

**BACK TO THE VILLAGE? AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF AN
ANDEAN COMMUNITY IN THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST
CENTURY**

Francisco Ferreira

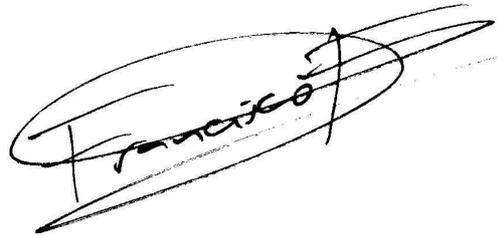
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PhD thesis

SIGNED DECLARATION

I, Francisco Araujo Ferreira, certify that the thesis presented by me for examination of the PhD degree is solely my own work other than where I have clearly indicated that is the work of others, and that the extent of any work carried out jointly by me and any other person is clearly identified in it.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Francisco', enclosed within a large, loopy oval scribble.

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April 2012

Thesis title: Back to the village? An ethnographic study of an Andean community in the early Twenty-first Century.

Thesis abstract: This thesis is an ethnographic study of Taulli, a “Peruvian peasant community” (PPC) in the highland region of Ayacucho. PPCs are a paradigmatic type of Andean community with distinctive communal features and great historical significance. The thesis offers a detailed case study that contributes to an understanding of the maintenance, current role, and functioning, of these communities in the early Twenty-first Century. Additionally, this case study reassesses key theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of Andean cultures, defending the ongoing validity of community ethnographies and many aspects of 1960s-80s research in the Andean region (particularly its “long-termist” approaches).

Specifically, the thesis examines the current role that the community (as a PPC) plays for the Taullinos -such as its respective advantages and disadvantages- in a context where far-reaching social change coexists with rich local traditions. On the one hand, it is argued that the community has become a channel through which Taullinos acquire access to new services and benefits, largely resulting from increased state intervention through unprecedented development-related initiatives. Despite their limitations and mixed results, it is shown how these initiatives partially adapt to and reinforce the local PPC status. The combination of this state intervention and other factors of change, especially emigration, are deepening local integration into national society and have brought remarkable improvements to the quality of life of Taullinos. Nonetheless, such processes are also hampered by severe problems and challenges, largely linked to a legacy of social exclusion and discrimination.

On the other hand, it is argued that the community and local traditions continue to offer Taullinos a strong sense of identity and social cohesion, and some important practical advantages, in the context of social change. In particular, through their participation in the local communal organisation and ritual celebrations, which are key foci of this study. Furthermore, it is demonstrated how local traditions are dynamically reinvented to serve as a primary channel through which Taullinos experience and accommodate change. Therefore, although the local communal system is demanding and has many limitations, Taullinos unanimously accept and identify with it, and with the PPC status that guarantees its continuity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout the long process of completing this piece of work, I have become indebted to many people and institutions, in many different ways and places. It is not possible to include all of them here, but I found necessary to mention some, apologising in advance to those I do not name.

This thesis has been mostly researched, “fieldworked”, and written between two small villages, San Jerónimo de Taulli (Ayacucho, Peru) and Santa Maria de Paraños (Galicia, Spain), and a big city, London (UK). First of all, I have to thank the Taullinos, for welcoming me into their community and their lives. I am now a *masa* of Taulli, and treasure the friendships and experiences that resulted from my time there. They are the ultimate protagonists of this work, which obviously, could not exist without them. I also own gratitude to many people from neighbouring communities, and to others who were working in Taulli and the area during my fieldwork there. In Peru, I am also especially grateful to Cirilo Vivanco in Huamanga, and to Luis Millones in Lima for their advice, help and hospitality. I also want to thank Gabriel Ramón for his help with the spelling of Quechua words.

In Paraños, my own village, I must mention my aunt Maruja, who made me fat and happy during the writing up; as well as to thank my family in Vigo -particularly to my mother and sisters- for everything. More specifically, I have to mention my old friend Miki for his help with the accompanying videos, my nephew Luis for his help with technical and practical stuff, and Ana for many other things.

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My PhD has been linked to the multidisciplinary project “Inca *ushnus*: landscape, site and symbol in the Andes”. It has been an honour and a pleasure to work and share so much with the members and collaborators of this project, and I feel privileged for having been part of it.

The project and my research were generously funded by the **Arts and Humanities Research Council** of the UK through its Landscape and Environment Programme (award number: 2006/129324). The other institutions involved were Royal Holloway, University of London, the University of Reading, and the British Museum in the UK, and the Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga (Ayacucho) in Peru. My gratitude to all these institutions. Any merits this piece of work may owe much to all these contributions and help, while the flaws are my responsibility entirely.

To the people of Taulli and to my aunt Maruja

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* All the figures have been produced by the author except for number one (from: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4b/Peru_-_Ayacucho_Department_%28locator_map%29.svg) and two (provided by Cirilo Vivanco). Number three data extracted from: http://www.foncodes.gob.pe/mapapobreza/docs/MAPA_DE_POBREZA_2007.xls; graphic design of number four by Luis Alonso; graphic design of number five and six by Jenny Kynaston (based on the author's drawings). All web-links included in the text were functional in April 2012

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Accompanying videos (Taulli 2007-09) available on YouTube (type Taulli in search box or follow the links):

1. *La comunidad* (the community): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oBP06TCbZOc>
2. *Navidades 2007* (Christmas): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mfovb3stYTQ>
3. *Carnaval 2008* (Carnival): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4kzzRLHc4hY>
4. *Santa Cruz 2008* (Holy Cross): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CID6lPaL1DE>
5. *Fiestas de agosto 2008-09* (August):
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3lytWRiEc1E>
6. *Herranza comunal 2009* (Comunal *herranza*):
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7sFmmL13xvk>
7. *Muerte en Taulli* (Death in Taulli):
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v75mL25TCc8&feature=related>

Notes on languages

The translations to English of quotes that were originally in Spanish have been done by the author. A few quotes are in Spanish because they were already translations from English, so further translation would have significantly altered the original. Others were left because they are extracted from colonial documents that are particularly difficult to translate. Overall there are very few and not fundamental for a non-Spanish speaker to understand the text.

