also the FBSD of the 1946 sponsor (all these have as surname Puza). In addition, the relationships between the 1960 and 1961 sponsors is that of Layi [15] or co-parents-in-law, and that between the 1948 and 1949 sponsors is of compadrazgo. The 1948 sponsors are Baptismal godparents of the children of the 1949 sponsor.

The inventory book of the Vírgen Concebida also mentions some other sponsors, apart from those who are shared with Niño Reyes, who are united by kinship links. This is the case of the 1944 and 1947 sponsors who are brothers. Corresponding to the local associations which these two saints have, all of these sponsors own land (although in some cases not very much) on the Western side of the Negromayo river.

Santa Cruz and Señor de la Ascención, who are also Oculto saints and who have been sponsored together since 1962, also include among their sponsors a large number of individuals whom I identified as relatives and who tend to concentrate most of their land holdings in the Southern sector of the Western side of the Negromayo river. This time the dominant Castas to which they belong are Poma, Astovilca, Cuevas, Misagil and Quillas.

Another instance in which kinship and spiritual kinship figure prominently in relation to the sponsoring of religious Cargos is that concerning Cargos such as Previste, Muñidora, Tesorero de Cera, Tesorero de Dinero and Alferez/Adornante. Further evidence of the importance of locality in relation to the sponsorship of these kinds of Cargos may be seen in the fact that the residents of the different Anexos prefer to sponsor the saints associated with their residence units rather than with those of the main village.

From this analysis we can see that there is no one single criterion which governs the sponsorship of the Mayordomías associated with the saints but rather there are several criteria which include devotion, prestige, wealth, locality, kinship or spiritual kinship, sex and age, ethnic filiation, and economic activity. Also, it is important to mention that the choice of a Mayordomía is influenced by the large number of religious and festive Cargos which are available and by the number of Civil Cargos which have to be sponsored by the Andamarquinos.(16) Given these numbers of Cargos it is not unusual for a man of 60 to have sponsored during the course of his life more than 20 or 30 Civil-Religious Cargos (including those Cargos which do not involve any major expenditure).

In this analysis of the religious and festive Cargos I have concentrated mainly on the Mayordomías, for these are the most important Cargos related to the saints. They are, as we have seen, organized within an explicit system, and they are the ones which in a certain sense, generate the rest of the religious and festive Cargos. Through their positions within the system we have tried to understand the meaning of those positions for the Andamarquinos and the reasons why those positions have been filled by particular saints. We have suggested that possibly these reasons derive from historical events and relate to individuals who pressed for the introduction of their saints into the system. This hypothesis was supported by observing the

relationships between saints and crosses and the possible local connotations of the saints, and also by referring to some manipulations for raising the status of certain saints.(17) Later I was able to confirm that the lower rank saints known as Ocultos also have local connotations and that the sponsors are generally those within a narrow circle of relatives who tend to concentrate their land in areas near the point in the irrigation system with which the saint in question is associated. In contrast to the Ocultos, the Constaticio saints are associated with much more diversified social networks and wider spatial realms. It is relevant to mention in this respect that Espíritu Santo or Yayanchic, apart from being associated with the Comunidad de Andamarca as a whole through being the Patron, is associated with a part of the irrigation system, known as Chitjansa, which provides water for all the main village. In other words, the water consumed in the totalities of the village derives from water sources associated with its respective Patron saints.

The hierarchical system into which the saints are organized can be viewed therefore as a system of progressive levels of local and social integration whose ultimate level would be the Community as a whole, associated with Espíritu Santo. Thus, the ideal of having to begin by sponsoring Mayordomías associated with Oculto saints and to continue later with the Constaticio saints is nothing other than a symbolic expression

of the fact that full integration in the community is achieved through a process which one comes to a conclusion when one has 12 children or more, when these children begin to marry and one has therefore to start distributing one's accumulated wealth.

The structural and individual dimensions that lie behind the system of religious Cargos have to be understood, therefore, in relation to the fact that we are dealing both with structural positions within a system and with saints who have been incorporated for historical reasons. However, it is important to mention that given the large number of saints that the system incorporates, the system itself provides a certain margin of choice which corresponds to the fluid nature of the social system of Andamarca, which we shall describe further in the following chapters.

Finally, we may say that apart from the temporal and spatial values that the system of religious Cargos expresses, it also expresses the complex nature of the Comunidad de Andamarca, through the multiplicity of roles associated with each of the saints and the wide range of interaction of the members of this Comunidad throughout the year.

CHAPTER III

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

So far we have seen that kinship is still a lively force in Andamarca, especially in matters concerning the transmission of property, in the organization of the local units, in the accomplishment of various activities and in the organization of the religious hierarchy. Later we shall see that Ceremonial Kinship, which is one of our major concerns in this thesis, is shaped by the same mechanisms which organize kinship and marriage. Therefore, it is appropriate that at this stage we should concentrate on general features of these two related subjects, if only to use them as a background to highlight the nature of Ceremonial Kinship, and to support my argument that a strong kinship system is not incompatible with a highly developed Ceremonial Kinship system, as seems to have been suggested by certain functionalist anthropologists such as George Foster. Moreover, we shall suggest the possibility that if Ceremonial Kinship is strong, it is so precisely because the kinship system is also strong. In other words we shall uphold a structural view which emphasizes the models in terms of which both systems are organized and which assumes

that if the same principles of social organization lie behind the two systems of social relationships, then these are either equally significant, or complementary, or both.

The point of departure for this analysis will be the kinship terminology, in order to grasp its nature and its correspondences with the features already noted in the system of property inheritance. Then we shall explore the categories of descent and the nature of the Ayllu. Finally we shall deal with sexual exchanges, with marriage, and with endogamy and exogamy and the reconciliation of these two opposed principles.

The Kinship Terminology

Although many Spanish terms have been incorporated in the kinship terminology that is used in Andamarca, nevertheless this still retains the basic features of the kinship terminologies used in other Quechua communities less influenced by Spanish, and of the kinship terminology that may be reconstructed from the XVI and XVII century Quechua Grammars and Vocabularies. Moreover, it is also important in that it adds new terms to the corpus of Quechua kinship terms. These terms are Achacay,(1) which is used in a self-reciprocal way between the individuals of both sexes of the third ascending and those of the third descending generation; then the term Atara(2) for the individuals of both sexes of the fourth descending generation, while those of the fourth ascending generation are called by the term Auquillo,(3) and

lastly the term Laysi[4] which is used in a self-reciprocal way between the parents- and grandparents-in-law.

Following Webster's description of the Q'ero Indian kinship terminology (WEBSTER, S., 1977, p.30) we could also characterize that of Andamarca as "bifurcate merging", in that it distinguishes between siblings and parallel cousins on the one hand, and cross cousins, on the other. The most striking thing is that Q'eros, which still conserves many of the Prehispanic Quechua terms, uses a kinship terminology whose structure is equivalent to that in Andamarca, which has incorporated several Spanish terms. (See Tables 23 and 24.)

In Andamarca all male siblings and parallel cousins of the father and the husbands of the female siblings and parallel cousins of the mother are called Taytay, and their children are called by terms which an ego uses to call his brothers and sisters. All female siblings and parallel cousins of the mother, and all the wives of those assimilated to the category Taytay are called by the term Mamay. Siblings of opposite sex and patrilateral and matrilateral cross cousins of ego's parents are called either Tiuy or Tiay according to their sex, and their children are called by the term Primuy or Primay.

Another Quechua survival in the kinship terminology used in Andamarca is that the terms for referring

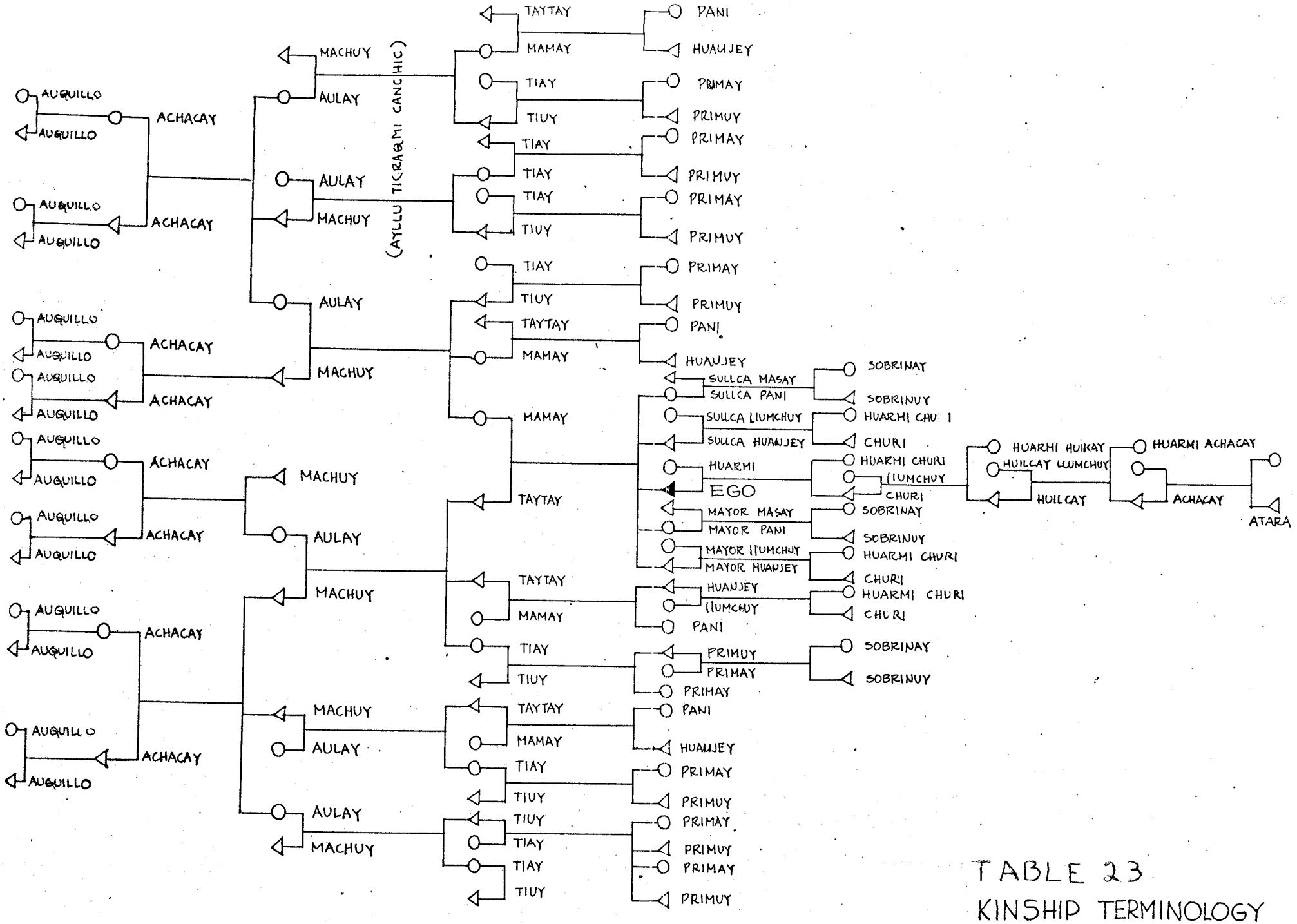


TABLE 23
KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

EGO : MALE

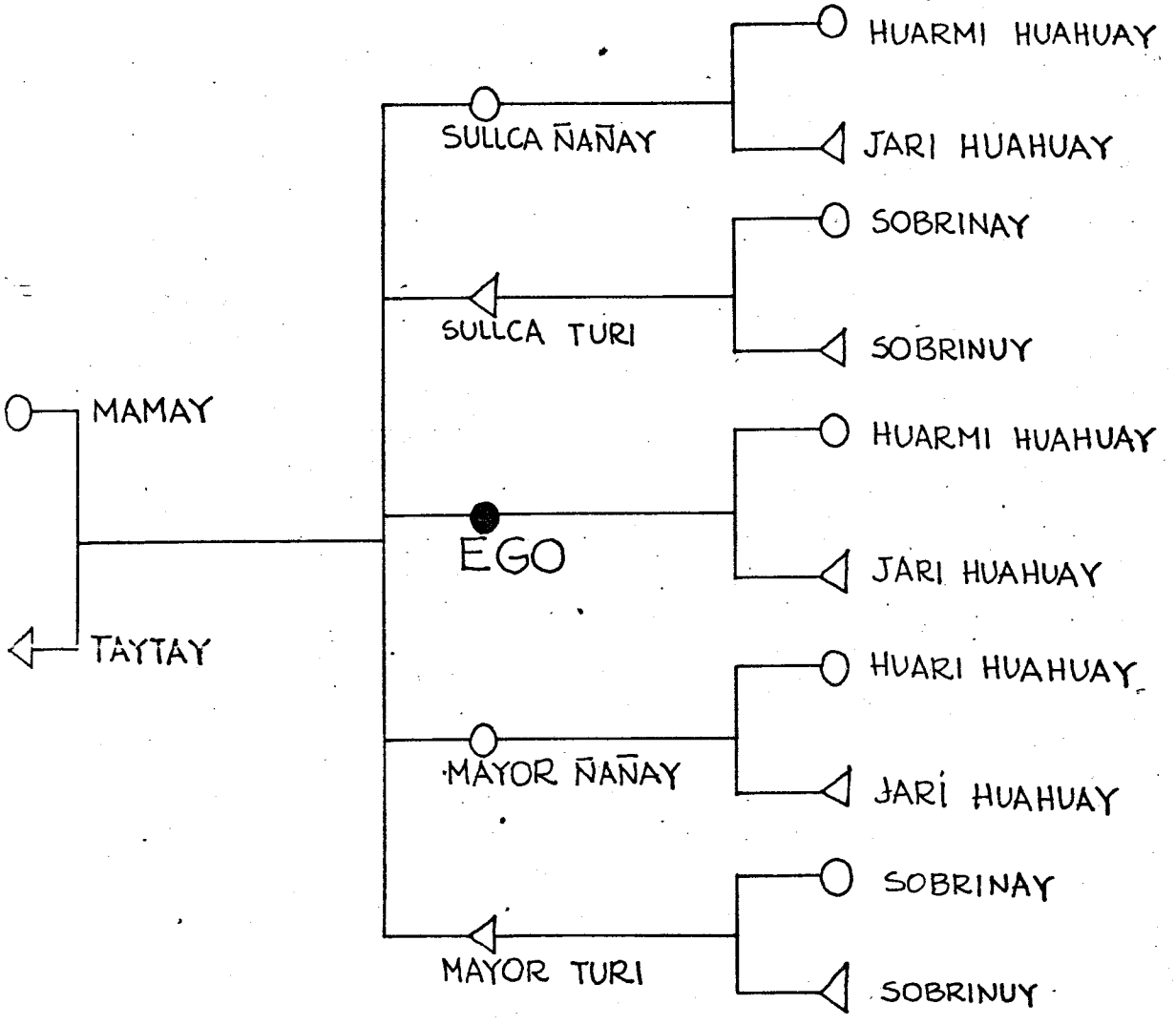


TABLE 23

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

EGO = FEMALE

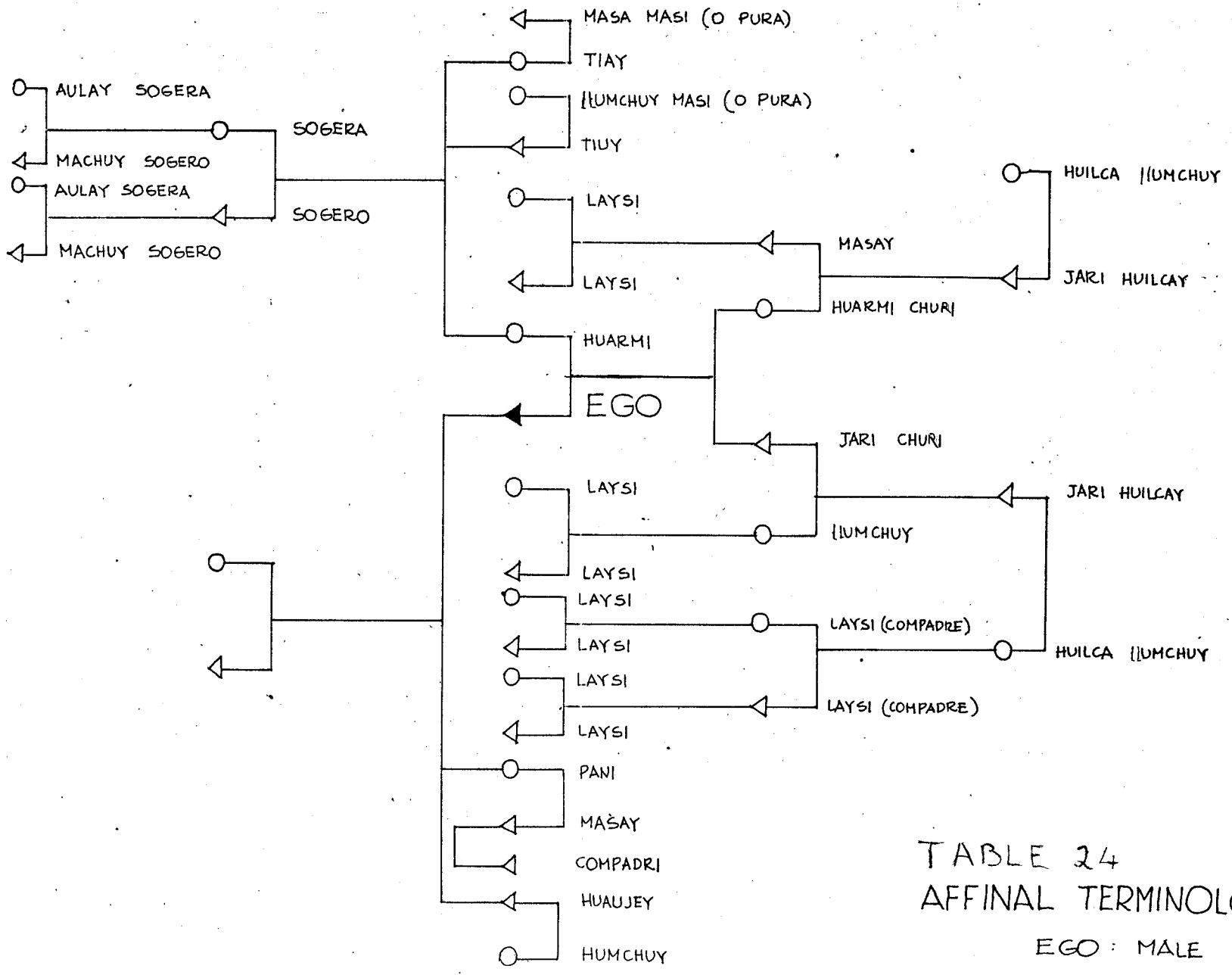


TABLE 24
AFFINAL TERMINOLOGY

EGO : MALE

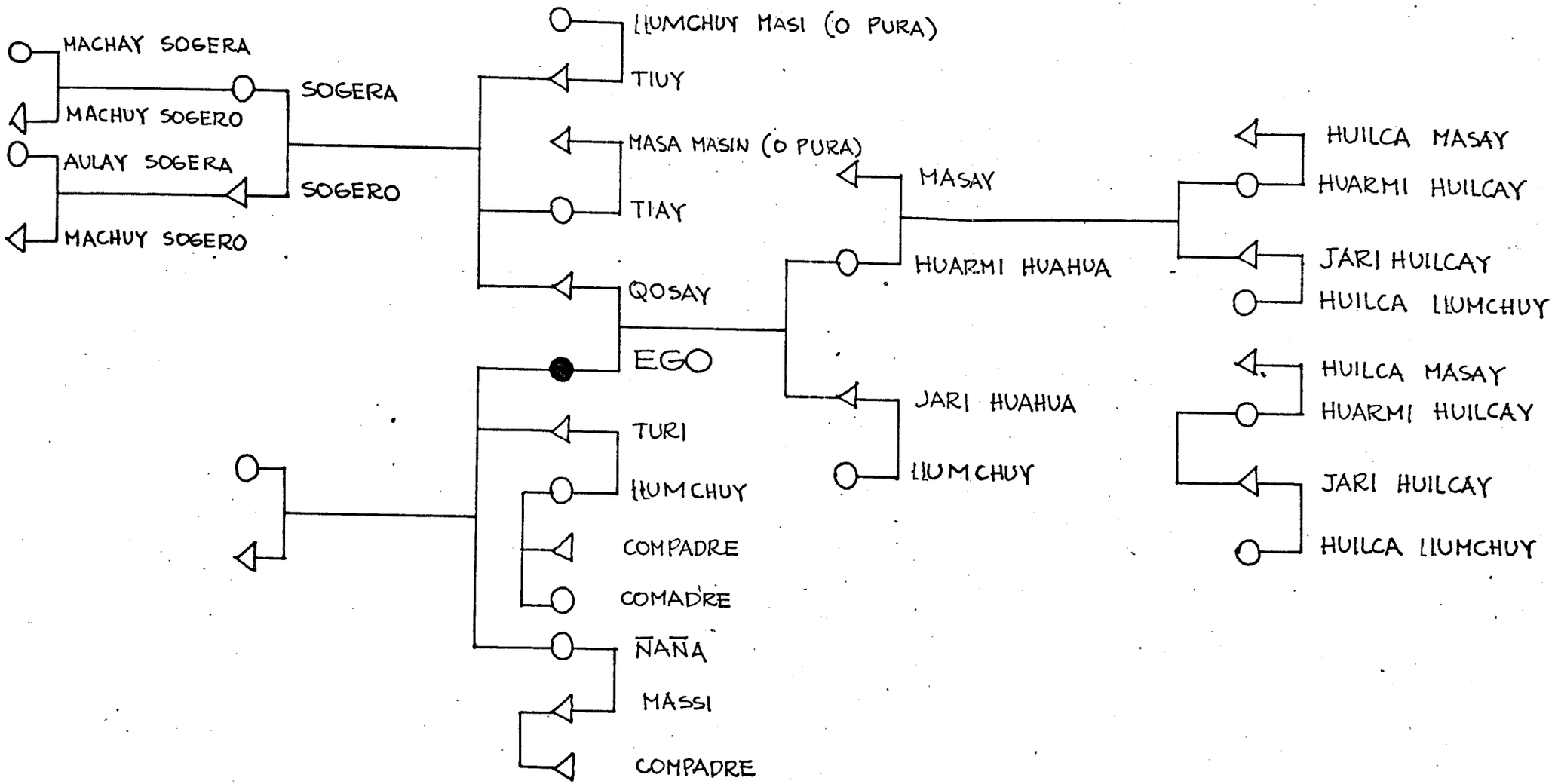


TABLE 24
AFFINAL TERMINOLOGY

EGO = FEMALE

to siblings and children change according to the sex of the person who is speaking. A male ego calls his female siblings by the term Pani and his male siblings by the term Huaujey. A female ego, on the other hand, calls her male siblings by the term Turi and her female siblings by the term Ñaña. Finally a male ego refers to his son as Jari Churi and his daughter as [illegible] Churi and a female ego refers to her son as Jari Huahuay and her daughter as Huarmi Huahuay. All the children of their parallel cousins are also called in this same fashion, but the children of their cross cousins are called either by the term Sobrinuy or Sobrinay according to their sex.

The incorporation of the Spanish terms Tiuy and Tiay (Tío and Tía), and Primuy and Primay has replaced the old distinction between Ipa (FZ) and Caca (MB) and has apparently eliminated the old skewing rule by which FZ, FZD and FFZ were designated by one term, and MB, MBS and MMB were designated by another term. However, the affinal terminology presents certain evidence for the maintenance of a skewing rule and for the identification of the affines with the cross cousin terminology.

According to the old Quechua Vocabularies and to the kinship terminologies of some present day Quechua communities, the term for MB was the same as the term for WF, WFF, WB and WBS. This term was Caca and was used in a non-reciprocal way by DH, DDH, SDH, ZH, DHB, DHF. All these

last were called by the term Masa in some parts, and in others by the term Catay. Today in Andamarca MB is no longer called by the same term as WF, since the first is called Tiuy and the second Sagero. However, a striking fact is that WB is called by the same term as MB: both are Tiuy. Moreover in a non-reciprocal fashion WF, WFF, and WB call DH, SDH and ZH by a common term, which is Masa. Corresponding to this we have the fact that HF, HFF and HB or HZ also call their SW, SSW and BW by the female equivalent of Masa, which is Llumchuy. This last also uses the terms Tiuy or Tiay in the same fashion as the Masa.

The fact that the parallel cousins are merged under the same categories as siblings and that the cross cousins are distinguished from these by a different term, and the fact that MB is called by the same term as for WF, enabled some evolutionary anthropologists of the end of the last century, such as H. Cunow, to describe the Quechua kinship terminology as a double section terminology which derived from a very early endogamous prohibition which gave rise to the Punalua family and afterwards to the organization of the Gens groups or Gentilitial communities. It was assumed, according to the postulates of the evolutionary theory, that these groups were firstly organized under a matrilineal principle, which afterwards developed into patrilineality, and that identification for a male ego of MB with WF corresponded to a hypothetical identification between MBDS and S, and MBDD and D, or FZDS = S and FZDD = D. The same was true for a female

ego, with the concomitant variations. Also for a male ego, MBSS=ZS, and FZSS=ZS, and a female ego also shared these same equivalences. It was also assumed that MB=FZH. In other words, Cunow suggested the possibility that the Quechua people were organized in unilineal descent groups practising sister exchange and that these unilineal descent groups were the Ayllu, and the Inca's Panaca (CUNOW, 1929).

From then on among the scholars who investigated Andean society it became commonplace to think of the Ayllu or the Panaca as unilineal descent groups, although no agreement was reached about whether their nature was patrilineal or matrilineal.

The next serious study of Andean social organization, after that of Cunow, is the Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Incas written by R.T. Zuidema (ZUIDEMA, 1964). This study represents another attempt to deal with Andean kinship as an elementary system. It assumes, once more, that the Andean social groupings had a unilineal basis, although it is recognized that according to any particular context this basis may be seen as matrilineal or patrilineal, and again the equation MB=WF is emphasized, but this time it is suggested that the Andean pattern of marriage alliances was asymmetrical rather than symmetrical. Hence, the Ayllu was defined by a tripartite structure which included three matrilines united by an asymmetric connubium with MBD. The unity of this tripartite structure is further

supported by claiming that the three matrilines conceived of themselves as descending from a common male ancestor. Therefore, both patrilineal and matrilineal principles contributed to the definition of this structure.

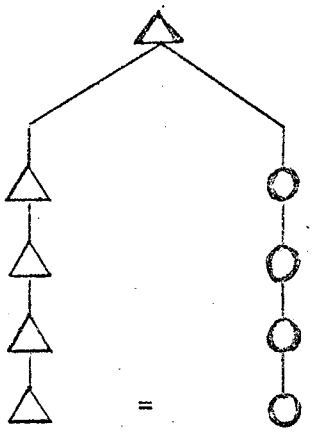
Zuidema's analysis served as the basis of one of the most important modern studies of the Inca kinship system. This is an unpublished paper read at the 36th International Congress of Americanists (1969) by Floyd Lounsbury. This paper insisted again on the idea of a system of matrilateral cross cousin marriage (MB=WF or FZ=HM) in which three lineages participated, but this time the lineages were assumed to be patrilineal or matrilineal according to a pattern of parallel transmission. Hence, the existence of parallel descent was suggested for Andean Society, and the kinship terminology was defined as both Omaha and Crow at the same time, according to whether ego was male or female (LOUNSBURY, E., 1964).

Today, Zuidema no longer advances the theory of matrilateral cross cousin marriage nor of the existence of three lineages united by this kind of marriage, and hence has criticized Lounsbury on these grounds. Although he has not departed completely from a treatment of Inca kinship, and of the Quechua terminology in general, in terms of elementary structures, he no longer believes that it is possible to argue in favour of any kind of prescriptive alliance system for this kinship system. Instead he suggests that we should talk in

terms of a proscriptive system of marriage and a kinship terminology which allows for certain tendencies towards sister exchange.

In his paper The Inca kinship system: A new theoretical view.(1977), Zuidema for the first time decided to tackle this subject directly and thus gave him the opportunity to reformulate his early conclusions concerning Inca social structure. We have already noted his departure from his previous ideas about Inca marriage; it now remains to be seen how this departure altered his view of the nature of the social groups. In a certain sense we could say that it did not alter it very much, since he continued to emphasize the importance of both male and female lines in the organization of social groups.

Like Lounsbury, Zuidema also acknowledged the possibility that the Ayllu could have been visualized as a group of procreation with a definite structure that consisted of a patrilineage and a matrilineage of four generations, both of which descended from a common ancestor and whose number of generations was determined by the possibility that a male in the fifth generation of the patrilineage could marry a female in the fifth generation of the matrilineage. In other words, a male ego could marry his FFFZDDD. Consequently, the Ayllu is graphed in the following way:



This model is borrowed from the XVII century Ritual Formulario; e institución de Cura para administrar a los naturales de este Reyno, etc. whose author was Juan Perez Bocanegra, and whose purpose was to show in a didactic manner the kin categories among which marriage was permitted. Without entering into all the arguments that suggest that this model corresponds to the indegenous one it is enough to mention that for Zuidema it has the additional advantage of explaining why "...the word Ayllu can be applied also to any social or political group with a boundary separating it from the outside..." (ZUIDEMA, 1977, p.257), and of reconciling the contradiction between the evidence of sister exchange in Quechua society and the asymmetric equations MB=WF and FZ≠MBW. With respect to the first advantage Zuidema argues that "If everybody in a community were to marry a third cross cousin (FFFZDDD), as explicitly allowed to any commoner, then this community would become an endogamic group, and we can understand, therefore, that the local group is conceived in Andean culture on the model of the Ayllu and is called as such". (ZUIDEMA, 1977, p.258). The second advantage is related to the fact that the exogamic boundaries of the model

are so wide that, without the risk of committing incest, they admit the possibility of symmetrical exchanges among the kin categories included within the model. Hence W may be equated with FFZDDD, MMMBSSD, MMBDD and FMBSD (ZUIDEMA, 1977, p.259). This means, using the words of Mark Woodward, that "...the Ayllu may be explained by postulating a system of four patrilineal clans practicing sister exchange, and in which alliances have one degree of transitivity, i.e. the wife-givers of one's wife-givers and the wife-takers of wife-takers are considered as wife-givers and wife-takers respectively" (WOODWARD, M., 1976, p.5).

The relevance of summarizing all these studies of Quechua kinship terminology is that they reflect the development of the theory of kinship systems, enabling us to determine with greater precision the state of our knowledge of the Quechua kinship system, as well as the possible contribution of this knowledge to the consideration of the larger issues which lie behind the general theory of kinship. Moreover, although these studies are intended to reconstruct a kinship system given in the past, they are nevertheless relevant to our study of the social organization of a modern community, such as Andamarca, because its kinship terminology still retains the basic features of the ancient terminology, although expressed in a combination of Quechua and Spanish terms.

In what follows we shall see that the social

organization of Andamarca confirms several of the points raised by these studies, such as for example the importance attached both to males and females in the transmission of rights and qualities, the existence of recognizable kinship groups which adopt the form of patrilineal descent groups or of bilateral ego-centered kindred groups, the presence of certain forms of symmetrical and asymmetrical exchanges, of proscriptive rules of marriage and of endogamous tendencies. However, in some other respects it will become apparent that although there are some few vestiges of what could have been a system of parallel descent, this is no longer dominant. Nor is the five generation lineage, as suggested by the Perez Bocanegra model, dominant, because today the people even have trouble in remembering their grandparents, let alone their great grandparents!

Kinship Groups and the Ayllu

a. Unilineal Groups

From the foregoing analysis we can see that prior to Zuidema's investigations of the Inca kinship system, there was a long standing tradition that assumed, mostly from the nature of the kinship terminology, the existence of unilineal kinship groups. This was possible due to the fact that, to use Stephen Webster's words, "Such bifurcate merging and Iroquois terminological features are generally associated with unilineal systems of kinship" (WEBSTER, S., 1977, p.31). However, this straightforward association between kinship terminologies and social groups has recently been questioned by

Lounsbury and Scheffler (1971), and Zuidema has shown that both unilineal groups and kindreds coexisted in a society whose kinship terminology was of the type defined by Webster.

We shall see that today in Andamarca some evidence is available for the existence of kin groups based on patrilineal principles of descent and that the classificatory kinship terminology has some real basis, for it designates individuals who share in common the characteristic of being non-marriageable. In so far as the marriage prohibitions are extended both to the relatives of the father and of the mother we shall see that the kindred groups therefore become explicit. For the past, there is some evidence as well for the existence of a particular kind of social group, based on unilineal principles, but which perhaps cannot be considered a kin group because we do not know if all the families associated with it were related to each other. Although these groups have disappeared in Andamarca, they still survive in the neighboring community of Cabana, to which Andamarca was attached as an Anexo until 1944, but only as working groups, and they are structured under a nomenclature and numerical pattern which is deeply rooted in the Andean world and which is common to both localized and non-localized groups.

In Cabana these groups are non-localized and they are called Ayllu, which is the same term used when referring to the whole localized community of Cabana or when refering to the bilateral extended families. The term Ayllu desig-

nates, therefore, three different kinds of social groups. The non-localized groups in Cabana number four, and sometimes a fifth one was mentioned to me. Each has its proper name, which recalls those of the localized Ayllus included within the boundaries of Puquio (ARGUEDAS, J.M., 1958, 1964). These four Ayllus are the following: Qollana, Payan, Purucha and Ichoja. The fifth one mentioned to me was Lari, which is an Aymara work that means MB, FZ and outsider (ZUIDEMA, 1977, p. 265) and, corresponding to the Aymara connotations of the name, this group was referred to me as the group of the foreigners.

These four Ayllus operate as labour groups in which all the members of the community are organized in order to fulfil communal activities as fixing the walls of the cemetery, or contributing money and work to erect a public building such as a school, a square, etc., or for performing the different roles involved in the Fiesta del Agua or Yarja Aspi (cleaning of the water channels). For each Ayllu there is a list of all its adult members. These lists are in the hands of the main communal authority, the Presidente de la Junta de Administración, one of whose responsibilities is to organize the communal activities. From these lists one can see that certain surnames dominate in some Ayllus more than in others to the point that the people tend to identify each Ayllu with a set of surnames. The dominance of certain surnames within the Ayllus relates to the fact that membership within the Ayllus tends to be inherited along unilineal

lines, in this case generally through the father. This corresponds to the fact that a woman, if she marries into an Ayllu different from her paternal one, becomes a member of her husband's Ayllu and is no longer counted, from then on, as a member of her paternal Ayllu. However, I also heard that there were some cases where the husband had chosen to become a member of his wife's Ayllu because his father's Ayllu was not too prestigius or because it did not contain many members. This last might occur because each of the four Ayllus has a different demographic composition.

The prestige of some of the Ayllus is related to the fact that they are arranged hierarchically, as is implied by the names they hold, by the spatial position they assume in the performance of some public activities, and by the sequence they follow when each assumes, year after year, the performance of the roles of the Fiesta del Agua. Thus Qollana means the first, or something that is ranked very high. For example, the Holy Monstrance is called Qollana Amo (Amo is equivalent to master). Payan means the "second" or the "middle one". As Zuidema has indicated, some of its synonyms are Chaupis or Chavin. (For a thorough analysis of these two terms see Zuidema, 1964.) I am not quite certain about the meaning of the term Purucha. Informants told me that it means "little gourd", which coincides with the meaning given to the root Pura in the old vocabularies. In Clodoaldo Soto's modern dictionary of the Quechua spoken in Ayacucho he translates Puruchay as "to give the shape of a feather".(5) Finally Ichoja means "left" which in the

Andean bilateral symbolism always has the connotation of low. We shall see that according to the spatial distribution of these four Ayllus, Qollana is the opposite of Ichoja, and is assigned a right-hand position.

The spatial distribution of these Ayllus was explained to me in relation to the way in which they organize themselves to repair the four walls of the square shaped cemetery every year. This spatial distribution is derived from the fact that each of the four Ayllus is responsible for repairing one of the four walls. Thus, taking as the point of reference a person facing the main door of the cemetery, I was told that the wall at the right-hand side of that person was repaired by Qollana; the opposite one, to the left-hand side, by Ichoja; the wall where the main door was located by Payan and the opposite wall by Purucha. Their distribution may be diagrammed thus:

W
Purucha

S Qollana Ichoja N

Payan
E

The sequence followed when these Ayllus take turns each year to perform the roles of the Yarja Aspi is: Qollana - Payan - Purucha and Ichoja. Then the next year it starts again with Qollana and the whole cycle is repeated for another four years.

Given that there is a margin of choice in belonging to these Ayllus, not all the members included in them are necessarily relatives. Indeed, not just one but several surnames are associated with each and although some may be dominant in one Ayllu this does not preclude the possibility that one may figure in the list of surnames of the other Ayllus. This is also possibly due to the great sexual tolerance that, as in Andamarca, allows for the procreation of illegitimate children who sometimes inherit their paternal surname but their mother's Ayllu filiation. Corresponding with the non-kinship character of these groups they were not seen as following any marriage rule in particular. Therefore, I heard of cases of marriages that had taken place endogamously and others exogamously although I found a tendency to think of them as exogamous.

This description is sufficient to give an idea of the nature of these Ayllus which, in Cabana and in Andamarca, as well as in Guaycahuacho and Sondondo, may be traced back through the baptismal records to 1692. From Monzon's description of the Repartimiento de los Rucanas Antamarcas some historical evidence is available to suggest that these four communities formed part of the Ayllu Antamarca in the pre-Hispanic period. Then, after Toledo's Reducción, dated 1580, they became part of one Doctrina (Ecclesiastical administration unit) and later, from the Republican period until very recently, they continued together as part of the Distrito de Cabana. However, although these four communities have been

historically united, only Cabana, which since the Colonial period became the administrative center of the four, has retained this organization of the population into a determined number of named Ayllus. However, some changes have been introduced in their numerical and patronymical composition.

According to the old baptismal records it is possible to deduce that in the XVII and part of the XVIII century Cabana had a total of ten Ayllus. Four of them are identical to those that still survive today; a fifth was the Lari Ayllu, already mentioned. The other five were: Contalay, Allauca (which means right-hand side), Cacyanapi(6) which is a term that recalls a Pachaca (one hundred) Curaca of Andamarca whose name was Hernando Cacyamarca and who is mentioned by Guaman Poma de Ayala (GUAMAN POMA, 1968, p.751), Marcacori,(7) and Ichoja Qollana. These last, however, seem to have been less important than the ones that still survive because, with the exception of Contalay, they figure with far fewer people than the others over a period of eleven years (December 1692 to December 1703) which was arbitrarily selected in order to analyse the evidence of the baptismal records.(See Table 25.)

Today the Ayllu that has the greatest number of people is Payan (it has about four times as many people as the others) with 480 individuals, then Ichoja with 164, Purucha with 126 and Qollana with 103. In the past, the Ayllu that had more baptisms in the eleven year period was Ichoja with 50, then Payan with 32, then Qollana with 27, then Contalay with 19,

TABLE 25 AYLLUS AND SURNAMES OF CABANA, GUAYCAHUACHO, SONDONDO AND ANDAMARCA ACCORDING TO THE BAPTISMAL RECORDS OF THE END OF THE XVII CENTURY AND TO PRESENT DAY EVIDENCE

SAMPLING: Eleven years of baptismal records. 169 cases.