The spelling of Quechua words has been made using as a reference the manual and dictionary of Clodoaldo Soto-Ruiz (2006 [1979]), and following the advice of Henry Stobart. The exceptions have been the names of places, where the official or most common spelling has been used, and some words extracted from other sources. Plurals have been made with “s” instead than with the Quechua postfix “*kuna*”.

INTRODUCTION

The study of rural communities in highland regions of Peru, and of other neighbouring countries, has played a key role in the academic knowledge of Andean cultures in the Twentieth Century, particularly through community ethnographies. However, as a result of wider historical and academic changes, this approach has been largely neglected in recent decades. In this thesis, I offer an ethnographic study of one of these communities in the early Twenty-first Century, using it to review and reassess the contribution of – and academic approaches to- community studies in the context of Andean Anthropology, and to rethink their current relevance and potential in the study of contemporary Andean cultures. Therefore, I consider the community not only as a focus of study in and of itself, but also as a key element of particular approaches to Andean Anthropology. The community under study is San Jerónimo de Taulli,¹ and is located in the region of Ayacucho, in the southern highlands of Peru.² On the basis of fieldwork undertaken there between 2007 and 2009, I explore the far-reaching social changes this community has been going through in recent years, driven not the least by a growing intervention of the Peruvian state, and an increasing incorporation into national networks of migration and development projects. At the same time, Taulli presents very remarkable historical continuities and most traditional aspects of Andean life, which shape a rich “local Andean tradition”. As a result, I also explore how this “tradition” works in -and adapts to- the context of change, particularly in relation to local organisation, work, and ritual celebrations, assessing the current role that the

¹ The name appears as “Taulle” in most contemporary documents and maps, but colonial documents and the local oral tradition confirm that the right spelling is “Taulli”.

² The Andean cordillera has been geographically divided between the Northern Andes, which include parts of Colombia and Ecuador; the Central Andes, which include highland and plateau areas of Peru and Bolivia; and the Southern Andes, which include parts of Argentina and much of Chile (Maxwell 1956: 46). The southern Peruvian highlands correspond then to the Central Andes.

community plays for its members -the Taullinos- in terms of the advantages and disadvantages that it has for them. Taulli (plate 1) is a legally recognised “peasant community” (*comunidad campesina*). Peruvian peasant communities (PPCs) have a special legal status based on distinctive communal features, and a very important historical role in Peruvian society and Andean cultures; so this thesis provides a detailed case study that contributes to an understanding of the maintenance, current role, and functioning, of these communities in the early Twenty-first Century.



Plate 1: The Peruvian peasant community of San Jerónimo de Taulli (Ayacucho, Peru).

There are close to 6000 legally recognised PPCs, and they occupy around 11% of the national territory and contain approximately 18% of the total population, including 50% of the rural.³ The vast majority of these communities are located in Andean regions (98% according to Robles-Mendoza 2002: 19-20), mainly in the central and southern

³ 5680 PPCs according to Pajuelo (2000: 123). Territorial estimation based on Castillo-Fernández (2004: 21). Population estimations of 1998 by Valera (quoted in Pajuelo 2000: 123). Demographic percentages were much higher in the past (e.g. 40% of the population in 1961 according to Fuenzalida-Vollmar 1976 [1969]: 219)

highlands;⁴ so the PPC can be basically –although not exclusively- considered as an Andean institution. This statistical data provides an idea of the importance of these communities in Peruvian society, and also of their variety. Therefore, while I identify general characteristics and trends, regional and individual variations and nuances must be recognised.

These communities have been regulated by special legislation that has been gradually enacted since the 1920s,⁵ and by local traditions. Membership is based on the status of *comunero* (official member of the community) and the set of rights, duties, and obligations that it implies. *Comuneros/as* are the heads of local families, although male *comuneros* tend to monopolise local public life and decision making, so these communities can be generally considered as patriarchal social entities. Local families are the basic social unit, and they communally own the community's territory as a corporate entity. Land property and rights are some of the most complex and ambiguous aspects of PPCs, as a result of the existence of abundant and sometimes contradictory legislation, and of different individual situations. Communal ownership ambiguously tends to combine the collective use of and access to some lands, such as pastures and forests, with the private usufruct of others -mainly agricultural fields- by local families; which in practice is similar to private ownership, as these lands are inherited and considered as family possessions. However, there are other possible arrangements and full private property of land is also legally possible, being contemplated by recent legislation such as the current 1993 neoliberal-oriented Peruvian constitution; although Robles-Mendoza (2002: 115-5, 167) argues that, except in some coastal PPCs, this recent legislation has not had wide practical consequences as a result of a general

⁴ 85% of these communities and 76% of their members located in the Peruvian southern and central highlands by the mid-1990s (Castillo-Fernández 2004: 22-3).

⁵ The most important recent legislation can be found at www.allpa.org.pe, while Robles-Mendoza (2002) presents an historical review.

tendency to preserve communal ownership, and a lack of incentives to formalise private land property.

The local government of PPCs is organised around hierarchical internal institutions whose officers are elected by and from members. Decision making is exercised democratically in open communal assemblies, which take place on a regular basis. *Comuneros'* duties include attending these assemblies, filling the offices of local institutions on a rotational basis, or participating in communal working days among others. This communal system is then very participative and democratic although it is also very demanding and full of limitations for its members. PPCs can be considered then as local forms of patriarchal, corporative, and communal democracy; and, as such, they have a paradoxical and ambiguous character within the Peruvian state, which is based on a "classical" liberal republican tradition. This character is potentially conflictive, for example if individual rights and interests clash with communal and corporate ones (e.g. in the case of land property, or women's rights).

These communities and their members have been historically identified with the tradition of social exclusion and discrimination that indigenous peoples (Andean and others) have experienced within colonial and Peruvian societies. As a result, Andean communities (PPCs and others) have been very often characterised by their poverty, economies based on subsistence agriculture and herding, a lack or precariousness of communications and infrastructure, or by monolingual and illiterate native language speaking members (mainly of Quechua and Aymara) among other problems. Moreover, these Andean communities have also tended to present important internal tensions and conflicts due, for example, to the widespread existence of social divisions and inequalities between local families, determined by factors such as uneven capacities to access land and workforce, so contradicting the egalitarian ethos that communal status

seems to imply. Contemporary PPCs have been going through deep transformations, particularly in recent decades in a context of wide social change in Peru and beyond, and they have different origins, economies, and so on. However, these communities can still be generally identified with those characteristics and traditions of social exclusion, which tend to maintain their members among the most disadvantaged sectors of national society. Nevertheless, despite these problems and the demands and limitations of the communal systems, the “peasant community” as an institution generally remains unchallenged among members, as proved by surveys cited by Robles-Mendoza (2002: 16), which show that almost 100% of them supported the existence and continuity of the institution in the early-2000s. This study of Taulli contributes to explaining this overwhelming support.

I must point out that it is complicated to talk nowadays about contemporary “indigenous” Andean peoples or cultures in Peru, partly because ethnic boundaries have become increasingly blurred and flexible due to, for example, an increasing integration between rural, urban, Andean, and coastal areas, through factors such as emigration, expanding communications, or education, among other factors. In addition, in Peru there are no indigenous Andean movements comparable in scale to those of other countries, particularly in Bolivia, which celebrate indigenous identity and, particularly since the 1990s, have reached unprecedented social and political dimensions. In Peru, this identity is mainly charged with negative connotations, and those who could claim it, for example on the basis of language or cultural tradition, generally –and this is the case of the Taullinos- tend to avoid their self-identification as such, privileging other identity references, as *comuneros*, peasants, highlanders (*serranos*), and Peruvians among

others. Because of these factors, I prefer to write about contemporary “Andean culture and peoples”, without explicit ethnic references.⁶

Besides the specific problematic around indigenous identity, undertaking an ethnographic community study like this entails today a whole set of academic connotations. Community studies or ethnographies,⁷ specifically of indigenous cultures, have been the most paradigmatic form of anthropological research. However, a few decades ago in the context of wider academic changes, such as the emergence of postmodernist trends and the “reflexive” and “literary” turns of Anthropology in the 1980s, this kind of study came to be generally viewed as too limited and subjective, if not obsolete. The ethnographic study of Andean cultures, which has a long-established tradition in the context of Andean Anthropology, was also affected by these changes, in Peru and elsewhere. There have been different periods in, and academic approaches to, Andean Anthropology. Throughout most of its evolution, rural communities and community studies were a major, sometimes the main, research focus and methodology. However, since the late-1980s, as part of the aforementioned wider academic changes, they have become quite marginal and somehow “unfashionable”. Therefore, this thesis deals with a problematic methodology hence its title. By asking the question “back to the village?” first, and chronologically situating such question in the “early Twenty-first Century” later, I raise an underlying academic issue this thesis addresses: Is it relevant or worthwhile for ethnographers to “return” to this kind of setting and methodology in the Andes (or by extension elsewhere) in the current historical and academic context? I have chosen to present this research question in such a prominent place as the title as a

⁶ The concept of “identity”, indigenous and otherwise, has become an important focus of anthropological study in recent decades, in the Andes (e.g. Canessa 2007, Field 1994) and beyond. The question of “self-identification” is considered as a central criterion of these studies.

⁷ I will use these terms interchangeably to avoid repetition, but also in recognition that ethnography has been a key format of Andean community studies.

result of its wider academic implications, which go beyond the geographical and disciplinary boundaries of the Andes and of Andean Ethnography; and because this question can be also used to address other wider academic issues that will be gradually explained below.⁸ Obviously, I believe that the answer to this question is affirmative and expect to persuade the reader to share this opinion with this study of Taulli. However, I must also point out that the choice of this methodological perspective and approach has been, as often happens, a somewhat unexpected result of the particular circumstances within which this study originated; and, above all, of the fieldwork experiences and research process it is based on. This introduction explains these origins and evolution, setting up the context in which to understand the study of Taulli and the whole thesis.

The “Inca *ushnus*” project and the research as a beginner

The multidisciplinary project “Inca *ushnus*: landscape, site and symbol in the Andes” ran from January 2007 to February 2010, and was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the United Kingdom, through its Landscape and Environment Programme. This project brought together specialists in Archaeology, Physical and Cultural Geography, Geology, History, and Anthropology from several British institutions: Royal Holloway, University of London; University of Reading; and the British Museum; as well as from the University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga, in Peru. The project focused on the archaeological study of *ushnu*-platforms in the Peruvian Andean region of Ayacucho (figure 1).⁹ *Ushnu*-platforms are stone structures built by

⁸ I particularly refer to the more “traditional” community ethnographies. I do not want to imply that ethnographers have “abandoned” fieldwork in, or the study of, communities. I use the term “village” (*pueblo*) as the name Taullinos -and many other Andean peoples- commonly use to refer to their community, and also as the most common setting for community ethnographies.

⁹ According to Meddens & McEwan (2010: 42), the Inca concept of *ushnu* designated a ‘sacred central space (...) marked by a vertical opening into the body of the earth into which libations and other offerings

the Inca –or ordered to be built by conquered peoples- across their Empire (1400-1532). Their function, use and symbolism were complex, but it seems clear that they were considered sacred and used, among other functions, as “altars” or “stages” to perform state-related ritual ceremonies such as propitiatory sacrifices.