CABANA

AYLLUS		COLLANA	PAYAN	PURUCHAPI	ICHOJA	LARI	CONTALAY	ALLAUCA	CACYANAPI	MARCACORI	ICHOJA COLLANA
Number of Baptisms		27	32	16	50	15	19	3	2	4	1
Present day demographic composition		103	480	126	164	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dominant Surnames in the past	Male	Ramos	Osccovilca	Allca	De la Cruz	Pureqlla	Mendoza	Guamani	Albaro Luca	Guamani	De la Cruz
	Female	Carhua	Carhua	Carhua	Carhua	Carhua	Mayhua	Carhua	Carhua Pusa	Díaz	Sisa
Dominant Surnames Today		Huamaní	León	Alegría	Oscco	-	-	-	-	-	-
Surnames exclusively associated to an Ayllu in the past	Male	Oscco Surco Harina	Araujo Masco Crisóstomo Romani Berrocal	Choque Suica Alegría Paucar	Tito Díaz Quispe Pariona Limasco Quica López Rosales	Eugenio Huacca	Mendoza Santiago Panco Tipte Parya Jesús				
	Female	Waita Vilca Guato Puspalla	Libro	Ramos Capo Asencia	Mallqui Ninas Taypilla Sarmiento Tocto Barbula	Lino Larro Simona Ccencho	Angelina Rojas Churapi				
Surnames exclusively associated to an Ayllu in the present days		Quispe Ramos Guerra	Cuenca Prado	Cure Andrade Gonzalez	Egocheaga Chaua Romero						

TABLE 25 (a)

SAMPLING: Eleven years of baptismal records: 47 cases

GUAYCAHUACHO

AYLLUS		COLLANA	VILCA	ICHOJA	IARI	CONTALAY	SANCO	CACYANAPI	MARCACORI	ILLCAHUA CAPACHA
Number of Baptisms		1	1	1	1	1	10	11	17	4
Dominant Surnames	Male	Guamani	Paucar	Capcha	Huacca	Astovilca	Espinoza	Guamani	García	Fernández Pabre Paucar Callupuma
	Female	Sipas	Asto	Carhua	Pilco	Asto	Carhua	Mayhua Pusa	Sisa	Isidora Asto Sisa Mayhua
Surnames exclusively associated to an Ayllu	Male	-	-	Capcha	Huacca	Astovilca	Espinoza Flores	Condorcullo Chipana Muñoz	García Sosa Ramos Crisóstomo Quespi	Fernández Pabre Callupuma
	Female	Sipas	-	-	Pilco	-	Cusichimbo	Micaela	Palma	-

TABLE 25 (b)

SAMPLING: Eleven years of baptismal records: 32 cases.

SONDONDO

AYLLUS		COLLANA	PAYAN	PURUCHAPI	ICHOJA	CONTALAY	SANCO	CACYANAPI	ALLAUCA
Number of Baptisms		3	13	1	8	2	1	2	2
Dominant Surnames	Male	Mallma Allca	Allca	Choca	Tito Apari Allca Guamani López Pusa	Cuchu Mendoza	Callupuma	Guamani Arualla	Allca Mendoza
	Female	Sisa Cristina	Cargua Puza	Mayhua	Asto	Rojas Chumpi	Sisa	Sisa Carhua	Puza Allca
Surnames exclusively associated to an Ayllu	Male	-	Cachi Capcha Asto	Choca	Tito Apari López	Cuchu	Callupuma	Guamani Arualla	-
	Female	-	Casani	-	Tarpo Pacchi	Rojas Chumpi	-	-	-

TABLE 25 (c)

SAMPLING: Eleven years of baptismal records: 38 cases.

ANDAMARCA

AYLLUS		COLLANA	PAYAN	PURUCHAPI	ICHOJA	LARI	CONTALAY	ALLAUCA
Number of Baptisms		3	0	5	17	0	12	1
Dominant Surnames	Male	Capcha Oscco Ramos	-	Capcha	Tito	-	Astohuillca	Guamani
	Female	Carhua	-	Carhua	Carhua	-	Asto	Puza
Surnames exclusively associated to an Ayllu	Male	Oscco	Cuevas	Taypi	Gaspar Quillas Ancha Pureqlla Flores De la Cruz Harina	-	-	-
	Female	-	Tito	Lazo	Puquio Coca Melendez Romani Constanza Chaqña	-	Asto Conya Mendoza Guaya	Siqui

then Purunchapi with 16 and Lari with 15. The highest number of baptisms among the other four were 4 for Marcacori, followed by Allauca with 3, Cacyanapi with 2 and finally Ichoja Qollana with 1.(8)

With respect to the surnames associated with each Ayllu, the baptismal records register most of the surnames that are still found in the area, but with a different distribution among the Ayllus from that which exists today. For example, the patronymic Leon is the one most common today within the Ayllu Payan, but in the past that role was accomplished by Osccovillca, which now no longer exists as such but as Oscco, which in its turn is a dominant surname within Ichoja. However, in the past, although Leon was not as dominant as Osccovillca, it followed the latter in terms of predominance and, most remarkably, it did not figure in association with any of the other nine Ayllus. So it can be said that even in the past Leon was already associated with Payan. The same is true of Ramos, which was the dominant surname in Qollana. Today it continues to be associated with it and although it is not in a dominant position it is at least exclusive, because no other Ayllu contains this surname. Another case is that of Alegría, which in the past was exclusively associated with Purunchapi and today is the dominant surname of this Ayllu.

According to the baptismal records already mentioned, the community that followed Cabana in number of

Ayllus was Guaycahuacho, with nine Ayllus, then Sondondo with eight and finally Andamarca with seven. The decreasing order of the number of Ayllus in each of these communities, which were part of a single administrative unit, suggests that perhaps together they made up some kind of system. Except for Guaycahuacho, the rest of the communities also retain among their Ayllus the names of the four Ayllus that still survive in Cabana.

The names of the seven Ayllus of Andamarca do not add any new ones to those associated with the Ayllus of Cabana. They are: Qollana, Payan, Puruchapi, Ichoja, Contalay, Lari and Allauca. Those of Guaycahuacho contain three more, which are Sanco, Vilca and Ilcahua Capacha. The other Ayllus which it includes are: Qollana, Ichoja, Lari, Contalay, Cacyanapi and Marcacori. Finally, those of Sondondo repeat Sanco, and in addition include Qollana, Payan, Puruchapi, Ichoja, Allauca, Cacyanapi and Contalay.

The number of baptisms for the eleven-year period that we have selected is much fewer in these three communities than the 169 cases in Cabana. For instance, Guaycahuacho includes 47 cases, Andamarca 38 cases and Sondondo 32 cases. Taking these figures in their respective proportion with those of Cabana we note that the Ayllus that have the same names, among these four communities, do not necessarily have an equivalent number of baptismal cases. One of the few exceptions is that of Ichoja, which contains the largest number

of cases in Cabana, Andamarca and in Sondondo though not in Guaycahuacho, where only one case is mentioned for this Ayllu. In Sondondo, together with Ichoja, Payan is the Ayllu numerically most important. In Guaycahuacho it is Marcacori. Moreover, although the corpus of surnames is more or less common to the four communities it is not necessarily the case that one surname is dominant in all the Ayllus that share this same name. For example, Allcca is one of the dominant surnames of the Ayllu Purunchapi of Cabana. However, in Sondondo it is the dominant surname of Payan and it does not figure at all among the surnames of Andamarca and Guaycahuacho.

In some cases there is a certain correspondence not in the dominance of, but in the association of some surnames with Ayllus that share the same name. This is especially so between Cabana and Andamarca, but among the four communities there is not very much correspondence. For example, Ramos is found exclusively in the Ayllus Qollana and Ichoja of Cabana and Andamarca, and in the Ayllu Marcacori of Guaycahuacho; Oscco, only in Qollana and Ichoja of Cabana and Andamarca; Leon figures only in Payan of Cabana and Andamarca, and so on.

The fact that to each Ayllu corresponds a different set of surnames, that the Ayllus of the same name, among these four communities, have a different number and set of surnames which frequently are not associated exclusively with any one Ayllu in particular, and the fact that it is explicitly

mentioned that men from one Ayllu have been incorporated into different Ayllus, suggests that the organization of these Ayllus in the past was very similar to the one that can be observed today in Cabana. In other words, we may assume that not all the members of an Ayllu were united by kinship links, and that neither was the social composition the same for all the Ayllus that shared a common name in the four communities. However, the dominance and continuity of certain surnames inside the Ayllus, as in the case of the permanent association of Leon with the Ayllu Payan of Cabana, suggests that, as today, the male line fulfilled some role in recruiting members into an Ayllu.

This assumption implies that the system of surnames was the same as that of today. In other words, it implies that surnames were associated with collectivities and not just with individuals, and that they were patronymics, that is, were transmitted through the male line.(9) The first assumption is confirmed by the baptismal records, in which the transmission of surnames from parents to children appears as the dominant pattern, by the fact that Quechua surnames are treated in the same fashion as those of Spanish origin, and by the almost exclusive association of certain surnames with some Ayllus. The second assumption, on the other hand, is not confirmed, since the dominant pattern that emerges from these old baptismal records shows that surnames were subject to parallel transmission from fathers to sons and from mothers to daughters, and in a few cases from godfathers to godsons

and from godmothers to goddaughters.

As a consequence of this parallel transmission it is possible to recognize male surnames as well as female surnames, and a small number of surnames that are common to both sexes. For Cabana it is possible to distinguish 40 surnames exclusively used by men, 31 surnames exclusively used by women, and 13 which were common to both sexes. But among those 13 some were more dominant among men and some others more dominant among women. For example, Cargua is associated with 41 women and only with one man, Astovilca with five women and only with two men, Leon with eight men and only one woman, Ramos with eight men and one woman, Mendoza with six men and one woman, Tito with five men and one woman. The surnames most evenly distributed among men and women are Yamqui, Puza, Flores and Alegría.(10)

The difference in number between the male and the female surnames may be explained by the fact that some female surnames are more widespread than those of men, in that they may figure in more Ayllus than those of men, and in that they may be dominant in several Ayllus. For example Carhua, which is associated with 41 women, appears as the dominant female surname in Qollana, Payan, Ichoja, Puruncha̱i, Lari and Allauca, and has second place in Contalay. In other words it is dominant in six of the 10 Ayllus of Cabana.

Because of this lack of association of the

female surnames with any Ayllu in particular, and because exactly the reverse situation occurs in the case of the male surnames, it is possible to suggest that the Ayllus were more permanently associated with men, and that perhaps when marrying exogamously the women passed to form part of the husband's Ayllu, as is the case today in Cabana. This is also suggested by the baptismal records, since the parents of a legitimate child are never mentioned as belonging to different Ayllus but always to a common one, and only when a baptized child is illegitimate, are the parents mentioned as belonging to different Ayllus. In other words, it may be assumed that when marrying, the couple passed to form part of a single Ayllu, and because of the male predominance and today's evidence, it is most probable that they passed to form part of the husband's Ayllu.

The same situation that we have described for Cabana is found as well in the other three communities. It is important to mention that while certain male surnames tend to be exclusively associated with some communities, the female surnames are again more widely dispersed. Thus Carhua, for example, is a dominant female surname in several of the Ayllus of the four communities, and the same is true of Sisa, Mayua, Asto, etc.

All this evidence concerning the contemporary Ayllus of Cabana and concerning those that are mentioned in the XVII and XVIII century baptismal records thus suggests

the existence of bounded groups, possibly based upon patrilineal ascription. Also it would seem that it was the practice to grant equal values to both the male and the females, at least in terms of the transmission of surnames, in the area where Andamarca is today located. Moreover, we may perhaps explain the flexibility of the ascriptive rule of these Ayllus precisely in terms of the equal value granted to both sexes.

As we have mentioned before, these Ayllus no longer exist in Andamarca and there is no evidence available to indicate when they disappeared. Perhaps it was at the end of the XVIII century, since from that time the baptismal records no longer include the Ayllu affiliation of the parents of the baptized child. However, this is not conclusive evidence, since in Cabana they still survive, although at that time they were no longer included in the baptismal records. All that we can state with certainty is that today not even the oldest people in Andamarca remember them.

In addition, from the end of the XVIII century the baptismal records no longer give evidence of the parallel transmission of surnames. From then on the male surnames became patronymics and most of the female surnames began to disappear. Today this practice has resulted, in Andamarca, in the emergence of patronymical groups that are known by the term Casta.

These Casta groups closely resemble those described by Vásquez and Holmberg (1966) in Vicos. Since a patronym is a surname transmitted from father to children, this allows for people who share a common patronym to constitute themselves into a patrilineally based group. The Castas are just such groups, in that besides sharing a common surname, they may recognize a common ancestor, or else they may be identified with agricultural areas where most of the members of the group reside, or they may constitute an exogamous unit.

As we shall see, these groups are characterized by a kind of descent ideology, but they differ from those in other patrilineal societies in that the members of a Casta are often not able to express the relationship in which they stand to a given ancestor or the descendants of that ancestor. This is because after the second ascending generation there is a tendency to lose track of ancestors because of the greater importance accorded to collateral relationships. There would thus seem to be certain contradictions between principles of unilinearity and bilaterality, which give rise to two different but complementary types of social groups. As a consequence of these opposed principles, the Castas generally have less genealogical depth than they are believed to possess, as their members are incapable of actually tracing back the relationships to the depth they would claim for the group. Ideas about the origins of the Castas are also frequently mixed in with various mythical themes.

In Andamarca there are myths of origin which are related to the community as a whole, and to the Castas. As we shall see later, the former are associated with the names of some localities, whereas the latter are associated with the names of the Castas, to the degree whereby, in some cases, the Quechua meaning of the name, with its mythical connotations, has given rise to the Casta origin myth. This may be observed in the origin myth about the Quillas and the Tito Castas. These are the only Castas whose origin myths describe them as native to Andamarca. The rest are generally thought to have come from the outside, and particularly often, from localities that lie to the south of Andamarca. Concerning the Quillas it is said that they derive from the time before the emergence of the Sun because Quilla means moon, which was associated with this dark period. The meaning of Tito, on the other hand, is not so clearly associated with mythical themes of the past, except in that it is said that it derives from Titircacha which is a plant with thorns which grows in uncultivated plots of land and which is used as firewood.

In relation to these surnames, one myth mentions that the first humanity was destroyed by a rain fire (and, according to some, by the emergence of the sun which killed these early inhabitants of the darkness with its heat) and only a Quillas woman and a Tito man managed to escape from this catastrophe. The first inhabited Panqapata and the second Parqacha, these being two localities of the eastern side of the Negromayo River. For this reason the Castas that are

associated with these surnames are considered as the oldest ones and there is a branch of the Tito whose ancient origins are emphasised by calling them Gentil Tito (or Tito from the period of the gentiles), to distinguish them from the Cuzco Tito, who are said to have come from Cuzco.

Apart from these two Castas, the rest in Andamarca are generally associated with a male ancestor who is said to have come from the outside carrying the image of a saint, and to have settled in an agricultural area where his descendants tend to be concentrated nowadays.(11) Another reason given for their settlement in Andamarca is that the ancestor married a native woman of Andamarca. In other words the settlement of outside Castas in Andamarca is legitimized in terms of mythical, religious and marriage factors. These are in turn related to the rights that a Casta may hold with respect to a piece of land, as we saw in the first chapter.

In contrast to the Casta origin myths, the communal myths are not associated with any Casta in particular but with localities and water sources. One of the versions of these myths is that mentioned in the previous chapter (p.139 about the four Mayu Brothers.

For all the reasons given above (p.252) the Castas may be considered as corporate patrilineal descent groups. However, one has to be very careful not to take this characterization so far as to compare the Castas with societies

with more elaborate systems of unilineal descent groups. I do not believe, as Vásquez and Holmberg have maintained for Vicos, that the Castas may be segmented into lineages of different sizes. As we have been able to observe, the fact that two Castas might be distinguished, although they share a common surname, does not mean that they are in fact two lineages of the same Casta.

Since many of the Casta patronymics in Andamarca have a long history of association which may be traced back to the XVI century and there is a tendency for the community to be endogamous, one notes that there are patronymics which are shared by large numbers of unrelated people. In such instances the Castas of these people are differentiated by adding a further specification to the surname. For example, as we have seen, Castas that share the patronymic Tito may be distinguished by using specifications such as Cuzco Tito or Gentil Tito, and similarly those who share the patronymic Flores are distinguished as Flores Wayta, Flores Talla, Flores Flores, Flores Cacta, Flores Escajadillo and so on.

In each of these cases, although sharing a common patronymic, the members of these Castas consider themselves as completely unrelated, to the point that they may intermarry. It is for this reason that there are many individuals in Andamarca whose paternal and maternal surnames are the same. Hence, it seems that there is a point where the Casta is fragmented by the rules of kinship exogamy that give shape to the Ayllu.

The Casta, in so far as it mostly depends on the use of patronymics and in so far as the collective property it holds is combined with a tendency towards individual transmission of rights, is a fragile corporate kin group. For this reason it is not always possible to see a correspondence between sharing a surname and being a relative. As we have seen, there are cases where two individuals may share a common surname but they are not regarded as relatives, and there are also some cases where two individuals do not share a common surname but nevertheless they are relatives.

This last is possible because sometimes people who do not like their surname may change it for another. For example, one informant told me that the original surname of his family was Astovilca, but one of his remote ancestors decided to change it because the people used to play jokes about his surname, calling him Asnopavilca, which means grandson of the donkey. Another circumstance that makes this possible is the large number of extra-marital offspring, giving rise to the existence of siblings having a different paternal surname but a common maternal surname which is lost in the next generation. Therefore, the children of these siblings may regard themselves as relatives although not having a common surname.

b. Bilateral Groups

The bilateral principle which is opposed to the unilineal principle of the Casta, also expresses itself by way of a social group that receives recognition in Andamarca

through the term Ayllu. In other words, the sense in which the term Ayllu is used in Andamarca is that of member of an ego-centered kinship group or kindred. A person will say of somebody who is his relative, Ayllu masi (which is equivalent to Ayllu partner) and of those who are distant relatives, Karu Ayllu (Karu is equivalent to distant) or Ayllu Chicraqmi carja (he is still my relative). These last two expressions are generally used in contexts when the particular kinship relationship that joins two individuals is unknown. Moreover, Karu Ayllu is also used to designate a category of relative with whom marriage may be permitted.

The use of the expression Ayllu chicraqmi carja corresponds to the expression Casta chicraqmi carja, because it is possible for an individual to lose track of the relationship that joins him with an ancestor and consequently also with his collaterals who may belong to many different Castas. The particular relationship that joins collaterals is not only difficult to trace because of the lack of depth of their genealogical reckonings but also because of the high number of relationships springing from the high frequency of extra-marital unions, together with the ideal of having twelve children. The number of collaterals that an individual may have is so high that some informants told me that they had kinsmen distributed in 30 of the 49 blocks of the village of Andamarca.

For all these reasons the Ayllu cannot be

considered a corporate group in itself. As among the Q'ero Indians described by Webster, we could also say of its boundaries that they "...are clearly defined only in the context of affinity, because marriage can be undertaken only with a person who is considered to be completely unrelated consanguineally. Consequently, a marriage juxtaposes two kin groups which are corporate entities with regard to one another, although the membership of each may not be so clear in any other contexts" (WEBSTER, 1977, p. 29, 30). These two groups in their mutual relationship are known in Chuschi as Aura (ISBELL, B.J., 1977, p. 100) and we shall see later that they accomplish an important role in the Compadrazgo system of Andamarca. As separate entities these groups are known as Ayllu.

Among all this variety of groups we can see that the nuclear family is not the most significant social unit in Andamarca because there are not a large number of contexts in which it may act as a corporate entity. The only contexts in which it may be expressed as such are with respect to the transmission of property, which generally is from parents to children, and more in ideal terms than in reality, with respect to domestic units.

From this variety of social groups and from the lack of importance of the nuclear family we may also deduce that the classificatory nature of the kinship terminology corresponds to this situation and to the fact that a certain kind of lineality still survives.

Today the dominant tendency within the Ayllu structure is towards bilaterality, and the idea of a parallel transmission (male-male and female-female) of certain rights and qualities is also present to a certain extent. It is true that surnames are no longer transmitted from fathers to sons and from mothers to daughters; however, many people remembered that not so long ago land was transmitted in this fashion and that today certain domestic and agricultural utensils are transmitted in this way. Moreover, whenever a couple separates it is said that the woman takes her daughters with her and the man his sons. At Baptism and Confirmation it is said that a child may die or become sick if he is sponsored by a person whose sex is different from his.

Sex differentiation is a feature common to all societies, but what is so striking about Andamarca is that this differentiation is carried to such extremes, that the sexes give the impression of being two parallel but complementary worlds. Moreover they seem to be equally balanced and therefore it is difficult to say that one dominates over the other. This is taken so far that, as we shall see, the respective Ayllus of a married couple which make up the Aura, are seen as symmetrical groups. (See p. 327)

It was difficult for me to acquire all the details about the conception of a child because the ordinary woman or man is not too aware of them and the Comadronas (midwives) and the Curanderos, who are the depositaries of

this kind of knowledge, were somewhat reluctant to talk about these matters. However, I noticed a certain consensus in thinking that the two sexes participated in the process of conceiving a child. The image I heard about the role of a man in this act was Chiririnkayqui which according to my informants meant that a man engenders in the same fashion as the botfly (Chiririnka) deposits his larvae or eggs inside the flesh. In the woman the place where the process of gestation takes place is in the magre (womb) which is conceived as containing certain elements that resemble peas. The image used for the engendering role of a man reminds one of the connotations of the word yumay which in the old Quechua Vocabularies stands for semen. According to González Holguín (1952) this word also stands for the sting of a bee. Related to the conceiving role of the magre and to the parallel transmission of certain qualities from male to male and female to female, it is interesting to notice that if the last child of a couple is a boy he is called Huara Taspicha, or Calzón Taspicha which means to "shake a trouser or a breech" (two typical male garments), and if the child is a girl she is called magre maillaicha which means to "wash the womb". In both cases the idea that is being emphasized seems to be that the parents have concluded their engendering process, and therefore the presence of the term magre in this context marks once more its conceiving role. Assuming that the male garment is associated with the father and the magre with the mother it is possible to see that there is a certain affinity, in native ideology, between fathers and sons and between mothers and daughters.

Some of the essential differences between the two sexes are that males are conceived as having three souls and females seven. There is a wide range of reasons given for this. Some say that it is because males resemble God who is made up of three persons: the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Related to this it is also said that males have a cross in their forehead which when broken causes them to become fools. For this reason those who have an unfaithful wife, and are therefore seen as fools, are thought of as having a broken cross. Because they have this cross, men are thought to be more capable than women and do not manifest shyness when performing an activity. Another consequence of having three souls is that when reaching the age of thirty years (12) they have to take care of themselves for three days, whereas the women have to do so for seven days, because this age is a dangerous one.

Unlike those of men, the seven souls of women are not explained by their having a cross in their forehead but by their having seven eggs on each side of their sex. As a consequence they are thought to resist physical pain better than men. The physical resistance of women is always thought of in relation to the pains caused by childbirth, especially since there is the ideal that women should bear 12 children. However, if physically they are considered strong, psychologically they are thought to be shy (manchacuy). It is my impression that perhaps this last has something to do with the fact that women are symbolically associated with interior realms.

Metaphorically women are called Tajicha or Taje which is a term used in referring to the depositories where maize is stored, after being harvested. These depositories are always located inside one of the rooms of the house. When explaining to me the reason for this metaphor, my informants usually told me that it was because women like to save money and they do not spend it so easily as men do. One shopkeeper told me that whenever he had to leave Andamarca to obtain supplies for his shop, his wife remained in charge of the business and of his capital, but that he felt at ease because his wife took better care of the money than he did.

This metaphor was mentioned to me in relation to the preference manifested by all Andamarquinos that the first child might be a daughter instead of a son. They say that it is good luck that the first child should be a daughter because prosperity will come to the family if the first child is a Taje. If, on the contrary, the first child is a boy it is bad luck because the family will lack money and an accident may occur to some of the members.

The positive quality of women in this context contrasts, on the other hand, with the belief that if the first person one sees when going out any day is a woman, some bad consequence will follow from it later in the day.

Apart from the desire that the first child

should be a daughter. I have noticed that in general there is a preference for having more daughters than sons. The reason given for this is that daughters give more help to their parents and provide them with sons-in-law (masas) who will have to perform heavy duties for the parents-in-law.

Corresponding to these associations of the feminine sex with an inside realm, it is also interesting to note that the kitchen figures prominently in relation to this sex. For instance, it is beneath the stove that the mother buries the umbilical cord of her children as well as the placenta (pares). Moreover, one of the most important activities that a woman performs is cooking and whenever a conflict arises between a married couple men blame the women for not cooking for them and women blame men for beating them.

Other important activities associated with women, and directly with their condition as Taje, are those which involve them in contact with the ground such as sowing the fields, burying the seeds, etc. It is specifically within the context of maize cultivation that the activities particularly associated with women, in contrast with those of men, are most clearly differentiated. But their association with agriculture and, therefore, with the Valley also emerges as a dominant one. This association contrasts with that of men, in that the latter are more closely related to herding activities and therefore to the Puna. These sets of associations may be formulated as follows: Men:women::Puna:Valley::Outside:inside::dynamic:static::capabilities:shyness. Further support for the

first of this set of associations is that in rituals of branding the cattle or in branding llamas, alpacas and sheep, women bless their animals with brewed maize (Aqa, or chicha), which is derived from a Valley product, and men with sugar cane alcohol (trago) derived from the industrialized outside world. This product never figures among the offerings related to agriculture but only among those related to herding.

All this evidence suggests therefore that the different sets of associations of the two sexes represent two parallel but complementary worlds, and this may perhaps be a first level explanation for the parallel transmission tendencies we mentioned before and for the equal strength of both sexes in generating rights for their children.

Following the structural approach to marriage advocated by Riviere, (RIVIERE, P., 1971, p.57-74) we shall use this analysis of the different meanings of the two sexes in Andamarca as a starting point in order to understand the nature of marriage in this community.

Yananchacuy: Ritual and Practice

a. Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Tendencies between the Sexes

Here we shall be mostly concerned with understanding the nature of marriage in Andamarca as part of the total system of exchanges between the sexes, and in relation to the expressions it receives both in ritual as well as in actual social practice. In the next chapter we shall see it

in relation to the Compadrazgo system, since it is basically through these two institutions that social exchanges are channelled.

We have already seen that there is a separate but complementary set of associations for each of the two sexes. As we shall have the opportunity to see in the next chapter, when dealing with the life-cycle rites, the social differentiation of the sexes is a gradual process which is fully attained upon reaching adulthood. At that particular moment it might be said that either sex represents half of the social totality and therefore either, by itself, is an incomplete social being.

To belong to a couple is therefore a necessity constantly demanded by society. I noticed, for example, that festive occasions as celebrating the roofing of a house, cattle branding, sowing the fields, baptisms, etc. generally suppose that attendants should be couples and that they should gather in separate groups according to their sex. This is especially evident when serving the food, for the central table is always reserved for men and the corners of a room for women and their children. The two sexes scarcely mix in these occasions and if the celebration demands some contribution from the attendants, such as money, there is a plate to receive that given by men and another to receive that from women. Moreover, whenever somebody attends without his partner that person is served twice: one plate for him and another for his partner.

As we saw in the first chapter, in the symbolic role of the two sides of the river and in the division of the main village into Tuna and Pata, the social order is conceived of in dichotomous terms. This perhaps explains why even numbers are considered to bring good luck, in contrast to uneven numbers, in different adivinatory contexts. This last is taken so far as to lead to the belief that if one is travelling in a bus in the company of a Catholic priest, the chances are that an accident may take place. This is possibly due to the fact that Catholic priests do not marry. This interpretation is moreover supported by the fact that in the riddles that young people use to play against each other, the Catholic priests are generally compared with barren mules.

In Andamarca it is so important to have a mate that this necessity is conceived of as an integral part of adulthood. In the next chapter we shall see that Andamarquinos receive an adult burial if they die at any time after that at which they become potentially sexually active, since this potentiality carries along with it the possibility of committing incest, which is the most serious sin against the reproduction of the social order (see p.343). This evidence also suggests that mating has to be performed following certain rules, otherwise one runs the risk of committing incest and of receiving its corresponding sanction, which is frequently associated with the spiritual rather than the material realm. Moreover, in Andamarca, as well as in Andean society before the Conquest, marriage was the point of departure for full adult status.

The old chronicles state that it was from this moment that the individual had to start rendering his services to the State. Today in Andamarca, this is the moment when an individual starts rendering his services to the community. These services include fulfilling the role of Ñahuin during the days of the Fiesta de la limpia acequia or fulfilling the role of Alcalde Campo during a whole year. The first is a ritual role associated with the Yaku Alcaldes (water distributors) and consists of distributing some ceremonial plants to those who attend the ritual and the second one consists of supervising the agricultural fields. Apart from these roles, they also have to start contributing their labor to communal works.

Whether institutionalized by a marriage ritual or not, the importance of having a mate is also suggested by the fact that even old people who cannot engender children, after becoming widowers or widows, still succeed in obtaining a partner. Cases of adult bachelors especially are very infrequent. Widows are more likely not to mate again for demographic reasons (there are more women than men) and because they are much more self sufficient than men.

So far we have been talking in general about the necessity of having a mate. With this background we shall now proceed to examine marriage, as differentiated from plain mating, and the rituals by which it is institutionalized. It is important to develop this topic because there is not just

one single ritual by which marriage is institutionalized, and, moreover, there are many cases of couples who never marry.

The first level of differentiation between marriage and plain mating is the linguistic one. Through the kinship terminology we can see that a female calls her husband by the non-reciprocal term Qosay, which in the old Quechua vocabularies also has the connotation of "roasting". A male calls is wife by the term Huarmi, which is a generic term that stands for any kind of woman. Sometimes women are also called by their husbands Mama Quilla (Mother Moon). A third person uses yanantinmi or the Spanish word casado to express the married status of an individual. For example, he may say "Huac runaq yanantinmi richcan", which means "That person is married"; alternatively it is also possible to say in order to express the same thing: Huac runaq casado richcan. On the contrary, unmarried couples are known as huaynay or cholay. The first term appears in Holguin's vocabulary having the same connotation except that it is related to the male partner. For the female partner, the term sipas is mentioned. In this vocabulary, both terms have also a wider connotation: they stand for male and female youngsters, respectively. Today, in Andamarca sipas only designates a younger woman than pasña (between 12 and 14 years) and huaynay in its wider connotation has been replaced by maqta.

The term cholay perhaps derives from chulu or

cholo which is a term that in both Quechua and Aymara has a connotation of mixed blooded individual and illegitimacy (OSSIO, 1977, p. 58, 59).

The difference between married couples and non married couples may be also determined from the terms used to designate the status of the children. Qahua (outside) churi or huahua, for example, is the term by which the offspring of an unmarried couple are designated; churi apacuy or huacha apacuy (apacuy = take it) is the term that the parents use to designate children born of an adulterous union. Adulterous individuals are on the other hand called huaccra (horn). The reason for the term apacuy is that the legitimate spouse of the huaccra does not want to take care of those children and forces him or her to give them to somebody else. This is particularly so when the huaccra is the wife. For this reason it is generally said that the genitor is the one who will usually take with him these chldren of adulterous unions, or perhaps one of his parents may do so. More or less the same thing occurs in the case of huahua children (born of the unions of unmarried couples): When the genitor marries he usually takes them to live with him. But these latter are considered to have greater legitimacy than those born of adulterous unions, for they are said to have the same rights to inherit property from their parents as have the legitimate offspring. The children of adulterous unions, however, are said to have only half of the inheritance rights. These differences in status among the children have given rise to several tales resembling the European "Hansel and Gretel" or "Cinderella".

This evidence suggests, therefore, that while married people are terminologically distinguished from other couples, the terms which are used to differentiate them (apart from Qosay) are not very specialized or specific terms. This lack of specialization of the terms related to married statuses is also evident in the lack of specific Quechua terms for widowers, bachelors, and divorced or separated individuals. The first are called by the Spanish term viudos; the second mactas or pasñas, which has the general connotation of youngsters, or solteros ("single" in Spanish); and the last are called Raquirucun (Raqui - "to separate"), or Causay viudo ("widower" of a living person). This situation is not exclusive to Andamarca, and seems to have been inherited from pre-Hispanic times, since in both the old Quechua and old Aymara vocabularies the terminology of marriage is very unspecific, even to the degree that the XVII century vocabularies express the idea of marriage by a Spanish word. Thus it would seem that in Andean Culture, and in Andamarca, there is a dimension in which marriage is indistinguishable from unmarried unions, because both are seen as part of the socialization process, or as a stage through which every individual must pass in order to become a full social being. On the other hand, marriage is distinguished as a stage in its own right, since it is also a social exchange which is concerned with the perpetuation of society.

This last dimension is so much influenced by the first dimension that although natural children are dis-

tinguished terminologically from legitimate children, it is nevertheless admitted that both kinds of children have similar rights with respect to the hereditary property of their parents. It is only with respect to children of adulterers that the differences are more pronounced and this suggests that sexual rights, with the exclusion of third parties, play an important role in the characterization of marriage.

The influence of the first dimension upon the second dimension is moreover made possible because incest regulations rule every kind of mating. Indiscriminate mating is not possible and therefore society itself assures its own reproduction. Once its reproduction is assured then the society may admit rituals from any origin to legitimize a permanent union between mates. The permanence of a union depends on a multiplicity of criteria that are difficult to determine, but what is interesting to note is that there is no particular age for separation. I have heard of several cases of married couples who separated after a year, two years, 10 years and even 40 years of being married. This corresponds to the fact that there are cases of both males and females who during their lives have married or entered into unmarried unions four or five times with different individuals. From a sampling of 114 family heads there are 32 or 28% that have had more than one mate.(13)

In Andamarca there are three rituals that legitimize a marital union. One derives from the community

itself and takes the name of Rimayku (to talk). This ritual is generally followed by another one which is sanctioned by the Catholic Church. Finally there is a third ritual which was introduced into the community in the year 1944, which follows the previous one but which is regarded as less important than the other two. This is the Civil Marriage.

These rituals are now performed by almost all those who want to institutionalize their union, but they are not performed simultaneously. Like most of the rites of passage they are accomplished in succesive periods, according to the economic capacity of the mates and whether they can afford the expenses that these rituals demand.

Before describing the meaning of each of these rituals let us note the terms used to refer to marriage. The first thing we note is that there are several terms for expressing this kind of union. Sometimes the terms of reference used between the spouses express this idea. A man will say Huarmichacuy and a woman will say Qosaychacuy (chacuy = verbalizer). Other terms are Tinkuchacuy (Tinku = union), but the most frequently used are Casaracuy (which derives from the Spanish verb casarse and Yananchacuy (which derives from Yanantin which, as we shall see, is a very important Andean term.)

The best analysis on the concept of Yanantin has been made by Tristan Platt (PLATT, 1976) who for the first

time suggested its importance for the understanding of Andean social organization and Cosmology. Later, other scholars (e.g. MAYER, 1977) have added further material which clarifies the different connotations of this term.

Without entering into all the different connotations of this word we shall say that according to the old vocabularies it is translated as "a pair of two equal things" such as for instance a pair of shoes or the eyes. Besides this idea of equality, the root Yana as a substantive may suggest an idea of inequality, as when it is translated as "servant". This ambiguity of the term is highlighted by Platt, who concludes that "Our analysis of the term Yanantin suggests a mechanism...which represents as symmetrical and equal a relation which in reality lacks this symmetry, as in the case of Man and Wife, in which authority is attributed to the Man. In this case, the growth of exploitation under a mask of reciprocity during the time of the great Andean states and kingdoms, should be seen as a projection onto the nacient class-societies of an antagonism already present in the heart of the pre-existing Andean communities, in the very center of the productive process: within the home..." (PLATT, T., 1976, p.49)

In my opinion this conclusion takes Marxist analysis too far, and is a very simplistic way of seeing the opposition between symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships, which do not do justice to the excellent analysis which precedes it. My criticism is that I do not see why the fact that

men may fulfill roles of authority should in turn give rise to relationships of exploitation and of class antagonism disguised in the form of reciprocity. Except for an excess of dogmatism, there is no reason to suggest that exploitation has more reality than reciprocity. The fact that a concept such as Yanantin may express both an idea of symmetry and asymmetry is the best evidence that it expresses a notion of reciprocity or complementarity, because it supposes interacting parties who are different but each having need of the other.

With respect to our previous analysis of the differences and complementary roles of the sexes in Andamarca, it is appropriate to observe that correspondingly the term Yananchacuy is used for marriage. Moreover, we shall see that this term and the different symbols associated with it are dominant in a song that is played only in connection with weddings. These are the lyrics of the song:

Ancallaja jahuachcasja	That Anca had been looking
Condorllaja jahuachcasja	That Condor had been looking
Mostrasallay pallachcajta	The one who is collecting the
Achitallay pallachcajta	mustard seeds
Orqora munichu icha manachu?	The one who is collecting the
Apa munichu icha manachu?	Achita seeds
Ima ninmi Sonqollaiqui?	Could I take her out or not?
Jayca ninmi Geniollaiqui?	Could I bring her out or not?
Yanantinta ricuy cuspa	What is your heart saying now?
Chullantinta ricuy cuspa	What is your character saying now?
Ancallaja jahuachcasja	Looking at her with her partner
Condorllaja jahuachcasja	Looking at her with her individual
Mostrasallay pallachcajta	
Achitallay pallachcajta	
Jari huahuayoq ayniricuy	That Anca had been looking
Huarmi huahuayoq ayje ricuy	That Condor had been looking
	The one who is collecting the mustard seeds

Ancallaja jahuachcasja	The one who is collecting the
Condorllaja jahuachcasja	Achita seeds
Nostrasallay pallachcajta	Let those who have a son help
Achtallay pallachcajta	Let those who have a daughter
Ricuy Cucuy Jahuay Cucuy	escape
Yanatillan palomata	
Ricuycucuy Jahuaycucuy	That Anca had been looking
Yanatillan urpituta (torcasata)	That Condor had been looking
Imaninmi Sonqollaiqui	The one who is collecting the
Jayca ninmi Geniollaiqui	mustard seeds
Atimunichu Icha manachu?	The one who is collecting the
Pusamunichu Icha manachu?	Achita seeds
	Look well watch well
	This dove with her partner
	Look well watch well
	This dove with her partner
	What is your heart saying now?
	What is your character saying
	now?
	Could I do it or not?
	Am I bringing her or not?

This song is generally sung by those individuals who have acted as mediators in the consolidation of a marital union and who are known as Anca. This song is addressed to the parents of the bride but the emphasis is that the whole collectivity should take notice of the marital union. For this reason there is great insistence on looking or watching, and this partly explains why the Condor and the Anca, which are two birds of prey regarded as keen sighted, have been selected. Moreover, the Condor (Vultur gryphus L.) is also known as Huamani, which is a term used to designate the mountain god, and the Anca (Geranoaetus fuscescens australis - Swann) is an eagle whose throat, belly and the inferior part of his wings are white, and his back is black. Both birds of prey have in common an association with totalities made up of complementary parts. For example, the Huamani is also represented as a cuadrangular pyramid that rests upon a four sided "table". The pyramid by itself

is called "heart" and its top is decorated with a pair of coca leaves as also are the four corners of the "table" (see p.151). The image it suggests is the same as that of the prehispanic Inca seated on his pyramidal quadrangular throne called Ushno (ZUIDEMA and QUISPE, 1973, p. 367) or Guaman Poma's description of the Inca surrounded by the Kings of the four quarters (OSSIO, 1977, p.62-66). On the other hand, the white and black colours of the Anca are two contrasted colours which when together are known by the term Allca (which seems to be a methathesis of Anca) which plays an important role in various symbolic contexts within Andean Culture. For example, the Royal Bird of the Incas was known as Allccamari coriquenque, and it is described as an eagle which was black and white in colour and whose feathers decorated the crown of the Incas.

Another pair of elements associated with the symbolism of black and white that figures in this song are the mustard (mostrasa)seeds and the achita seeds. Mustard seeds are black and the achita is a whitish seed. The most remarkable thing about these two seeds is that they figure prominently among the offerings that are buried in the ground in different ritual contexts. Mustard seeds are explicitly associated with reproduction of bulls and achita with the reproduction of cows. Moreover, there is one particular occurrence which takes place the day before the branding of the cattle and which is called Toro Jaycu (literally "obliged bull"). It consists of a joking ceremony by which the owner of the animals to be branded receives a gift of "millions" of cows and bulls from each of those

who will help him in performing this task. In this context the mustard seeds and the achita seeds are all on top of a table and whenever somebody gives the owner a gift of bulls they explicitly pick up mustard seeds and put them inside a plate containing maize flour (llampucha); whenever cows are meant they pick up achita seeds. Later these seeds will be used as offerings for the branding ceremony.