Figure 1: Ayacucho Plate 2: Vilcashuamán *ushnu*-platform Plate 3: Kunuka Urqu *ushnu*-platform

Some *ushnu*-platforms were of a monumental scale, like the truncated-pyramid-shaped platform of Vilcashuamán (plate 2), which was the main administrative and military Inca centre of Ayacucho.¹⁰ However, most of them were much simpler structures, often formed by a single rectangular level (e.g. plate 3). *Ushnu*-platforms were built within ceremonial areas, inside urban centres, as well as isolated in rural zones, according to the spatial articulation of the Empire, particularly in relation to the road system. Most of them were destroyed during the colonial period, and those that have “survived” are mostly found in distant parts of high-altitude areas known as *puna*, which corresponds to the ecological zone located above 3800 metres above sea level (masl), where population is scarce and scattered through the landscape, and the main economic activity is herding. Today, surviving *ushnu*-platforms are particularly abundant in Ayacucho, which is a region of rugged physical geography with large *puna*

were made.’ The following information on *ushnu*-platforms is based on historical sources (Hernández-Principe 1923 [1622]: 63, Ribera 1881[1586]: 167-8, Albornoz 1984 [1581-85]: 202), contemporary studies (Pino-Matos 2010, Meddens et al. 2009, Meddens 1997, Zuidema 1989 [1980]), and fieldwork experiences.

¹⁰ Ayacucho is the name given to the region and its capital after independence, while Huamanga is the colonial name. Nowadays both are used interchangeably, but I will refer to Ayacucho for the region and to Huamanga for its capital to differentiate them.

territories (45% according to Díaz-Martínez 1985 [1969]: 4) and is also among the poorest regions of Peru.

The *ushnus* project's proposal included a PhD studentship as a contribution to its ethnographic dimension.¹¹ I was granted this studentship in 2007, to be completed in the Department of Geography of Royal Holloway, University of London. My role within the project consisted, on the one hand, of assisting with the archaeological work that took place in May 2007 and August-September 2008, mainly by gathering ethnographic information around the excavated sites. On the other hand, my main duty was to complete an ethnographic thesis, studying how some of the concepts and practices related to the *ushnu*-platforms, such as ritual life and sacred space, and their relationship with the agriculture cycle, function today among rural communities in Ayacucho. The underlying idea was that the understanding of these concepts in the present could offer evidence of how they worked in the past, and, indirectly, in relation to *ushnu*-platforms. The pre-designed PhD plan outlined then an established research focus, and a methodology too. It was planned that the researcher would spend at least ten months carrying out ethnographic fieldwork in one or two communities.

I have to clarify that I was a newcomer to the world of Ethnography and Anthropology. My academic background in History and Latin American Studies, and my professional experiences, had gone through very different paths. I was also not particularly familiar with Peru and the contemporary Andean world, although I had some knowledge of colonial Andean history, and good initial support and advice. This fact represented a big personal challenge that often caused me trouble and insecurity in the research process, contributing to its prolongation. However, I came to realise that this lack of an orthodox formation could be used as an opportunity to offer a kind of

¹¹ Further information on the *ushnus* project in:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/featured_project_inca_ushnus.aspx

outsider's look on the anthropological issues the thesis deals with, while still aiming to be anthropologically sound. So, in this thesis I have tried to combine my fieldwork's "participant-observation" in Taulli with a kind of academic "participant-observation" in Andean Anthropology. A basic strategy to pursue this goal has been adopting a self-reflective approach to the research and writing process, and to its academic background.¹²

With those initial concerns in mind, I started "navigating" the relevant literature with the unavoidable clumsiness of a beginner, but also with the necessary curiosity of someone embarking on a "journey of discovery". My initial unfamiliarity with the discipline led me to pay special attention to more general readings, and to the historical and academic background of Andean cultures and their study. I have included in the text extended sections on this background to approach the study of Taulli in a wide academic context, using this case study to review and reassess key theoretical approaches and debates; and also to make this study potentially more accessible, which I think it is an aim all research should aspire to. At the same time, I also started reading abundant community and community-based studies undertaken in the Andes. I particularly used monographs based on single communities, although I also examined other formats such as articles, edited volumes, comparative and regional studies, or studies of administrative or ethnic units that included several communities. I logically focused on those of the southern Peruvian highlands, which mainly deal with "peasant communities", although I also used studies from other parts of the Andes, especially of Peru and Bolivia (see bibliography). Therefore, by "community studies" or "ethnographies", I mainly refer to ethnographic monographs based on single communities, although I also include other community-based studies and approaches.

¹² As explained with more detail below, this kind of self-reflective approach is linked to the aforementioned "literary" and "reflective" turns of Anthropology in the 1980s.

Despite my academic inexperience, I was struck by the quality of many of these works, the richness of the research, and by the human dimension that they can powerfully invoke, highlighting intimate and privileged insights into the lives of these communities and their members. Soon I realised that practically all of them were based on fieldwork undertaken before the 1990s, even if some were published long after. In the Peruvian case, this was partially understandable taking into consideration the armed conflict between the Maoist guerrilla of Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*) and the Peruvian state of the 1980s-90s, which, in fact, originated in Ayacucho, spreading later to many other parts of the highlands and beyond. “The violence” (*la violencia*), as the conflict is graphically known, caused many victims and deep and traumatic social and spatial dislocation, especially among Ayacucho’s rural population,¹³ and it also made fieldwork very complicated in many parts of the Peruvian highlands. Nevertheless, as I also developed an understanding of the wider academic contexts, I realised that community studies of this type had become, as commented above, problematic within Anthropology (in general) and the Andean context (in particular).

Introduction to the Andes and to Andean Anthropology

Andean Anthropology is a “subdiscipline” of Cultural and Social Anthropology that has been concerned with the study of indigenous Andean peoples and cultures, particularly in highland and plateau areas of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. This very large area, which for practical purposes will be referred to as the “core Andean region”, presents enormous geographical and cultural diversity. However, there are some distinctive features that have historically differentiated the indigenous peoples living there from

¹³ According to the 2003 final report of a “Truth and Reconciliation Commission”, between 1980 and 2000, 69280 people were killed (Isbell 2005 [1978]: 19) and 120000 were displaced (ibid: 286). Most of the victims were Quechua-speaking peasants from Ayacucho and its neighbouring Andean regions, who got caught between the army and the guerrilla. The report is available online: (<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/pagina01.php>). For a good summary see Peru Support Group (2004).

those living in other parts of the Andes, and elsewhere in the Americas. In pre-colonial times, this was one of the most populated areas of the whole continent. This population presented great ethnic variety, but shared common characteristics as sedentary and hierarchical agropastoral societies, which experienced alternating periods of centralisation and regionalisation of power. This led to the cyclical emergence, and later decline, of several pan-Andean civilisations (e.g. Wari, Tiwanaku), which integrated large parts of the Andes, and established links with the western coast and the eastern jungles. The last and more developed of these civilisations was the Inca Empire (the Tawantinsuyu or “land of the four quarters”) in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, which, at the time of Spanish arrival (1532), dominated the entire “core-Andean region” and beyond.

The other area with the largest concentration of population in the continent was Mesoamerica, which includes parts of contemporary Mexico and Central America, and also presented sedentary and hierarchical agricultural societies and civilisations (e.g. Maya, Aztec). Peoples in the rest of the continent during pre-colonial times were predominately part of hunter-gatherer societies. A fundamental difference between the Andes and Mesoamerica was and still is the imposing geographical environment of the former, especially in relation to the altitude of the Andean cordillera (most of it is over 2000 masl) and its rugged relief, which makes human adaptation particularly difficult. In fact, one of the most remarkable achievements of pre-colonial Andean societies is that they reached very high levels of political, economic, and social development in such a hostile geographical environment. The arrival of the Spaniards and the establishment of their colonial system radically altered existing native societies. The Andes became –with Mesoamerica- a core colonial area of the Spanish Empire as a result of their abundant native population, whose members were displaced to a subaltern

social position that continued after independence, and in many ways still remains today. Contemporary Andean cultures are the result of dynamic –and also problematic and conflictive- processes of cultural blending and evolution that have resulted from that colonial situation.

The anthropological study of Andean cultures started academically in the 1940s. Since then, and at least until the 1980s, community studies were a fundamental part of the discipline. Academic approaches to these communities (and to wider Andean cultures) could be roughly divided between “short-” and “long-termists”. These terms were coined by Olivia Harris, who respectively identified their followers as ‘those who focus on the present conjuncture and have a more social and political agenda, engaging with the problems of Andean peoples’; and ‘those who focus on long-term processes and continuities’ (Harris 2009: 1-2). However, it is important to consider that this division “long-/short-termism” is relative, referring to predominant tendencies rather than classifying neatly-defined perspectives or theoretical schools; and that there have been overlapping and more flexible approaches.

From the 1960s, Andean Anthropology was much influenced by the work of leading ethnohistorians, particularly by John V. Murra, John .H. Rowe, and R. Tom Zuidema, who focused on the study of distinctive aspects of Andean culture (e.g. particular forms of socio-spatial organisation and religiosity), and developed and used particular theoretical references (e.g. concepts such as reciprocity, redistribution, dualism), to understand and interpret the Inca Empire and other past Andean societies. Andean cultures (and communities) have presented remarkable historical continuities, so, particularly during the 1960s-80s, anthropologists linked to, or influenced by, those ethnohistorians also tended to focus on those distinctive aspects of Andean cultures, and to apply those theoretical references; looking for historical continuities and logically

becoming the main “long-termists” of this period. Andean Anthropology progressed much in these decades, with both “long-” and “short-termist” approaches, to a point that I have defined this as a “Classical Period” of Andean studies and Anthropology. However, by the late-1980s and early-1990s, as part of what I have defined as a period of “Revisionism”, which corresponded to the wider academic context mentioned above, there was a reaction against that 1960s-80s “long-termism” by a new generation of scholars, who negatively defined it as “Andeanism” (*andeanismo*) or “the Andean” (*lo andino*), accusing its followers of overemphasising historical continuities, and of idealising and essentialising Andean cultures and peoples. Following emergent academic tendencies, these critics defended instead a hybrid and processual vision of culture (Andean and others);¹⁴ and some even rejected the concept of “Andean” itself, considering it as an artificial academic category. As a result, that “long-termism” of the 1960s-80s –like community ethnographies- became quite discredited from the 1990s onwards, and there was a certain fragmentation of Andean Anthropology towards other thematic, methodological, and theoretical approaches. This academic evolution and controversy are explained in detail in chapter 1, but it is introduced here as a key theoretical reference for the thesis. The case of Taulli will be used as a way of revisiting these debates, and also to evaluate the role of community studies in the context of Andean Anthropology.

¹⁴ Within the wider anthropological context, different authors and schools have developed more or less flexible visions of culture and society, which can be related to contrasted understandings of and theoretical approaches to change and continuity (or stability). Some have tended to consider culture as stable, setting out to study the elements that produce that stability (e.g. Durkheim, British Functionalism, French Structuralism); others have considered culture as prone to change, setting to construct models to explain their evolution (e.g. Classical Cultural Evolutionism), or the factors and conflicts that cause and explain social change (e.g. Weber, Marxism, Political economy); while some others have focused on provoking social change to improve the lives of their “subjects of study” (e.g. Applied Anthropology, other development-related approaches). As an overall tendency, throughout the Twentieth Century there was a gradual evolution towards increasingly dynamic and flexible visions of society and culture, culminating with the mentioned processual and hybrid visions that emerged in the 1980s (Erickson & Murphy 1998, Keesing & Strathern 1998 [1976]).