Finally the term Yanantin is explicitly associated with doves because it is said that they are always coupled. Moreover, the association of doves with Yanantin is further emphasized because it is said that each of them collects either mustard seeds or achita seeds, which are foods considered appropiate for doves.

b. Trial Marriage or Local Marriage

With respect to a supposedly institutionalized pre-marital relationship called pantanacuy (pantani = to be in fault), tincunacuspa (tincuy = to be united), watanaki (to be tied) (PRICE, R., 1965) or more frequently Sirvinacuy (sirvin = to be served), the evidence from marriage settlements in Andamarca has something to add to the discussion. For a long time there has been a discussion, phrased in terms which are more pertinent to Western society, concerning a possible Andean pre-marital institution whose purpose was to allow a couple to test each other before they might engage in a permanent marriage. It is generally assumed that the period lasted for one year and that it could be broken by mutual consent with-

out giving rise to any serious consequence. In the anthropological literature this union has come to be known as "Trial marriage" and there are anthropologists such as Margaret Mead who have highly praised it and even recommended it for American society. My argument against those who claim this form of premarital institution for Andean society is that they apply, without too much hesitation, individualistic criteria in a society where there is plenty of evidence to show that the most important interaction is that between groups.

In Andamarca the most generalized form of marriage settlement is what the people call Chahua manta orqoy which is an expression that already implies an alternative form of marriage settlement. Chahua means "raw", manta means "from", and orqoy "to take out". The whole phrase means "to take out from the raw" or "a raw take out". The term "raw" emphasizes the idea that the mates who are going to become married have never been in contact before. The need to emphasize this idea obviously supposes that there is an alternative marriage settlement in which the couple may have interacted previously. This latter is possible in so far as there is a great sexual freedom among adolescents. Sometimes the parents of a daughter take advantage of the "honour and shame" values that are at the base of the national legislation concerning the family, in order to press a marriage settlement if they consider that the lover of their daughter is a worthwhile young man. However the most frequent form of settling a marriage is through the chahua manta orqoy procedure, which consists of a marriage

fully arranged by the parents of the prospective couple. It is in the light of this kind of settlement that the different components of the marriage ritual, such as the mediatory role of the Anca, and the lyrics of the song that we mentioned before, may be better understood.

In the chahua manta orqoy form of marriage settlement the initiative is always taken by the family of the groom. Usually the eldest female members first suggest the need for arranging a marriage for the prospective groom. The argument they generally use is that he is too grown up to continue sharing their food and that it might be better if he were to obtain a wife who would cook for him. On some occasions this argument is presented in such realistic terms that they lock the future groom inside a room to let him experience the sensation of hunger and he is let free only after having given his consent to the wedding.

After the groom has given his consent, the parents select, after consulting the opinion of different members of the family, the names of three, or sometimes more, candidates as prospective brides. Then, through adivinatory devices, in which coca leaves play a very important role, one of the three candidates is selected as bride. At this point the Ancas are appointed, who will try to convince the parents of the selected bride to accept the young man they are representing as a son-in-law. These are generally close relatives of the groom and sometimes also relatives of the bride. One par-

ticular quality they should possess is the ability to talk correctly so that their speeches may sound convincing. This is also a gift generally associated with the Padrinos de Matrinomio and for this reason very frequently this category of godparent is selected from among the Ancas. In addition, they have to be individuals of good repute.

The most serious part of the conversations is carried on between the Ancas and the parents of the bride. Normally the groom is not accepted during the first conversation and the Ancas have to insist two or three times more. Sometimes they fail completely and they continue insisting with the parents of the remaining candidates until an acceptance is achieved. A marriage agreement is sealed in the presence of the parents of both the bride and the groom, when the former accept from the latter a bottle of trago (sugar cane alcohol) and some coca leaves. All these conversations are called Rimayku.(to talk).

The bride is the last to find out about her wedding. Often she discovers it only when all the conversations have been concluded, and when she is already face to face with the groom. Once the marriage agreement has been settled she is lured by false stories to a room where the groom is waiting. When she discovers all, she may refuse to lie in bed with the groom and I have heard of several cases of brides becoming so angry that they have started to throw all kinds of things at their grooms, at all the attendants who may be present,

and even of their escaping and seeking police protection. When everything goes normally the Padrinos de Matrimonio fulfill the task of undressing their godchildren and of putting them in bed. Later on, several of their relatives and friends enter the room to give them their blessing and to express their wish that they be fertile. Each will say Dios Yaya, Dios Churi, Dios Espíritu Santo. Huarmichapaq Jarichapaq Curichapaq. (In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Produce little girls, little boys or produce twins.) From then on a couple is regarded as married and they may pass one year or more before they go through the Catholic Ritual and the Civil Marriage.

From all this description, could it be possible to consider the Rimayku as a "trial marriage"? Could we say that there is a desire on the part of the participants to test how they are going to get along? Obviously not, because nowhere have we seen them participating in the marital arrangements. However, there are anthropologists who, blinded by the idea that a trial marriage institution should exist in the Andes, continue to be attached to this idea, although the evidence that they present suggests the contrary. A case in point is Price's article entitled Trial Marriage in the Andes (PRICE, R., 1965). He claims that in Vicos (Ancash) there exists a form of trial marriage which is known as watanaki. Influenced by the thesis he wants to prove he translates this term as "having a year together" (PRICE, R., 1965, p. 315) when it also means "to be tied". This is more in agreement

with other Quechua words that express the idea of marriage (tincunacuy = to be united) (yananchacuy = to be mated). Moreover, the institution he describes presents remarkable resemblances to the situation described in Andamarca.

For example, he mentions that "Among the several ways of entering watanaki which Vicosinos distinguish, formal ashipa (to look for) and informal topakipa (to meet) represent two extremes". He continues, "Ashipa has several variations. In the past, a young man's parents often suggested a partner or even secretly arranged the union with her family, and the couple's first sexual relations with each other occurred only after final approval of the match by both families. The couple was shut in a room for the night, while their families drank and celebrated outside" (PRICE, R., 1965, p.315-316). The resemblace to Chahua manta orqoy is extraordinary, although not very much attention is given to it. Topakipa, on the contrary, is acknowledged as "the most popular in modern Vicos, where it appears to have considerable antiquity. Both sets of parents are simply presented with a fait accompli, and there is little that they or their relatives can do about it,..The father, accompanied by his son, conducts an immediate solicitation of the girl's parents, bearing hastily assembled gifts of coca and alcohol..." (PRICE, R., 1965, p. 316). In Andamarca, this second form is also acknowledged but under the term reqsinacuy (to know each other) and it is precisely because they have had sexual intercourse that emphasis is placed on consolidating the mating. Why then call this form of marital union "trial marriage"?

I would agree with Oscar Núñez del Prado (1964, p.293) and Manuel Marzal (1977, p. 141), in their opinion that the reason lies in an ethnocentric way of judging Andean marriage as being consolidated only through Catholic and National institutions, denying any possible local source of legitimation, and in considering it mostly as a contract between individuals and not between groups.

Indeed, most of the evidence about Andean marriages before the Conquest, suggests that groups and not individuals were the important parties in a marriage contract and that a practice similar to the Chahua manta orqoy and the Ashipa, already existed. For example, Fray Martín de Murúa explicitly states: "They also say that if the parents agreed to a marriage without consulting their children, it would take place even if the children did not wish it, and this abuse is continued even today among them, for if the father or mother agree, or if they bring them some present of wood, straw or chicha and they accept it and drink it and make fire with the wood, then even if the daughter does not wish to consent to the marriage, the parents say that they have already accepted the presents and that she cannot refuse" (MURUA, F., MARTIN DE, 1964, p. 72, vol.II). (My translation)

After the Rimaycu, the next marriage ritual is that sanctioned by the Catholic Church. This ritual generally takes place almost immediately after the Rimaycu or after a longer period has elapsed. The importance of this ritual

lies in the fact that it not only gives religious sanction to a marital union, but also, as we shall see later, consolidates the ties of Spiritual Co-parenthood (see p.312). The celebrations of this ritual are always sponsored by the groom's family and they generally last for three days or more.

The final marriage ritual is the Civil Marriage which was introduced in Andamarca in the year 1944 when it became an independent District from Cabana. Because of its relatively recent origin there are several married couples, especially among older people, who have never gone through this ritual. Today it has become more popular, not only because it is demanded by the Town Hall but because it is a necessary step as source of legitimation of the children in front of the State. As it does not demand very high expenses, since there are no particular celebrations associated with it, this ritual is consolidated almost the same day as the religious marriage.

It is from the records associated with Civil Marriage that most of my statistical evidence concerning marriage practices in Andamarca derives. Additional evidence is derived from the 1972 census and from some of my genealogies. Although ecclesiastical marriage records also exist, unfortunately I did not have the opportunity of seeing them because they were not permanently kept in Andamarca. Perhaps these records note more marriages than the Civil Records, because the Catholic is regarded as more important than the Civil

Marriage ritual. Perhaps also the ages of the individuals at marriage are somewhat lower, because in this case individuals do not accommodate themselves to the age limit (14 years) demanded by the Civil Law. Nevertheless, the Civil Marriage records are better than nothing, and taken as a sample they give an idea of the patterns behind actual marriage practices.

The data they afford consist of the names of both the bride and the groom and of their respective parents; the place of residence of all of them, the local origins of the bride and the groom, their respective ages, the names of some witnesses and the date of the marriage. Sometimes it is recorded whether they are legitimate or natural children, or if they are widows or widowers. Ideally all this information should be supplied for each case. However, there are several instances in which part of this information is lacking. For example, for the first four years of the existence of these marriage records there is no reference at all to local residence. From 1949 to near the end of 1952 the village address is given, taking as a point of reference the Tuna and Pata barrios. Moreover, the number of marriages for each year is not steady. There are years in which only six marriages are recorded, while in others there are about 50. The most common number is between 15 and 30 marriages, taking place during a year. The ages of the individuals who marry are also not entirely similar. There are cases of women who marry at the age of 14 and of others at the age of 60; and of men who marry at the age of 15, and at the age of 70. However, most frequently

women marry between the ages of 14 and 19 and men between the ages of 17 and 23. Men are generally older than women; the normal age difference is three or four years.

The most important and also the most representative information about the system of marriage exchanges is that concerning the local origins of the bride and the groom and concerning the residence of them and of their respective parents. Thanks to this we have been able to detect a correspondence between the tendency of certain families to remain associated with some particular localities, and with the possibility of giving concrete reality to the linguistic distinction between Mistis and Indians. Later we shall also use this information to examine the nature of the Compadrazgo system.

This information yields evidence that there is an endogamous orientation of the community as a whole which is reproduced at different internal local levels, as we mentioned when discussing the residence pattern (see p.53).

The total number of marriages registered in these records is 713; 76 of them, corresponding to the years 1944 and 1949, lack reference to the residence of the individuals who are registering. These marriages have been left aside in Table 26 which arranges the marriages according to the internal residence units. Table 26(a), on the other hand, includes these marriages because the records contain the local origin

TABLE Nº 26

MARRIAGE EXCHANGES OF THE DIFFERENT RESIDENCE UNITS OF ANDAMARCA ACCORDING THE CIVIL MARRIAGE RECORDS

MALE / FEMALE RESIDENCE UNITS	YEARS																									TOTAL
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	
TUNA - TUNA	5	1	7	4	15	10	5	6	3	2	3	6	6	7	7	6	2	7	3	4	5	5	4	7	5	135 (25.6 %)
PATA - PATA	4	1	6	7	16	10	11	4	3	4	3	11	3	3	13	14	13	13	3	9	6	7	4	2	8	178 (32.6 %)
TUNA - PATA		1	3	5	1	3	4	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	8	3	2	3	3	4	1	2	3	5		62 (22.0%)
PATA - TUNA	1		1	8	2	2	3	3	1	1	1	2	2	3	4	5		1	3	1	3	2	2	2	1	54
PATA - MORRO DE ARICA																									1	
PATA - PUCA PUCA																										
PATA - CHIRICRE	1		1											1	1			1		1	1	1				8
PATA - HUACCRACCA														1		1		1			1		1			5
PATA - HUAYLLAHUARMI																				1	1					2
TUNA - MORRO DE ARICA																							1			1
TUNA PUCA PUCA																										
TUNA - MALLUPAMPA																				1						1
TUNA - CHIRICRE							1		1												1					3 (10.4%)
TUNA - HUACCRACCA								1								1										2
CUYO - CUYO															1					1						2
TUNA CHULLUCA																										
MORRO DE ARICA - M. DE ARICA																					1					1
MORRO DE ARICA - TUNA																					1					1
MORRO DE ARICA - HUACCRACCA																										
MILLUPAMPA - MILLUPAMPA																2								1		3
MILLUPAMPA - TUNA																					1					1
MULLUCATA - CHIRICRE																1										1
CHIRICRE - CHIRICRE												1				1	2		2							6
CHIRICRE - PATA																1								1		2
CHIRICRE - M.de ARICA																				1						1
HUACCRACCA - HUACCRACCA															4				1							5
HUACCRACCA - PATA								1												1						2
HUACCRACCA - HUAYLLAHUARMI																			1							1
HUAYLLAHUARMI - HUACRACCA																1										1
HUAYLLA HUARMI - PATA																1										1
HUAYLLAHUARMI - TUNA				1												1										2
PARCCACHA - CHIRICRE														1												1
PUCA - PUCA																										1
PURICA - PURICA																										1
SIN IDENTIFICAR					2	1	7	3		3	1	2	3	1	6		1	2	1	1	3	4	2			43 (8.1 %)
TOTALES →	11	3	18	25	36	26	31	20	9	11	9	24	17	18	45	38	20	28	17	25	25	21	17	18		527

TABLE 26 (a) MARRIAGE EXCHANGES OUTSIDE THE COMUNIDAD DE ANDAMARCA

MAN AND WOMAN BOTH FROM ANDAMARCA	MAN FROM ANDAMARCA OUTSIDE WOMAN	OUTSIDE MAN WOMAN FROM ANDAMARCA	OUTSIDE MAN AND WOMAN
603 (85.54%)	35 (4.9%)	43 (6.0%)	32 (4.1%)
	Lucanas Province: 26 Dep. of Ayacucho: 27 Dep. of Junín: 2 Dep. of Apurimac: 2 Dep. of Cuzco: 1 Dep. of Arequipa: 1 Dep. of Cerro de Pasco: 1 Dep. of Lima: 1 TOTAL: 35	Lucanas Province: 31 Dep. of Ayacucho: 32 Dep. of Apurimac: 4 Dep. of Cerro de Pasco: 1 Dep. of Junín: 1 Dep. of Ancash: 1 Dep. of Ica: 1 Dep. of Lima: 1 Dep. of Huancavelica: 1 Dep. of Cuzco: 1 TOTAL: 43	Lucanas Province: 20 Dep. of Ayacucho: 24 Puquio - Cuzco: 2 Puquio - Ica: 1 Chipao - Andahuaylas: 1 Lucanas - Ica: 1 Lucanas - Nazca: 1 Ayacucho - Cuzco: 1 Cuzco - Cajamarca: 1 TOTAL: 32

of the individuals and this Table is designed to give an idea of the marriages that take place between local people and outsiders or simply between outsiders married in Andamarca.

Of the 713 marriages, 603 or 84.5% took place between Andamarquinos; 35 or 4.9% between a local man and an outsider woman; 43 or 6.0% between a local woman and a male outsider; and 32 or 4.4% between outsiders. As can be seen from Table 26 most of the outsiders come from localities of the same Province (Lucanas) to which Andamarca belongs. Inside Andamarca we can see that 59.2% of the marriages take place between individuals who belong to the same barrios. These percentages correspond closely to the estimates produced in our description of the residence pattern (see p.50).

The endogamous tendencies expressed at the level of the local units correspond to the marriage exchanges that take place at the family level. Although the only explicit regulations for marriage, as well as for any kind of mating, are proscriptive, social practice reveals that there is a tendency to prescribe marriages which do not extend beyond the boundaries of the community. When asking some informants with bachelor children living in Lima or somewhere else outside Andamarca whether they minded their children marrying a foreigner, they almost unanimously told me that they would try to discourage them because an Andamarquino partner would at least provide them with more land.

We have seen that when Chahua manta orqoy takes place there are generally three or more candidates for a man and that one of them is selected through adivinatory devices. Bearing in mind this practice, it is interesting to note that although there is an element of chance in the selection of marriage partners, even where there may have been a previous love affair which influences the situation, in practice marriages assume a particular configuration which gives the impression that a certain logic lies behind them.(14)

A careful look at these practices reveals that in the case of the Chahua manta orqoy the logic seems to lie in the selection of the candidates, who are frequently related to one another. In the case where a love affair has previously intervened the chances are that, as most social interaction is channelled through family institutions, the lovers have come together within the social networks of their respective families. Thus, there are several cases of lovers who have been caught infranganti and who seem to have been prompted to form the liason because their respective families had already interacted through the marriage unions of some of their members. It would seem therefore that the dialectic between endogamy and exogamy generates a particular pattern in the marriage exchanges, of which the people are not fully aware. This pattern generally assumes the form of sister exchange or of repeated exchanges between two families. It frequently occurs that two or more brothers marry two or more sisters, or a FB and a BS marry, respectively, two sisters.

Given this reiterative tendency, and the equality of opportunity of the sexes, it is also frequent to find cases of levirate and sororate. Diagram 6 , for example, illustrates a case where various members of the Castas Diaz, Quispe, Flores Huamani and Capcha are linked together through several marriage ties. It may be observed that the highest number of repeated marriage exchanges takes place between the Castas Flores Huamani and Capcha: Two real siblings, a classificatory sibling and a niece have married four classificatory siblings of the Capcha Casta. Seen from the point of view of another Casta, we may observe that three real siblings of the Casta Flores Huamani are married to two real and one classificatory sibling of the Casta Diaz; and that three real siblings of the Casta Capcha are married to two real and one classificatory sibling of the Casta Quispe, and so on. In the first case it is clear that the pattern is of sister exchange; a man Flores for a woman Capcha; a man Capcha for a woman Flores Huamani; a man Capcha for a woman Flores Huamani, and a man Huamani for a woman Capcha. The same pattern is observable in the rest of the cases.

Diagram 7 describes an even more interesting case where there is evidence for the practice of the sororate and for the participation of illegitimate children in family exchanges. Here again we can see that three real siblings of Astovilca family have married one classificatory and two real siblings of the family Cuevas. Another female sibling of the family Cuevas married an illegitimate son of a woman who is

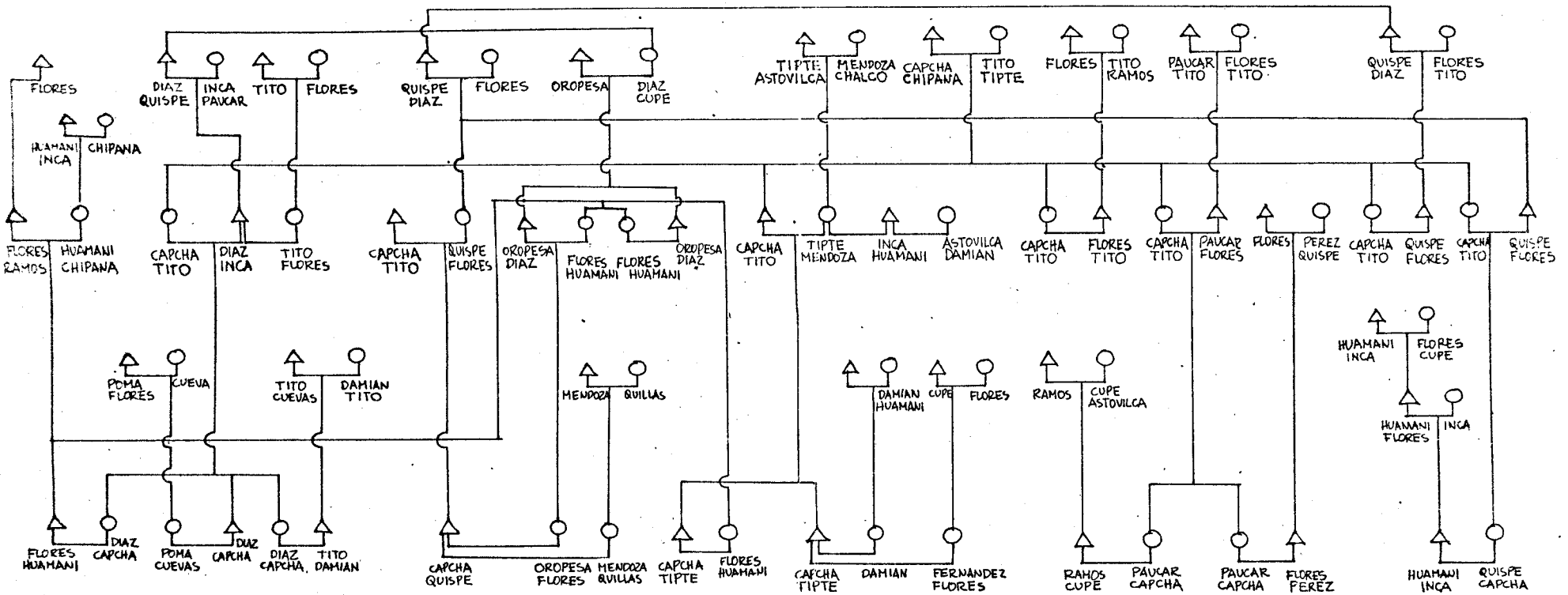


DIAGRAM Nº 6

ENDOGAMOUS MARRIAGES BETWEEN THE CASTAS FLORES, HUAMANI, CAPCHA, DIAZ AND QUISPE

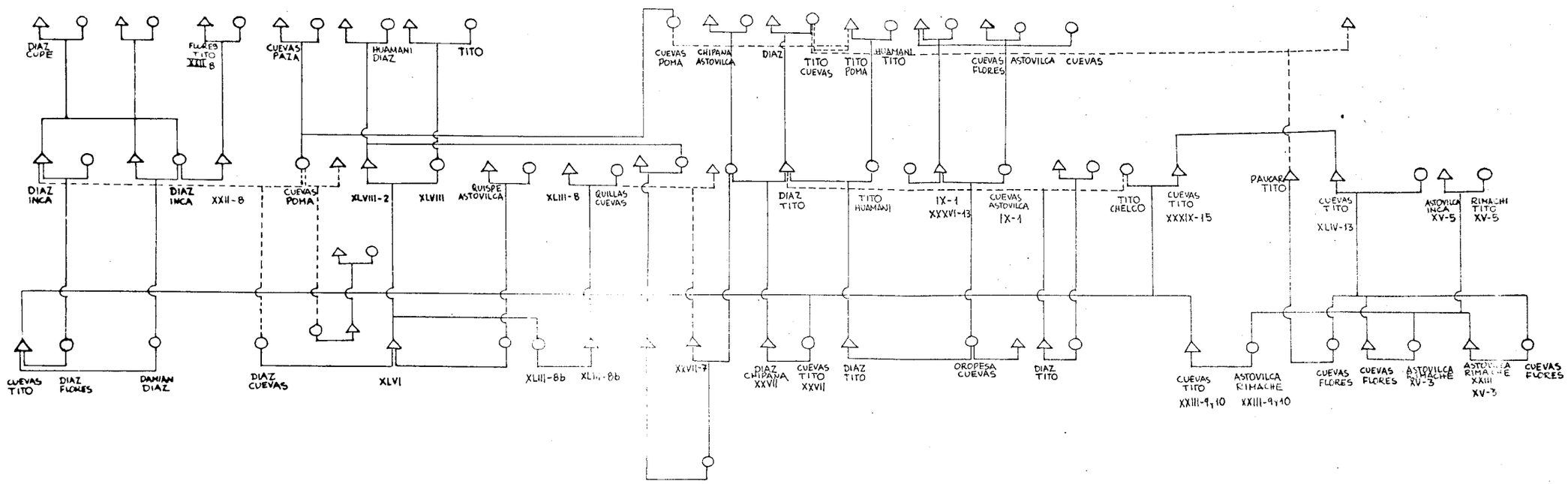


DIAGRAM N°7

ENDOGAMOUS MARRIAGES BETWEEN CASTAS CUEVAS, ASTOVILCA, DIAZ AND TITO

the paternal grandmother of a man who is in turn married to a Cuevas woman who is the classificatory sister of the wife of the illegitimate son. The mother of that man is also member of the same Casta as the mother of the Astovilca siblings.

There are also cases where a father and a son have married two sisters and a father and a daughter have married a sister and a brother respectively. In addition there are cases where marriage has taken place between near relatives and also with relatives who could be acknowledged as Caru (distant). With respect to this last I have reconstructed some genealogies which allow us to see that there are some male individuals who have married their MFFZDSDDD, FFMMBSD, MMMZSDD, or their MMMBDD. The fact that in some of these cases the bride may belong to a different generation from that of the groom, is due to the ideal of having twelve or more children, as we shall see later. These cases are highly reminiscent of the kinship model discussed by Zuidema. However, in Andamarca none of the married individuals included within these kinship positions acknowledged the possibility that they could be kin. The reason is that relationships as distant as great grandparents are generally forgotten.

Some people have told me that there are several cases of individuals who have married relatives, and I am additionally certain that this has happened in three cases. Two of them consist of two brothers who have married two sisters who belong to the same paternal Casta and stand in the re-

lationship of second cousins. The third case has taken place between parallel first cousins, and for this reason the man was nicknamed Jarjachón.

As we shall see in more detail in the next chapter, in Andamarca there exists the belief that incestuous people whilst living transform themselves during the night into Jarjacha, and when they die they transform into Condenados (Condemned). The shape adopted by a Jarjacha may be that of a llama, a giraffe, a mule, etc. with a long neck. They are considered harmless although they frighten people. The Condenado, on the other hand, is extremely dangerous because he eats people. Their distinctive features are that they wear iron sandals, have a strong odor of smoke and, as they walk they strike sparks from their feet.

My informants did not always agree as to which were the categories of kinsmen between whom sexual relations were regarded as incestuous. They usually told me, when I questioned them, that relatives up to the fourth degree were forbidden to marry, as were ceremonial kinsmen (this being the strictest prohibition) and those who stood in the relationship of parents- or children-in-law to one another. But frequently some confusion arose as to who exactly was a fourth degree relative. With the aid of genealogies it becomes clear that many people considered great grandsons or thir cousins, when they were members of a different Casta, to be fourth degree relatives.

In the Actas del Juez de Paz of 1972 there is a case which pin points the categories considered as non-marriageable. It deals with a woman who complained that her mother-in-law was a source of grievance because she considered that the marriage with her son was not valid due to the fact that the couple were relatives. After checking my genealogies I found that the woman was a FFBDD of the groom and that in addition she was also related to him through the maternal side because she was also his MFFBSSD. However, this last relationship was not questioned. The concern of the son's mother related to the first relationship which she defined as being of third degree. This was determined by their common descent from a pair of brothers who belonged to the second generation above them. The second relationship, on the other hand, was considered somewhat distant because, although it was again derived from common descent from two brothers, it was in this instance located three generations above them, and was also a link derived from the maternal side. It seems that the relationship is considered more proximate if it derives from the paternal side of the groom. In both cases the couple stood in the relationship of cross cousins and in both cases they retained common surnames, although in this fashion: X Y the male and Y X the female. It was therefore the relationship from the point of view of the X Casta, transmitted through the paternal side to the groom, which was the one forbidden.

In relation to this I observed a custom whereby, in joking terms, the grandson refers to his maternal

grandmother as wife and she reciprocally refers to him as husband. He refers to his maternal grandfather as Auca (enemy) and the latter reciprocates with the same term. Correspondingly, the grandaughter calls her maternal grandfather husband and he uses the term for wife in reply. On the other hand, she calls her maternal grandmother Cocinera, and she replies with the term Auca.

So far we have seen that the residence pattern, the land-holding system and the marriage system are influenced by certain endogamous and exogamous tendencies whose specificity relates to the nature of the social groups with which these tendencies are associated (see h.I). The endogamous tendency is basically associated with local groups of varying size, while the exogamous tendency is associated with both bilateral kinship groups and unilineal Castas. Indeed it is precisely the exogamous rule that sets up the boundaries between the kinship groups. These two opposing tendencies are generally maintained in equilibrium. But the fact that incest prohibitions are extended to a wide variety of real and ceremonial kinsmen, and that the population of Andamarca is not very high, leads to the occasional breadkown of this equilibrium, and people either marry relatives or seek a mate beyond the limits of the community. Confronted with two options, it would appear that people prefer to obtain a mate from beyond the community. Of course the option varies according to the status of the individual. In this respect it would seem that the less favoured children in the inheritance of property,

such as the Churi apacuy, the Hahua Churi or the Ñuñopac huacha (last children), will be the ones most inclined to break the endogamous rule. Perhaps the fact that many Castas claim their origins from outside Andamarca can be explained by this preference for breaking the endogamous rule.

A further expression of the equilibrium of these two opposed tendencies and of the preference given to breaking the endogamous rule can be seen in a tale of Western origin which is widely distributed in the Andean world, and which has been accommodated to this world by the addition of some indigenous elements. The versions of this tale that I have collected in Andamarca resemble very closely variants of this tale collected in different parts of the Departamento de Ayacucho, especially in Lucanas (see Arguedas 1960-61).

In the Western world this tale is known as "The kidnapping bear"(15) but in Ayacucho, and in particular in Andamarca, it is know as the Macta Peludo (The hairy young man) or as Juan Vela (Juan Candlelight). The tale tells the story of a married woman who is kidnapped by a bear, who impregnates her. Sometime later she gives birth a boy who is very hairy. This child is described as very strong and with the capacity of growth when the circumstances demand it. Feeling sorry for the captive condition of his mother he decides to take her back home. To do this he prepares a strategem to escape from his father which ends in the death of the father at the hands of his son. Once in his mother's village he is

baptized and the priest becomes his godfather. Little by little the boy becomes a threat to the whole community because he eats too much and because his tremendous strength causes some involuntary deaths. Not being able to maintain his godson and afraid that he could do more damage, the priest decides to get rid of him. The bear's son is sent away and on his journey he meets some people who are fleeing from a Condenado who is eating human beings in the village they have abandoned. On hearing this, the son of the bear decides to fight against the Condenado. After three days of fighting he finally defeats the Condenado whose soul, as a result, is saved. As a reward he grants the hand of his daughter and all his wealth to his saviour. The bear's son, on the other hand, because he has defeated the Condenado, returns to normality and from then on he becomes the same as any other human being.

Through this tale we can see that breaking both the endogamous rule and the exogamous rule carries serious consequences. The breaking of the endogamous rule is suggested by the relationship between a human being, the woman, and the bear, an animal (sometimes the bear is replaced by a condor). Their relationship gives rise to an anomalous being who causes involuntary harm either by his appetite or his strength. His godfather is a priest, who as we have seen is associated with mules and infertility. The Condenado, on the other hand is the outcome of breaking the exogamous rule, for as we have seen incestuous (as well as selfish) individuals

are condemned in this way when they die. So here we have another anomalous individual, who voluntarily causes destruction by eating human beings. The equilibriated opposition between the endogamous and the exogamous tendency is emphasized by the fight between these two anomalous individuals. Finally, the offspring of the union which broke the endogamous regulation defeats the Condenado and the normal equilibrium is restored. The exogamous tendency is privileged not only because the son of the bear defeats the Condenado but because two different anomalous beings are capable of exchanging favours: the bear's son grants salvation to the Condenado, and the Condenado reciprocates by giving his wealth and his daughter to the bear's son. In other words, this exchange suggests that order is restored through reciprocal exchanges among different but equilibriated individuals.

The Ideal of Having Twelve Children

In order to draw this chapter to a close it remains to examine the social implications that derive from the maintenance of the equilibrium between the endogamous and the exogamous tendencies, or in other words, between the maintenance of the identity of Andamarca and its possible internal social expansion.

Apart from the implications that these opposing tendencies generate in the Compadrazgo system, which we shall examine in the next chapter, and apart from their implications for the configuration of the residence pattern and the

land-holding system, we have also noted an ideal which considers it desirable that a woman should give birth to twelve children. The terms in which the Andamarquinos express this ideal are that to bear twelve children is a tarea cumplida (an accomplished task).

Apart from the symbolic meaning that twelve may have,(16) it is easy to see that to have many children is a social necessity in order that the two opposite tendencies may remain in equilibrium. Given the large number of kin categories with which an Andamarquino is forbidden to marry, and given that there is a preference to marry within the boundaries of the community, it is logical that they should try to generate their own human resources in quantities compatible with these structural demands. Through this solution it is possible that certain families may keep interacting among themselves in a semi-permanent way so that they may remain identified with certain localities. On the other hand, a large number of children allows for the possibility of establishing links with other families, associated with different localities, so that endogamous saturation will not threaten the stability of the interacting groups and other groups.

In this respect we may also consider the Andamarquinos' belief that childless couples are unlucky people whose land and animals also tend to be infertile and for this reason the products they harvest are generally insufficient to satisfy their needs. These individuals are known as Qolloq.

In the old Quechua vocabularies, apart from this same connotation, it is also translated as "bad omen" or "to destroy a populated locality". Those who accomplish the ideal of having many children, on the other hand, are thought of as being very lucky individuals whose land generally produces good crops. One informant, whose father-in-law had given him and his wife a farrow of land so that they might cultivate it, told me that because his wife had many children his farrow was more productive than the rest of the neighboring farrows.

Although I do not possess statistical records for the number of women who fulfill the ideal of bearing twelve or more children, the wills which I had the opportunity to consult and the genealogies indicate that there are several cases. Frequently, however, most of the children do not survive to adulthood. A high rate of infant and child mortality is a common phenomenon in all of the Highlands.

One further piece of evidence indicating that this ideal is carried into practice can be seen from a consequence that results from it, which is the frequency of cases of discrepancy between age and generation. Indeed there are some cases where two individuals of similar age may be separated by two generations. This can be seen from the case previously mentioned where a man married a MFFZDSDDD, or the other case where a man married a FFMMBSD. Apart from these, there are other cases where two relatives of the same generation have married relatives from different generations. Moreover,

the genealogies diagrammed in this study are full of examples of individuals of different generations who marry.

This evidence has the additional value of suggesting further possibilities in a line of research developed by Rodney Needham (1974). Needham attempts to formulate some structural distinctions between lineal descent systems and cognatic societies which he uses to test the validity of the customary treatment accorded them as different forms of "kinship systems". The formulation of these distinctions is based on the unequal use given to relative age and to categories of relationships in order to define status in different societies. Needham notes that the former criterion is predominantly used in cognatic societies, while the latter criterion is used in societies with unilineal descent systems. The reason for this is deduced from the degree of correspondence between relative age and relationship category in any given society. It is Needham's contention that whenever a discrepancy exists between age and category, the chances are that age predominantly determines the status of individuals, and that this situation occurs principally in cognatic societies. Alternatively, in societies with unilineal systems, relationship category always determines the status of individuals.

It is with respect to the conditions in which the discrepancy between age and category arises that the evidence from Andamarca is valuable. It helps to clarify some-

thing that Needham takes for granted when he says that, "Given a disparity of ages between siblings, between the dates at which they marry, and between the ages of their spouses, the possibility is entailed that (1) individuals of the same age will belong to different categories, and (2) individuals of different ages will belong to the same category", (NEEDHAM, R. 1974, p. 74), or as when talking about the Penan he comments "Where close intermarriage is commonly practiced there is bound to be a large number of different connexions by which individuals may trace relationships to each other, and in certain circumstances these multifarious links will allocate individuals to more than one genealogical level" (NEEDHAM, R. 1974, p. 79).

The evidence from Andamarca helps to clarify the circumstances under which a disparity of ages between siblings emerges. As mentioned before, these disparities are related to the ideal of having twelve children and we may now add that this ideal may indeed become a reality, for people tend to mate when they are still very young and continue mating, whether sanctioned by marriage or not, until they are old. As we have suggested before, this in its turn makes it possible for close intermarriage to take place, which is a requirement that Needham sees independently from the first. Given these conditions one may speculate whether in societies dominated by the ideal of honour and shame, where sexual freedom is restricted and people are impelled to marry very late, as among the Sarakatsani described by Campbell (CAMPBELL, 1974),

the discrepancy between age and category may take place.

Andamarca seems to be, like the Ngaju of South Borneo, an exception to Needham's hypothesis because, on the one hand, it presents both unilineal and bilateral features, and on the other hand both age and category are important, although in different contexts. Category is important in determining the individuals whom one is forbidden to marry, and age is so important that generally elder brothers are treated as fathers, and also helps to determine the individuals whom one may marry. Category is so important that not only colaterals may be merged into one term but also linear relatives, as is suggested by the official terminology (see p.231)

Indeed Andamarca, and perhaps the whole of Andean Society, is exceptional in many respects in so far as it presents features which generally have been seen as incompatible in certain social systems, and yet here they are nevertheless operating side by side. One case in point is the one we have just mentioned; another one is the fact that a kinship terminology generally associated with unilineal societies coexists with bilateral forms of transmission of rights or qualities which may adopt the form of parallel transmission. Correspondingly, we may also observe the presence of both unilineal groups known as Castas and of ego centered kindreds known as Ayllus. In the next chapter we shall see that Compadrazgo is not only a contract between individuals, as has generally been assumed, but that it is also a relationship

between groups and that because of this it is possible to see that both asymmetrical and symmetrical forms of social relationships may coexist, although associated with different social contexts.

CHAPTER IV

CEREMONIAL KINSHIP[1]

So far we have seen kinship in relation to groups, and marriage in relation to its ritual aspects and in relation to its expressions as a group exchange. In both instances we have noted the presence of an equilibrated relationship between the sexes, with the result that in each instance we may perceive a double dimension. With respect to the kinship groups, we have noted that there are both unilineal and bilateral groups which receive formal recognition in the Quechua dialect. And with respect to marriage we have noted that it is part of the life cycle in which the possibility of mating automatically grants adult status to an individual, and that it is part of the system of exchanges between groups.

From all this analysis we have reached the conclusion that the kinship groups in Andamarca are indeed rather weak in that their boundaries are not too precise and in that it is difficult to distinguish marriage from ordinary mating in so far as both forms are influenced both by the endogamous and exogamous tendencies. It would seem, therefore, that the only real and bounded social unit is Andamarca itself and that this is the only social unit which it is vital

to be perpetuated either by marriage or simple mating. This conclusion is supported, moreover, by the nature of the religious hierarchy, by the meaning of some Fiestas and by some mythical expressions such as the myth of the Mayu Brothers.

However, although weak, groups whose members are related by kinship links, that extend beyond the limits of the nuclear family and which perceive themselves as distinct from members of other similar groups, do in fact exist, and we have already encountered them in previous chapters. These groups are indeed implied by the existence of exogamous and endogamous rules.

Our purpose in this chapter will be to see these groups in relation to the system of exchanges as expressed in ceremonial kinship and in marriage. Indeed, what we shall try to do is to test our precious observations on the kinship system in Andamarca with relation to the ceremonial kinship system, and to disclose its meaning both through the dimension of the life cycle and through the dimension of the system of social exchanges.

First we shall attempt to give a panoramic view of some theoretical approaches concerning Compadrazgo (2), then in order to show its importance and its association with the Catholic ritual of marriage, we shall discuss the Compadrazgo de Bautizo in relation to affinal relationships and

to their expressions at a symbolic level. Next we shall try to see this type of Compadrazgo in relation to the conceptions of man as a natural and as a spiritual being as they are expressed in the process of socialization of the individual. In relation to this we shall discuss in the next section the different types of ceremonial kinship that exist in Andamarca. Then we shall offer some empirical evidence showing how all these different types are distributed in a kinship network. In the following section we shall make some comments on the structural implications of the system of ceremonial kinship, aiming to establish some connections with what we mentioned earlier in relation to the kinship and marriage systems; and finally we shall provide some further evidence to show that the ceremonial kinship system of Andamarca is not unique in the Andean World.

Functional and Structural approaches to the study of Compadrazgo.-

Compadrazgo is a topic that during recent years has given rise to an increasing number of monographs which cover a large number of societies mostly located in the Mediterranean area, in the Slavic countries and in Latin America. Apart from these monographs there are also three comparative works which have the additional values of making explicit two classical points of view in anthropological theory: Functionalism and Structuralism.

"An analysis of Ritual Co-Parenthood (Compadrazgo)" by Mintz and Wolf, first published in the year 1950, and "Cofradía and Compadrazgo in Spain and Spanish America" by George M. Foster, first published in the year 1953, seem to me to make explicit the functionalist approach while "The Compadrazgo as a Reflection of the Natural and Spiritual Person" (1972) and "Spiritual Relationships and selecting a Godparent" (1975) by Stephen Gudeman, would express, on the contrary, the structural approach as practiced in Great Britain and France.