Fieldwork experience and research orientation

As I was gradually becoming familiar with the literature, I realised that I was somehow getting into a problematic academic context, as my research was partially based on looking at/for continuities with the past through community-based fieldwork, and this approach closely resembled that of the 1960s-80s “long-termism”. With these thoughts in mind, I travelled to Peru with the other members of the *ushnus* project in May 2007, for the first archaeological field season. During four weeks we excavated several *ushnu*-platforms located around Huamanga. It was my first contact in “real life” with Peru, the Andean highlands, and its inhabitants, and it was a very fulfilling and challenging experience. Among other activities, during those weeks I searched for a community in which to carry out my fieldwork. Following the advice of Cirilo Vivanco, the archaeologist from the University of Huamanga who is a member of the project and knows the region very well, I travelled to the basin of the river Qaracha, in southern Ayacucho, and visited several communities he had suggested. This area was particularly convenient as a result of the rich local traditions of its communities, and of the existence of several anthropological studies conducted there. The last of the communities I visited was Taulli, which was particularly hard to get to and also particularly beautiful (plate 4). There I met some local people in the central village (plate 5 and 6) who welcomed me very kindly and told me about their situation and customs; as well as about some fascinating local legends. For example, they told me about Pukarumi (plate 7), a big reddish stone located close the central village, which is believed to be enchanted by a *gringa* (white woman)-looking spirit that has fatally attracted men for centuries, but that also protected local people, the Taullinos, from Shining Path and the army during the 1980s “violence”, when Taulli was one of the very few communities in the area where no people were killed. That was it!



Plate 4: Taulli's territory.



Plate 5: Taulli's central village.



Plate 6: The village from the central square.



Plate 7: Pukarumi, the "enchanted" stone.

As a brief introduction to the community, Taulli is a legally recognised “peasant community” located on the west bank of the Qaracha River, some 150 kilometres south of Huamanga. Its territory is situated between around 2700 and 4300 masl, including several ecological zones. The community has a population of some 450 people, mostly concentrated in a central village of colonial origin around 3300 masl, and in a couple of smaller and more recent settlements located at higher altitudes. The local economy is mainly based on subsistence agriculture, which is severely hampered by a lack of water and fertile land that, in combination with other local factors, make the community particularly poor even by regional standards. However, it must also be said that Taullinos generally live with dignity thanks to their hard work, and that they have a rich local culture and tradition they identified with and are proud of, and a strong social cohesion as a community.

I moved to Taulli in late October of 2007, after introducing myself in a communal assembly, and asking for and being granted permission to live in the community,¹⁵ where I spent eleven months, until September 2008; before returning for another five months, between August and December, in 2009. The local authorities allowed me to live in a room of one of the central village’s communal buildings. My initial process of integration was much facilitated by a digital video-camera. Soon I became a kind of local “official photographer”, called to attend all kind of communal and family events to take photographs, which I used to print when visiting Huamanga and distributed later among locals. Gradually, I developed strong bonds with the community and its people, establishing relationships of friendship, mutual respect and fondness. Beyond personal

¹⁵ In his own community study, Gelles (2002 [2000]: 29-30) explains how ethnographies tend to present a *‘tropa de llegada, a través del cual el etnógrafo demuestra como él (o ella) logró entablar el necesario entendimiento y complicidad para llevar a cabo la investigación’*, serving as a resource to *‘sentar autoridad etnográfica’*. In my case, incorporation to the community was facilitated by the mediation of Professor Cirilo Vivanco, who is native from a neighbouring community, and by his former student an archaeologist Khinjhe Canchari, who had done his BA dissertation on Taulli. They both accompanied me during my presentation to the community, in which the latter brought copies of his –then recently completed- dissertation to the local authorities. I am very grateful to them for their help.

relations, the fact that I had come from so far away to study their traditions and customs was generally considered by Taullinos as a symbol of prestige for the community, and some local friends sometimes joked about it, claiming that this was clear evidence of the “superiority” of their traditions over those of neighbouring communities.

My original fieldwork plan was to focus on local celebrations and ritual life, and on their links with agriculture and with *ushnus*-related concepts such as sacred space. I actually followed this original plan, but, as I immersed myself in local life, and increasingly engaged with the study of Andean cultures and communities, Taulli gradually acquired wider implications than my original research aims, which were gradually reoriented. Among the fieldwork experiences that caused this reorientation, I was struck by the level of change that the community and its entire area have been going through in recent decades, particularly through an unprecedented introduction of public works and services by the state since the 1980s (e.g. communications, infrastructure, welfare and development projects), which, despite presenting many problems and limitations (e.g. corruption, inefficiency), have brought some remarkable improvements to the community (e.g. increasing health and education services).

I observed how this unprecedented state intervention is at least partially adapted to the local PPC status and communal organisation (e.g. local management of welfare projects through communal channels), contributing to reinforce and further legitimise the institution among Taullinos. As a result of this intervention, the state has become the main motor of change in the community in recent years, in combination with other pre-existing processes such as the emergence of Evangelism and, particularly, the systematic emigration to urban and coastal areas. I also realised how “the violence” supposed an historical turning-point in the area, propelling and accelerating all these factors of change, which have been deepening local integration into national society;

although this integration continues to be precarious as a result of the historical underdevelopment and marginality of the community. Besides these historical local problems, which can be largely linked to the tradition of social exclusion of Andean peoples and regions, I could also observe the existence of new problems and challenges in the community, such as the environmental threats posed by mining interests and climate change, whose effects are increasingly noticeable.