The functionalist character of the first two articles is mostly noticeable in their attempt to understand compadrazgo in utilitarian terms, assigning to it the role of furthering social solidarity, and in their lack of concern for understanding its symbolic and conceptual content. Consequently, the emphasis is placed on determining the nature of the relationships between compadres according to whether the social context is stratified or homogeneous, or according to the degree of dominance of a kinship system. Mintz and Wolf therefore talk about "Vertical" and "Horizontal" compadrazgo relationships in order to typify the relationships between compadres that are associated with different classes and those which are confined to just one social class, and Foster, on the other hand, associates compadrazgo with the disruption of previous kinship systems. It seems to me that the major contribution of the first is to have systematized ideas that were already in the air since Redfield and to have suggested the interesting

observation that in Latin America the relationship between *compadres* is more important than that between godparents and godchildren.

This last point is taken up again by Foster and selecting Spain as a source of reference he demonstrates that unlike Latin America, in this country more importance is granted to relationships between godparents and godchildren and that, in general, relationships based on ceremonial kinship are quite unimportant. He points out instead, that after medieval times the *Cofradías* became more important, because of their association with the guilds. The guilds are seen as being more formal and inflexible in structure than the *compadrazgo* system and therefore more suited to cope with the class solidarity that emerged after the decline of the feudal system and with the rise of towns and cities and the accompanying development of urban classes of artisans and merchants. Latin America is seen in contrast as lacking these social conditions because of its relative lack of craft industries and low level of industrial activity, and therefore this situation is advanced as a possible explanation for the poor development of the guilds in this part of the world. The *Cofradías*, on the contrary, are seen as more successful. According to Foster they "... came to fulfill spiritual and psychological functions..." (FOSTER, 1953, p.22).

Among the reasons suggested by Foster for the success of the *compadrazgo* institution in Latin America, special emphasis is given to the one that holds that the *compadrazgo*

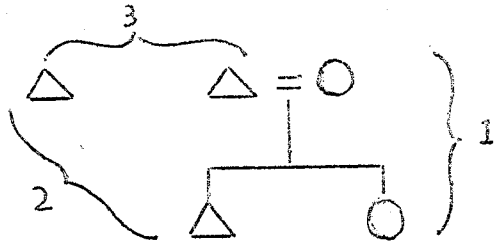
acted as a substitutory mechanism for the disruption of the native kinship systems due to the European Conquest. In this respect he even provides some evidence from some Mexican groups where there seems to be a correspondence between the maintenance of a clan system and the lack of development of compadrazgo, or the absence of a clan system and other kinship based institutions and the development of compadrazgo. This argument is encompassed in a much wider explanation of the success of compadrazgo which is phrased in terms of the similarity of this institution to native forms.

The premises on which Foster's explanation of the success of compadrazgo in Latin America rests are very similar to those that underly his dyadic contract model, which he uses to explain the social relationships of the Tarascan community known as Tzintzunzan. In both cases he assumes that there are no kin groups beyond the nuclear family and that contractual relationships between individuals predominate.

In opposition to these anthropologists, Gudeman attempts a structural explanation of compadrazgo, emphasizing the conceptual or ideological side of the institution and reducing it to its constitutive elements. His main argument is "... that the temporal and spatial variants of the complex are united and informed by the conceptual distinctions of the natural and spiritual being, and natural and spiritual parenthood. Within a society this ideology has a profound impact upon the relation of the compadrazgo to the kinship and marriage

systems." (GUDEMAN,S., 1972, P.45). The constitutive elements or irreducible set of retionships which characterize compadrazgo are diagrammed as follows:

1. Parents/Children
2. Godparents/Godchildren
3. Co-parents



Following a theoretical approach to kinship studies which places the emphasis on seeing a kinship system from the point of view of its marriage alliances, Gudeman also examines compadrazgo in terms of restricted and generalized exchanges. This approach allows him to observe certain constant features common to several compadrazgo systems, such as the fact that parents may not be the godparents of their own children and that the selection of a godparent is rarely reciprocated, but rather adopts an asymmetrical pattern. This is explained both from arguments derived from Lévi-Strauss in relation to incest regulations and to generalized exchange, and from arguments derived from the opposition between the natural and the spiritual. Thus the first observation is explained in relation to the importance of keeping apart the individuals who embody the natural from those who embody the spiritual. The second observation about the frequency of the asymmetrical pattern in selecting a godparent is explained in relation to the superiority of the spiritual in relation to the natural.

An early attempt at dealing with compadrazgo in these terms was undertaken by Eugene Hammel (1968) in relation to the Balkans. Indeed he uses both a descent and alliance approach which allow him to note for the first time that compadrazgo is not only expressed as a contract between individuals but also as an exchange between groups or more precisely between the unilineal groups that exist in the Balkans. Once this possibility has been realized, he further observes that frequently these exchanges are asymmetrical, although in some parts a symmetrical pattern is adopted.

One further attempt to characterize the essential elements of compadrazgo has been advanced by Julian Pitt-Rivers in "Ritual kinship in the Mediterranean: Spain and the Balkans" (1977). This work restates some ideas that he had developed in three previous articles (1968, 1975 and 1976) and as Gudeman he also places the emphasis in acknowledging the connection of this institution with baptism and its doctrinal conception about man's dual nature. Central to his approach is the recognition "...that a person cannot stand as sponsor to his own child, that is to say, putting it in theological terms, that spiritual and physical parenthood are antithetical to one another." (PITT-RIVERS, J., 1977, p.317). However, in contrast to Gudeman, his theoretical standing is closer to descent theorists as Meyer Fortes and the antithetical nature of these forms of parenthood is explained in terms which remind those of Fortes' "complementary filiation". Hence the role of the compadres is assimilated to that fulfilled

by the MB in patrilineal societies whose friendly relationships towards his ZS is explained through the fact that both belong to different social groups (PITT-RIVERS, J. 1977, p. 330)

For Pitt-Rivers the Compadrazgo relationships are considered as non-structured in so far they are opposite to those of the members of a kinship group who are united by jural instead of moral values. The realm of Compadrazgo is the person as individual in contrast to the person as member of a social unit and the function it accomplishes, in so far it possesses a sacred nature, is to mitigate the tensions between groups, kins or to create links between classes. (PITT-RIVERS, J., 1977, p. 333).

Among all these comparative studies about Compadrazgo we consider that Gudeman's is the most complete and systematic and we have to admit that although we shall raise some criticisms of some of his views, without his article it would have been very difficult to us to attempt the analysis that follows.

With respect to the studies concerning Andean Compadrazgo we shall reserve our comments until the end of this chapter.

The Compadres de Bautismo , affinal links, and their symbolic expressions.

Of all the different forms of ceremonial kinship that exist in Andamarca the Compadrazgo de Bautismo or

Compadrazgo espiritual is the most important. This may be deduced from the precedence that is granted to the individuals who fulfill this role in relation to those who fulfill the roles of the other forms of ceremonial kinship, and from the elaborate nature of the ritual and of the symbols associated with this form of compadrazgo. It is for this reason that we shall approach our analysis of ceremonial kinship in Andamarca through this form of compadrazgo, and also because it is used by the Andamarquinos as a model for all the other forms of ceremonial kinship.

Contrary to what is normally assumed, the Compadrazgo de Bautismo is not a relationship that emerges at the moment of the Baptism of a child but rather at the moment of the Catholic Ritual marriage. This to me constitutes the best evidence of the parallelism that exists between kinship, affinity and compadrazgo, since it is at the moment of marriage that these relationships are legitimately born.

Another peculiarity of this kind of compadrazgo is that normally the parents of the children that will be engendered from the marriage are not the ones who request the godparents for them. Instead, the sponsors for the baptism of these children, as yet unborn, offer themselves. Their willingness to become the Baptismal godparents of the future children of the marrying couple is expressed by their attendance at the church holding a Quille, or arch made of branches of Pichus (3), whose curved part is covered with a white fabric which is

tied firmly to the branch by a couple of ribbons that, twisted at intervals, go along from one end of the fabric to the other. Below the two extremes of the curved part a thread is tied up and from it hang several silver coins. Since the arch has two ends, two individuals should hold it. These individuals are generally a conyugal couple, for reasons which we shall show later, and they stand at the door of the Church waiting for the married couple to come out.

The couple comes out carrying with them a bunch of flowers collected from all the attendants at the wedding and accompanied by their Marriage Godparents who again are a couple. The Godfather is positioned at the right hand side of the groom and the Godmother at the left hand side of the bride. All of them pass through the arch and covered by it they walk to the groom's house where the wedding celebration will continue. Once in the house the bunch of flowers is wrapped up in baby clothes and it is handed to those who held the Quille . They then jokingly pretend to baptize the bunch of flowers and a name is even given to the bunch. Afterwards it is handed round the relatives of both the groom and the bride and eventually returned to the hands of those who carried the arch. Finally these deliver the bunch of flowers to the groom and the bride who will store it away. The bunch of flowers is known as 'wayta ahijado' (godson of flowers) and it symbolizes the children that will be born from that marriage and the godchildren of those who held the Quille . From this moment the Compadrazgo de Bautismo relationship between them and the

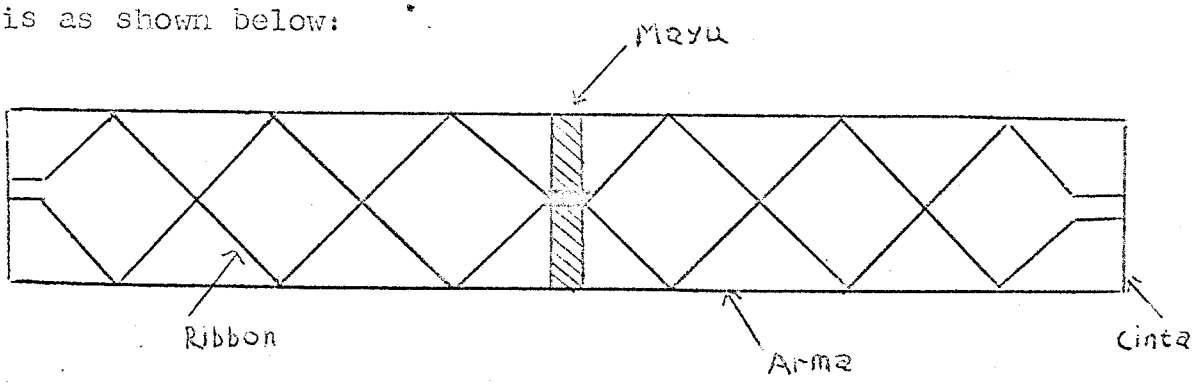
bride and the groom is settled and it is supposed that all the children procreated by this marriage will be sponsored at their baptism by those who held the Quille .

The reason why those who hold the Quille are frequently a conjugal couple is revealed by the belief that all of the rituals that engender compadrazgo relationships have to be sponsored by an individual whose sex is the same as that of the individual they are sponsoring. It is said that if at the moment of the ritual, a godparent carries in his or her arms a child whose sex is opposite to theirs, the chances are that that child will suffer or become ill. A conjugal couple therefore provides both sexes for sponsoring the possible sons and daughters that may derive from a marriage and thus may continue to remain permanently as sponsors of all of them.

The association of the Compadres de Bautismo with the Quille in this ritual context is remarkably similar to their association (and that of other kinds of compadres) with the roof of a house in the Huasichacuy or house roofing ritual. In this last ritual context it is the duty of the compadres of the owner of the new house to attend to this final stage of the construction of a house, carrying as presents a tin cross and a pair of ribbons of different colours which will later be placed on the outside and inside of the roof respectively. The compadres and their kinsmen -- accompanied by a harpist and violinist playing a typical Huasichacuy march, whose services they have contracted for a money payment --

approach the new house carrying the tin cross which will later adorn the roof top. This is received by the owners of the house, who reciprocate with large drinks of caña. After an interval of drinking and singing songs belonging to the Huasichacuy, the compadres leave and return again accompanied by a large group of kinsmen carrying together the two ribbons mentioned above. This is done to the rhythm of a song in the form of a dialogue, in which the women sing the strophes and the men reply "Ajo". The words refer to the quality of the ribbon, to the effort required in obtaining it, and their anxiety as to whether it will please their compadres, the owners of the new house. These ribbons are later attached to the Mayu ("river") or central beam of the roof by the masa or son-in-law of the householders, and throughout the night the guests, in pairs of couples, plait and unplait the four ends of the ribbons to the rhythm of music which is also specific to this occasion. This plaiting and unplaiting is called Puytu. (4)

Puytu is also the name given to the pattern formed by the crossing of the two ribbons between two Armas (beams) which extend on each side of the Mayu. The pattern is as shown below:



Together with the Qorqo , which is a zig-zag pattern, the Puytu is a Pan-Andean motif which is prominent in Andamarca. It appears as a dominant motif in the Pisqas or bags for keeping the coca which is chewed during the day, and also in the chumpis or sashes which fasten men's trousers or women's skirts. In ancient Peru this motif appears in association with a series of vessels for storing or drinking chicha. The channels of the ancient Pacchas (5) also usually display this pattern. The Puytu occupies a central position in some Inca Aríbalos, and some authors have interpreted it as representing the flowing of waters in a river.

The association of the Puytu with a river is also indicated in Andamarca by the fact that the ribbons which form the Puytu in the Huasichacuy are attached to the central beam or Mayu, a term which signifies "river". The ribbons, sometimes also associated with snakes, are entwined along the Mayu to form the Puytu motif.

The variety of contexts in which the Puytu appears, both in Andamarca and elsewhere in Andean culture, allows us to consider it as a fundamental symbol whose connotations include the union of contraries and the flowing of liquid. The sense that is given to the term in old Quechua vocabularies is that of dome, or of roof (SANTO TOMAS, FRAY Domingo de, 1951, p. 342). Both in the role assigned to it in the context of the Huasichacuy and in its rhomboidal

shape the Puytu complements the Cross. The Cross occupies the outside of the roof and the Puytu the inside, and both have four corners. Given the association of the Puytu with the Mayu and of the Cross with the highest part of the outside of the roof, one is inevitably tempted to suggest that in their respective associations the Cross and the Puytu are strictly analogous to the Andamarquino's representation of the relations between Puna and Valley. As we have already seen, (p. 16, Ch. 1) the crosses are distributed in August in the highest parts of the Valley, almost adjacent to the Punas, in order to protect the cultivations of the Valley from possible natural disasters such as frosts and hailstorms.

Through the Puytu motif we may also perceive a clear connection between the Quille and the house roof, since the ribbons which tie down the white cloth covering the curved part of the arch also display this motif.

Because of their marked association with the Quille and the house roof, we may suggest that one of the symbolic roles of the compadres is that of covering. This role is also manifested in the nature of the gifts from godparents to godchildren at the time of Baptism. These consist of cloths and the Pampana, which is a silk or cloth robe with motifs representing the sun, leaves, animals, etc. and which is used to cover babies in the cradle or Quirao. Finally, another context in which gifts suggest the "covering" role of compadres

can be seen in the kin-group feasts at the time of maize sowing. At this event the compadres of the owner of the land to be sown, and also his affines, give to the owner and his wife real or paper flowers which they place in their hats.

On the strictly social plane it would appear that the role of "covering" assigned to compadres stems from the structural position in which individuals who enter into links of compadrazgo find themselves, and that this position in turn is closely related to the nature of the kinship system and the norms that govern marital exchanges. Thus we find that the system of compadrazgo reflects the bilateral character and the extension of kin ties, and the norms that prescribe or proscribe marriage exchanges.

From what we have observed concerning the ceremonial context in which links of Baptismal compadrazgo are forged, we may add that the relation between godparents and godchildren, at least, is not solely a dyadic one. The link is established not between an individual or a pair of individuals and another individual, but rather between an individual or pair of individuals and all the descendants of a matrimonial union. Correspondingly, it is common to find that full siblings--or even sometimes half siblings--have the same couple or person as baptismal sponsors (Padrinos Espirituales). Thus the number of children does not increase the number of spiritual compadres, as has generally been described for other regions, but rather other mechanisms are

used to this end. What is interesting to note is that the mechanisms once more emphasize the relations between groups of individuals and not isolated individuals.

Just as the Baptismal sponsor is linked as such with all the children of a couple, so the tendency is for the compadre to be linked as such with all the real or classificatory siblings of the couple to whose children he was Baptismal sponsor, and in turn all these are linked with his own real or classificatory siblings. Obviously in practice demographic considerations limit the realization of this tendency, especially since the symmetrical nature of the relations between compadres demand that they should be of similar ages. Nevertheless, due to the extension of kinship ties to the fourth degree, and to the bilateral nature of the kinship system, the model is to a certain extent fulfilled in practice, though not all of the relationships of compadrazgo involved are of the Espiritual type. The ties of compadrazgo which are created following the lines of the network of collateral kinship do not necessarily have to imply the fulfillment of Padrinazgo (sponsorship) roles. Compadrazgo de Respeto, for instance, involves no relationship of Padrinazgo. At other times, however, the extension of compadrazgo to collateral kinsmen is the basis for the creation of other types of compadrazgo tie, such as those created around the Misas de Salud and Confirmation ceremonies.

The extension of compadrazgo links between members of two bilateral kin groups is similar to the practice of creating many marriage alliances between two kin groups which was mentioned in the previous chapter during the discussion of endogamy. But the two differ in that the system of extension of compadrazgo ties is more flexible and permits the integration of a larger number of people than does that of marriage ties.

The flexibility of the compadrazgo system is related to the fact mentioned earlier that these types of link do not always imply a relationship of Padrinazgo. Conversely, neither does the undertaking of the role of godparent at the baptism of a child necessarily establish a relationship of compadrazgo between godparent and the parents of the child. In many cases, because the godparents properly assigned to a child are not at hand, and due to their fear that the child might die unbaptized, the parents will have the child baptized with no matter whom acting as godparent, and the link will not be perpetuated once the godparent has been remunerated for his service.

There are also cases of the children of godparents who are absent or have left the community replacing their father or mother in the role of godparent at the baptism of a child, but without this leading to any formal tie of compadrazgo between the godparent and the parents of the child.

An interesting example is that of the compadrazgo relationship between married couple AB and single mother C. C acted as sponsor at the baptism of AB's child; and in their turn they later acted as sponsors at the Confirmation of C's son and eldest daughter, and at the baptism of two younger children who died. Following the norms of the system of Padrinazgo which dictate that the sponsor should be of the same sex as the sponsored, C acted as madrina for all the daughters of AB, but since she was single there arose the problem of who was to act as padrino for the sons. She had no regular husband, so the problem was solved by her eldest son acting in the role of padrino. Nevertheless the compadre relationship of AB with C was not extended to the son, who continued to be treated as an ahijado (godchild) of AB.

It is also common to find that a married couple and some of their children will be linked in a compadrazgo relationship with another couple. Thus the couple RF stood in a compadrazgo relationship to the couple TC, acting as godparents at the baptism of the latters' children, and later the same couple TC entered into a compadrazgo relationship with the son of RF, acting as godparents at the baptism of his children. In this case both the couple RF and their son treated the couple TC as compadres.

This last example shows that compadrazgo links are extended not only to real and classificatory siblings but also may be extended to direct lineal descendants, and in some cases ascendants.

In the case of marriage, on the other hand, it is not possible for a couple to extend their matrimonial ties to the point where their children can marry their paternal or maternal aunts and uncles. The bilateral nature of the kinship system prevents the [illegible]ntion of groups which maintain the relation of wife-givers and wife-takers over more than one generation. The only instance in which children may coincide with their parents in the recruitment of spouses from the same family is that which arises when the parents separate for some reason and seek a new spouse not related to the previous one. If the new spouse they choose has marriageable siblings, nephews, nieces or children, it may be that these will be partnered with the children of the person who is taking the new spouse.

The mere fact that marriage involves two people and compadrazgo generally involves two couples, that is to say, four people who are not kin to one another, indicates an important difference between the two institutions. In the first case there are two families between which matrimonial links may be extended, while in the second there are four families among which to extend the compadrazgo relationship. Thus the compadrazgo system would appear to integrate a larger number of people than the system of marriage. We should add, too, that marriage is monogamous -- though adultery is common enough -- while compadrazgo implies the possibility that an individual has a numerous network of compadres.

Every form of compadrazgo which is accompanied by padrinazgo generates two types of compadre which are usually recognizable only at the level of behaviour. For lack of a native term to distinguish them, we shall call them "giving compadres" (compadres dadores) and "receiving compadres" (compadres recibidores). The former are those who give their services as sponsors of the ritual for the children of a couple or individual, the latter are the parents whose children receive these services. Unlike other Andean communities, in Andamarca the two are not distinguished terminologically. The reciprocal nature of the term "compadre" even led several of my informants to maintain that there was no difference between them and that behaviour was completely symmetrical between the two. Nevertheless, when I confronted them with actual situations in which I had noticed that one of the Baptismal Compadres of an individual was accorded a privileged position in the Huasichacuy context, they admitted that there was in fact a category of compadre considered to be principal and that this was indeed the one who acted as the "giving compadre" (6) in Baptism. The way in which this compadre was privileged was in being seated at a table next to the house-owner on his right hand side, in being served more food, especially meat, and in being given the best portions of food (micuchicuy) which consists of a pair of chickens or a pair of sheep which in this context are known as "lechón" (suckling pig).

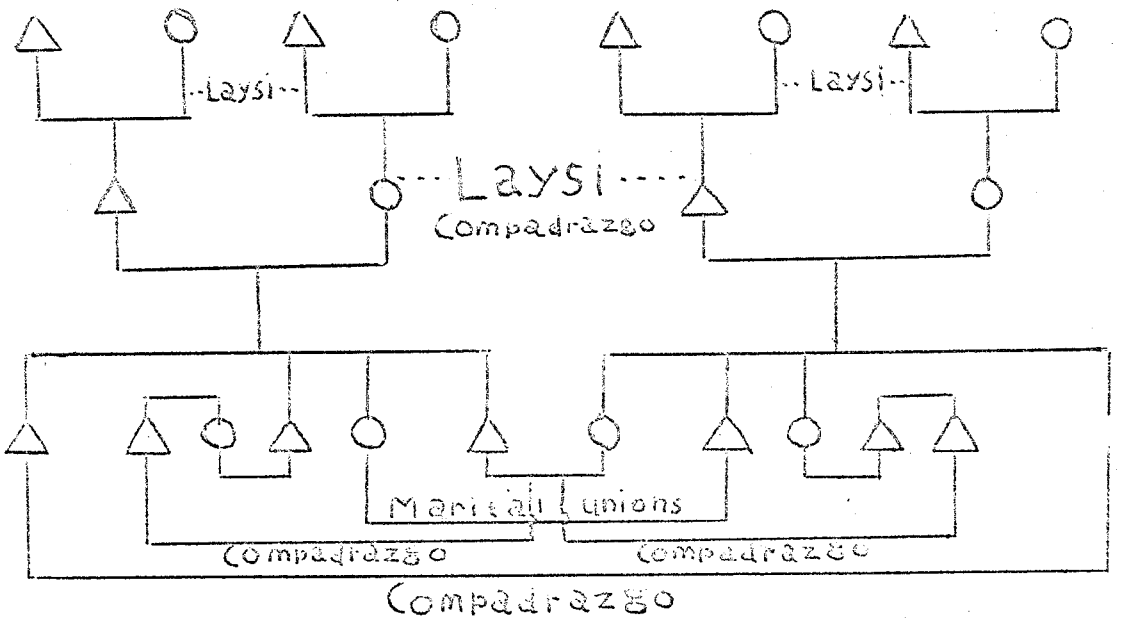
Later we shall see how this asymmetry generated by the relationship of padrinazgo is mediated by the collective character of compadrazgo and by the fact that it is not only one ritual which presents the opportunity of exercising the role of padrino. This situation resembles that which we find in the case of marriage, for the asymmetry generated by marriage ties tends to be mediated by the possibility of sister-exchange.

The collective and symmetrical nature of compadrazgo, its structural position (7) with regard to kinship relations and its close connections with marriage are apparent also from the fact that the term "compadre" has been incorporated into the terminology of affinal relationships, and in one case has been superimposed on relationships which already have their own affinal terms. If we refer to Table (24), which gives the distribution of affinal terms used in Andamarca, and to diagram (8), we see that ZHB, ZHZ, BWB and BWZ address each other reciprocally as "compadres" and that this possibility is also open to co-parents-in-law and their parents, who may use as well the self-reciprocal Quechua term "Laysi" (8). This contrasts strongly with the asymmetrical nature of the terms used between WF/DH, WM/DH, WB/ZH, WZ/ZH, HF/SW, HM/SW, HB/DW, HZ/BW, WFF/SDH, WFF/DDH, WFM/SDH, WFM/DDH, WMF/SDH, WMH/DDH and so on. This suggests, as we shall see later, that these differences may derive from two ways of conceiving of affinal relationships: group/group and individual/group.

The main difference between the compadrazgo of co-parents-in-law and that of the respective siblings of the married couple is that the former can never create a link of compadrazgo which involves padrinazgo, while the latter can and in many instances do, as we shall see in another part of this chapter. The reason why the former are limited to the establishment of links of 'compadrazgo de respeto' lies in the prohibition on marriage between the children of compadres. Thus, if the link of compadrazgo had been present between the co-parents-in-law, their children would not have been able to marry. The link of compadrazgo which joins the Laysi is thus a consequence of the marriage of their children, but it is not a consequence which arises automatically. The very fact that the term Laysi has not been completely absorbed by the term compadre is evidence that this link is optional, and this was reaffirmed to me by insistences that the link was only made when it was seen that the co-parents-in-law would be on good terms with one another and that the link would strengthen the stability of the marriage of their children. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that this option is constrained by the nature of the structure containing these relations.

The compadrazgo between the respective siblings of a married couple is also, like that of the Laysi, potential, but since there is no Quechua term which designates this relationship it has been assimilated to the term compadre . The compadrazgo created between this category of affines may either

be one of the types which imply padrinazgo , or it may remain at the level of "respect". Or in some cases neither of these modalities will be adopted, and the links will rather be converted into marriage ties, as we have seen from the frequent instances of marriage exchanges between two families. It would seem, therefore, if the possibility of establishing links of compadrazgo between these categories of affines acts to fill the gaps left by marriage exchanges between the collateral kinsmen of two families. The following diagram (8) and Table (24) illustrate all these relationships which we have been discussing.



Careful study of this diagram reveals that the structural position of the respective brothers of a married couple is similar to the structural position which is maintained between co-parents-in-law. In other words, it might be said that the link which joins the former is an extension of

the affinal relationship which exists between their parents. This is confirmed by the fact that the elder brother of a son-in-law usually addresses his brother's father-in-law by the term Lavsi .

The symmetrical relationship of co-parents-in-law and their respective descendants, and also of their ascendants, which is expressed in their use of compadrazgo, recalls the description by Billie Jean Isbell of the use of the term Aura in the community of Chuschi. According to her:

> "Aura indicates a symmetric relationship between two consanguineal groups joined by marriage. The term is used when the speaker is referring to the members of the group who stand in a reciprocal relationship to his consanguineal group, the ayllu. Aura is therefore a symmetric concept relating to collectivities." (ISBELL,B.J., 1974, p.96).

It is important to note moreover, that in Chuschi the individuals who constitute this category of "Aura" also see themselves as compadres. In this respect Isbell tells us:

> "...When asked to gloss the term in Spanish, informants responded that aura are like compadres or spiritual relatives." (ISBELL,B.J., 1974, p.95).

It is clear from what has been said so far that compadrazgo in general, and in particular spiritual or baptismal compadrazgo, is an institution which parallels marriage, and in which it is not only individuals who are linked but collective entities defined in terms of relationships of kinship. The fact that the baptismal compadrazgo relationship is actually

entered into at the time of marriage itself reveals this parallelism. There is additional evidence for this in the fact that rules similar to those which prohibit incest apply to the recruitment of *compadres*, in that *compadres* should not be related to one another. Also, incest taboos apply to persons who have become *compadres* to one another. This parallelism is also apparent in the fact that both marriage exchanges and *compadrazgo* ties may be repeatedly contracted between various members of two different families, and finally this parallelism is also highlighted by certain symbols and attributes which are associated with affines properly speaking and with *compadres*. Thus, just as the baptismal godparents give clothes and the *Pampana* to their godchildren so the mother-in-law gives to her son-in-law and daughter-in-law such objects as a shawl (*lliclla*), a poncho, a decorated sash (*chumpi*) and other kinds of clothing. In the kin group celebrations which occur in September at the time of sowing, it may be observed that both affines and *compadres* of those who are performing this task in their *chacras* come bearing paper or real flowers which are placed in the hats of the owners of the *Chacra*. In these contexts it is also customary for the sons-in-law, or alternatively the *compadres*, of the chacra-owners, to carry the latter on their shoulders from the site of the sowing to their houses in the pueblo, because of the drunken state they are in. Another feature common both to affines and to *compadres* in the sowing context is that they are the only categories of kinsmen who sow on the

borders of the land or on the path. In funerary contexts we may note that the obligation incumbent upon baptismal sponsors, if their godchildren die en childhood, to carry the corpse and place it in the grave, is analogous to the obligation incumbent on sons-in-law to carry the body of a parent-in-law or of the latter's children when they die in adulthood. Another analogy can be seen in the obligation of godchildren and sons-in-law to carry wood for the funerals of their padrinos and parents-in-law respectively.

This parallelism between affines and compadres is also evident in the Huasichacuy or "roof of the house" ritual, though with certain contrasts. We have already seen that it is the compadres who carry the tin crosses which later decorate the outside of the roof, and also the ribbons with which the Puytu will be made. The sons-in-law of the house owner, for their part, fulfill the role of fastening the ribbons to the central beam or Mayu (river), and of forming the Puytu by crossing the ribbons on part of the wood adjacent to the central beam. They also conclude the ceremony by installing the crosses brought by the compadres on the roof.

The association of affines with the "roof of the house" has a long history in the Andean world. In a document published by the French historian Pierre Duviols, entitled "Une Petite Chronique Retrouvée: Errores Ritos, supersticiones y ceremonias de los yndios de la provincia de Chinchaycocha

y otras del Piru", dated 1614, we read that:

> "When they built new houses, the first beams they put in were called maessas which means brothers-in-law or sons-in-law. These beams were painted with figures of snakes, lions and bears. ... The sons-in-law or brothers-in-law of the person building the house brought these beams, hence the names given to the beams. These sons-in-law or brothers-in-law were the first to compete to put the rest of the wood in place... They completed as far as the roof, leaving only a little work, the "concho" or place for chicha, to be built next day... and what was left of the house to cover was done by the maessas and other relatives." (DUVIOLS, 1974, 1976, p.284)*

Nearly 360 years later, Enrique Mayer describes a similar ceremony, which takes place in the community of Tangor (Cerro de Pasco), in which these same categories of affines, with their feminine counterparts (lumtshuys or daughters-in-law) fulfill similar roles and give similar gifts: "Palos lumtshuys" and other A-shaped beams. (MAYER, 1977).

Other similar examples from the departments of Amazonas, Junín and Ayacucho are described by Efraín Morote Best in his article entitled "La Zafa-Casa" (MOROTE, 1956). Here, moreover, there is outstanding evidence for the association of compadres with affines. Speaking of the town of Jauja (Department of Junín) Morote tells us that in

> "the Zafa-Casa (wasi-qatay) covering of the house: "wasi-ispiy", finishing of the house, the ceremony begins when the roof has been completed. The owner nominates padrino ("Masha") beforehand: and the padrino has an iron cross forged for the open of the roof, and hires an orchestra.

*(My Translation)

> The madrina ("llunchuy"), also nominated beforehand, undertakes for her part to have a hut made of "ukcha", a kind of straw from the puna." (MOROTE, 1956, p.15).*

In this case the association of the categories of spiritual kinship with categories of affinal relationship is quite explicit.

Finally, the reference which Morote makes to the ceremony of the roof-top in the town of San Javier de Alpabamba (Parinacochas - Ayacucho) is also interesting. Here,

> "After eating, the compadres who are guests, undertake to close the opening left for this purpose in the roof. This is called the "eye of the house" ("ñahuin"). When the "ñahuin" has been covered, they collect some pieces of rope and make the "atocc" (fox), that is, they make the image of a fox, as accurately as possible, out of the pieces of rope left over from the roofing. Then they hang the 'atocc' from a string fastened to one of the beams of the house and one of the men makes it dance by giving little pulls on the string. The <u>comadres</u> dance with the fox, singing to the sound of the base drum." (MOROTE, 1956, p.18 - quotation from the "Monografía de la Provincia de Parinacochas").*

Our attention is drawn in this case to the association of the fox with spiritual kinsmen, since in Andamarca, as in other regions of the Andes, this animal is called "<u>compadre</u>" and is described as a character who is marginal to society and whose excess of variety, avarice and envy always lead him to a sad end.

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* (My translation)

* (My translation)

The close similarity between spiritual and affinal kinsmen, and their linkage with symbols such as the fox, with sowing on the border of the land or on the path, and with the ornamentation of the roof of the house, suggest that the idea of "covering" previously mentioned in relation to compadres is linked to a structural position which could be defined as peripheral to the group of consanguineal kinsmen, the "ayllu".

In drawing this section to a close, it is important to point out that the association of compadrazgo with the periphery or with a non-social ambit is also evident in the context of the festivals of the annual cycle and of the opposition of Puna and Valley. This may be seen in the case of the fiesta of compadres and comadres in Andamarca, both in terms of its position within the annual cycle and in terms of the activities it includes. As in Spain, Mexico, Central America and other parts of the Catholic World, in Andamarca the two Thursdays before Carnival are reserved for the celebration first of the fiesta of compadres and then, the next Thursday, of comadres. What is interesting is that these celebrations coincide with the rainy season, when the Andamarquinos are principally occupied by their pastoral activities in the Puna. These, as we saw earlier, are conceived of as non-social, in opposition to the agricultural activities which take place in the Valley. In this respect

it is also appropriate to note another contrast. The most important fiesta concerning the activities of the Valley, the Yarja Aspi or 'Limpieza de la Acequia' (cleaning of the canal) takes place in August, as does the Vaca Jerray or 'Herranza de Vacunos' (cattle branding). On the other hand, in February, on the Thursday of Comadres, in nearly all the estancias of the Puna there takes place the Cuchucuy' or placing of "earrings" of coloured ribbons on llamas, alpacas and sheep.

The celebrations for Compadres and Comadres are also illuminating in that they display the parallelism of the sexes which is so apparent in the relationship of Padrino/Ahijado (Godfather/male godchild) and Madrina/Ahijada (godmother/female godchild). They reveal this parallelism in that on the day of the compadres it is the masculine saints who are adorned with hangings in the main church, while on the day of the Comadres it is the female saints who are so adorned.

Compadres Espirituales , the significance of Baptism, and Rites of Passage.

In Andamarca, the different types of ceremonial kinship which we find are almost all related in some way to forms deriving from the Catholic religious tradition. Only

those which appear in the ritual of Chucchu Rutuy or haircutting, which is principally practiced by the Misti group, are an exception to this rule. The forms within the Catholic religion around which ceremonial kinship is created may be sacraments, such as Marriage, Baptism, Confirmation or 'Misas de Salud', or they may be simply pacts which are entered into in the presence of a Saint. Nevertheless, I should not like to go as far as Stephen Gudeman in asserting that

> "...behind all the observed compadrazgo variants lies the historical Christian theological distinction made between man as a spiritual and natural, or cultural and biological being. Through baptism the passage from the state of original sin to the state of grace is achieved: man is thought to be conceived with the sin of Adam; he is regenerated and he is reborn to Christ and a second set of parents, the minister and sponsor. A belief in man's dual nature is found, of course, in many cultures. What is distinctive about Christian spiritual sponsorship is that these two aspects of the human personality must be entrusted to different sets of persons: the natural and spiritual parents." (GUDEMAN,S., 1971, p.41).

In the first place, I do not believe that the fact of consigning the spiritual or cultural realm and the biological or natural realm to different people is at all specific to Christian compadrazgo. Non-European evidence such as that from certain groups studied by Roberto da Matta and Terence Turner, the Apinayé and Kayapó of central Brazil, suggests a similar situation. These Brazilian groups also

emphasize the opposition of nature and culture, by associating domestic units and the genitor with the former and the ceremonial Plaza or the central Men's Houses, and the ceremonial kinsmen who introduce young men into this central sphere, with the latter. (DA MATTA, 1968) (TURNER, 1968)

In addition, it seems to me to be extremely difficult to determine the extent to which the fundamental concepts of Christian dogma, around which the modalities of compadrazgo are based, actually set limits to the forms which these modalities may take as a whole. In other words, I believe it is premature to assert that all the modalities of compadrazgo are constrained by Catholic ideology, without having first made more detailed comparisons with ceremonial kinship in non-European societies. The simple fact that some forms of compadrazgo assume an ecclesiastical aspect only reveals that there has been a diffusion of certain forms, but it is in no sense evident that the significance acquired by these forms corresponds to that of the original dogma. According to the context into which these forms are introduced, they may be interpreted in different ways, to the point where the elements which constitute the original dogma may themselves be restructured in a distinctive fashion, though general features may persist which are common to more than one ceremonial kinship system. In the following section we shall try to illustrate this argument with material from Andamarca, and with additional material from Andean society in general.

According to Catholic dogma, Baptism is a sacrament through which man is redeemed from original sin, which he inherits from Adam and Eve, and is reborn to a new life in Christ, in which he will find eternal salvation. The elements which constitute the dogma surrounding baptism are: a dichotomous conception of man composed of matter and spirit or body and soul; the notion of original sin inherited from Adam and Eve, because they disobeyed God; the notion of Christ as son of God, redeemer of men, and founder of the Christian community; the notion of the priest as Vicar of Christ; and, finally, a notion of salvation in Heaven versus the possibility of condemnation in Hell, and the beliefs which derive from these, such as Purgatory and Limbo.

In Andamarca, all these elements which constitute the dogma of Baptism are present, but with distinctive connotations -- although at times these are not precisely defined. The dichotomous conception of human beings as body and soul is certainly present, but they do not share the belief that human beings have only one soul. What one generally hears is that men have 3 souls and women 7 souls or spirits, and it is for this reason that when a man dies the church bells are rung three times, while when a woman dies they are rung seven times. When children die, there is no fixed number of times, but rather the bells ring intermittently. Unfortunately I could not obtain information about the names of these spirits, or the way in which they come to exist in individuals, nor of

their attributes during the life-span of an individual or their destiny after his or her death. Neither do I have a clear explanation for the difference in the number of souls of men and women, nor concerning the symbolic value of the numbers. Apart from what has already been discussed with regard to this in the previous chapter, it is also said that women have more souls than men because they can bear pain better. (9) This is particularly because of women's child-bearing role. Another informant connected his explanation to the belief that every woman should ideally have twelve children, which would again relate to the strength of the woman in childbirth.

The belief that humans have more than one soul is also found among the Aymaras. Antonio Paredes, in his "Diccionario Mitológico de Bolivia", tells us that according to Maria Luisa Valda de Jaimes:

> "The human person is composed of the physical body and the psychic; this latter is divided into three, which are: the Jacha Ajayu, (the great spirit); the Jisja Ajayu (little spirit), the Kamasa, which is also called Chichihui, which means shadow ..." (PAREDES, 1922,p.20).

Similar reference may be found in La Barre (LA BARRE, 1948, p. 168) and in Tschopik (TSCHOPIK, 1968, p. 158-9), who recognizes that there is " ... a great confusion concerning the nature and identity of souls and ghosts." (TSCHOPIK, 1968,p.158) With respect to beliefs about the soul among the Aymaras, Tschopik notes a belief which coincides with that of the Andamarquinos. According to Tschopik " ... the soul is not firmly fixed in any human body, and may leave it temporarily on numerous occasions." (TSCHOPIK, 1968, p.161). He says also that:

> "Whatever the genesis of the soul may be, its spiritual essence is very weak at birth, and its strength gradually grows parallel to physiological growth, until in later life it progressively declines. Thus the souls of children are not as firmly established as those of adults." (TSCHOPIK, 1968, p. 161).

Similarly, in Andamarca too I noted the belief that children up to eight years of age could suffer soul loss or the sickness caused by a Susto (Manchariсuy), and that later the soul becomes more secure, so that adults very rarely suffer from this condition. This process of consolidation lasts up till seven years (10) before a person's death, at which time the soul begins to detach itself at night and roam the sites frequented by its owner, causing susto in people abroad at night who encounter it.

Just as the soul strengthens with the physiological growth of its owner, so its destiny and attributes after death vary according to the stage at which the individual dies. It is in the context of this belief that I shall attempt to interpret the significance of Baptism in Andamarca. As it is generally maintained that a person has more than one soul, there is sometimes confusion over their respective geneses. Thus one informant, apparently thinking of the soul in terms of its connotation of "shadows", told me that children had souls only from birth, since only then could they cast a shadow. Another informant, on the other hand, thinking of the soul as human essence and life, assured

me that the soul was generated together with the body in the mother's womb. Nevertheless, I have not been able to discover any evidence, either in Andamarca or in the rest of the Andean world, that pregnant women or their husbands submit themselves to any particular restrictions to avoid the loss of the soul of the unborn child (11). The nearest thing which I came across to this is the fact that pregnant women do not usually attend funeral wakes, lest their children should be born deaf (Upa). This suggests the possibility that the unborn child is considered as having a soul and that the mother must take precaution against its loss, since for similar reasons it is held inadvisible that a young baby should visit a cemetery. Moreover the fact of becoming deaf is held to indicate soul-loss, since in some regions of the Andes, such as Tupe, in the Province of Yauyos (Department of Lima), according to Carmen Delgado de Thays, there is an identification of " ... the soul with the word, or rather with any sound which an animate or inanimate being may emit ..." (DELGADO DE THAYS,C., 1965, p. 21). (My translation)

There is consensus concerning the belief that children at birth have a soul, but from this point onwards its destiny and attributes after death depend upon the stage at which a person dies. These variations, as I see them, reflect the role exercised by society in the cycle of development of the individual. The transformation undergone by the soul may thus be seen as a fairly clear expression of the process of

socialization of the individual. It is in this context that Baptism fulfills an important role and acquires its significance in Andamarca.

In Andamarca there is a ritual which is common to both birth and death, thus suggesting that the life of an individual is effectively conceived of as a cycle. This ritual is called Pichca and consists of the washing of the clothes used at the birth or those which the dead person used during his life. The explanation of the term Pichca, which means five, is that each ritual should be carried out five days after the birth or death. The latter ceremony, however, is nowadays performed in Andamarca on the day of the burial of the deceased (12). The reason that is given for the ritual in the case of birth is in order to avoid the baby becoming sick and eventually dying. In the case of death, it is to distance the dead person from the society of the living. Thus, through one and the same ritual, society incorporates and dismisses individuals. However, it should be added that the first stage of the ritual of Baptism is frequently interpolated between birth and the Pichca.

The first stage of Baptism is the application of the Agua del Socorro and the assignation of a name to a child by the Padrino or Madrina Espiritual. This ritual is later confirmed in the church when the Catholic priest visits Andamarca, and when there is money available to cover the

expenses required for the ritual and for the 'Convido (invitation) extended to the Comadres. This last is the festive side of the ritual, in which the Compadres and their kinsmen are entertained, at the same time as the kinsmen of the couple, and it generally takes place after the Baptism ceremony itself.

A comparative analysis of the beliefs and funerary practices surrounding the death of babies who die without baptism -- whether in the form of Agua de Socorro or Baptism properly speaking -- with those for children who die after Baptism and those for persons who die when adult, reveals the significance which baptism has for the Andamarquinos.

The young child who dies without being baptized is commonly termed Malpa , a term for which I was unable to find any other referents either in contemporary Quechua culture or in old vocabularies. The nearest thing appearing in the latter source to this term is Mapa , which denotes wax, dirt or menstruation and which is in a sense equivalent to the category in which miscarried babies or those who die without baptism are placed. They too are considered as something dirty, and it is explicitly forbidden to bury them in the cemetery, since to do so is to run the risk of the outbreak of dangerous storms, hail, and the destruction of crops by frost. The consequences entailed by this

act are similar to those which occur if an adult is disentombed from the cemetery. In order to protect against these consequences, unbaptized children are generally buried at night beneath the Calvaries which surround the Valley of the community and which have the purpose of protecting the crops from frost. The people who bury these children are usually consanguineal kinsmen of the parents, and they are called "Contrapadrinos" (13). The fate of the soul of the child, according to some informants, is to remain in this world "suckling on stones because they never suckled from their mothers", or to inhabit a place called Tutaya Ucuman, which is believed to be neither in the World of the Above (Hanan Pacha) nor in any other place, but in a dark region where the souls, weeping, call out for their parents (14).

In view of the fact that death occuring before baptism entails such negative consequences both for the individual and for society, it is most important for the newly born child to receive this Sacrament as soon as possible. This is the source of the importance of the stage of Agua de Socorro or Yacuchan, since usually in these distant communities there is no priest continuously present. This ritual, which essentially consists of giving the child a name deriving from the saint on whose day he was born, and of the consolidation of the link between the child and the padrinos, is sufficient to avert the transformation of the child into a Malpa. From this point onwards, if the child dies, its

soul becomes an angelito and will reach Heaven, which is conceived of as a cultivated field, owned by God, which the angelitos tend and water. For this reason the wake for baptized children should be a happy event, where there is even dancing to the accompaniment of a harpist and violinist engaged by the Padrino or Madrina espiritual. These latter bear all the expenses of the ceremony and dress the dead child as if it were an angelito using white and blue silk fabrics, known as Imperial with shoes made of cardboard and a pair of little cardboard wings. At about midnight, and to the sound of fireworks which are let off by one of the company, the corpse, inside a small coffin, is carried by the padrino, if it is male, by the madrina, if it is female, and taken to the cemetery. Here it is buried in the eastern or "left" side.

One informant whom I asked what was the age limit up to which children are buried in this manner, replied that it was up to the age of seven years, and that from the age of twelve years they would be buried as adults. Since the age of twelve years is considered to be the time at which children become sexually active, this corresponds to the evidence reported by Juvenal Casaverde in his article on the supernatural world in Kuyo Grande (Cuzco) which is that "The souls of children who have not known the world (have not had sexual experiences) has the right to fly directly to Heaven..." (CASAVERDE, 1970, p. 202). Nevertheless, as we shall see from

what follows, it would appear that it is not the sexual act itself which is considered to be a grave sin, but rather the possibility of the development of incestuous relations which goes together with the development of sexual potential.

In Andamarca, as in the rest of the Andean world, incest is considered to be the most serious offence. A person who commits this offence becomes subject as a result to terrible sanctions, such as becoming a Qarqacha while he is still alive and a condenado when he dies. The term Qarqacha is an onomatopeic derivation from Qar Qar, which is the sound that is emitted by these incestuous beings in their animal forms. These are such things as dogs, pigs, llamas, giraffes, etc., with disproportionately long necks, or else flying heads. At night time they roam the isolated parts of the community causing sustos to those abroad who meet them. There is general agreement that they cause sustos, but they are not considered to be very dangerous, and one even hears of some individuals who have managed to cut them with a knife in order to recognize them when they return to their normal form and then demand money in return for not revealing their names. The Condenados, however, are unanimously believed to have anthropophagic powers. They are the souls of dead people who were incestuous in life, and they wander about the periphery of the community, wearing iron sandals from which sparks fly. They are looking for humans to devour,

since it is believed that by eating three people they will achieve salvation by being turned into a white dove.

In view of the high degree of endogamy, and of the nature of the extension of the incest prohibitions (See Ch. 3 p.286) it is not surprising that every adult in Andamarca is considered potentially incestuous and a candidate for conversion into a Oargacha and Condenado . This explains why the emphasis in adult funerals should be on the separation of the deceased from the community of the living.

Adult funerals are too elaborate to be described in full here. We shall thus concentrate on certain details which present a clear contrast with the funerals of baptized children. To begin with the tolling of bells, we may immediately observe a difference: while for adult funerals, as we described earlier, the sex of the deceased is differentiated by the number of times the bell is rung, in the case of children there is no differentiation. With respect to the details of the actual burial, the most striking differences are that in the case of adults the burial is during the day, the coffin is carried by the sons-in-law, and the corpse is buried on the western side of the cemetery, which is conceived of as the right hand side. Finally, in the case of an adult, the Pichia or "waking of the dead person's clothes" is carried out, he is given the Oocao or

food for his journey to the dwelling-place of the dead, his favourite dogs are killed, his old clothes are buried and the ashes thrown in the river, and his kinsmen, according to the degree of relationship, wear mourning clothes either for a year or until the Pichqa' is concluded.

The following table summarizes the contrasts which we have just described between beliefs about the soul and funerary practices for deaths occuring in the pre-Baptismal, Post-Baptismal and adult stages.

TABLE 27: BELIEF ABOUT THE SOUL AND FUNERARY PRACTICES ASSOCIATED TO DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE LIFE-CYCLE.

	Pre-Baptism	Post-Baptism	Adult
Name of the soul	"Malpa"	"Angelito"	Possible 'Condenado
Destiny of the soul	Tutayaq Ucuman/periphery of community or Punas.	Gloria	Joropuna/periphery of community or Punas.
Relation with the society of the living	Destruction of crops by hail, frost & other meteorological phenomena.	?	'Condenados' devour 3 humans to achiev salvation.
Burial site	Beneath Calvaries or Crosses dispersed in the heights of Valley.	Left or East side of cemetery	Right or west side of cemetery.
Social category of individual(s) who carry corpse to cemetery	"Contrapadrino" (consanguine of deceased)	Spiritual padrino	Real or classificatory son-in-law.
Time of day of burial	Night	Night	Day
Number of bells tolled to announce death	None	Intermittent	3 for men, 7 for women.
Wake	None	Festive	Solemn
Mourning	None	None	Black clothing

To this description we shall add that in Andamarca there is no clear idea of rewards and recompenses in the after-life for souls of persons who were good or bad in life. 'Gloria' (Heaven) is only mentioned with respect to baptized children, but never with respect to adults. Hell, though it is indeed conceived of as the domain of the devil or Supay , does not carry with it the idea of eternal punishment. When asked where Hell is, informants reply that it is in 'Ucu Pacha' or the World Below, and sometimes it is confused with the domain of the souls of children who die before baptism. When an adult dies, his soul may become a Condenado , or more usually it will commence its journey to the Qoropuna . The Qoropuna is a five-peaked volcano which actually exists in the department of Arequipa and which has been greatly revered since pre-Hispanic times. All the souls of dead mortals come to this volcano, and after a tiring ascent they reach the top, where they stay until the Day of Judgement comes and they return to their bodies. The summit is looked after by St. Francis, and under his watchful eye the souls pass their time building a stone tower which they never complete. When they are about to finish it, it falls down and has to be begun again. The Andamarquinos say that the Last Judgement will come on the day it is finished.

The transformation into a Condenado is not strictly speaking an exclusive punishment for the soul of one who was sinful in life, but rather a potential punishment

hanging over the society of the living. The Condenado, after all, will save himself anyway, but he will do it by taking three human lives away from the society of the living. The idea of eternal damnation is absent among the Andamarquinos. Essentially, misdeeds are sanctioned in this life. Thus the real sanction (in individual and not collective terms) received by those who commit incest is to be converted into Qarqachas. We have already seen that apart from having the capacity to cause sustos they are inocuous, and their fear of their identity being divulged is so great that they even submit to being blackmailed so that the rest of society may not discover their secret. The reason for this fear is that in Andamarca as in other Andean communities incestuous relations without attenuating circumstances are usually sanctioned by expulsion from the community and the loss of rights to land. This signifies, in other words, that the sanction they receive is a kind of social death.

Neither may the fate of children who die without being baptized be considered an exclusively individual sanction. Also in this case, as in the case of adults, the funerary ritual which is performed lays more emphasis on the protection of the society of the living rather than on the individual fate of the soul of the dead person. At another level, the fate of the souls of these children is similar to that of adult souls in Qoropuna: they too occupy themselves with a sterile activity, like suckling stones, and they too will benefit from the last Judgement.

From all that has been said it is clear that the sense of individual punishments in the beyond and the notion of original sin, or other forms of sin, which are central to the Catholic dogma surrounding baptism, are absent from the ideological context in Andamarca. Moreover, death is not thought of as a permanent state but as a transitory period which will culminate in the day of the Last Judgement. Neither is the human soul conceived of as a unitary entity, but rather it is thought that every human being has various souls or spirits (whichever we prefer to call them) whose number varies according to the sex of the individual.

The story of Adam and Eve, in their roles as parents of humanity, and of their disobedience to God, does not seem to have taken root in Andamarca, for I never heard it mentioned spontaneously in any of the different versions which were told to me of the origins of humanity. Rather, these versions centre on a cyclical conception of time as divided into various ages: Age of Arachnids, Age of Ants, Age of the Father, Age of the Son and a future age which will be associated with the Holy Spirit. The Andamarquinos also share the pan-Andean belief in a first humanity who inhabited a world which was completely dark, and who were burnt away by the emergence of the sun or of a rain of fire (Nina Para). Equally, one also hears of an age destroyed by water or Diluvio (flood) but unlike the biblical version this is not an excess of rain but a sinking of the earth. That is to say,

the earth tilted until it was covered by the waters upon which, according to the Andamarquinos' belief, it floats (15). In none of these cases do we find the idea that the descendants of the first inhabitants inherit any sin from their ancestors. It is true that the conception of these destructions is not unlike an idea of punishment, but on the other hand they are considered necessary to avoid the over-population of the world and consequent shortage of food. We should add, too, that in the Andean World there is no concept of an age of Paradise or a Golden Age located at the dawn of history.

Unlike those of Adam and Eve, the figure of Jesus Christ is indeed well known. This could not be otherwise, given the prominent presence of this figure year after year in festivals such as Christmas, Carnival, and Easter, besides the fact that the present Age of Humanity is the Age corresponding to the Son, or to Jesus Christ. Thus, in the "Myth of the School" collected by Alejandro Ortiz from an Andamarquino living in Lima, Jesus Christ or "Sucristus", as he called him, appears as the Son of God and as the younger brother and enemy of the Inka. For example, he becomes very angry and unhappy because the Inka has two sons by his marriage to the "Pachamama" or Mother Earth. Then, assisted by the Moon, he frightens the Inka showing him in a dark plain a written paper. The Inka flees to Lima, and Sucristus is disappointed because he cannot seize him. Then the Puma comes to

aid, and assisted by other allies they surround the Inka and he finally dies of hunger. Sucristus then cuts off the head of "Madre Tierra" (Mother Earth) and later has churches built. (ORTIZ, 1973).

The association of Sucristus with the Moon, in turn linked with the night, [illegible] associated with the underworld (ZUIDEMA, 1967) makes [illegible] explicit the connotation which this character has of anti-culture, as Alejandro Ortiz argues with great structuralist rigour. (ORTIZ, 1973). This same connotation is revealed also, if not so outstandingly -- in a story about the origin of Carnival which another inhabitant of Andamarca gives. In this version Jesus Christ appears as persecuted by Annas, Caiaphas and Pilate, and in his flight he favours and punishes those he meets with according to whether they answer him well or badly. The interesting thing about this story is that all these people he meets are connected with activities relating to crops or products which the Andamarquinos conceive of as non-social. The crops are barley and potato, which are grown in high or frosty places, and the products are bread and alcohol, which are associated with commercial activity.

This analysis, in which I hope to have demonstrated how the various parts which compose the Sacrament of Baptism are interpreted in a distinctive way from Catholic dogma, still leaves us with the problem of explaining what then is the significance of this Sacrament for the Andamarquinos.

We have already put forward the idea that the significance of Baptism is revealed in the variations through which the individual, and hence also his soul, pass during the developemntal cycle. These variations themselves are clarified by our description of the beliefs concerning the fate of the soul and the funerary practices which are appropriate to each of the three stages of the developmental cycle which we have delineated. Through this description it becomes apparent that there is a process by which the soul becomes stably attached to the body. Thus we may say that just as the individual is thought to have more than one soul, the soul itself is not conceived of as a static entity, but rather in dynamic terms. We do not, therefore, believe that it is possible to make such a radical opposition between birth and baptism, identified with nature and culture respectively, as does Cudeman, since they are both merely stages within a single process. Equally, it is not possible to maintain that the state of nature ends at the very moment of birth, nor that full integration into culture or society is only achieved through baptism, for as we have seen, the soul acquires a new potentiality when the individual becomes capable of sexual activity.

To return to the beliefs about the fate of the soul and the funerary rites in the three stages of the developmental cycle, we may say that this material reveals a process which leads from the asocial or non-social to the more social.

Thus it departs from a pre-baptismal stage in which babies who die may not be buried in social places. The cemetery, with its division -- identical to that of the pueblo -- of East and West sides, is such a social place. Their proper burial ground is beneath the crosses or calvaries, which are generally to be found in the peripheral zones of the pueblo or in high places, where according to Billie Jean Isbell they mark the boundaries between different ecological levels. The peripheral position of the crosses relates to their role of protection of crops aganst hail, frost, etc. as we have seen before.

Moreover, like cattle stealing, witchcraft and other activities which are conceived of as asocial and are practiced at night, so also the bodies of pre-baptismal infants must be buried at night and out of view of everyone. Thus the person to whom this task is assigned is known as a Contrapadrino .

An infant who dies in the following stage, after baptism, will still be buried at night. The tolling of bells for such an infant does not distinguish according to sex, yet nevertheless the body is carried by an individual who, as a padrino, enjoys a recognized social position, and it will be buried in the cemetery -- even though the appropriate area in the cemetery is the Eastern side. This last point makes abundantly clear the intermediate position of this state

between the pre-baptismal and the adult stages, because the East, being the direction of the sunrise, has for the Andamarquinos the connotation of "origins" associated with a period of darkness which is considered asocial. Thus with respect to burial of baptized infants who die, we may say that in opposition to the 'Malpa' they are social, because they are buried in the cemetery, but in opposition to adults they are asocial, because they occupy the Eastern side within the cemetery (16).

I did not encounter any specific rite of passage marking the beginning of the stage of development of sexual potential. Nevertheless, it is possible to deduce from the funerary rites that between this stage and the baptismal stage there exists another intermediate stage. In terms of funerary rites, this would be identical to the baptismal stage apart from the absence of music and festivities from the funeral. This stage begins at age seven, according to my informant, this being also the age at which a child is normally expected to be Confirmed.

The beginning of the stage in which an individual is buried as an adult when he dies was also defined to me in terms of age, in this case the age of twelve years. I did not find any rite of passage marking this age, however. In view of the fact that age in years is not particularly carefully recorded in Andamarca, the figures I was given should

be taken as relative indicators. The age of twelve is merely an index which coincides approximately with the time at which young people begin to have their first sexual experiences. In this respect there is an interesting element in the central celebrations of the Fiesta de la Acequia , in August as we have seen before (see p.171). During these celebrations, figures with their faces stained black, and others with their faces stained red, appear. They are associated with pools of water located on the western and eastern side, respectively, of the river Negromayo. They cause great amusement among the people by their attempts to have sex with the girls who cross their path. What is interesting in this is that these characters are played by boys who are usually aged twelve, thirteen or fourteen years.

With the awakening of sexual powers the fear which emerges, as we have seen, is that of incest. The importance which is accorded to sanctions against incest relates directly to the importance of kinship relations in Andamarca, both in terms of extended family ties and ties of ceremonial kinship, and in relation to the importance of circumscribing marriage exchanges within the limits of the community. As we have already indicated, it would seem that in Andamarca there is a conflict between an exogamous principle delimited by incest prohibitions and an endogamous principle restricting the choice of spouse to within the community. Sanctions against incest play an important role within this

conflict, not so much at the material level (unless the incestuous relationship is between very close kinsmen and is made too obvious to the community) as at the spiritual level.

It is appropriate therefore that the spiritual sanctions which apply to incest should define the third stage of the developmental cycle -- which is, compared to the previous stages, one of full socialization of the individual -- since the relationships of reciprocity which form the basis upon which society sustains itself are themselves founded on the incest prohibition. In assuming that the relationship between the principle of reciprocity and incest established by Lévi-Strauss (1959) holds also for Andamarca, I am relying heavily upon the striking fact that for the Andamarquinos, as for other Andean peoples, it is not only incestuous persons who become Condenados after death but also those people who are selfish or very rich. In other words, those who are condemned are all those who interrupt the reproduction of the social order which is maintained through reciprocal exchanges of human beings or of material goods.

The social nature of the adult stage is also emphasized in the funerary rites by the distinction according to sex which is made in the tolling of bells (17). The tolling of bells has the same significance at the level of sex distinctions as does incest at the level of kinship relations. That is to say, in both cases they act as classificatory and

ordering categories for adult members of society.

The social value of the West, which is the area of the cemetery where adult dead are buried, is made clear in many contexts, some of which have already been mentioned. To return to the opposition of the two sides of the river, it is worth noting that it is on the Western side that the pueblo of Andamarca is located, and that it is those who irrigate on this side of the river who initiate the central celebrations of the Fiesta de la Acequia . Also it is this side which is associated with agriculture, which is conceived of as social, in opposition to cattle raising, and so on. (See p.171).

Finally, the social category associated with the task of carrying the body of an adult who has died is that of son-in-law or Masa . Depending upon the age of the deceased and the availability of individuals this category may include the DH, ZH, FBDH, MZDH, SDH, DDH, and even in one case the ZHF fulfilled the role of "son-in-law", the ZH being absent. Just as in funerals at the baptismal stage, in the funeral of an adult consanguineal relatives do not undertake roles which necessitate close contact with the deceased or with objects closely associated with him. In both cases these functions are delegated to persons with a recognized social relationship to the deceased which is of an affinal nature.

The only difference between the two cases is that the padrino who carries his dead godchild is the one who assumed the role of introducing the infant to society, while the sons-in-law who carry their father-in-law or mother-in-law are indebted to him or her as giver of the means by which access to the full social order is made possible.

The attribute which most clearly displays the Padrino's role of introducing the infant to society is his position of name-giver. The name is actually pre-determined at the moment of birth, since it is normally selected from the Catholic hagiarchy according to the name of the saint whose day is celebrated on the day of the birth of the child. Nevertheless, there may sometimes be a choice, since there is sometimes more than one saint commemorated on one day, and in this case it is the Padrino Espiritual (baptismal sponsor) who makes the choice. The giving of the name takes place at the same time as the Yakuchan or ritual of Agua de Socorro, and this same name is the one given by the Catholic priest later when he administers the sacrament of Baptism properly speaking.

Except in the case of single parents, as we have seen, the padrinos de bautismo are pre-determined at the time of the marriage ceremony of the parents of the future godchildren. Thus, as distinct from the normal pattern according to Gudeman (GUDEMAN, 1972, p.45) in Andamarca the link of compadrazgo espiritual is created at the moment of marriage and

not at baptism. As compadrazgo relationships are inherited through real and classificatory brothers and through parents, it could be said that these links are determined even before marriage. In Andamarca, as also in Chuschi (ISBELL, 1974, p. 109-111), at the time of marriage a ritual dramatization of the relationships of compadrazgo takes place between the persons who are entering into these relationships. We have already seen how the couple who are going to be padrinos de bautismo to the future children of the couple to be married come to the wedding carrying a Quille or arch decorated with ribbons which form the Puytu pattern, and with silver coins hanging from it. We have also seen how they later assume the role of baptizing the Wayta Ahijado and giving it to the couple and their kinsmen.

In this way the marriage ceremony and baptism are found together in one and the same ritual in which the padrinos de bautismo of the future children of the couple fulfill a similar role both with respect to their comnadres and to their future ahijados : the role of introducing them to society. Thus, with respect to the couple, the new compadres are responsible for covering them with the Quille when they cross the church doorway, and conducting them thus covered across the socialized space of the pueblo to the bridegroom's house. With respect to the future ahijados , the new compadres must gather up the scattered flowers, cover them with

clothing, give the Wayta Ahijado a name, and finally deliver it to the potential parents so that it may be circulated among the collectivity of their kinsmen.

As a consequence of the convergence of Baptism and the Marriage ceremony, the links generated by these rituals share a common essence which, in the last analysis, is that of reproducing the social order. It is for this reason that the ties of compadrazgo are superimposed on those of affinity, and are also modelled on the basis of ties of consanguinity. The only difference between the relation of compadrazgo and that of affinity lies in that the former springs from the encounter of two collectivities associated with each member of the conjugal pair (the Aura, according to Isbell), while the latter springs also from the encounter of two collectivities but in this case what is outstanding is the relation between an individual recipient and a collectivity which gives him a spouse. Compadrazgo relationships are like consanguineal ones in that they are subject to incest prohibitions. Such prohibitions also apply to the affinal relationships upon which compadrazgo ties are superimposed: because of the association with compadrazgo, WM/DH and HF/SW relationships are subject to the strict prohibition of sexual relations.

Due to the incest regulations it may be said, therefore, that in Andamarca there are no precise boundaries between relationships of consanguinity, affinity and compadrazgo

which would enable us to associate them with a division into natural, social and spiritual relationships such as that derived by Stirrat from the Catholic dogma of marriage (STIRRAT, 1976, p. 437), or with a division into natural and spiritual relationships such as Gudeman derives from the Catholic dogma of compadrazgo. Correspondingly, the nuclear family is not the most significant social unit, but rather the Ayllu in its sense of extended family.

Compadrazgo in Andamarca is an institution which has both collective and individual facets (18): on the one hand it consolidates previous relationships and on the other hand it introduces individuals to further stages of society. It is through the particular dialectic between these two sides that its specific nature is revealed. Thus from the collective side, compadrazgo ties are superimposed on affinal relationships, and are therefore classified as part of the sphere of the non-social. From the individual side, however, compadrazgo can be seen to establish itself in the sphere of the social, in that it acts to initiate individuals into this sphere. As far as this last role is concerned, there is no reason why we should insist that it is Catholic dogma which has determined the form of compadrazgo in Andamarca. Similar rituals, as we have seen, exist among the Apinayé and Kayapó, as they did also in the pre-Hispanic era in the Andean region. There is much evidence, both for Quechua and Aymara culture, concerning rituals such as the

Rutuy Chicuy or Chucchu Rutuy (haircutting), the Huarachicuy (putting on of trousers), the Quicuchicuy (first menstruation) (GONZALEZ, E., Y GALDO, V., 1977), (AYALA, F., 1974 - 76), (AVILA, 1966) or the Aymara ritual of Sucullu (taking children less than one year old out into the plaza during Corpus Christi) (BERTONIO, 1879, v. 11 p. 332). It was the maternal uncle or his wife or the paternal aunt, who in the Andean kinship system were in their turn classed as affines (ZUIDEMA, 1977) who assumed the role of initiators. Moreover, the Indian chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala, who lived in that region of the Province of Lucanas at the end of the 16th. and beginning of the 17th. centuries, tells us himself with relation to the pre-Inca period:

> "... and there existed baptism by word and they were baptized and theygave the names of their parents. The women received those from their mothers. Fiestas were made for these occasions. Kinship and compadre and comadre relationships were established with the person who gave the name by word. These were called father brother, mother sister (male speaking) or brother and sister (female speaking). This is how children became baptized during this time: "yaya uauqui mama nana o tura o pana".

Later, speaking of the Indians of his own time, he says:

> "The good order and laws of marriage. The brother-in-law is called Naza and the brother-in-law calls him "Caca" (sic) since antiguity without committing idolatry. They married and became compadres. Those compadres from the marriage were called 'socna' and those from baptism were called 'uayno'. The men who were relatives were called 'uauquicona' and the women 'panicona'. And with them they never sinned nor married because they said that they had become compadres -

> socna comadre uayno uauqui pani. These compadres gave their help at work and in other needs, or when they are ill or when eating and drinking, or at a fiesta, at sowing time, at death in crying, after being dead and at all times while they live. Later their children and descendants, grandchildren and great grandchildren continue serving themselves and keep the law of God..." (GUAMAN POMA, 1968, p. 67 and 848). (My translation)

Unfortunately I have not been able to determine the significance of the Quechua terms by which these compadres were designated. Nevertheless, the fact that they existed and that Guaman Poma translated them as compadres is impressive evidence that the European institution had its Andean equivalent. It is also interesting to note that these ties were inherited, from parent to child, as far as great-grandchildren, from which we may gather that this form of compadrazgo had a collective character (19). The link between this institution and name-giving is also noteworthy, since this aspect was central to certain pre-Hispanic rites of passage which required a ritual sponsor. The allusion to name transmission suggests, as Tom Zuidema has pointed out (ZUIDEMA, R.T., 1977, p. 254), a kind of parallel transmission in which males inherit the name of surname of their father and females that of their mother. This is consistent with the data in the baptismal records from this area, dating from the end of the 17th. century, in which we may distinguish femenine and masculine names. This is also consistent with

Avila's description of the hair-cutting ritual for children born with a Parca (20) in their hair. According to this early 17th. century eradicator of idolatry, if the child born with a Parca were male, the maternal uncle (MB) cut his hair, while if it were female, this would be done by the Ipa or paternal aunt (FZ). (AVILA, F., 1966, p. 196-197). These parallel ties exist still today in Andamarca, in that the padrino and madrina are forbidden to give names to their opposite sex godchildren and to carry them in their arms to baptism or to the cemetery.

Other Forms of Compadrazgo and Ceremonial Kinship.

As well as Compadrazgo Espiritual, which is formed on the basis of baptism, there is also Compadrazgo de Respeto, Compadrazgo de Misa de Salud, Compadrazgo de Corte de Pelo, Compadrazgo de Confirmación Padrinazgo de Matrimonio and Parentesco de Juramento in its forms of Padre, Hijo and Hermano (father, son, and brother) de Juramento. With the exception of Padrinazgo de Matrimonio, which does not create compadrazgo ties and which tends to be a relationship between consanguineal kinsmen or between Mistis and Indians, and of Parentesco de Juramento, all these other types of ceremonial kinship tend to follow the same lines as Compadrazgo Espiritual. Apart from the Compadrazgo de Corte de Pelo and the Compadrazgo de Confirmación, which lack importance, all the other forms of ceremonial kinship and

compadrazgo are relationships of a permanent nature. The Compadrazgo de Confirmación seems in fact to be an appendix to the Compadrazgo de Misa de Salud , since these are the only two forms of compadrazgo in which a single individual or couple acts as padrino on both occasions. In all the other types of compadrazgo, a different person acts as padrino for each, though he fulfills this particular role for all the children of a couple. We should add, also, that even if the ahijados of a single couple or individual are not related consanguineally to one another, the fact of having a padrino in common creates certain ties between them which are similar to those of ceremonial kinship -- though they are not designated by any specific term. An expression of the relationship that exists between them is the categorical prohibition on marriage between such persons. I observed another expression of this relationship during a marriage ceremony, in which during the Perdonakuy (See p.368) not only did the couple embrace their affines, but also they embraced the other "ahijados" of their padrinos de matrimonio .

In all the forms of compadrazgo which exist in Andamarca, we may perceive a dichotomy between the collective and the individual. This dichotomy is apparent in the fact that on the one hand all the different types of compadre (apart from the exceptions mentioned above) together with all the compadres of the siblings and parents of any one individual, form a common social network, which is drawn from the network

of affinal relationships. On the other hand, however, on every separate occasion (apart from the exceptions mentioned above) and for every sibling, the links which are created are with different individuals, though these individuals are all drawn from a single common network. This is to say that on the one hand kinship creates structural positions for each individual, yet on the other hand these positions are sufficiently broad and flexible to allow for the exercise of individual choice in selecting particular links.

2. The Compadrazgo de Respeto is a form in which there is no ahijado involved. The Compadrazgo de Respeto clearly exemplifies the dichotomy I have just put forward, as we can see from the reasons which people gave me for wanting to create this particular type of relationship. As Compadrazgo de Respeto is not based on any specific ritual involving padrinazgo , many, are therefore, the reasons and occasions for creating this relationship. The most common reason I was given for the creation of this relationship consisted in saying that the alter with whom the relationship was being forged was a sibling of the Baptism sponsor (or the sponsor of some of the other rituals) of his own or his siblings' children. This reason rests largely on a collective basis. Less collective in nature, however, were the reasons for which this relationship was created between two men who in their youth used to fight one another, and who wished to avoid further conflict. In these cases the most striking

thing was the nature of Respect implied in the relationship of compadrazgo, and the desire to smooth over relationships by imposing this value on them (21). Somewhat the same reasoning applies to the explanation I was given of the formation of compadrazgo ties between Laysis or co-parents-in-law, for it was felt that if the co-parents-in-law were to"respect" one another, then the spouses would get on together well.

Just as the term espiritual , referring to the compadrazgo of baptism, has no Quechua equivalent, neither does the term respeto translate into an equivalent Quechua concept. The main connotation of respeto was that of a non-conflictful relationship, expressed in the fact that those with a relationship of respeto should greet one another (saying "Allinllachu" or "Are you well?") should co-operate in work, give each other gifts, and above all must not fight one another. Respect is a sacred value which is affirmed in front of a saint who serves as a witness of the link that is being created, or has been created. For this reason nearly every relationship of ceremonial kinship, as well as affinal relations, are established and consolidated in front of a saint. Even consanguineal ties tend to be consolidated, if they have been ruptured, in this manner. Since all these relationships are thus sacralized, if there are disagreements between the parties the sanctions incurred are of a cosmic order: hailstorms, tempests, or strong winds may occur.

The ritual by means of which Compadrazgo de Respeto is sealed may take place at any time, before or after a person's marriage, and the only requirements is the consent of both parties. The details of this ritual are very simple: it consists in no more than kneeling down facing one another and exchanging a double embrace using first the right hand and then the left, and in conclusion kissing each other's right hand. All this takes place in front of the image of any saint, whose presence sanctifies the union. This same ritual is performed in the Perdonakuy or "Ceremony of Pardon" which forms part of the marriage ceremonials, or outside the context of marriage, as a ritual of reconciliation between different categories of kinsmen. Parentesco de Juramento is also created by means of this ritual.

Sometimes Compadrazgo de Respeto is created without the need for any specific ritual. It is enough that two people agree to treat each other in the appropriate fashion, and the relationship is established. This type of link is common between the brothers of persons who stand in a compadrazgo relationship to one another. Depending on the solemnity of the undertaking and upon the respective structural positions of the parties, these types of relationship are more or less permanent and are fairly flexible with respect to the application of sanctions against incest.

b. The Compadrazgo de Misa de Salud

Together with baptismal compadrazgo, this is the most important and permanent form. In this case the ritual and the relationships created surround a child who is already baptized. The exact time when the Compadrazgo de Misa de Salud is established varies according to the health of the child and the economic position of the parents, but generally speaking this takes place when the child is beginning to walk and is therefore in danger of falling to the ground. Falling to the ground is dangerous, since it is believed that the infant's soul may remain trapped in the earth. We should remember that at this stage of life the soul of the individual is not fully attached to the body, and nearly all the sicknesses occurring at this age are put down to this lack of stability. In this context one of the forces most to be feared is the earth. Thus this ritual is generally carried out for children of between one and two years of age.

There are also links between this ritual and the process of socialization, and with a dichotomous conception of the individual as body and soul, a conception within which these two parts are closely united in a relationship of reciprocal determination.

The ritual consists of three Masses, which may take place consecutively or at intervals. Like Baptism,

the entire ritual is concluded by a gathering at which the padrinos are the guests of the parents of the child. In this case, too, the padrinos who are chosen act in this capacity for all the children of the couple, but the difference between this form and Baptism is that in the case of the Misas de Salud it is the parents themselves who make the request to those they choose as padrinos while in Baptism the padrinos offer themselves. Another difference consists in distinguishing the Padrinos de Misas de Salud, from those of Baptism by calling them Contrapadrinos .

The number of Masses corresponds to the number of the Holy Trinity. Thus the first mass represents the Father, the second the Son, and the third the Holy Spirit. The idea of these Masses is that once they have been celebrated the health of the child (or his soul) will strengthen and he will be able to survive. Another analogy between this ritual and that of Baptism is that the ahijado is conducted to the church by his or her same sex padrino or madrina.

C. Compadrazgo de Corte de Pelo

As we have already noted, this is not a very important ritual among the Indians and it is not celebrated with great festivities. Most commonly it does not even involve the creation of compadrazgo ties, or if these are formed they are not of a permanent nature. Thus, apart from Mistis and

natives who had spent a long time away from the community, no-one ever mentioned to me the names of any compadres created in this context.

The local form of Chucchu Rutuy or hair-cutting is one which lacks the festive context accompanying other situations where compadrazgo links are formed. The only people who may assume the task of cutting the hair are the maternal uncle and his wife or the maternal grandparents. The ritual takes place when the child is three or four years old, and the person who cuts the hair is obliged to give a gift of a beast -- a bull, cow, calf, etc., or a llama or alpaca, a gift which goes under the name of Suñay (22).

Among the Misti and Indians mixed with them (Chahua Misti or Misti Crudo) the Chucchu Rutuy is a more elaborate ritual in which both paternal and maternal relatives take part. It also takes place when the infant is between three and four years old. At this ceremony there is a couple who act as padrinos and whose task is to divide the hair into many pairs of locks, the number corresponding to the number of people who are at the ceremony. The purpose of this is that all those present should cut one lock and at the same time give a gift of money. The locks on the top of the head are considered more valuable than those on the sides, and so they are cut by those people who are fairly closely related to the

parents. The padrinos begin the cutting and give the most generous gift, then follows the rest of the attendants and if at the end there are locks left over through miscalculation the padrino cuts them and has to add to his previous gift. The links created with these padrinos do not, however, have any longer lasting importance.

After this ritual it is usual among both Mistis and Indians for the skirt or wali of male children, which they have been wearing since they learned to walk, to be changed for trousers (wara). This is thus one of the first stages in the process of differentiation of the sexes.

Of all the rituals which take place in Andamarca, the Chucchu Rutuy as performed by the Indians has the importance that it is the only one in which the maternal relatives still play a central role.

d. The Compadrazgo de Confirmación

The confirmation of a child usually takes place some time after the age of eight, when the Bishop of Ayacucho visits the area. But there are many people who have never been through this ritual, which indicates that it is not of great importance. The padrinos for this occasion are generally the same as those for the Misa de Salud, and therefore in contrast to the Padrinos de Bautismo they are also called Contrapadrinos.

e. The Padrinazgo de Matrimonio

As we have already seen this is a link which is formed at the moment of marriage and which does not create relationships of compadrazgo with the parents of the couple. This latter fact seems to correspond with the fact that the marriage sponsors are nearly always consanguineal kinsmen of the parents, or else Mistis, and with the fact that the role they play is that of mediators between the spouses. They must supervise the matrimonial harmony of their ahijados. Consequently the relationship is of a permanent nature and very important, especially if we take into consideration the fact that there is much tension between spouses. The relationship is so long-lasting that there is even an institutionalized expectation that the ahijados should contribute wood for the funeral of the padrinos.

The relationship between these categories of ceremonial kinsmen is one of great respect, even to the point that the padrino has the power to beat his ahijados if they have failed to behave properly to each other. Because of this, the padrinos should ideally be very upright and respectable people (rejsisqa runa), and convincing in their speech (allin palabra). The padrinos should not fight between themselves as this would give a bad example to their ahijados and endanger the stability of the marriage. The formal behaviour between padrinos de matrimonio and ahijados contrasts with

the joking relationship between these padrinos and their ahijados' children. This joking relationship is identical to that between maternal grandparents and their grandchildren which has already been described on page (293).

By contrast with the gifts which padrinos de Bautismo give their ahijados, which allude to the idea of covering, those from the padrinos de matrimonio and particularly those from the madrina to the ahijada, are seeds of maize which should be sown at the time when the maize chacras donated by their parents are first used.

f. The Parentesco de Juramento

This institution may take the following forms: Padres, Hijos and Hermanos de Juramento. These relationships tend to be created after marriage, and may be between men or women. Those which do occur before marriage are generally between men. In the same manner as compadrazgo, these ties have in general their individual and their collective facets. That is, usually a hermano de juramento is common to all of a group of siblings and in turn may become the padre de juramento to their children, and on the other hand these relations carry with them the idea that when they are created they induce greater respect in the parties to them, which in turn implies the possibility of their selective utilization.