Coexisting with this context of change, I verified how the community presents very remarkable historical continuities and most traditional aspects of Andean life, which shape a rich “local Andean tradition”. As mentioned above, Taullinos demonstrate pride and deep fondness of this “tradition”, which they generically refer to as “the village’s customs” (*costumbres del pueblo*), and for example include the existence of authorities (e.g. *varayuq* hierarchy), institutions (e.g. religious *cofradías*), social practices (e.g. work-exchange systems between families), religious beliefs (e.g. cult to mountain spirits), or ritual celebrations (e.g. herding-related propitiatory offerings) of colonial or pre-Hispanic origins and syncretic nature. I also verified how this “local Andean tradition” is subjected to continuous processes of adaptation and reinvention, serving as a main channel through which Taullinos experience and accommodate change. This is through changing, privileging, neglecting, or even abandoning different aspects of this “tradition”, according to their adaptability and capacity to meet and respond to new circumstances and needs, and by using this “tradition” as a reference of change, for example by adopting, adapting, and replicating elements and aspects of their traditional institutions, offices, and social practices into new ones.

I also found that, although the communal system and the “local Andean tradition” are very demanding and full of limitations and tensions, Taullinos unanimously accept

and identify with them, and with the local PPC status that guarantees their continuity, because they continue offering some important practical advantages derived from their communal features (e.g. channels to access land and collective forms of collaboration), as well as a fundamental cultural identity and social cohesion in the context of change, particularly through participation in the communal organisation and ritual celebrations. I found all these findings, processes, and contrasts between change and continuity in the community fascinating, and became convinced of the interest of undertaking a community ethnography of Taulli to illustrate and analyse them in detail. In addition, I also thought that such a detailed case study could contribute to the current understanding of PPCs, and to explain why their members generally support the continuity of these communities and their communal features.

At the same time, at an academic level I was learning about different academic approaches (briefly introduced above) to the study of these cultures and communities in the context of Andean Anthropology; especially through community ethnographies. I found those studies conducted under the influence of the commented 1960s-80s “long-termism” particularly interesting and relevant. This was because during fieldwork I realised that many elements of this theoretical approach were consistent with Taulli’s case, and useful –sometimes even fundamental- to understand and interpret many aspects of local life. For example, the “long-termist” focus on distinctive expressions of Andean culture (e.g. syncretic religiosity, particular forms of socio-spatial organisation) and on strategies of ecological adaptation (e.g. need to complement and diversify production across different ecological zones), or particular theoretical references (e.g. concepts like reciprocity and redistribution). I also realised in Taulli that, rejecting essentialisations and idealisations and taking into consideration social change, these

aspects of 1960s-80s “long-termism” are perfectly compatible with the hybrid and processual interpretation of Andean culture that emerged in 1980s Anthropology.

As mentioned, the combination of these fieldwork and academic experiences gradually altered my research orientation. The writing of an early article (Ferreira 2009), and discussions with my PhD supervisor (K. Willis) and one of my advisors (H. Stobart), helped me to redefine this orientation, and I finally decided to draw on my observations and readings to produce a community study of Taulli. This was to involve analysing the far-reaching social changes the community has been going through in recent decades, and how the “local Andean tradition” works in and adapts to the context of change. By using this analysis, I sought to assess the current role that the community (as a PPC) plays for Taullinos, in terms of the advantages and disadvantages that it entails. In this regard and on the basis of the findings, I argue, and intend to demonstrate as central thesis argument, that the main role that the community has for Taullinos in the early Twenty-first Century is to continue offering them some important practical advantages, and a fundamental identity and social cohesion in the context of social change; while providing them, mainly as a result of state intervention, with new services and benefits that despite their limitations and mixed results contribute to reinforce the PPC institution.

Additionally, in the academic context, I also intend to demonstrate in the thesis the ongoing validity and relevance of many aspects of 1960s-80s “long-termism”, and to argue for the value of community ethnographies conducted under its influence, while recognising their limitations (e.g. tendencies to idealisation and essentialisation, negligence of social change). In this sense, I use Taulli’s case to review and reassess key aspects of this academic approach (e.g. focus on distinctive aspects of Andean culture, strategies of ecological adaptation, concepts like reciprocity, redistribution, and

dualism), exploring their local expressions and relevance. Ultimately, as stated above, with this thesis I also aspire to contribute to the understanding of the maintenance and role of PPCs in the early Twenty-first Century, and to demonstrate the ongoing validity and need for community ethnographies in the Andes. However, I do not want to overstate or over-generalise Taulli's case beyond its local and to some extent regional characteristics and circumstances. To approach these wider aims it is therefore necessary to address and engage with the obvious limitations and problematic of a case study like this, and of community ethnographies as a methodology.

Community studies and Anthropology

Ethnography, 'the process of recording and interpreting another people's way of life' (Keesing & Strathern 1998 [1976]: 7), became the most important method of study in Anthropology following the early development of the discipline in the late-Nineteenth Century, when it became associated with the study of indigenous and "exotic" cultures by western scholars, originally with racist connotations and imperialist links. The French philosopher J.P. Degérando was an earlier pioneer of modern ethnographic fieldwork, writing a field-guide in 1800 in which he recommended the study of "primitive" peoples 'within the context of their social systems', through the integration in their communities and the learning of their languages (Pelto & Pelto 1973: 241). This approach was followed from the 1910s-20s, by a new generation of academics who established the modern foundations of Anthropology, rejecting its original racist and imperialist connotations. For example, in Britain, authors such as Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski among others, became interested in an 'ahistorical, "structural-functional" study of human social systems', through the methodological strategy of 'living in close contact with a research population', and having a 'long-term immersion'

in their lives (ibid: 243). As a result, from the 1920s onwards, fieldwork came to be predominantly associated with western anthropologists going into “isolated” villages or communities of “distant” indigenous societies, considering them as ‘a microcosm of the whole’ (Keesing & Strathern 1998 [1976]: 7). As Pelto & Pelto (1973: 244) explain, the selection of the community as the basic unit of anthropological study was ‘a logical development from the idea of intensive long-term fieldwork’, although ‘the use of a particular village to characterise a whole culture can be deeply misleading, or lead to stereotypes’. Because of this, Pelto & Pelto (ibid) state that ‘Anthropology has been a discipline good at seeing local trees, but often inadequate in seeing the forest that lies beyond’.