In general this variation is extremely similar to the Compadrazgo de Respeto , since it even shares the same ritual of embracing in front of a Saint, and often informants could not give me a clear explanation as to why they had opted for this form and not the other. Some said, for instance, that their brothers had previously entered into the link that they were forming, or that the Compadrazgo form implied more respect. One interesting difference which was put forward to me was that usually people with the same name would become hermanos de juramento , implying that the saint of this name assumes the role of father or padrino, in that he stands in the centre of a number of relationships between individuals which are created around him. Correspondingly, I noted several cases in which different ahijados de matrimonio of one padrino became hermanos de juramento . This in turn relates to another difference between the two forms, which is that Parentesco de juramento may be created between distant consanguineal kinsmen, while compadrazgo may not. It was also drawn to my attention that sharing certain professional activities -- such as belonging to a football team or a musical band -- predisposed people towards the establishment of parentesco de juramento rather than compadrazgo. Finally, the explanation I found most interesting was that which maintained that parentesco de juramento was a way of incorporating into ceremonial kinship networks the consanguineal kinsmen of compadres, with whom relationships of compadrazgo

could not be established. This is the case with the father of a compadre, since there is no form of padrinazgo de respeto in existence. The possibility of opting for a relationship of padre/hijo or of Hermano de juramento also indicates an important difference from the Compadrazgo de Respeto, since it introduces a hierarchical criterion which is absent in the latter form. Thus the relationship padre/hijo de juramento is usually formed between people of different ages, the older assuming the role of "father" and the younger that of "son". Nevertheless, it may happen that a younger person is "father", if the age difference is not too great and if he enjoys greater prestige.

From what has been said so far, it may be deduced that in Andamarca there are basically two types of social network for each individual: that of consanguineal kinsmen and that of affinal kinsmen. Upon these two networks are superimposed the wide range of ceremonial kinsmen: the padrinos de matrimonio principally on the ties of consanguinity, the compadres, in their different forms, on those of affinity, and the parientes de Juramento in the interstices left by the other relationships. Only the maternal grandparents or aunts and uncles, who play a role highlighted in the Chucchu Rutuy, form an ambiguous category which participates in both consanguineal and affinal links. In the relationships which correspond to the two basic networks, we

find that there is a greater degree of respect in those which belong to the affinal network than in those which belong to the network of consanguinity.

The Networks of Ceremonial Kinship

The purpose of this section is to make available to the reader the empirical evidence upon which I have based my generalizations concerning the structural positions of the different categories of ceremonial kinship. As in previous chapters, this evidence is based principally on the reconstruction of genealogies, on the survey of 114 individuals, in which among other things questions were asked about the padrinos de matrimonio and compadres of each person, and on detailed information about complete networks of ceremonial kinsmen of eight married couples, of whom five were related to one another through one of the spouses.

My intention in collecting this material was to attempt to examine as many cases as possible where ceremonial kinsmen appear in the genealogies I had constructed, in order to determine the possible structural positions which come into play in the establishment of links between these categories of kinsmen. I put aside the idea of attempting an exhaustive statistical analysis of this material because the sample could not have been very large, as it was practically impossible

for me to work through all the possible genealogical channels through which a ceremonial kinsman might have been connected to ego. In this respect we should remember that we are dealing with a bilateral system in which consanguineal kinship extends to siblings, first, second and third cousins. Moreover, it is a system which, because it is very tolerant as regards sexual relationships on the margin of marriage, makes possible the existence of many half-siblings, or half-relations in general, both for men and women. Such relationships could only be fitted into a genealogical network after very thorough investigations.

The necessity for using genealogies in order to determine the structural positions of ceremonial kinsmen. becomes clear if we consider the fact that informants were not usually aware of all the possible channels which served as bases for links with their ceremonial kinsmen. Only in certain particular cases were informants able to make explicit to me that the reason for their link with a couple or individual was that this was an extension of a previous link of their sbilings or parents. In many other cases, where the links were not so obvious, reasons were given in contractual terms, or if they were in terms of extensions, they emphasized only those concerning one member of a couple and not the other. For example, they would explain that the couple AB had created links of ceremonial kinship of CD because A's brother was already ceremonial kinsman of CD. Nevertheless it could be that at the same time B's brother had also been ceremonial kinsman of D before the marriage of C and D, and this could have influenced

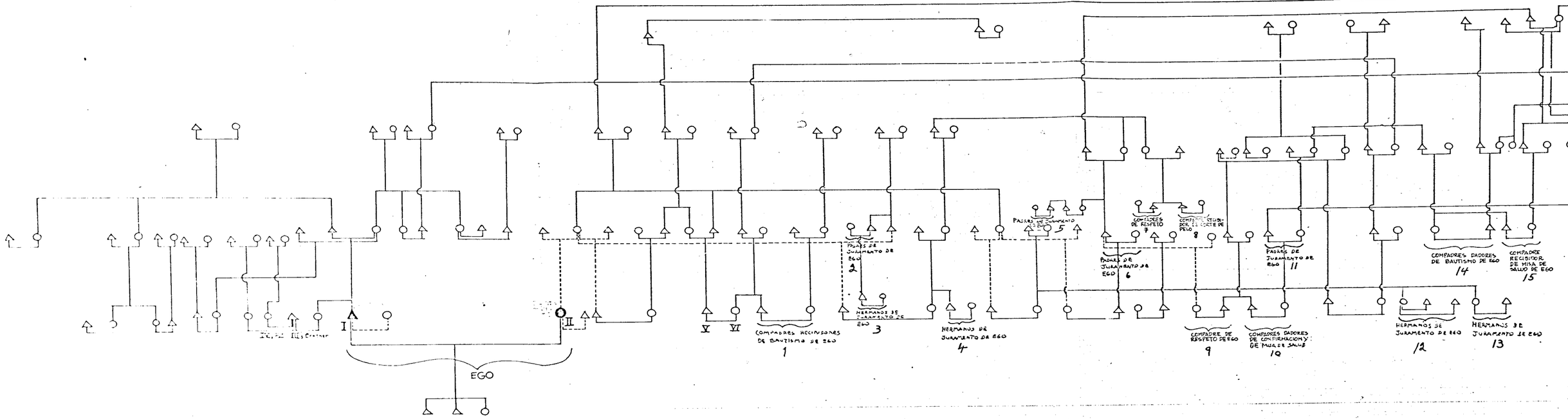
D in accepting them as ceremonial kinsmen.

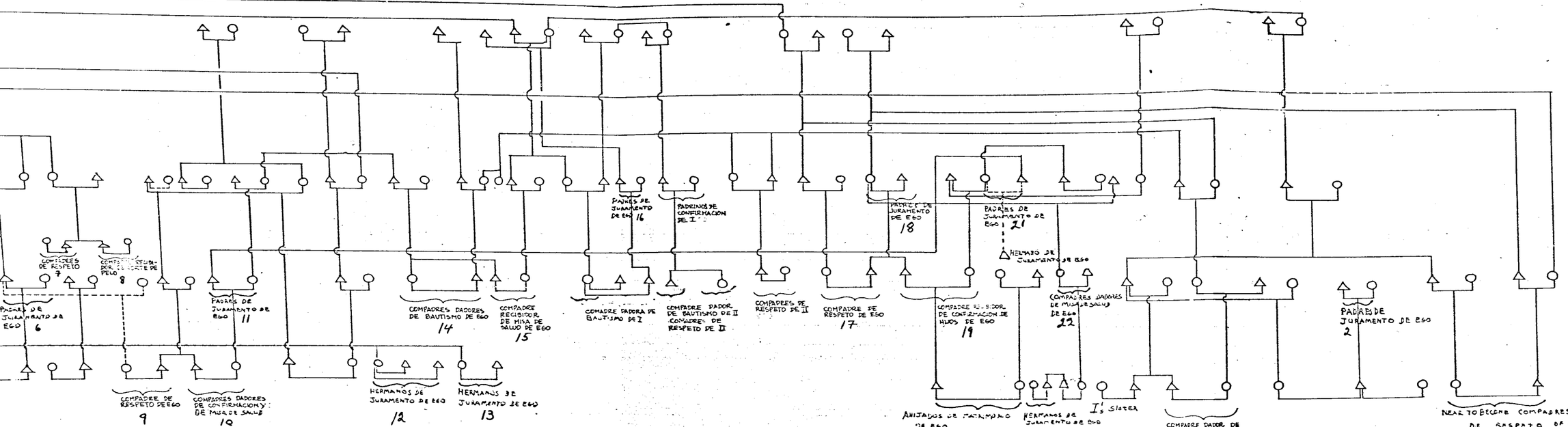
The procedure I have followed, therefore, has been to try and determine the number of ceremonial kinsmen of an individual, or couple, to establish the links which exist between these ceremonial kinsmen; and finally to unite the networks of these individuals or couples with the networks of as many as possible of their brothers and other collateral kinsmen, as well as with the networks of their parents and other members of their parents' generation. For obvious reasons I have not been able to show the networks of ceremonial kinsmen of different siblings all in one diagram, so I have limited myself to presenting a sample of part of the networks of two of the couples (I-II and V-VI) who were related to one another, in separate genealogical diagrams. A third couple (III-IV), (also related to the former two) had so many ceremonial kinsmen that I have shown them in the diagram distributed into four columns. The first column shows the category of ceremonial kinsmen, the second the initials of the couple or person who occupies this category, the third the extension of the links of ceremonial kinship to other kinsmen, and the fourth the structural position derived from the nature of the link upon which the ceremonial kinship is superimposed.

My intention in presenting this evidence is simply to illustrate the concrete realizations of the possibilities inherent in the system of ceremonial kinship in

Andamarca. It should be noted that this material does not exhaust the information at my disposal, since from the 114 people questioned, and from other couples related to the ones discussed already, I have also constructed other networks, though less complete than the ones diagrammed here. All this material has assisted me in the analysis presented in the previous sections, especially in suggesting the different possibilities which come into play in the recruitment of ceremonial kinsmen, and in drawing my attention to the frequency of different variations. (See Diags. 9 and 10, and Table 28.)

The number of ceremonial kinsmen of an individual is related to a number of criteria, among which the most important seem to be the number of previous links of ceremonial kinship of his relatives, the number of consanguineal kinsmen of a ceremonial kinsman, the life cycle, the number of times he has married, the number of extra-marital children of different unions, and the prestige enjoyed by an individual or couple. A single person usually only has Padrinos or perhaps a Hermano de Juramento or Compadre de Respeto . If he has a child he will enter into relationships of compadrazgo espiritual , but these tend to be very weak unless they are assigned a new role when he contracts a legitimate marriage. It is from the time of marriage, then, that relationships of ceremonial kinship strengthen and tend to increase in number.


I
II
EGO
V
VI
COMPADRES RECIBIDORES DE BAUTISMO DE EGO
1
PADRES DE JURAMENTO DE EGO
2
HERMANOS DE JURAMENTO DE EGO
3
HERMANOS DE JURAMENTO DE EGO
4
PADRES DE JURAMENTO
5
PADRES DE JURAMENTO DE EGO
6
COMPADRES DE RESPETO
7
COMPADRE DE RESPETO DE EGO
9
PADRES DE JURAMENTO DE EGO
11
COMPADRES DADORES DE CONFIRMACION Y DE MISA DE SALUD
10
COMPADRES DADORES DE BAUTISMO DE EGO
14
COMPADRE RECIBIDOR DE MISA DE SALUD DE EGO
15
HERMANOS DE JURAMENTO DE EGO
12
HERMANOS DE JURAMENTO DE EGO
13



COMPADRE DADOR: "sponsor" compadre
COMPADRE RECEPTOR: "receiving" compadre

△ ○ = legitimate marriage

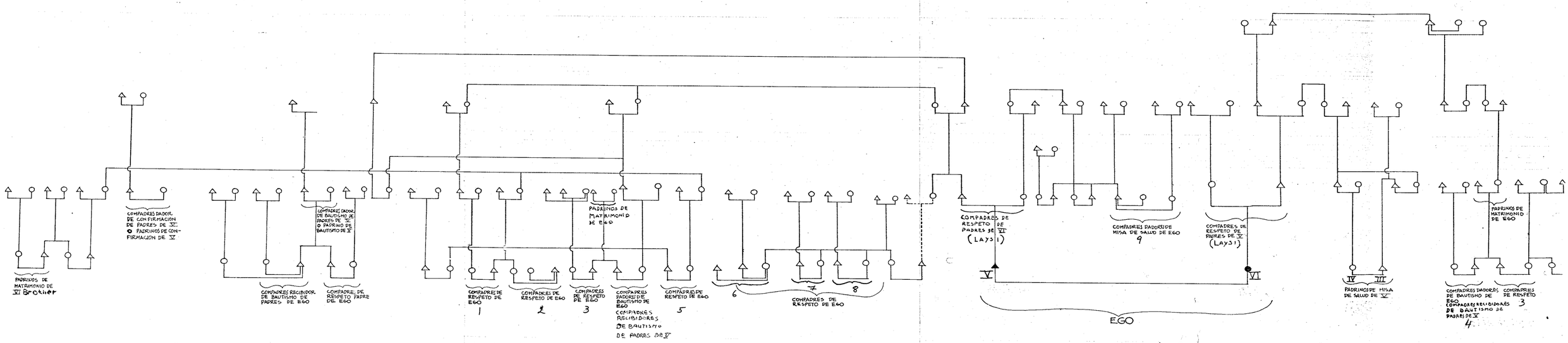
△ ○ = illegitimate union

DIAGRAM 9

CEREMONIAL KINSHIP NETWORK OF COUPLE I-II

TABLE 28 CEREMONIAL KINSHIP NETWORK OF COUPLE III + IV

CEREMONIAL KINSHIP TYPE	INITIALS OF THOSE FULFILLING THIS ROLE	RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER RELATIVES	STRUCTURAL POSITION
Padrino de Bautismo of III	J. B. and his wife	Padrino de Bautismo of 1st and 4th Brother of III	Outsider - lived in Cabana
Padrino de Bautismo of IV	F.Q.C. and his wife H.D.Q.	Padrino de Bautismo of her younger Sister	The godmother is a matrilateral relative of IV's F and i also a relative of F.Q.C. Wife B.
Padrino de Confirmación of III.	G.P.F. and his wife F.R.D.	Padrino de Confirmación of 5th,6th, 7th, 8th, Brother of III. III's F and M are also Confirmation godparents of a son of G.P.F and F.R.D	F.R.D is III's WFZ
Padrino de Matrimonio of III - IV	L.T.B. and his wife J.H.	Padrino de Bautismo of III's 2ndBCh with his second wife, and of 6thBCh L.T.B. Father's B is Padrino de Matrimonio of III's 2nd B L.T.B. Sister and her H are Padrinos de Matrimonio of III's 8th B and Hermano de Juramento of III and IV L.T.B. Mother's BS and his wife (which is a half Z of L.T.B.) are Padrinos de Matrimonio of III's 8th B L.T.B. Mother's BD and her husband is Hermano de Juramento of III	Matrilateral "Caru Ayllu" of III
Compadre Dador de Bautismo	E.F.P. and his wife J.Q.T.	See Compadre de Respeto A.F.P. and his wife D.Q.T.(Did not last the link)	IV's ZHZHB
Compadre Dador de Bautismo	L.R.A.	Comadre Recibidora de Misa de Salud L.R.A. Brother and his wife are also Compadres Recibidores de Misa de Salud L.R.A. Father's FBSSS is Compadre Recibidor de Bautismo L.R.A. Father's BSD and her husband are the Padrinos de Confirmación of III which are mentioned above L.R.A. Father's FBSSD and her H are Compadres Dadores de Bautismo of III's 8th B and W. L.R.A. Son and his W are Compadres Recibidores de Bautismo of III's 8th B and his W L.R.A. is Comadre de Respeto of III's 2nd B L.R.A. Mother'sZDS and his W are Hijos de Juramento of III and his W L.R.A. Mother's ZSS and his wife are Compadres Recibidores de Bautismo of III's 7th B and his W	FFFBSD of IV FFBSD of III's 2nd BW
Compadre Recibidor de Bautismo	T.R.B and his wife T.H.F.	T.R.B. Mother's ZHZ and her H are Padrinos de Bautismo of III's 5th, 6th,7th and 8th B T.R.B Mother's S and his wife are Hermanos de Juramento of III's 1stB T.R.B. Brother and his wife are Compadres de Respeto of III - IV T.H.F. Mother's BD and her husband (who is T.R.B. Brother) are Compadres de Respeto of III - IV T.H.F. Mother's FBS is Compadre de Respeto of III - IV and this last Brother's is also Compadre de Respeto of III - IV and Compadre Recibidor de Bautismo of III's 1st B T.H.F Sister's H is FBS of the Compadre Dador de Confirmación of III and IV	T.R.B is FFBSSS of IV T.H.F is FBDD of IV's ZHZH
Compadre Recibidor de Bautismo	V.O.T. and his wife E.H.Q.	E.H.Q. was Comadre Recibidora de Bautismo of IV before her actual marriage	V.O.T is the 8th B of III V.O.T. 2nd B is married to E.H.Q. Sister and previously he was married to IV's FZ
Compadres de Respeto	T.R.B and his wife F.F.F.	T.R.B is the brother of the Compadre Recibidor de Bautismo mentioned before	
Compadres de Respeto	A.F.P. and his wife D.Q.T.	A.F.P.Father's BDD is T.H.F or the Comadre Recibidora de Bautismo of III and IV A.F.P.Father's BSD is F.F.F or the Comadre de Respeto of III and IV A.F.P. Brother was the first Compadre Dador de Bautismo of III - IV A.F.P. Sister is Comadre de Respeto of III - IV	D.Q.T is ZHZ of IV
Compadres de Respeto	B.Q. and his wife M.F.P.	M.F.P Brother is A.F.P.	B.Q. Sister Daughters are the wives of III's 2nd and 8th brother respectively
Compadres de Respeto	N.O.F. and his wife A.Q.M.	-------	-------
Comadre de Respeto of IV	J.	Her MZ was the Madrina de Misa de Salud of IV	
Compadre Recibidor de Misa de Salud	C.R.A. and his wife I.F.T.	C.R.A. Sister is the Comadre Dadora del Bautismo	See above
Comadre Recibidora de Misa de Salud	L.R.A.	Is the Comadre Dadora de Bautismo	See above
Compadre Dador de Confirmación	C.Q.F. and his wife R.F.P.	C.Q.F. Father's BSWZ is the Comadre Recibidora de Bautismo of III - IV	------
Padre de Juramento	N.I.T. and his wife J.F.	Both are Hermanos de Juramento of III's Father Both are Padres de Juramento of III 2nd B N.I.T. Daughter and her H are Hijos de Juramento of III - IV	
Padre de Juramento	L.H.Ch. and his wife I.F.P.	L.H.Ch. Brother and his wife are Padres de Juramento of III - IV	L.H.Ch. is IV's FMBDS
Padre de Juramento	A.H.Ch. and his wife L.P.	See L.H.Ch.	See L.H.Ch. The three last women are relatives
Hermano de Juramento	S.T.I. and his wife SVP.Q.	S.T.I. Brother WZ is the Comadre de Respeto A.Q.M. S.T.I. Father's BWBD and her H are the Compadres Dadores de Misa de Salud of III and IV	
Hermano de Juramento	A.C.F. and his wife F.T.Ch.	A.C.F. Mother's BD and her H are the Compadres Recibidores de Misa de Salud A.C.F. Father's FB is the Padrino de Bautismo of III's 5th,6th,7th, and 8th B of III A.C.F. Father'sFZ and her H are Compadres Recibidores de Bautismo of III' F and M	F.T.CH. Father's BS is S.T.I.
Hermano de Juramento	A.F.I. and his wife M.T.D.	A.F.I. Brother is Hermano de Juramento of III - IV A.F.I. Father's Z is Hermana de Juramento Form part of the musical band Have a common Padrinos de Matrimonio	
Hermano de Juramento	T.F.I. and his wife E.H.F.	See A.F.I.	
Hermano de Juramento	J.Q.T. and his wife L.B.C.	L.B.C. Father's BS and his W is Hermano de Juramento of III's F/H L.B.C. Brother W is the D of Hermano de Juramento of III's F/H J.Q.T. Father's FD and FFS are Compadres de Respeto of III - IV Have common Padrinos de Matrimonio	J.Q.T. Father'sFFSWZ is IV
Hermano de Juramento	T.C.A. and his wife L.H.R.	T.C.A. Daughter and H are Hijos de Juramento of III + IV T.C.A. Daughter HF is Hermano de Juramento of III first B	
Hijo de Juramento	F.O.I. and his wife I.C.H.	See T.C.A.	
Hijos de Juramento	B.B. and his wife R.I.Q.	See Padre de Juramento N.I.T.	
Hijo de Juramento	H.F.C. and his wife M.H.A.	M.H.A. Father is Compadre of T.C.A. M.H.A. F/M Padrinos de Matrimonio are III and IV Hermano de Juramento J.Q.T. and his wife L.B.C.	



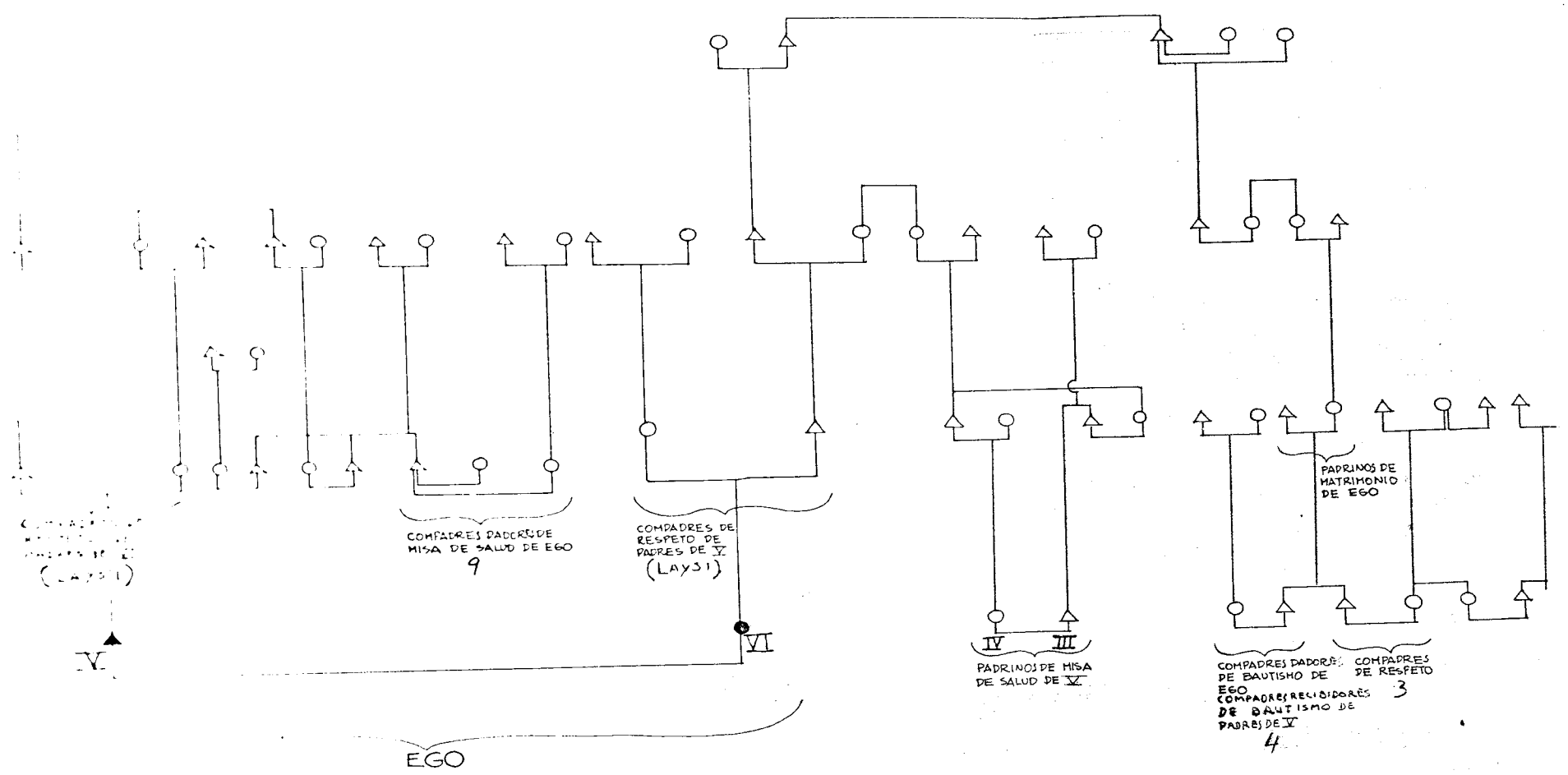
= legitimate marriage

= illegitimate union

COMPADRE DADOR = "Giving" Compadre

COMPADRE RECIBIDOR = "Receiving" Compadre

DIAGRAM 1
CEREMONIAL NETWORK OF



= legitimate marriage

= illegitimate union

COMPADRE DADOR = "Giving" Compadre

COMPADRE RECIBIDOR = "Receiving compadre

DIAGRAM 10
CEREMONIAL KINSHIP NETWORK OF COUPLE V-VI

Some become common property of the new marriage while others tend to be forgotten. For this reason, when a couple gave the names of their ceremonial kinsmen, the ones mentioned by the man and by the women tended to be the same (apart from the different padrinos which each had already before marriage).

The role played by prestige in the selection of ceremonial kinsmen is principally evident in the case of Padrinos de Matrimonio , and not in the case of Compadres espirituales . The importance of this criterion in the former case may be explained by their role as mediators between the married couple. This role emphasizes the ideal that the Padrinos de Matrimonio should be upright people, honest, good speakers, and as a married couple in their own right should maintain a harmonious relationship. The Ahijados de Matrimonio are very afraid of the possibility of any disagreement between the Padrino and Madrina, since they believe this may influence the harmony which should govern their own marriage. As a consequence of the importance accorded this criterion, there are Padrinos de Matrimonio who have up to 29 ahijados from different families. Moreover, it is important to note that in view of the fact that the obligations of padrinos towards their ahijados are not very onerous, it is possible to have a large number of ahijados without any great inconvenience.

For other types of padrinazgo, such as Padrinos de Bautismo , de Corte de Pelo , de Misa de Salud , and de Confirmación , I did not come across anything similar. In the case of the Padrinos de Bautismo it would hardly be possible for anything similar to the situation of Padrinos de Matrimonio to occur, since, as we have seen, Padrinos de Bautismo are not solicited but offer themselves for the position. Nevertheless, since it is not compulsory to accept them, and since they can be changed if they do not conform to expectation, there is always a margin for selection, which allows moral criteria to come into play in the establishment of these relationships. But this margin does not allow for the accumulation of 29 ahijados de Bautismo by one individual. Neither can this occur in the case of other categories of padrino, who are generally solicited to adopt their role, but who have a minimal moral responsibility towards their ahijados. Like the Padrinos de Bautismo, they also whip their ahijados on Ash Wednesday to remind them of their moral obligations, but their responsibility goes no further than this. The Padrinos de Bautismo, however, become the trustees of the economic assets of their ahijados if the latter are orphaned while still minors.

Another reason why in these categories of padrinazgo we do not find such an accumulation of ahijados from different families is that unlike the padrinazgo de matrimonio, the other types of padrinazgo generate compadrazgo

relationships which are fairly onerous both in social and economic terms. They are socially burdensome in that the relationships are subject to the incest prohibition, which proscribes marriage between *compadres*, between *compadres* and *ahijados*, between *ahijados* and the children of a *padrino*, and even (though not very strictly) between children of *ahijados* and grandchildren of a *padrino*. Thus if a person had many *compadres* from different families he would run the risk of reducing the possibility of finding a spouse within the limits of the community, which would threaten the endogamic ideal. On the economic side, it may be said that in terms of the expenses it demands the institution of *compadrazgo* is analogous to the system of religious cargos, since in both cases the expenses tend to be progressive: in the case of *compadrazgo*, because the number of *compadres* tends to increase as the developmental cycle progesses, and in the cargo system, because as one progresses through the developmental cycle one undertakes the more onerous cargos. The etiquette of the system of *compadrazgo* consists of a very elaborate system of reciprocal exchanges of goods and services, in which the *compadres* enter into a competitive relationship where they are obliged to accept each other's favours, since to refuse would cause offence. The *compadres*, together with affinal relatives, play a predominant role in the activity of *ayni* or mutual aid, and it is between *compadres* that the largest gifts are exchanged. Consequently expense is the most frequently mentioned reason for not entering into new relationships of *compadrazgo*.

Of the three cases for which I have most information, one couple (I-II) (see Diagram 9) listed 25 couples and 4 individuals who were ceremonial kinsmen in common to both spouses. This makes a total of 54 individuals. Unlike the other couples, they also mentioned that since both the man and the woman had had children outside their marriage, each had his compadres independently from the other, though since their marriage these were becoming common to them both.

The peculiarity of this example, however, is that the couple entered into these relationships in Lima. They were married in Andamarca in 1972, when the man was 31 years old and the woman 24, and subsequently settled in Lima in the Pueblo Joven (shanty town) of Ermitaño, where they still live. Their relatively advanced age at marriage partially explains why the man had two children before his marriage by women not from Andamarca, and the woman had one child before marriage by a man from Andamarca. The relationship of the man with women who were not from Andamarca and of the woman with an Andamarquino correspond to the fact that the man migrated to Lima when very young and the woman only did so a little before her marriage. Their migration to Lima seems in each case to have something to do with their anomalous social position in Andamarca: the man's father died when he was a very young child, and his mother remarried and had more children; and the woman is the illegitimate child of a Misti and an Indian woman who belongs to an extended family which has

great solidarity among its members. At present in Lima they live by marketing cooked maize.

In view of the fact that this couple had only been married 4 years when they gave me this information, the large number of ceremonial kinsmen they possessed may be due to their integration into national economic life and their need to have social ties both in the capital city and in Andamarca.

The second detailed case I have is that of a couple (III-IV) (See Table 28) who listed 22 couples and two single adult women (one with children) as ceremonial kinsmen common to both spouses. This makes a total of 46 individuals. They also mentioned that the man, when single, had entered into a compadrazgo de respeto relationship with a married couple, as had the woman with a niece of her Madrina de Misa de Salud.

They also told me who their padrinos were, each mentioning two. They were married in 1956 when the man was 22 and the woman 14. They had been married eighteen years at the time of the enquiry.

In this case, as in the one described earlier, my informants did not list their ceremonial kinsmen all at once, but rather they kept adding to the list on subsequent occasions. This is because not all the ceremonial kinsmen

are called to mind at any one moment, since one does not interact with all of them with the same intensity all the time. The lists I am using could thus still possibly be incomplete. I observed the same phenomenon in my survey of 114 people, since some individuals would name as compadres others who when they in turn were questioned failed to mention the former in their replies. Obviously this did not occur in the case of those categories of ceremonial kinsmen who are considered most important, such as compadres espirituales and compadres de Misa de Salud, but it frequently occurred in the case of parientes de juramento. Thus when I asked people in my survey to give the names of all their compadres, they usually only mentioned the most important ones, reducing their list to three or four names. Consequently, I could only obtain complete lists through very detailed enquiries.

The third couple who gave me a detailed list of their ceremonial kinsmen were married in 1964 when they were both aged 17. Unfortunately in this case I did not enquire about their parientes de juramento. The information was collected after they had been married 10 years, and includes references to 11 pairs of compadres, 1 pair of Padrinos de Matrimonio, and 1 Comadre de Respeto, a single woman, all in common to both spouses. The man also mentioned 3 padrinos and the woman 2. (See Diagram 10.)

Both this couple and the second couple I discussed have spent all their lives in Andamarca, though they have close relatives engaged in economic activities in the coastal region. The wives of the first two couples and the husband of the third couple are related to one another. The most closely related are the wife of the first couple and the husband of the third, since he is her MBS, while the wife of the second couple is her MFFBSSD. The wife of the second couple is also FMZSD of the wife of the third couple. The husbands of the first two couples and the wife of the third are not related to one another. The only pre-existing connections between them were that a brother of the husband of the second couple, whose first marriage was to his present wife's FZ, contracted his second marriage with the full sister of the husband of the first couple. Of all the individuals in these three couples, the husband of the second couple had the most siblings, being the third of a total of eight (5 males and 3 females). The husband of the first couple comes next, with two full siblings and two half siblings, then his wife with two half siblings and finally the others who each have one full sibling. Each one also has a large number of first and second cousins, who are also treated as siblings, but whose importance in the recruitment of ceremonial kinsmen is secondary (especially in the case of second cousins).

I shall begin my description of the social composition of the networks of ceremonial kinsmen with the third couple, since their ceremonial kinsmen are the least numerous. (See Diagram 10). This example shows clearly the overlap between affinal relatives and compadres, and also the extension of the relationships of compadrazgo to siblings and to ascendants and descendants.

The first interesting detail is that of the 11 pairs of compadres of this couple only one pair were outsiders, and these were compadres of the Corte de Pelo . The rest were all from Andamarca, though their nucleus consisted of members of one family which came from the Ayllu of Chaupi de Puquio three generations ago and still has links there. Though there were indications that all these compadres were related to one another, I could not determine precisely the nature of all the relationships, except that they constituted 3 groups of siblings, with their spouses, some of whom were related amongst themselves. The nucleus of this network of compadres consisted of the children of the padrinos de Matrimonio of the couple (3 - 4)*; one of whom (4) was already "receiving" compadre de Bautismo of the father of the husband of the couple.(VsF) In return this same son and his wife became "giving"compadres de Bautismo of our original couple, and his brother and brother's wife (3) became their compadres de Respeto. These latter, in turn, were "giving" compadres de Bautismo of the

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* In this case each arabic number stands for a pair of ceremonial kinsmen of the couple V-VI.

FZS of the husband of original couple and "receiving" compadres de Confirmación of the couple I-II, of whom the wife (II) is the FZD of the husband of the original couple. Finally within this group of relatives we should mention a first cousin of the "giving" compadre de Bautismo who also stood in a relationship of compadrazgo de Respeto with the couple V-VI.

The second group of siblings who have created compadrazgo ties with the couple V-VI consists of two brothers and a sister of the "giving" compadre de Bautismo of the couple, and also the brother of a sister-in-law of these siblings. With respect to the younger brother, and his wife, of the "giving" comadre de Bautismo, we note that our original couple is linked in return to this couple as "giving" compadres de Bautismo. The relationship which exists with the rest of the siblings and their spouses is no more than that of Compadrazgo de Respeto . It is important to note in this case that the "giving" comadre de Bautismo is the FMZSD of the husband V, and MZSD of his father, but these relationships were not considered to be obstacles to the formation of compadrazgo, since they are regarded as distant, being derived through female relatives of both parties.

The third group of siblings have only formed relationships of Compadrazgo de Respeto with the couple V-VI, the reason for this being given as that they were sisters (3) of the wife of the FZS of the husband of the original

couple. This example shows fairly clearly the superimposition of compadrazgo on affinity, and it also follows from the fact that all the compadres of this couple were deliberately recruited from the husband's side.

Apart from the link established by the parents of V with his "giving" compadres de Bautismo, apparently no other link of ceremonial kinship of the parents of the couple V-VI has been extended to their children. The only other point worth mentioning is that the couple III-IV are Padrinos de Misa de Salud of V and in turn IV is also V's MFFBSSD; and also that V's Padrino de Confirmación will reappear when we study the networks of ceremonial kinship of the other couples.

Unlike those of the couple I have just described, the ceremonial kinsmen of the couple I-II (see Diagram 9) were predominantly recruited from the side of the wife, who as we have already noted is the FZD of the man V. We shall see that there is a great overlap between the ceremonial kinsmen of this couple and those of the previous couple V-VI. Thus, of the eleven pairs of ceremonial kinsmen of couple V-VI, five are also ceremonial kinsmen of I-II and a sixth couple are ceremonial kinsmen to both V and I-II. Moreover, two other couples from the network of ceremonial kinsmen of I-II are closely related, through one of their members, to two of the five couples just mentioned. In both cases the nature of the kinship tie is parent-child. The number of pairs of ceremonial

kinsmen of I-II who overlap with the network of ceremonial kinsmen of V-VI is therefore eight, but the dominant link in this case is not that of compadrazgo but parentesco de juramento. Of these eight pairs of ceremonial kinsmen, five are either padres or hermanos de juramento of the couple I-II. It is precisely examples such as this one which do not allow us to establish a clear boundary between Compadrazgo de Respeto and Parentesco de Juramento.

The importance of the wife in the recruitment of ceremonial kinsmen is also manifest in the fact that as well as these eight pairs who overlap with the ceremonial kinship network of the couple V-VI, there are a further ten couples in which one of the spouses is a sibling of an affinal relative of the wife II: a BWB, MBSWFBS, MZDHF BS, MZSWB, etc. In only one case can we perceive the influence of the husband in the recruitment of ceremonial kinsmen common to the couple I-II, and in three cases (including this latter) it is possible to see a certain overlap between the ceremonial kinship networks of the husband and wife. Thus, according to what I himself said, the "giving"compadre de Bautismo of I-II was a friend of his when he lived in Lima before his marriage, and this previous link had some influence on the formation of the new one. His wife is also sister of the husband of the caple who are "receiving" compadres de Misa de Salud of the couple I-II, and the wife of this couple is MBD of the "giving" comadre de Bautismo of one of I's illegitimate children. This woman in turn is, through her mother, related to the ceremonial

kinship network common to I-II and V-VI. Some of the padrinos of the husband and some of those of the wife also belonged to a common network of consanguineal kinship.

As I stated earlier, the network of ceremonial kinsmen common to the couple I-II totals 25 couples and 4 individuals. Of these, 12 couples and one individual are Parientes de Juramento and the rest are Compadres, apart from one couple who are Ahijados de Matrimonio. The categories into which their compadres fall are: 4 couples and 3 individuals in the category of Compadres de Respeto; 1 pair of "receiving" compadres de Bautismo; 1 pair of "giving" compadres de Bautismo; 2 pairs of "giving" compadres de Misa de Salud; 1 pair of "receiving" compadres de Misa de Salud; 1 pair of "receiving" compadres de Corte de Pelo; 1 pair of "giving" compadres de Confirmación; 1 pair of "receiving" compadres de Confirmación and one pair of Padrinos de Matrimonio. They also have a pair of compadres, natives of Huancayo, who sponsored their house roof in Lima, and both the husband and the wife have their respective "giving" compadres de Bautismo for their children outside the marriage (the husband has two such couples and the wife one). The wife also has a couple who are her Compadres de Respeto, and each has his or her own Padrinos de Bautismo, Padrinos de Misa de Salud and Padrinos de Confirmación (though these last two roles are performed by the same couple). Adding together all the ceremonial kinsmen, whether common to both the husband and wife or individual, we reach a

total for the couple I-II of 64 persons. (Diagram 9 only includes 58 of these 64 individuals, the Padrinos de Matrimonio and 4 isolated individuals being excluded).

Just as in the previous case, the network of ceremonial kinsmen of the couple I-II is organized on the basis of the extension of ceremonial kinship ties to consanguineal kinsmen. Since the kinship system of Andamarca is bilateral, and the system of marriage exchanges endogamous, one individual may belong at the same time to more than one consanguineal kin group which has links of ceremonial kinship with the couple I-II. But there are some groups of consanguineal kinsmen in which the couple I-II have a larger number of ceremonial kinsmen. The most numerous example is that of one family in which 8 members (15-17-18-19-20-22-23-24) have entered into different forms of ceremonial kinship relations with the couple I-II. This example is also useful in that it shows the possibility of extending these links through three generations of consanguines, to the point where the grandparents become Padres de Juramento , the two children of father and mother become "receiving" compadres de Confirmación, and Compadres de Respeto , respectively, the mother's daughter and her husband become "giving" compadres de Misa de Salud, and finally the grandson and his new wife become Ahijados de Matrimonio. In this case a whole range of different categories of ceremonial kinsmen, mostly of the Compadre type, is superimposed on one consanguineal kin network. Of the eight family

members who are ceremonial kinsmen of the couple I-II, six are compadres, one is Madre de Juramento and another is Ahijado de Matrimonio. The six compadres consist of two Compadres de Respeto and four of the type that also imply padrinazgo. These latter four include the Madrina de Bautismo of I's illegitimate daughter; the "receiving" comadre de Misa de Salud, who is the former's FZD and whose husband's sister is Madrina de Bautismo of the legitimate children of I-II; the "receiving" Compadre de Confirmación, who is MMZDS of the Madrina de Bautismo of I's illegitimate son; and the Madrina de Misa de Salud of the legitimate children of I-II, whose sister is the mother of the "receiving" compadre de Confirmación and of one of the two Compadres de Respeto mentioned above. The other Compadre de Respeto is MBS of the "receiving" Compadre de Confirmación. The Padres de Juramento and the Ahijado de Matrimonio are parents and son respectively of the "receiving" compadre de Confirmación.

This case is useful in that it shows that the specific categories of ceremonial kinship which unite two individuals or couples depend on previous relationships, and these relationships seem to be determined by certain rules of symmetrical reciprocity between kin groups. We see this particularly clearly in the case of those brothers one of whom is "giving" compadre in a certain type of ceremonial kinship relation and the other "receiving" compadre in another type. (14-15; 19-22). That the category of ceremonial kinship depends

upon previous relationships is made quite clear in the explanation I was given for the selection of the Padres de Juramento . According to I, the reason why he and his wife created this relationship with the parents (18) of the "receiving" Compadre de Confirmación[19] was precisely because they had already created this tie with the children, and there was therefore no alternative category. They could not, for instance, have entered into a compadrazgo relationship with the parents, since they were already compadres to the children. Neither could they have behaved towards them as if they were padrinos , since this would imply a relationship of sponsorship which had not in fact taken place with I, nor with II, nor with I-II as a couple. For reasons similar to those which prevented them from becoming compadres, they could not treat them as Hermanos de Juramento , so that the only available category remaining was that of Padres de Juramento . The only case I know of in which members of adjacent generations are compadres to one another is when a member of the other generation is "giving" compadre to another person and his son is "receiving" compadre to that same person. In these cases both the father and son stand in the relationship of compadre to that person. (See p.321)

The third case about which I have detailed information is that of the couple III-IV who are related -- as we have already seen -- through the wife IV, to one member of each of the other two couples already discussed. This case is

in fact the most detailed of the three, since besides having ascertained the complete network of ceremonial kinsmen of this couple, I was also given information -- though not so exhaustive- concerning the ceremonial kinship networks of each of the seven siblings and the father of III, and of the sister, father, father's siblings, and a father's sister's child of IV. (See Table 28)

In this case it is noticeable that the couple III-IV have almost as many parientes de juramento as compadres. Of the 22 couples and two women who are their ceremonial kinsmen, there are three Padres de Juramento , one Madre de Juramento , six Hermanos de Juramento , and three Hijos de Juramento , making a total of thirteen. They also have four Compadres de Respeto , six compadres who are padrinos, and one pair of Padrinos de Matrimonio . Unlike the previous case, in this case it would appear that the majority of the ceremonial kinsmen have been recruited on the side of the man, though the most important relationships of ceremonial kinship which exist come from the side of the woman. I was able to deduce the former point from the overlap between the ceremonial kinsmen of the couple and those of the relatives of the husband, III; and the latter point from the fact that the most important ceremonial kinsmen the couple have are relatives of the wife, IV. These latter are in fact the MZ of VI and the father of I: the former is Madrina de Bautismo of the legitimate children of III-IV, and also their "receiving" Comadre de Misa de Salud; and the latter is their "receiving" Compadre de Misa de Salud.

The relationships with these latter individuals would appear to conflict with the rule which prohibits the creation of ceremonial kinship with relatives, but when I asked III about this descrepancy he told me that these relationships had been entered into after the rupture of their relations with other Padrinos de Bautismo of their children and after the rupture of the relationship of I's father with other "giving" Compadres de Misa de Salud. In both cases the relationship between compadres had been disharmonious. He told me that the conflict in the former case had arisen because the compadres had refused the drinks offered to them by him and his wife, while in the second case it was because of lack of respect. Also there were pre-existing ties of ceremonial kinship and of affinity between the kinsmen of III and those of IV, which made possible the extension of new ties of ceremonial kinship to other distant relatives of IV. Thus a FZ of IV was III's Madrina de Confirmación and another FZ of IV was the second wife of an elder brother of III.

In any case these links are not altogether disapproved of by the community, since they are with distant relatives of IV. But another relationship of compadrazgo which the couple III-IV maintain with III's brother and his wife would appear to be a more serious breach. This relationship derives from the fact that III-IV are Padrinos de Bautismo of the children of III's brother and his wife, and the reason I was given

for having broken the exogamic restriction of ceremonial kinship was that III had been ceremonial kinsman of his brother's wife since before she married his brother. He had been baptismal sponsor for an illegitimate child which she had by another man, and the reason he had assumed the role was that the woman was the sister of his elder brother's third wife, as we have already mentioned.

The striking thing about this example is that this relationship of <u>compadrazgo</u> was no obstacle to the marriage of III's brother with a woman who was his brother's <u>comadre</u>. I was assured that provided that the woman had not also created <u>compadrazgo</u> ties with III's brother, there was no impediment to their marriage. On the subject of whether siblings of compadres may marry there is a certain amount of disagreement. An elderly informant insisted that it was not allowed, but among young people I noted that this prohibition is frequently contravened, and that they did not believe that in doing so they were transgressing any norms. Rather they insisted that it was principally the descendants of ceremonial kinsmen who were forbidden to marry, though they could not specify to what degree. This latter aattitude would appear to be more in accordance with the structural necessities for expansion of marriage ties, for if all the real and classificatory siblings of compadres twere really forbidden to marry, it would be very difficult for an Andamarquino to find a spouse within the community, and the would have to break the norms of community endogamy. The situation would be all the more serious

if we consider that in Andamarca each person should ideally have 12 children. The possibility of marriage between the siblings of _compadres_ is no more than the inverse of the custom of creating _compadrazgo_ ties between the siblings of a married couple which was mentioned on p. and a consequence of the ideal of using all the possible ways of extending links between two families through reciprocal exchanges.

In view of the fact that in the case of the couple III-IV I have at my disposal the ceremonial kinship networks of the siblings of III and of IV as well as their own networks of ceremonial kinsmen, I have been able to ascertain that -- as in the previous example -- the extension of these networks to other consanguineal relatives generally involves reciprocal exchanges. Thus V and his FZS are _Ahijados de Misa de Salud_ of the couple III-IV. V's FZ is in turn "_giving_" _comadre de Bautismo_ of III-IV, and her son (the _Ahijado de Misa de Salud_ of this couple) is in turn "_receiving_" _Compadre de Bautismo_ of III's younger brother. Similarly the brother of the "_receiving_" _Compadre de Bautismo_ of III's older brother was the first "_giving_" _Compadre de Bautismo_ of the couple III-IV, and was later replaced in this role by V's FZ.

It is with the family of this same original "_giving_" _Compadre de Bautismo_ that the couple III-IV have the largest number of _compadrazgo_ ties. Thus the couple III-IV are also in return the "_giving_" _Compadres de Bautismo_ of their

first "giving" Compadre de Bautismo's FBDD. They are also linked by extension to the "receiving" Comadre de Bautismo's husband's brother, who in turn is married to a MBD of this comadre. With these latter the link is one of Compadrazgo de Respeto , and the couple III-IV are linked in this manner also to the brother and sister of their original "giving" Compadre de Bautismo. These latter are also siblings of the wife of IV's ZHB. Thus five members of the same family are compadres to the couple III-IV, and these links seem to have been extended to them through III's elder brother and reinforced by the marriage of IV's ZHB to a woman of that family.

If we consider the network of ceremonial kinsmen of IV's sister and her husband we note that a sixth member of the family mentioned above is linked to them as "receiving" Comadre de Bautismo. This woman is the sister of the "receiving" Comadre de Bautismo of III-IV and her husband is FBS of their "giving" Compadre de Bautismo. (See Table 28). In turn IV's father is "giving" Compadre de Misa de Salud of a seventh member of this family, the sister of the original "giving" Compadre de Bautismo of III-IV and the wife of IV's ZHB.

Thus some of the consanguineal kinsmen of the first "giving" Compadre de Bautismo of the couple III-IV are also compadres of some of III's siblings, and of IV's sister, father and aunt. Of the seven siblings the two eldest have

ceremonial kin ties with at least one of the kinsmen of the original "giving" Compadre de Bautismo of the couple III-IV. But for the five younger siblings there is no evidence of any such link. This is because one of them is not yet married, another migrated to the coast shortly after marrying, another married a woman from Huamanga and also migrated to the coast, another died after seven years of marriage and I could not fully reconstruct the network of her ceremonial kinsmen, and the youngest, who is about 20 years younger than the oldest brother and about 11 years younger than III, has preferred to create ties with the kinsmen of the second "giving" Comadre de Bautismo of the couple III-IV. In view of the fact that both III's elder brother, and IV's father and FZ, were previously linked to some of the relatives of the original "giving" Compadre de Bautismo of the couple III-IV, it is possible that this contributed to the existence of an agreement between III and IV to accept his offer of baptismal sponsorship and to accept, subsequently, other relatives of this first compadre as ceremonial kinsmen.

The Parientes de Juramento of the couple III-IV number 13 in all, while their compadres number 11. The links which the couple maintain with their parientes de juramento, with a couple of exceptions, have not been extended to either III's or IV's kinsmen. Nor can it be said that the 13 parientes de juramento belong to one kin group. The largest group of them who are related to one another is a group of four, and there are a further three who are related to a member of

this group. Two more of the parientes de juramento of the couple III-IV are father and son, and for the four remaining ones I could not discover any consanguineal relatedness amongst themselves, nor with the other parientes de juramento, nor with the compadres of the couple III-IV. By contrast with those of the couple I-II, the parientes de juramento of III-IV do not seem to be linked in any way to the network of compadres, and even the links among the parientes de juramento themselves are discontinuous. This would suggest that the couple III-IV have entered into relationships of parentesco de juramento on the basis of separate dyadic contracts rather than on the basis of extension of kin ties (though these latter are also present). This would coincide with the explanations which III gave me of how some of these relationships of parentesco de juramento originated. Thus he told me that he acquired one Hermano de Juramento because both of them played together in a musical band, a Hija de Juramento because she helped him to make bread when she was little, others, because they had the same Padrino de Matrimonio , etc.

From these three detailed cases which I have just described, it is clear that ceremonial kinship in Andamarca has two poles: the collective and the individual. The first is expressed in the possibility of the extension of ceremonial kinship to consanguineal kinsmen and even to other ceremonial kinsmen of ego, and by the marked overlap between ceremonial kinsmen and affines. The second pole, the individual,

is apparent in the margin which remains for choice, in that ties of ceremonial kinship are not necessarily extended to all the consanguineal kinsmen, nor do all the members of a family end up with all the same ceremonial kinsmen. With relation to this last point, we could say that the ceremonial kinship system reflects the bilateral nature of the kinship system of Andamarca, in which, apart from legitimate children of the same father and mother, no two individuals have the same network of consanguineal kinsmen. In the case of ceremonial kinship this is carried to the extreme, in that not even the legitimate children of the same parents have the same set of ceremonial kinsmen. Perhaps they may have the same padrinos de Bautismo, Misa de Salud and Confirmación, but generally all their compadres and parientes de juramento will be different individuals, or if they are the same individuals then the categories of ceremonial kinship which they occupy with respect to each sibling will be different. This is because these relationships are created by two individuals or couples, each of whom has his (or their) own siblings or other relatives who will follow other routes in the recruitment of their ceremonial kinsmen, and these links, moreover, are sealed on the basis of a mutual agreement which by its nature is subject to variation over time.

The Structural Implications of the Ceremonial Kinship System.

The ceremonial kinship system of the community of Andamarca thus reflects the bilateral nature of the kinship system and also, as we have seen in the previous sections of

this chapter, reflects the equilibrium of the endogamous and exogamous forces which characterize the marriage system.

The fact that ceremonial kinship ties may be extended to consanguineal kinsmen, but that on the other hand no two individuals or couples have the same set of ceremonial kinsmen, is simply an expression of the importance of the extended family, and of the bilateral nature of this extended family, which means that with the exception of full siblings, each individual or couple has a different stock of consanguineal relatives.

The endogamous tendencies in the ceremonial kinship system of Andamarca are mainly manifest in the context of compadrazgo relations. Thus in the three cases I have just described we may observe that there are no non-Andamarquinos among the networks of compadres, or even of parientes de juramento, of the couples I-II, III-IV, or V-VI. Only in the case of I-II do we find that they have a couple from Huancayo as compadres, but they entered into this relationship when living in Lima. Moreover, it is of a type which is not very often found in Andamarca, and when it is found, is not very important. This is the category of compadrazgo which relates to the sponsorship of a material object, in this case the roof of their house.(23) Also, this link was established in the absence of the compadres espirituales of the couple I-II. Among the 114 individuals who were the subjects of my survey, none mentioned a

non-Andamarquino among their compadres, and with the exception of four, none of them even mentioned Mistis among their compadres. Mistis were more apparent among Padrinos de Matrimonio . The endogamous tendencies in the system are also apparent in the fact that on many occasions a pair of "giving" compadres, for instance, would already have previous ties -- through their kinsmen -- with both the man and wife of the couple whose children they were sponsoring.

The very fact that ties of ceremonial kinship may be extended to the consanguineal kinsmen of the individuals or couples who enter into them expresses on the one hand the importance of the extended family and on the other hand the endogamous tendencies of the marriage system. Consequently, just as in marriage, in compadrazgo and some other forms of ceremonial kinship these links tend to be established principally between a restricted number of families. This is naturally so, since compadrazgo is conceived of as associated with marriage both in ritual and symbolic terms , as well as structurally: we have already seen that the respective siblings, parents and grandparents of a married couple tend to enter into compadrazgo relationships with one another. In the examples given in detail above this is especially noticeable in the case of the couple V-VI and the couple III-IV, and there is also much additional evidence ofthis phenomenon -- some of it gathered from the survey of 114 people and some from other examples which were drawn to my attention occasionally.

Stephen Gudeman, in his article entitled "Spiritual Relationships and Selecting a Godparent" considers

> "that at least two patterns of godparent selection characterize the compadrazgo in contemporary cultures; one is an inflexible rule; the other is a series of variations that seem to be correlated with, though not entirely caused by, the broader social context in which they are found. These two patterns are:
>
> 1. Parents universally are prohibited from choosing themselves as godparents.
> 2. Within a culture, parents are constrained by one of three selection forms: choice reversal may be prescribed, permitted or prohibited. The first rule provides for a symmetrical relationship between parent and godparent while the latter can lead to an asymmetric bond." (GUDEMAN, 1975, p. 222).

Pursuing his thesis that the Catholic dogma of Baptism with its distinction between the Natural and Spiritual person constrains the variations of compadrazgo in different societies, he suggests that the first pattern of selection has its origin in a social value which has been recognized as such from Mauss to Malinowski and Tylor to Lévi-Strauss, by means of which "parents can establish links with others from outside their immediate families". (GUDEMAN, 1975, p. 229), but that on the other hand this value is also complementary to and reinforced by the dogmatic postulate which assigns the spiritual and the natural aspects to different persons. About this point there is no need for argument, and the material from Andamarca amply confirms it. But the material from Andamarca does conflict

somewhat with the explanation which Gudeman gives concerning the predominance of non-reciprocal or asymmetric selection in different systems of compadrazgo. He says:

> "One possible argument is the following. The godparenthood complex is found primarily in the context of bilateral kinship systems. In such systems continuing and discrete groups are never formed on the basis of kinship principles alone. Another element, deriving from locality, the polity or elsewhere must intervene for perpetual groups to be established. In such a situation where corporate groups are not based on kinship the reciprocal form would have to be established between conjugal pairs alone; it would not be a continuing structural relation between groups over generations. Conversely the prohibition on choice reversal would force parents to engage in more spiritual relationships than the reciprocal form, and this might seem to fit better the fluid structure." (GUDEMAN, 1975, p.233).

Not fully satisfied with this explanation, since it contains dangerous elements of functionalism which he recognizes as unverifiable, he returns to the soul/body opposition in the dogma of Baptism and suggests that the predominance of the asymmetric or non-reciprocal relationship of compadrazgo may be explained thus:

> "...first since the godparent is conceptually higher than the parent, the bond has an inherent or incipient asymmetry which may or may not be socially recognized ... Second, since the spiritual is greater than the natural, the reversal of choice could result in a structurally difficult situation in that two persons would be both natural and spiritual co-parent to one another and each

> would have a higher and a lower position with respect to the other. The prohibition upon choice reversal preserves the distinction between the natural and spiritual parent, and avoids an ideologically confusing situation." (GUDEMAN, 1975, p. 234).

Though I recognize that this is a suggestive argument and that Gudeman's scheme of the forms of selection of compadres creates new possibilities for the study of social systems, I do not believe that the material from Andamarca supports his explanation either in social or ideological terms.

With respect to his explanation of the predominance of asymmetrical selection in social terms, it would appear that he has been greatly influenced by Hammel's study of compadrazgo in Yugoslavia (HAMMEL, 1968), in which for the first time this institution was studied in collective terms, and in terms of the categories of restricted and generalized exchange suggested by Lévi-Strauss. Hammel was able to do this because the rural zones of Yugoslavia which he studied the social systems are characterized by kinship groups (Zadruga) organized according to patrilineal principles. Consequently, these groups are discrete and have clearly defined boundaries. Having identified these groups, he notes that "... the same group which is corporate in respect of material property, name, and the slava is also corporate in respect of Kumstvo(compadrazgo) statuses and the rights and obligations incumbent on them..." (HAMMEL, 1968, p. 44), and also that "... kumstvo

was by its very nature an intergroup exchange and contributed to the structure of the larger society." (HAMMEL, 1968, p.73). With respect to this last point he points out also that in the zones where asymmetric exchange of padrinos predominates such as "In the south and east, the tendency is for continuity, stability and simple unilateral linkages between named patrilines ..." while in the zones where symmetrical exchange predominates such as "In the west, the tendency is towards frequent changes of relationship, complexity of ties, and direct reciprocity." According to Hammel, this material "... suports Lévi-Strauss' hypothesis (1949) that systems of direct exchange show less solidarity than those of unilateral prestation." (HAMMEL, 1968, p. 77).

With respect to these two studies of compadrazgo which reflect not only the present state of investigations of this theme but also the advances in the understanding of social systems in anthropological theory in general, the material from Andamarca has the advantage of showing clearly that a bilateral kinship system may also serve as a basis for the organization of compadrazgo in collective terms, and for the simultaneous existence of principles of asymmetric exchange and principles of symmetric exchange. This is made possible by the introduction into the analysis of a double dialectic involving the interplay of relations between groups and between individuals and groups. The system of compadrazgo of Andamarca, or rather the system of ceremonial kinship in

general, also has the merit of showing clearly that we are not dealing with an institution which makes up for a possible deterioration in the kinship system, as Foster suggests, or which acts as an agent to maintain the solidarity of the group. In this respect it is important to remember that together with ceremonial kinship the extended family maintains great importance, and acts as a causal agent in the shaping of the ceremonial kinship system. At the same time there is a parallel system -- highly complex yet highly structured -- of religious cargos, by which the community is articulated as a whole. Thus functionalist explanations are inadequate to account for the ceremonial kinship system of Andamarca.

The kinship system of Andamarca, being bilateral does not give rise to the formation of continuing and discrete groups based exclusively on kinship, such as occur in societies with unilineal kinship systems. But this does not mean that it is not possible for any form of collective organization -- such as, for example, kindreds or cognatic descent groups and certain incipient unilineal groups based on patronyms -- to emerge. Indeed, the Andamarquinos have the concepts of Ayllu and Casta which refer to just such collective entities, and moreover, they have a bifurcate merging kinship terminology. Just as in the case of Qeros, described by Steven Webster, in Andamarca too the limits of these cognatic groups are clearly defined in the context of affinity, since marriage may only

be contracted between persons who are considered not to be consanguineally related. From this rule comes the fact that in Chuschi, studied by Billie Jean Isbell, marriage gives rise to the manifestation of two symmetrical groups, which are defined in opposition to one another, and which refer to one another as auras . These are none other than the respective ayllus of a man and woman who marry, and in their relations with one another the members of these groups adopt the name aura (See p.327).

As we have seen, compadrazgo in Andamarca shares the same characteristics as the notion of aura , and thus acquires a collective value. Just as the auras are two symmetrical collective entities, so compadrazgo shares this same attribute, since the term compadre is used reciprocally in the same way as the term Lavsi , which refers to co-parents-in-law and to the parents of co-parents-in-law (who also regard one another as compadres). Thus there may be three generations of compadres, or perhaps even more, since these ties, besides being extended to the siblings of a married couple and their lineal ascendants may also be extended to the descendants of their collateral kinsmen. It would seem that this pattern of compadrazgo ties corresponds to the reiterative nature of marriage ties between kindreds, and that both these systems of exchange influence each other and tend to create ego-centred groups which are by nature impermanent and have imprecise boundaries.

There are other expressions of the collective nature of compadrazgo relations. One is the fact that every type of sponsorship tends to be extended to all the children of one married couple. Another is that all the different ahijados of one padrino or pair of padrinos, though they do not necessarily formally enter into any ceremonial kinship bond, develop relationships among themselves which are governed by the norms of ceremonial kinship, and they treat each other as hermanos without any need for a ceremony of "juramento". Finally, compadrazgo ties, and certain other forms of ceremonial kinship tie, are extended to real and classificatory siblings and to other categories of consanguineal relatives.

Given that compadrazgo implies a relationship of group to group, and also one of individual to group which is apparent in the role of sponsoring a ritual, and given that there is more than one type of compadrazgo tie, the process of selection of padrinos may be seen to reveal a form of exchange which is simultaneously both asymmetrical and symmetrical. The clearest cases of symmetrical exchange are those where a couple A act as padrinos de Bautismo to the children of a couple B, and one of B's children in turn acts as padrino de Bautismo to the children of one of A's children. Another case which occurs is that of a couple A acting as padrinos de Bautismo to the children of a couple B and the couple B, or a sibling of the couple B, acting as padrinos de Misa de Salud to A's

children. The best expression of the asymmetric principle is that rarely do we find cases of two couples being both "giving" and "receiving" compadres in the same type of compadrazgo relation (24). In the case of padrinos de Bautismo, it should be remembered that the ties are entered into at the time of marriage, before there are any children, and that they should preferably be a married couple, so that at the time of baptism there may be no discrepancy between the sex of the sponsor and the child. If a padrino of the right sex were not available, the baby would grow up weak and run the risk of an early death. Asymmetry in this case thus emerges from the necessity to have previously married couples acting as padrinos. Thus "giving" compadres are nearly always older than "receiving" compadres. The form in which this asymmetry is expressed is in the preferential treatment received by the "giving" compadres compared to the "receiving" compadres. This preferential position is normally obscured, however, by the terminological and ideological emphasis on symmetry in these relationships.

Though the marriage system cannot be described as either "prescriptive" or "preferential", it does present a similar pattern to that which we observe at the level of compadrazgo, since marriage ties are often reiterated between two kindreds. In this case the collective and individual aspects are apparent in behaviour, which may assume a symmetric

or an asymmetric aspect, depending upon whether one considers it from the point of view of the interaction of two collectivities or from the point of view of the interaction of an individual with a collectivity. The first type of relationship is similar to that of compadres, which can itself be seen as an affinal relationship, since a term such as Laysi is used in this context. The asymmetrical aspect, on the other hand, is expressed in the relation of individual to group: the son- and daughter-in-law address their parents- and brothers- or sisters-in-law by non-reciprocal terms. The mother-and father-in-law, and their parents and children, call the son-in-law Masa and the daughter-in-law Llunchuy . These latter call their father-in-law Sogero and mother-in-law Sogera , while addressing their parents as Machuy and Aulay , and their children Tiuy and Tiay . As we saw in the previous chapter (p. 231), these three generations of affines were called, according to ancient Quechua vocabularies and other sources, caca (men) and aque (women). Caca was also the term which applied to the MB and which from very early on was translated as tío (uncle). It is interesting to note that this term nowadays applies to the WB, thus revealing the continuity of the asymmetrical sense of the use of the term caca . It also confirms the point, upon which Zuidema has been so insistent, that the MB is an affinal relative, and that given the unity of the lineage of the ZS this latter inherits the relationship of affinity which his father maintained with his MB (who was the father's WF). (ZUIDEMA, 1977). (Dumont, 1971). (See Table 24 and p.)

As well as corresponding to the nature of the ayllu and of the kinship terminology, the collective aspect of ceremonial kinship in Andamarca also relates to the endogamous orientation of the community and the limits set on incest. We should remember in this respect that there are about 3,000 people in Andamarca, and that about 85% of marriages take place between persons who were born in the community. We should add too that sexual relations between consanguines (parallel cousins and their ascendants and descendants) to the fourth degree, and sometimes even further, depending on the degree of social cohesion of the kin group, are considered incestuous, as they are between any of the categories of ceremonial kinsmen. Finally, ceremonial kinship ties should ideally by created between individuals who are not kinsmen, that is to say between people who do not have kin ties to the fourth degree of consagnuinity.

Given these conditions, we may well imagine what would happen if for each child (who are generally numerous since ideally one should have 12 children) there was a sponsor from a different family for each of the different types of compadrazgo. Obviously the result would be that the endogamous ideal of the community would be untenable, and the community itself would disintegrate if this were so.. Thus the extension of ceremonial kin ties among relatives is essential in order to maintain the integrity of the community and at the same time allow it to reproduce itself.

The ceremonial kinship system, in its different expressions, and marriage, are institutions which influence each other and between which there are many parallels. They differ, however, in that the former presupposes the latter, particularly in the case of those types which derive from the sponsorship of a ritual and which take the form of compadrazgo. In a relationship of compadrazgo involving sponsorship the link is created between two couples, and not between two individuals as is the case with marriage. In collective terms, the kindreds of four individuals may serve as channels for the extension of compadrazgo ties, while in marriage the interaction is between the kindreds of two individuals, which from then on will develop further ties of affinity, ties of compadrazgo and new marriage ties with one another. A less pronounced difference between the two institutions is that the descendants of two pairs of compadres can renew the ceremonial kin tie, though they will become Hermanos , and will not repeat the type of link which existed between their parents, while the descendants of a married couple cannot renew the marriage tie until four generations, or perhaps more, have passed. Thus ceremonial kinship ties only generate other ties of ceremonial kinship, while marriage ties create ties of consanguinity, affinity, and potential compadrazgo ties.

Although compadrazgo tends to follow structural routes which derive from marriage and from the solidarity of the members of a kindred, it is also part of its nature to be

optional. Thus, although the Laysi or co-parents-in-law are potential compadres, because they belong to the respective kindreds of a married couple, they only actually become compadres when they seal this bond before the image of a saint. This is so for those who only become Compadres de Respeto as well as for those who enter into relationships of compadrazgo which involve padrinazgo or sponsorship. This has to be so, since if all the members of the respective kindreds of a married couple became compadres this would not allow for them to continue exchanging marriage partners, as frequently occurs in the form of sister exchange or of several brothers marrying several sisters. We should remember, too, that compadrazgo is mainly entered into by married couples, thus tending to leave aside those members of the kindred who are as yet unmarried, and that certain types of compadrazgo are associated with certain stages of the life cycle.

As I have already pointed out, the optional aspect of ceremonial kinship in Andamarca is evident in the fact that no two individuals or couples have the same ceremonial kinsmen. I attributed this principally to the bilateral nature of the kinship system in which, with the exception of full siblings, every individual has a different stock of consanguineal relatives. Nevertheless, this is not a sufficient explanation, since because marriages are endogamous these ego-centred groups would tend to lose their fluidity and therefore give rise to a greater overlap of kinsmen in common to consanguines

beyond the degree of full brothers. But we can now see that from the point of view of the kindreds of a married couple, in order to maintain the endogamous orientation and in order for the two kindreds to continue to exchange marriage partners, it is necessary for there to be a margin of choice in the creation of compadrazgo ties. Correspondingly we can also see that in order to maintain compadrazgo ties between the two kindreds it is necessary to impose limits on endogamous marriages.

The optional character of the ceremonial kinship system, or more concretely of the compadrazgo system, may also be seen as a consequence of the proscriptive rather than prescriptive nature of the ideology of the system of marriage. This means that in practice the margin of choice in compadrazgo is proportional to the margin of choice in selecting a spouse. Nevertheless, since both the ties of compadrazgo and those of marriage tend to be limited to within the community, compadrazgo acquires a collective nature and matrimonial ties may be repeatedly contracted between the members of two kindreds.

As I see it, it is through the ideal of having a total of 12 or more children that there is an attempt to reconcile the opposition of endogamy and exogamy, as we saw in the previous chapter.

All the different types of ceremonial kinship in Andamarca are part of the dialectic of endogamy and exogamy, which allows them to have at the same time both structural and optional nature, and for this reason I have not dealt with the particularities of each type in this section. Moreover I have paid more attention to compadrazgo than to other types, since this is the form which is given most importance by the people of Andamarca, and since it demonstrates most clearly the structural elements of ceremonial kinship. But it is possible, on the basis of informants explanations of the different types of compadrazgo, to place them on a continuum from the collective or the structural to the individual or optional. At the collective pole would be located principally the Compadrazgo de Respeto , followed by the Compadrazgo de Bautismo , then the Compadrazgo de Misa de Salud and de Confimación ; and at the individual pole Parentesco de Juramento and Padrinazgo de Matrimonio . In the explanation I have given of the ceremonial kinship system of Andamarca I have not found that there is any basis for the assertion that it performs any particular function, whether this be in relation to the maintenance of social solidarity or in relation to supplementing the functions of a diminished kinship system. The fact that there are no intermediate groups with definite boundaries below the level of the conjugal family and the total community does not mean that there is not a choice of modes by which individuals may be linked to one another. One of these modes is the bilateral

kinship system itself, which cannot in any sense be called diminished, since if it were then the system of ceremonial kinship would not exist in the form that it does. Another mode is the very elaborate system of Cargos, both civil and religious, which also have their collective and individual aspects, and also the system of spatial moieties. We also might ask, if the ceremonial kinship system in general or compadrazgo in particular are supposed to be necessary for the maintenance of social solidarity, then why do they present themselves in so many different variations with so many different significations?

It seems to me that to say that an institution contributes to the maintenance of social solidarity is to say nothing at all, since the same could be said of any institution. What we should try to do is to understand an institution in the context of other institutions, in their conceptual and empirical manifestations, and in the context of the principles which shape the social reality we are studying.

Leaving aside the particular meanings of the different types of ceremonial kinship, it has certain overall characteristics which contrast with the relationships between consanguineal kinsmen and between affines. The most irreducible element of ceremonial kinship is that it is created between two individuals, or more commonly two couples, who ideally whould not be related, and that the basis for its

legitimacy is religious. Consequently these relationships are characterized by mutual respect, which corresponds in practice to the absence of conflict between persons related in this manner. This latter point contrasts greatly with the conflicts which take place between spouses or between consanguines, and at times between affinal relatives. Unlike the other relationships, those of ceremonial kinship are characterized by an excess of generosity where the rejection of gifts becomes the greatest offence. Conjugal, affinal, and consanguineal relations are characterized, by contrast, by a certain amount of tension, in that each party tries to gain the maximum advantage out of the exchange of material goods. It is because of this that in the context of ritual and of labour the greatest collaboration is expected from ceremonial kinsmen, followed by affines and last of all consanguineal kinsmen.

The religious basis of ceremonial kin relations, which emphasizes an ideal of respect between the parties to these relations, is without doubt a strong influence on the harmony which prevails in their interaction. But I do not believe it is the only reason for the nature of their conduct, since marriage is also a relationship which is created on a religious basis, yet in spite of this it generates social categories whose occupants usually engage in conflict.

Besides the religious explanation we should also add another more structural one which relates to the symmetric or asymmetric conception of social relations and to the role of mediation between different social categories.

As we have seen earlier, both affinal and ceremonial kinship relations can be seen from one point of view as symmetrical and from another point of view as asymmetrical. Nevertheless, if we consider these two types of relationship, and those of consanguinity, abstracting the categories found within each of them, we find that ceremonial kinship is predominantly symmetrical in appearance while affinal and consanguineal kinship are predominantly asymmetrical.

The symmetry which predominates in ceremonial kinship is revealed most clearly in the case of compadrazgo, which derives its structural attributes from the relationship between the respective kindreds of a married couple. An expression of this symmetry is the fact that the co-parents-in-law refer to one another by the self-reciprocal term Lavsi and their children, may form compadrazgo ties with one another and that the term compadre itself is self-reciprocal. The symmetry in relation between compadres is carried to such an extreme that my informants denied that there was any difference between "giving" and "receiving" compadres, and I could only distinguish between the two by their behaviour in ritual contexts.

This emphasis on symmetry correlates with the fact that the children of compadres call each other hermanos , unlike those of Puquio, Chincheros, and certain Bolivian communities, where the children of padrinos inherit their parent's status and are addressed as Padrinos by the ahijados of their parents and as compadres by the parents of the ahijados.

The core relationships of consanguineal and affinal kinship are, by contrast, expressed in terms of an asymmetrical terminology. To begin with spouses, the husband addresses the wife as Huarmi while she addresses him as Qosay . The relationships between children-in-law and parents-in-law, and between brothers- and sisters-in-law are also denoted by asymmetric terms. Similarly in the case of consanguines, even between siblings an asymmetrical relationship is emphasized, since the terminology distinguishes elder from younger siblings (25). It would seem that there is a correlation between the symmetric image of compadrazgo relations and the collective basis upon which they are founded, between the asymmetric image of affinal ties and their basis in individual/group relations, and between the asymmetric image of consanguineal ties and their basis in individual/individual relations.

We find the best evidence for the hypothesis that it is the symmetric nature of social relations which, together with the religious basis, creates the ideal of mutual

respect between interacting individuals in the fact that compadrazgo, which is considered to be the symmetrical relationship par excellence, gives rise to a variation termed Compadrazgo de Respeto .

Together with the emphasis they place on mutual respect, compadrazgo and the other types of ceremonial kinship which are based on compadrazgo are also characterized by their mediatory role between the relations generated by consanguinity and those generated by affinity.

The type of ceremonial kinship which expresses this mediatory role most clearly is that of Padrinazgo de Matrimonio . The different types of compadrazgo fulfill this mediatory role at two levels: that of introducing individuals to the socialization process and that of reconciling individuals in case of conflict. As padrinos, the compadres initiate their ahijados in the rites of passage, and mediate in conflicts which occur between parents and children and between siblings. This latter function is clearly revealed in the fact that they become the trustees of the economic assets inherited by their ahijados and they are responsible for ensuring that these are distributed equitably and in accordance with the wishes of the parents. As in their role of compadres, these same padrinos intervene in conflicts arising between the siblings of the parents of their ahijados,

who are usually by extension also their compadres, and assist in making peace between them. Finally, their ties to the married couple also contribute to the creation of harmony between affines.

Collective expressions of Compadrazgo in other Andean communities

It is interesting to note that although many of the studies of compadrazgo in the Andean region have been inspired by functionalist considerations similar to those of Wolf and Mintz, and of Foster, who see compadrazgo as based on dyadic contracts or as supplementing institutional deficiencies in order to maintain social solidarity, they include empirical evidence and detailed descriptions from which we may extract the collective character of compadrazgo in different Andean communities.

This is so, for instance, in the study by John Gillin of the coastal community of Moche. This dates from 1944 and was a precursor of later investigations into ceremonial kinship in the Andean region. His specific theme of study was not ceremonial kinship, but rather the community of Moche in all its aspects, but the pages he does dedicate to ceremonial kinship show a functionalist theoretical bias, as when he says: "The ceremonial kinship system provides security for individuals which is not provided otherwise. It

would seem that the ceremonial kinship ties are even stronger in some respects than the relationship ties of blood and marriage ..." (GILLIN, 1945, p. 104). Similarly he tells us that:

> "Although adults, by entering such a system of compadrazgo, form a group of compadres, it must be recognized that this is not an organized group with status in the society as a whole. The relationships are phrased in terms of social connections between individual statuses and the individuals who occupy them ... There is no leadership, no group activity, no right or obligation pertaining to the group as a whole, and no internal organization ..." (GILLIN, 1945, p. 109,110).

In spite of these conclusions there are some details of evidence which lead me to believe that compadrazgo is after all organized in collective terms, though since Gillin does not focus his analysis in terms of social relations it is impossible to grasp these fully. For instance, there is not much data about the degree of endogamy in the marriage system and in compadrazgo relationships, nor is there much information about the exchange of services or the residential pattern.

One of the details of evidence to which I referred above appears when Gillin states:

> "Finally, the compadrazgo terms generalize to blood relatives of the parents and of the godparents. Thus, brothers and sisters of the parents always stand in this relationship to the godparents and also to the latters'

> respective brothers and sisters. The relationship even extends to the cousins of the same generation. Some informants say that it also extends to the grandparents of the child, but in testing this I have never heard a godfather spontaneously call his godchild's grandfather _compadre_." (GILLIN, 1945, p. 107).

In a similar vein to Gillin, the Peruvian anthropologist Héctor Martínez explains the functions of the _compadrazgo_ system of the community of Taraco, which is in the province of Huancará in the Department of Puno. According to him,

> "_Compadrazgo_ functions, to a certain extent, as a substitutory mechanism for the extended family, in the face of its break-up due to problems emerging principally from land tenure and emigration, and also from the previous effects of new forms imposed by the Spanish _conquistadores_, of which _compadrazgo_ itself was one, but one which permits community life within a context of a constantly growing individualism." (MARTINEZ, H., 1963, p. 26).

But in spite of this, on previous pages he has said that

> "_Compadrazgo_ or spiritual kinship, which stems principally from baptism, from church marriage and confirmation, with the blessing of the church, and also from the _Corte de Pelo_, automatically connects two family groups, with the result that the _padrino_ and _madrina_ -- and at the same time their children and their collateral kinsmen -- are _padrinos_ not only to the true _ahijado_ but also to his children and lineal consanguines. And on the other hand, the parents, and their collateral relatives, of the _ahijado_, are _compadres_ to the _padrinos_, to their children, and to their kinsmen in the same line of descent ..." (MARTINEZ, H., 1963, p. 19). (My translation).

Claudio Esteva Fabregat, in his study of compadrazgo in the community of Chinchero (Department of Cuzco) reveals the functionalist inspiration of his study when he says that his material confirms Gillin's contention that "... compadrazgo seems to be intensified where there is a poverty of spontaneous community organization ..." (ESTEVA FABREGAT, C., 1970, p. 58), and when he says that compadrazgo "... may be considered as a consequence of some kind of structural weakness in the kin group, when this weakness cannot be compensated for by more efficient linkages." (ESTEVA FABREGAT, 1970, p. 89). However, the weakness of kinship is nowhere demonstrated in this study, but rather we are presented with excellent evidence that compadrazgo in Chinchero depends upon the kinship system, and that the difference between "giving" and "receiving" compadres and its collective character are reflected in the terminology of compadrazgo. According to Esteva Fabregat, from the time when the tie of padrinazgo is created,

> "... the ahijados of both sexes call their padrino Padrenui and their madrina Madrinai . The padrino calls his ahijados of both sexes casarachicuskawaway -- "Child who I took out of a marriage". The ahijado calls the son of the padrino sullcapedrenui or younger padrino, and the daughter of the padrino sullcamadrenai or younger madrina, and they are addressed in the same way by the children of their padrinos and madrinas. Ahijados (male) call each other ahijado masii and ahijadas (female) ahijada masii . These terms are extended to ahijados of baptism, confirmation ... Similarly, the parents of an

> ahijado are called respectively compadrii and comadrii. Also, sons and daughters call their parents' compadres compadrii and comadrii. The children of compadres and comadres may also call each other juchuy compadrii or juchuy comadrii, which means "little compadres" or "little comadres"." (ESTEVA FABREGAT, C., 1970, p. 65,66)(*)

Another study which shows the overlap of compadrazgo with the consanguineal and the affinal kinship systems, and also the asymmetric terminology expressing the relations between "giving" and "receiving" compadres, is that of Javier Albó and Mauricio Mamani, entitled "Esposos, Suegros y Padrinos entre los Aymara" ("Spouses, Parents-in-law and Padrinos among the Aymara"). In this case there is no marked functionalist bias guiding the description, and consequently the importance of kinship and of other institutions through which individuals interact is recognized.

The asymmetry in the terminology for padrinos and ahijados which we noted in Chinchero is carried to greater length among the Aymara. The first detail we observe is that

> "... the siblings of the ahijado are assimilated to the ahijado himself as far as the treatment given and received is concerned ... the term compadre is reserved for the padrinos when they address the parents of the ahijados, in a non-reciprocal manner. That is to say, the parents of the ahijados continue to call them padrinos ... The children of the padrino, on the other hand, follow the same usage as the padrino towards the ahijados and their parents. In San Andrés de Machaca ahijados and their children call the children of their padrino de bautismo

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(*) My translation.

> ichu jila or kullaca (brother or sister in being in arms). But the latter continue to call the former ahijado or ichu wawa. I also heard of a case in Ancoraimes (Omasuyos) in which the children of a padrino de matrimonio called the children of the sponsored couple hermano (sibling), while the latter called the children of their padrino tío (uncle/aunt)." (ALBO,J., and MAMANI,M., 1976, p. 26,27). (My translation).

Another analogy between compadrazgo among the Aymara and in Andamarca is that the ties are created principally at the time of marriage and between couples, corresponding to the fact that "... at the time of baptism it is the same sex padrino who must hold the ahijado. If not, a girl would grow up masculine and a boy effeminate ..." (ALBO,J., and MAMANI,M., 1976, p. 25). (My translation).

Other communities with ceremonial kinship system analogous to that of Andamarca are found also in the Department of Ayacucho and particularly in the Pampas river zone, which was studied in the late 1960's by the students of R.T. Zuidema. In this respect, we have already mentioned the institution of Aura described by Billie Jean Isbell in the community of Chuschi. In this same community are found the Compadres del Ramo, who are equivalent to the compadres de Ramo or baptismal compadres as we have described them in Andamarca.

Of the monographs which I have had the opportunity to examine, only Stein's description of compadrazgo in Hualcan (Department of Ancash) (STEIN, 1961) and Michaud's

description (MICHAUD,A., 1973) of compadrazgo in Coata (Department of Puno) do not contain allusions to possible collective features of this type of ceremonial kinship. In the first case, this would seem to be because the kinship system is so prevalent and solidary that compadrazgo ties are created between relatives [26] and in the latter case because the compadrazgo system is seen as a system of "transactions" (in the manner of Frederick Barter) between individuals, who are supposed to be maximizing the advantages of each relationship.

In this section it has been my intention to present some comparative evidence from the Andean area which permits us to place ceremonial kinship in the community of Andamarca within a broader socio-cultural context. The results of this survey, which includes communities located in zones which are or were under the influence of Mochica, Quechua and Aymara cultures, indicate that my observations concerning ceremonial kinship in Andamarca are not exceptional for the Andean region. We should recognize, on the other hand, that the system in Andamarca has certain specific properties, such as the great emphasis it places on the representation of the relationship between compadres as a symmetrical one.

C O N C L U S I O N S

The most salient feature that emerges from this analysis is that the Comunidad de Andamarca is not merely a territorial but a social reality in so far as its inhabitants have most of their social interaction within the community and in so far as kinship and marriage are the basic criteria of asciption. It is this feature which has enabled us to visualize it as a systematic whole whose parts are mutually interdependent and whose members unfold their existence within a rhythmic cycle of development. Consequently, by adopting both a synchronic and diachronic approach, which places in a dialectic relationship the collective and the individual, I have attempted to analyze the social mechanisms by which this community is organized, and to trace the continuity of some Andean structural tendencies. I have also tried to place the Andean material within a broader context by contrasting it with some institutions derived from the Amazonian tribal groups or derived from other Latin American and Mediterranean peasant societies, and to call the attention of specialists to the existence of certain peculiarities of the ceremonial kinship institutions and of the kinship system which, as far as I know, have not been recorded in other societies or, at least, not in many, and finally to raise some criticisms against the use made of certain "functionalist" approaches.

As far as studies of present day Andean society are concerned, I believe my contribution rests in having suggested a line of enquiry, more grounded in social anthropological theory, which permits us to go beyond the level of institutions and to connect apparently unrelated elements which are expressed both at the level of the beliefs and of the behaviour of the actors. An expression of this may be seen in the large number of cross references throughout the pages of this work, and the time that it has taken me to complete this research. I must apologise therefore that because of the nature of this approach and because my arguments are supported by very detailed evidence, it is perhaps hard to follow me all the way through. However, the effort is rewarded in so far as it is not a passive presentation of facts, and in that the reader may use my evidence to present some alternative interpretations.

I believe that through approaches of this kind it will be possible to make more systematic comparisons between present day Andean communities and to trace back their continuity so as to clarify with better evidence and greater rigour the terms in which it is possible to talk of an "Andean society". This perspective has the additional value of suggesting one further level in terms of which change might be evaluated: it suggests the pre-existence of structural complexes which give a new meaning to forms derived from different cultural traditions.

In relation to the actors, the main consequence of this approach is that it rescues their human creative potentialities and do not present them merely as an impersonal or exotic collectivity. It may be noticed that throughout these pages I have avoided presenting simply my observations, and each time I have confronted them with what the people express in their rituals, myths and ordinary conversations. For example, if I have mentioned that agriculture and herding are their main economic activities and that the former is associated with the valley and the latter with the Puna it is because this is what is expressed in different ritual contexts.

My contribution to anthropological theory rests in the presentation of a case where institutions normally considered as incompatible appear operating side by side and where there is not a single dimension for interpreting the facts but a double one which refers to collectivities and individuals. Thus we have seen that an Iroquois kinship terminology which has generally been associated with societies with unilineal groups and which practice prescriptive marriages, coexists with unilineal and bilateral groups, and with a marriage system that we have characterized as proscriptive. Moreover, we have noticed that the symmetric forms of exchange which are generally considered as excluding one another coexist in Andamarca although each becomes significant in different contexts. Thus when viewed at a collective level the compadrazgo appears as symmetrical

whilst at an individual level it appears as asymmetrical. This illustrates the importance of distinguishing analytically each of the levels which in turn have enabled us to distinguish three types of relationships: individual/individual, collective/collective, and individual/collective.

Concerning the discussion raised by Leach (1971) about the convergence or discrepancy between the ideal order and empirical reality, and about the possible priority of economic relationships, this approach suggests that sometimes the discrepancies may be more apparent than real in so far as they depend on placing the evidence in the right context. Moreover, it also suggests that although jural rules and statistical norms may be treated as separate frames of reference, both participate in common structural tendencies, and there is no reason to privilege either of them. If I had to choose between having to privilege an ecological determinism or a social determinism concerning the continuing existence of Andamarca, I would incline to the latter because since the introduction of new crops and animals by the Spaniards, the ecology has changed but the community remains.

Indeed it is my contention that the community remains because there is a set of structural tendencies which maintain the mutual interdependence of the parts and which can be traced back as far as the pre-Hispanic period, because kinship

and marriage are still basic the criteria of ascription in the community, and because the technology and economic activities still demand the cooperation of groups of individuals.

If it is true that kinship does not by itself make up the social structure, nonetheless it has an overriding importance which is expressed in contexts such as those of property, productive and ritual activities, and ceremonial kinship. However, the groups to which it gives rise are not rigidly bounded and the stability they may obtain is not only generated by forces intrinsic to the groups themselves but also by forces derived from the endogamic orientation of marriages and from ceremonial kinship. These groups are the unilineal Castas and the bilateral Ayllus which we recognize as groups in so far as both are seen as such by the actors; but because both are affected by the bilateral tendencies it is possible to percieve that their boundaries become rather blurred. Nevertheless, these disruptive effects of bilateralism are diminished through the endogamous tendency expressed in the reiteration of marriages between two families. However, this solution is only partially effective, since it depends on the availability of marital resources which have to be produced locally. Corresponding to this we have noted that there is an ideal of having 12 children or more which is revealed in certain sayings ofthe people, and in the discrepancies between age and category expressed by the possibility that siblings might be categorized in two different genealogical levels or marry with partners belonging to two different genealogical levels

As a consequence of all this it is possible to note that the social composition of the local units tends to become fairly permanent and that correspondingly the Castas tend to become identified with particular localities. However, the variability of their productive resources, which require different environments, and the fact that often the size of the locality, and the number of available parceners, is insufficient to provide for all of the children leads us to visualize inside Andamarca a simultaneous pattern of concentration and dispersion.

Kinship, therefore, is not by itself a binding force. On the contrary a careful look at the court suits reveals that it is mostly among kin and married couples that conflicts take place and in co-operative working activities more affines and ceremonial kin participate than do relatives of the owner. However, together with relationships by affinity it models and serves as basis for other social relationships such as ceremonial kinship which in its turn also acts upon kinship helping to bind its members. This is possible in so far as ceremonial kin are recruited along family lines, in the sense that it is from the stock of his relatives that ego tends to recruit his own ceremonial kin. This form of recruitment of ceremonial kin in its turn corresponds to the endogamous tendencies mentioned already, to the fact that relatives up to the 4th. degree are forbidden to become either compadres, or padres, hermanos or hijos de Juramento, to the fact that the incest prohibitions are extended to ceremonial kin, and to the ideal of having 12 children or more. It is so because otherwise it would be almost impossible to find a marital partner within the boundaries of Andamarca.

Kinsmen are ultimately bound together indirectly in so far as ceremonial relatives act upon siblings, parents and children as mediators, and in so far as ceremonial kin are recruited from family ceremonial kin so as to avoid endangering the perpetuation of society.

Consequently, ceremonial kinship, and specifically compadrazgo, emerges with a collective physiognomy which also corresponds to the importance granted to groups which extend beyond the nuclear family. The collective physiognomy of compadrazgo is basically expressed in the form of the recruitment mentioned above, in the fact that siblings generally have a common pair of Padrinos and in the fact that co-parents-in-law (Lavsi or Consuegros) or the respective siblings of a marital couple treat each other as, and do become in practice, comnadres. This last has enabled us to see that compadrazgo relationships may be extended to members of different generations in a fashion which recalls the affinal relationships where members of different generations are merged into a common term. However, we have also noticed that compadrazgo relationships, apart from being superimposed on affinal relationships, differ from them in so far as the former are dominated by a symmetrical image and the latter by an asymmetrical image. We have explained this by adducing that the former rest upon a collective/collective relationship whilst the latter rest upon an individual/collective relationship, (see p p.423). In contrast to these two types, consanguineal relationships appear to rest upon an individual/individual basis and are dominated by an asymmetrical image.

This last characterization does not exclude, however, the possibility that compadrazgo may also be perceived in an individual dimension and that it may have asymmetrical overtones. Indeed this is apparent from the fact that it is not frequent for one person to become at the same time giving compadre and receiving compadre of another person, and from the fact that siblings do not each have the same individuals as comadres. Moreover, the fact that sometimes the compadres are seen as asocial beings and other times as social beings may be explained by stating that in the former case they are seen as belonging to separate collectivities whilst in the latter case they are seen as initiators of individuals.

In contrast to the fluid nature of the social groups already mentioned Andamarca itself appears as a clear cut bounded corporation of individuals which is expressed both in territorial and symbolic terms but whose permanence cannot be explained simply by reference to its territory nor to its economic activities, but also must take into account the means through which it is possible to obtain rights in that territory. These are descent and marriage. Correspondingly, we can see that these are the basic criteria by which the broadest social categories - those of Misti and Indian - are distinguished.

The dualistic organization of space expressed in the division of the main village into a Tuna and Pata Barrio and in the roles accomplished by the two sides of the Negromayo river during the Yarja Aspi celebrations does not correspond to a system

of exogamous moieties, which practice prescriptive symmetrical marriages, nor are all their members bound by consanguineal ties. Rather it seems to rest on symbolic premises which attempt to represent the image of totality as made up of two opposite and complementary parts. Therefore it may be considered a variation of the Andean tendency to use cosmological models to organize social reality, as is clear from Zuidema's work (1973) and from the present day organization in four or more ayllus of communities such as Cabana or Puquio or from the past organization of communities such as Andamarca itself, Guaycahuacho, Sondondo and once again Cabana. The fact that the dual organization of Andamarca rests on symbolic premises does not mean that this division does not have its social correspondences. This we have tried to prove in the first chapter with statistical evidence which shows that each of the two parts of the division reveals an endogamous tendency such as seems to have been the case of the dualistic organizations of other parts of the Andean World.

One further variation of this tendency to impose cosmological models on the organization of social reality may be seen in the organization of the saints' hierarchy and in the association of each of the saints that constitute the hierarchy with different points in the irrigation system. However, in contrast to the dual organization previously mentioned, which relates to local collectivities, the saints' hierarchy relates to both collectivities and individuals in so far as both the association with a locality and his stage in the cycle of development

(together with some other values) influence an individual when sponsoring a saint. This last also shows that through the saints Andamarca is symbolically represented as subdivided into different inclusive territorial levels and that any individual, along his cycle of development, may embody any of them in a sequential order that generally culminates in the sponsorship of the saints that represent the community as a totality.

This process by which an individual attains the embodiment of the community as a totality through the sponsorship of the saints that stand at the apex of the hierarchical system corresponds to the process of accumulating land and ceremonial kinsmen, because it is generally when this last has reached its maximum that an individual assumes the sponsorship of these saints.

Through what has been said so far it is possible to notice therefore that the social life of Andamarca is dominated by a dialectic between the individual and the collective, and by a dialectic between local endogamy and kinship exogamy. To these structural tendencies we have to add that both sexes transmit rights and qualities to their children which according to different contexts may adopt the form of bilateral, unilineal and parallel transmission. Correspondingly, it is possible to notice that the Ayllus are bilaterally organized, the Castas are patrilineal and that the two sexes are seen as two parallel but complementary worlds.

The fact that the pre-Hispanic relationship between Huari and Llacuaz resembled the present-day relationship between Indians and Mistis, that there is plenty of evidence concerning the existence of endogamous moieties, that rights were transmitted through both male and female lines, that marriages were forbidden among fourth degree relatives, that the kinship terminology presented similar features to that used today in Andamarca, that ceremonial kinship relationships were transmitted along generational lines, and so on, suggests that the structural tendencies mentioned above were also present in the past.

Finally through this work I have attempted to bring to light a system of ceremonial kinship, and specifically of compadrazgo, which is not uncommon in the Andean world but which remains unnoticed in the anthropological literature that deals with this topic. The treatment we have given to it derives from a perspective that may be labelled "structuralist", which is close to that followed by Stephen Gudeman (1972, 1975) and which contrast with the "functionalist" approach of anthropologists such as Wolf, Mintz and Foster.

Among the most noticeable peculiarities of the ceremonial kinship system of Andamarca we have the fact that it consists of several modalities (about nine) of which Compadrazgo de Bautismo is the most important, that a compadrazgo relationship

is not merely a dyadic contract between individuals but a relationship that involves collectivities which are bilaterally organized, that Compadrazgo de Bautismo relationships are contracted not at the moment of Baptism but at marriage, that the selection of compadres may adopt a form of symmetrical or asymmetrical exchange depending on the context and that it is modelled according to the rules of kinship and marriage and is not simply a replacement for a weakened kinship system as the functionalists have interpreted it.

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

(1) Michoq is the general term for herdsman but in this ritual context the males are known as Machu and the females as Huaylia. The term Machu stands for an old person or grandfather but in this context it seems to denote an association between the herdsmen and the Condor (which is always thought of as male). This is noticeable from the hat of the dancers (which ends in a condor wing) and from the nature of their dances.

(2) Huamani is the term of a god who is thought to inhabit the entrails of the hills or mountains. The term for this divinity is particular to the area of Ayacucho, Apurimac and Huancavelica. Among the multiple shapes it may adopt the most common are those of a condor and a white person. There is also a ritual object associated with this term, having the shape of a quadrangular pyramid that rests on a quadrangular base which is known as mesa or Table. (See p. 32 and for further information on this topic see FUENZALIDA 1965 and MORISSETTE, J., 1973).

(3) These middle grains of a corn cob are known as chq'llupa, the grains on the top are known as Chusa (wrinkled) and those on the bottom Urhuapa (sterile). According to some staff members of the Programa de maíz de la Universidad Agraria whom I consulted for technical advice there is no empirical confirmation that the grains of the ends of a maize cob are unproductive. For this information I am specially grateful to the Ingenieros Serrat and Sevilla of this Program.

(4) President Leguía is very highly esteemed in Andamarca because during his second period as President of Peru the first attempts were made towards the formal recognition of Andamarca as an Indian Community.

(5) See page 251

(6) Perhaps these nicknames are related to the dominant herding activities practised by most of the inhabitants of both Huaylla-huarmi and Huaccracca, which as we have seen are associated with the outside world.

(7) It is also known as Aya Orcco' or Hill of Death, however this term seems to be a derivation from Ccayacc Orcco because nowhere does it appear written in this form in the old documents, but only as in the second. Besides, the term Ccayacc Orcco is appropriate to the role the hill used to have, together with another hill in Pata, of the site from which the pregonero (town crier) made the public announcements.

(8) The Reducciones werre resettlements of indigenous populations, who used to live in scattered hamlets, into villages of Hispanic shape. The reasons for these resettlements were to facilitate evangelization and to keep a more effective control over the Indians' labour.

(9) Repartimiento was an administrative unit related to the distribution of encomiendas (Indian populations entrusted to a Spaniard as a reward for his services). However its true nature is still a matter for further investigation.

(10) Further evidence for this may be seen on p. where it can be noted that of all the Anexos of Cabana, Andamarca was the one which had more features in common with the District Capital.

(11) Ccarmencca is the Southern Barrio of the City of Ayacucho and used to be the name of the Northern Barrio of the City of Cuzco, the old Capital of the Inca Empire. In both cases these Barrios are located at the extremes of the cities and adjacent to roads which, in the first case, followed the direction of Chinchasuyo which was the Suyu highest in hierarchy among the four into which the Inca Empire was divided. One further common element is that in both cases Ccarmencca was translated as Carmen Alto. The term "Alto" (high) seems coincident with the fact that the location of this Barrio in Cuzco was in Hanan Cuzco (High Cuzco).

It is very significant that the term Ccarmencca appears associated with the idea of highness because this coincides with the values granted to the South in Andamarca as well as in several communities distributed along the course of the Sondondo river. For example, the Southern Barrio of Cabana is called Hanan Pampachiri (High Pampachiri) in contrast to the Northern Barrio, which is called Uray Pocra (Low Pocra).

(12) Antara is a name for which I have been unable to find any significant meaning.

(13) See note 7

(14) A more detailed description of these Civil Marriage records may be seen on p.266

(15) The relationship between the in-laws are the most formal and the most surrounded by an elaborate etiquette. See p.39 and 263.

(16) For the symbolic role of the kitchen see p.263

(17) See p.315

(18) The total numbers in the samples of Declaraciones Juradas used throughout this chapter vary slightly. This is due to the fact that they were computed at different times, but does not significantly alter the results.

(19) Land terraces for bachelors are also known and they are known as Maqta Chacra . These consist of Purum or uncultivated land.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

(1) See Zuidema 1964, p. 142 on pre-Hispanic evidence concerning the relationship between water and blood in relation to a myt version in which the sixth Inca, Inca Roca, is the central figure.

(2) Uno is the common term for water in the Quechua dialect of Cuzco.

(3) A detailed study of the concept of Engaychu has been made by Flores Ochoa, J., 1976

(4) I am indebted to Dr. O. Tovar of the Museo de Historia Natural (Lima- Peru) for having identified these plants for me.

(5) As in other parts of Peru, the Andamarquinos share the belief in three ages which have the same names as those proposed by Joachim de Fiori. The first is that of the Father and corresponds to the period of the gentiles or the builders of the ancient ruins. The second is that of the Son and corresponds to the period of the Incas and to the present one. Finally, the last one will be that of the Holy Ghost and will take place when a hummingbird takes a blossoming carnation flower in its beak to Heaven. (See OSSIO, 1973, p. XL, note 11)

(6) Although Niño Jesus de Praga is male I have seen that in several contexts the Mayordomo that sponsors this Saint figures together with the Mayordomos of female Saints.

(7) An informant mentioned Huerta Rumi as being another place which was associated with the Vírgen Concebida. However, several others insisted that only two sites were associated with each saint.

(8) According to a personal communication from R.T. Zuidema the Toma that supplies water to Cuzco is known as Concebidayoc.

(9) A much better correspondence would have been achieved if Santa Isabel had figured instead of the Vírgen Dolorosa, for she is regarded as the partner of San Isidro. However, she is not listed together with the Saints included in the hierarchy nor is there any image that represents her in the church.

(10) The association of Santa Cruz with agriculture may be deduced from its role of protecting the agricultural fields from frost andother climatological disasters and from the fact that the day when it is celebrated its image is decorated with Choqllo Wallqa , or a necklace made of corn cobs. The association of the Santísima Trinidad with cattle is evident since this is the only saint who owns a Cofradía , or pasture lands in the Puna for herding his and the cattle of some other saints. It is also evident from the fact that, in contrast to the Holy Cross, on the day when he is celebrated the image is decorated with Queso wallqa or a necklace made of cheese.

(11) According to some informants this term was also used to name the reception given by the whole village, which included the participation of all those who on the 24th. enact festive roles, for those who buried offerings simultaneously in Yarpuqocha and Jeruicha.

(12) The same Andamarquinos jokingly say that the Negritos are agriculturalists (chacra rurag) and that the Pucas are herders (michoc runa).

(13) The Holy Monstrance is nevertheless thought of as masculine, becauee whenever its position is occupied by another saint within the same complex rotational context it is grouped together with the masculine saints.

(14) A reference to this kind of food is mentioned in BLANCO, J.M., 1974, p. 286, vol. I. This source refers to it as Olla-huaclleaca (according to Dr. Félix Denegri Luna, editor of this Diary, this term means "pot wrongly placed on the fire") and it is said that it was eaten in Cuzco for Holy Thursday and Holy Friday. It consisted of boiled fruit, cheese and fish.

(15) See table 24.

(16) There are about 50 Civil Cargos or offices including those which pertain to the Community and the District. Sometime ago there were also 8 Varayocs.

(17) While I was doing my field research a group of people who herd their cattle in a place known as Toriana Inkapallanka were pressing to make a Cofradía (like that of Stma. Trinidad) there, where the owner was to be San Pablo. To achieve this they even brought an image of this Saint from Lima in 1974.

(18) This correlation between the Mayordomía cycle and the cycle of wealth accumulation is further noticeable in the fact that one starts sponsoring Mayordomías after becoming owner of a permanent house. The ownership of a house is therefore a basic stage in the process of becoming a full social being. The Cargos sponsored before a Mayordomía are generally those which belong to the status of recently married, such as those of Ñahuin which has fertility connotations, or some other Cargos which are frequently financed by the parents.

These correlations, plus others that we shall see later in relation to the accumulation of Compadres, suggest that hierarchical notions in Andamarca are basically related to the expansion of the social networks of an individual and that this expansion takes place within a process.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

(1) The Aymara term Achachi, which stands for FF, suggests that perhaps Achacay is of Aymara origin.

(2) According to some informants the term Iusa is an alternative for Atara, and according to others it designates the children of Atara. The confusion arises in so far as this term is hardly used today.

(3) This term also designates a mythical being which is sometimes associated with the interiors of the hills or with the gentiles or ancient inhabitants.

(4) According to a personal communication of Felix Palacios this term is also used with the same connotations among the Aymara Indians of Puno. Cristopher Wallis, in another personal communication refers to the same but for herdsmen of Chinosire (Arequipa)

(5) In the old baptismal records of Cabana it is also written as Pururchapi or Puruchapi.

(6) There is a hill known by this name today in Cabana.

(7) This term is also conserved in relation to another hill that belongs to Guaycahuacho.

(8) These figures are not intended to be taken in absolute terms. The first set of figures, which correspond to the contemporary demographic composition of the Ayllu, derive from a list of members recorded in 1972 which did not exhaust all the members but which shows a similar proportion of members in each Ayllu as do other lists that are available. The second set of figures are taken from our eleven years sampling of the old baptismal records.

(9) It is important to mention this because in the Andean World there is also some evidence that names tended to change according to the accomplishment of some public roles and according to the position of the individuals in the life cycle. A document dated 1620 mentions some Mitimaes (migrant) Andamarquinos settled in the village of Sancos where real siblings generally do not share a common surname among themselves, nor with their parents.

(10) The indigenous use of this pattern of parallel transmission is suggested by the fact that only individuals acknowledge to be Indians fall under this pattern. When children of Spaniards are baptized, the patronym of the father is inherited by both the sons and daughters. Moreover, many of the Quechua female surnames are the same as those recorded by Billie Jean Isbell from the old baptismal records of Chuschi, and as she has already noted, they are generally related to Quechua concepts with female connotations (ISBELL, B.J., 1974, p. 91).

(11) They are described as having arrived playing a _quena_ (flute) and a _tinya_ (small drum) and carrying the image of a saint.

(12) As the number 3 is generally associated with the idea of the culmination of a cycle (3 ages, 3 deaths, eatings of 3 individuals) it can be assumed that 30 years is considered dangerous for similar reasons.

(13) All this gives further support to the image of equilibrium of the sexes that we have suggested and it corresponds moreover to the frequent conflicts that arise among them. In the _Actas del Juez de Paz_ I have noticed that the most frequent cases of conflict are those between husbands and wives. From 37 cases recorded for the year 1973, I noticed that 13 or 35.1% were between conjugal couples and from those 13 cases, 8 ended in reconciliation and 5 in total separation.

(14) Only with respect to twins have I noticed that the people tend to postulate certain prescriptive rules. It is generally said that twins should marry real siblings.

(15) Most commonly it is also known as The Bear's Son, John the Bear or Strong John. According to Stith Thompson (1946) this story "... is scattered over the whole of Europe, being especially well known in the Baltic states and in Russia. It is found in the near East and North Africa but seems to have traveled only in

fragments as far east as India. It is very popular among the French and Spanish who have taken it to America, where it has been adopted by American Indian tribes and is also told by the French in Canada and in Missouri." (THOMPSON, S., 1946, p. 33).

Thompson also mentions that "In the most unusual form of this tale, the hero has supernatural strength because of his marvellous birth. He has been supernaturally conceived or else he is the son of a bear who has stolen his mother." (THOMPSON, S., 1946, p. 33). As in the Andean versions the motifs compilated by Thompson also include the killing of his playmates, the separation from his house, his fight with underworld monsters or devils and his final wedding with a princess after unmasking some companions who betrayed him. It should be noticed that while in the European versions the fighting with the monsters figures somewhat secondarily, in the Andean versions the fight with the Condenado is very prominent. Moreover, the Andean versions never present the Son of the Bear with companions, except perhaps for a dog, which is an animal that according to the Indians plays an important role in leading the way of the souls in the after-life and which has the power to see the souls which are invisible to human eyes.

(16) The minerals which are used to correntar (consecrate) the main offerings to the earth are also twelve in number.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

(1) We shall use this term in a general sense to refer to all the varieties of institutionalized social relationships which do not derive from birth but from a religious or ritual context.

(2) I rather prefer not to translate this term, nor that of Padrinazgo, because both of them have been accepted as such by the anthropological literature in English. Besides, I doubt whether in English there are equivalent terms for them.

(3) This is a kind of bush with very hard and flexible branches that grows near to the river. Apart from being used for making Quilles, it also is the material for making the cradles known as Quirac.

(4) This ritual is structurally similar to the Corte de Pelo (See p.371) for in both cases the use of plaits, either of hair or ribbons, is of central importance. Besides, all the guests have to participate in one case cutting the hair plaits of a child and in the other case plaiting and unplaiting the ribbons.

(5) See CARRION CACHOT, R., 1955, Plate XXV

(6) There are also cases where ceremonial kinship exchanges are combined with marriage exchanges. For example a member of group A may receive a woman from group B and in its turn group A may give a compadre to a member of group B.

(7) By structural position we mean a social place which is defined by kinship and affinal and not just by individual considerations.

(8) Pitt-Rivers also mentions that in Spain the co-parents-in-law of a married couple (consuegros) address themselves as compadres, but the only reason he gives for this is that "...they are parents together of the married couple..." (PITT-RIVERS, J., 1977, (b) p51.

(9) According to Juvenal Casaverde, in Kuyo Grande (Cuzco) it is thought that the Virgin

> "...was made by God from the seventh rib of Saint Joseph and because of this the virgin has seven souls and her husband only one. Corresponding with this, women also have seven souls and they are not afraid of performing any act whatever risky or fearful it might be..." (CASAVERDE,J., 1970, p. 188) (My translation)

(10) In Cuzco it is thought that 8 years before one dies the soul starts escaping from the body at night and visits the places where the owner of the souls used to have walk (CONDORI MAMANI,G., 1977, p. 116).

(11) In this respect Audrey Butt's description of Akawaio birth customs provides an excellent case of the process of consolidation of the soul and of the pre and post-natal observances of both parents in order to avoid any possible harm to the soul of the child. This article is also relevant to us because of the references concerning certain patterns of parallel transmission among an Ameridian tribal group. (BUTT COLSON, A., 1975).

Riviere's interpretation of the Couvade suggests that this institution, widely practised among Amazonian groups, also has to do with pre-natal observances by the father related to the welfare of the child's soul. This article is of extreme importance to us for when comparing this institution to the compadrazgo (described by Gudeman) it opens up the possibility of making a systematic comparison between institutions which were thought of as exclusively associated with tribal groups. (RIVIERE, P., 1974)

(12) In some neighbouring communities such as Mayobamba, Ishua, etc., washing of the deceased's clothes really takes place on the fifth day after death. In Southern Peru the washing takes place on the eighth day and in Central Peru, for example the Mantaro Valley and Huancavelica, it takes place the tenth day and the washing ceremony is called Chunca ("ten")

(13) By this term are also known the Compadres de Misa de Salud and Confirmación, to distinguish them from the Compadres de Bautismo. In contrast to these last, a role accomplished by the Contrapadrinos is to dress with a habit, that sometimes goes underneath the angel dress, the body of their little godchildren.

(14) According to Oscar Núñez del Prado in Chinchero (Cuzco) the people believe that the soúl of an unbaptized child goes to "llimpu" "...a dark place where they search for the clapper of a bell in order to make it ring, and the day they succeed will be the day of the last judgement..." (NUÑEZ DEL PRADO, O., 1952, p.3) (My translation).

(15) Casaverde mentions that in Kuyo some people state that "...the earth has the form of p'uku, a vessel which floats on the mar-qocha" (CASAVERDE, J., 1970, p. 209) (My translation)

(16) The East is generally associated with origins, as may be seen in the myths mentioned on p.253, and also with a non-social realm as can be seen from the values associated with each of the sides of the Negromayo river.

(17) This process from non-differentiation to differentiation of the sexes is also noticeable at a terminological level, for the Quechua language does not distinguish the sexes of individuals until they become adolescents.

(18) In contrast to Pitt-Rivers' views on the Balkanian Kumstvo, I would tend to think that in Andamarca the compadrazgo is not only "...put to use by the collectivities of which the social structure is composed..." (PITT-RIVERS, J., 1976, p. 331) but that its nature is to be individual and collective in a fashion which is similar to affinal relationships.

(19) The collective practice of sponsoring the Baptism of all the children of a couple is also attested to in the baptismal records, mentioned earlier, which date from the end of the XVII century. In these records there are several cases of different children who apart from having common parents, also have the same baptismal sponsor.

(20) Unfortunately no Quechua or Aymara vocabulary mentions the meaning of this word. However, from the actual use of the term Parca in Andamarca some clues for understanding its meaning may be obtained. In this community, the term is used generally for referring to siamese babies or to a pair of fingers, potatoes, and even hairs which are stuck together. When these hairs grow in the head of young women they cut them and do the following commentary: "sisarun chucchayqui" or "waytarunña chucchayqui", which means that the hairs resemble a blossoming flower.

(21) In contexts such as this the political connotations of compadrazgo do become more clear and relevant.

(22) The Suñay is a present that generally consists either of calves, sheep, llamas or alpacas and is given only when the ceremony of branding these animals takes place.

(23) Sponsorship of some material objects such as a bell for the school, or benches for the church or the main square, or a radio, a sewing machine, etc., give rise to some compadrazgo relationships which do not demand the formal etiquette of the other forms of ceremonial kinship. Sometimes it is only one individual or a couple, who sponsor an object that is privately owned, and sometimes several individuals may act as sponsors of an object that will have a public use. In this last case it is demanded of the sponsors that they give some contribution in money, but not that they arrange formal compadrazgo links between them.

(24) The case is that between the couple III-IV and their "giving" comadre de bautismo but we must remember that in this case the link was not settled at the moment of marriage but after the rupture with the early "giving" comadres de bautismo. (See p.397).

(25) On similar grounds Evans-Pritchard attempts a distinction between real brothers and blood-brothers among the Azande. Accordingly he states "Another striking difference between brotherhood and blood-brotherhood is the fact that brothers are graded while blood-brothers are on an absolute equality". (EVANS-PRITCHARD, 1964, p. 285).

(26) However, in this case, the compadrazgo also adopts a collective form because although the compadres may be relatives, they may extend their links among other relatives.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS MOST FREQUENTLY USED IN THE TEXT

Adornante.- Decorator of the portable platform or "throne" (anda) which is used to carry the image of a saint in a procession

Alcalde.- Mayor or District officer in charge of the village affairs.

Alcalde campo.- Fulfills the duty of watching the fields while maize is ripening in order to avoid theft or damage by animals.

Alferez.- Sponsor of the Vispera (eve) or religious ceremonies that take place the eve before the celebration of a saint's fiesta.

Anca.- A small eagle, also the name given to the person who acts as intermediary in a marriage settlement.

Anexo.- Local political unit derived from the national administration, a division of a Distrito. The political offices associated with this local unit are the Teniente Alcalde and the Teniente de Gobernador.

Aqa.- Also known as chicha, which is a drink made from brewed maize.

Agarapi.- Flour made from misa sara with which those who attend a cattle-branding powder their faces. It is also known as Cesama.

Agnu.- Offering which consists of natural water that flows from the underground mixed with Qora or germinated maize.

Asta.- Temporary house located in the Puna and owned by an extended family.

Ayllu.- It is a generic term for any social or local group but in Andamarca it is specifically used for designating a kindred.

Aypo.- Communal land that is distributed yearly among all the members of the community. The land is irrigated from the rainfalls and it is used mainly for cultivating potatoes.

Barrio.- Its nearest equivalent in English would be section. In Andamarca it designates both residence and agricultural units which are occupied by several families.

Caja Rumi.- Also known as Espíritu Santo. It consists of a three layered hole where offerings are buried in different contexts.

Caserío.- Minimum local political unit derived from the national administration, a division of an Anexo.

Canada.- Daily consumption of grass by a cow or bull; in the case of alfalfa I have estimated this to be a cultivated area of 16.6 m^2.

Cofradía.- An area of pasture in the Puna which is reserved for the cattle that belong to the saints of the community.

Condenado.- The roaming ghost of an incestuous or selfish individual.

Corriente.- One of 12 different minerals which are used for consecrating the offerings that are buried.

Cuti Sara.- A maize cob whose grains are in an inverted position.

Chahuá nanta Ccoy.- A marital union arranged by the parents of a couple.

Chacra.- A generic term for any agricultural unit.

Charqui.- Dry meat.

Churi apacuy.- Also known as huacha apacuy. It is the name given to the children of adulterous unions.

Departamento.- Maximum political territorial division of the national administration.

Distrito.- Local political division of the Provincia. The political offices associated with it are the Governor, the Mayor and the Peace Judge.

Ina.- A farrow that serves the purpose of distributing the water evenly in a land-terrace devoted to maize production.

Estancia.- A compound dwelling consisting of some few houses and stockyards located in the Puna. It is owned by an extended family. An English equivalent would be cattle ranch or small farm.

Gobernador.- National political offices associated with the District level, who is assisted by the Teniente de Gobernador and the police, and whose role is the maintenance of order.

Huahua churi.- Offspring of an unmarried couple.

Huaccra.- Horn. Also the name given to an adulterous man or woman.

Kuamani.- Quadrangular pyramid made from llampu mixed with fat obtained from the chest of a llama. By this term is also known the mountain god and the condor.

Kuaq'cha.- A territorial unit based on the irrigation capacity of a water channel. Specifically this term refers to a water measurement.

Illa.- Small carved black stone (granito) in the form of an alpaca, llama or cattle, which plays an important role during the branding ceremonies, and which is gifted with the magical power of increasing the animals it represents.

Imisja.- A food or a terrain which combines several products such as broad beans, maize, peas.

Jarjacha.- Different kinds of animals which are thought to have a long neck and into which incestuous individuals transform themselves while still alive.

Jaurama.- Ceremonial drinking of brewed maize with Pito from two identical glasses which are held one on top of the other, and which takes place after sowing a maize field regarded as important.

Juez de Paz.- National office which consists in administrating justice through seeking the reconciliation of the parties.

Llampu.- Flour made from misa sara mixed with corrientes. It is used as an offering, for preparing the Kuamani or for consecrating different objects that serve as offerings.

Mayordomo.- Sponsor of a saint for a whole year.

Mayor de Danzantes.- Sponsor of the "Scissor Dancers" (Danzantes de Tijeras) who dance in competition holding in their right hand a pair of metal bars which resemble a "scissor". Their training begins from a very early age and they are supposed to acquire their abilities through a pact with the devil. During their competitions they not only dance but perform several tricks such as eating a toad alive, or passing a needle with a thread through their tongue or chin, or dancing on the very top of the church tower, and so on.

Mayor de Negritos.- Sponsor of the Negritos dancers. These are a group of four dancers from whose shoulders and back hang a large number of ribbons of different colours and who in some fiestas compete with another group consisting of an equal number of dancers.

Mayu.- River. The central beam of a house roof is also known by this term.

Misa Sara.- A maize cob containing grains of two or three colours

Mismo.- A group of land-terraces which are superimposed one on top of the other.

Mote .- Boiled maize.

Muñidora.- Female assistants of a Mayordomo. There are two: a major and a minor.

Novenante.- Nine children who meet to pray in the church in the evenings during the 9 days before the celebration of Niño Jesus de Praga and Virgen del Perpetuo Socorro.

Yahuin.- It has different connotations but the most common ones are eye, water spring, and a role which is enacted in August by young men who have married recently. This role is closely linked to that of the water distributors or Yacu Alcaldes and the most salient obligation of those who fulfill this role consist in distributing either Waylla Ichu (Calamagrostis recta, Graminae family), Jori Waylla Ichu (Calamagrostis ovata), or Raki-Raki (Polypodiaceaea).

Yahuin Churag.- Ritual specialist who buries the offerings to water during August.

Pito.- A glass of brewed maize covered with toasted maize flour mixed with sugar and different spices.

Previste.- Male assistant of a Mayordomo. There are two: a major and a minor.

Provincia.- Political territorial division of a Departamento. The political offices associated with this level are those of subprefecto and Juez de Primera Instancia.

Pururo.- Small horn made from the tail of a calf which is played by the son-in-law during the sowing of a maize field, or by a Previste at the time when a Mayordomo drinks the Pito during the central days of the Yarja Aspi celebrations.

Cacopa.- Flour made from cuti sara maize which is used in purificatory rituals or for curing illnesses.

Sara Pala.- Also known as Patachi . It is a kind of soup eaten only on festive occasions and whose main ingredients are meat and maize.

Sayri.- Small offering that is wrapped up in the maize leafs that cover a corn cob (panca). It consists of "female" incense of yellow colour, unto or fat removed from the chest of a llama and Misa Sara.

Suñay.- A present that generally consists either of calves, sheep, llamas or alpacas and is given only when the ceremony of branding these animals takes place.

Taje.- Depositories for storing maize.

Toro Jaycu.- Also known as Toro Obligado. Is the name given to a person who for the fiesta of Santa Cruz, Espíritu Santo, Qollana Amo, and Santísima Trinidad, gives a bull as a present to the Mayordomo who sponsors the saint who is being celebrated. It is also the name given to a joking ceremony by which the owner of the animals to be branded receives as a gift "millions" of cattle from each of those who will help him in performing the branding of the cattle.

Trago.- Sugar cane alcohol.

Ulla.- Ceremonial food which consists of boiled maize cobs, meat, cabbage, potatoes and peaches and which is eaten only during Easter.

Villano Mayor.- Sponsor of two children who perform a dance to the accompaniment of a violin for the fiesta of Espíritu Santo or for Corpus Christi.

Wasi.- House.

Yacu.- Generic term for water.

Yacu Alcalde.- Water distributor.

Yananchacuy.- Marriage

Yarja.- Water channel.

Yarja Aspi.- Cleaning of a water channel. This is the name by which the different celebrations in relation to water that take place in August are known.

Yugada.- Seems to be a Spanish measure that represents the amount of land that can be plowed in one day by one pair of oxen. Its equivalent in meters has been estimated in the area of Ayacucho as 2,500 m^2.

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