Malinowski (1922) was the main pioneer of community ethnographies with his classical study of the indigenous peoples of the Trobriand islands, in New Guinea, where he developed the main ethnographic fieldwork technique of “participant-observation”, which consists of an ‘artful synthesis of insider’s subjective participation and outsider’s objective observation’ (Erickson & Murphy 1998: 104). Malinowski already recognised a ‘dynamic conflict’ between the humanistic and the scientific dimensions of participant-observation, and the need to find a balance between them (ibid). For example, Nader (1965: 150) explains how total participation-integration has been colloquially defined as ‘going native’, and how it compromises the observer’s objectivity. The early scholars had a functionalist approach to fieldwork, trying ‘to understand how all the parts fit together to make a working “whole” society’ (ibid). Nader (ibid: 151) also explains how ethnographers soon realised that the understanding of some aspects of a given society come often through the understanding of other very different aspects, which can help to make sense of customs and practices that were previously incomprehensible. As Malinowski (1922: 11) himself affirmed: ‘An

ethnographer who sets out to study only religion, or only technology, or only social organisation cuts out an artificial field of enquiry, and he will be seriously handicapped in his work.’

After War World II, as a result of the rapid social changes of the period, Anthropologists became increasingly interested in other types of settings and methodologies. New schools wanted to overcome the limitations of single-community ethnographies, developing alternative methods such as regional sampling, and comparative approaches (Pelto & Pelto 1973: 245). Nevertheless, indigenous cultures and peoples and community studies remained a central research focus and methodology, and, as Keesing & Strathern (1998 [1976]: 10) argue, the basic research methods remained basically the same, involving participant-observation, gathering data, maintaining detailed records of events, or the development of ideas and theories that have to be cross-checked and tested through other activities.

In the 1950s-60s, fieldwork methodology was increasingly refined and developed by new schools and tendencies. For example, Paul (1953: 442) proposed a combination of different research methods to maximise the objectivity of ethnographic fieldwork such as studying existing written materials (e.g. archives), observation-participation, or interviews; while Pelto & Pelto (1973: 269) defended ‘an eclectic mixture of (quantitative and qualitative) research styles’ with techniques such as mapping, inventories and census among others. However, by the 1970s, and as a result of the political and social context that emerged from the previous decade (e.g. counter-culture, feminism, radical politics) there were important changes in Anthropology. One of the new schools that were result of these changes was Political Economy, which was influenced by Marxism and set to study the effect of global capitalism in practically any context, rejecting and moving away from “traditional” community-based ethnographic

fieldwork (Erickson & Murphy 1998: 136-8). This school became a direct precedent for Post-modernism in the discipline, which emerged in the late-1970s-1980s and was not a heterogeneous movement, but a whole set of ideas and tendencies that shared the 'emphasis in the subjectivity of experiences and knowledge' (ibid: 141), claiming new ways to describe and study different cultures.

In this academic context, some authors questioned the authority and legitimacy of western approaches to and studies of other cultures, considering them as prejudiced, stereotyped, or charged with post-colonial connotation (e.g. Said 1979). At the same time, the validity of anthropological knowledge and ethnographic fieldwork was questioned (e.g. Clifford 1988), as it was even argued that 'ethnographies, no less than other forms of creative writing, are texts that privilege the perspective of their authors' and that true objectivity is hardly possible (Erickson & Murphy 1998: 145). Paradoxically, as Degregori (2000a: 56) explains, this "radical" critique of Ethnography went on at the same time that other disciplines (e.g. Cultural Geography, Pedagogy) increasingly incorporated it as a methodology. As a result of these developments, during these years there was a certain retreat from ethnographic fieldwork among some anthropologists, and a turn towards more theoretical perspectives and alternative methods and focuses of study. Nevertheless, above all, there was a much more self-reflective approach to ethnography (reflexivity), and a "literary turn" of ethnographic writing towards more nuanced approaches to -and engagement with- the "subjects" of study, and an increasing political and social awareness. Since this period there has been further diversification of Anthropology and new theoretical and methodological perspectives, as well as a renovation of the study of indigenous cultures and peoples. However, community ethnographies have generally remained, as commented above, marginal and somehow "unfashionable".

Regarding this academic evolution, and as a methodological point of departure, I argue that these community studies are still valid and necessary, and that their limitations do not eliminate their advantages. In the case of this thesis, I particularly justify this methodological approach on the basis of three reasons that I intend to amply demonstrate through the text: the centrality and fundamental importance that Andean communities (in general) and PPCs (in particular) continue to have in Peruvian society and Andean cultures; on the scale and interest of the social changes these communities are going through in the current historical context; and also on the existence of a very rich academic tradition of Andean community studies that serves as a key source of knowledge and comparison, deserving continuity. Nevertheless, my “defence” of this methodology and of Andean community studies is not uncritical, as I also recognise their limitations and uneven quality. Specifically, I use as a model and aspire to follow those studies that somehow manage to transcend these limitations, or even their particular circumstances and theoretical perspectives to illuminate and help to understand the lives of the peoples they deal with, and more specific or general aspects of their cultures.

Methodology

I have taken into consideration the outlined methodological problems and concerns related to ethnographic community studies and fieldwork, and I also recognise post-modern-influenced critiques of them, which I consider necessary and useful to keep in mind and engage with. However, I reject the kind of “academic nihilism” that has sometimes resulted from such critiques (e.g. the rejection of Ethnography) and some of their connotations.¹⁶ Personally, I have tried to address the limitations of this

¹⁶ For example, the vision of ethnographies as a form of creative writing that privilege the perspective of their authors can be extended to practically all forms of academic writing in the humanities, and in many

methodology by combining participant-observation, a multidisciplinary approach, a comparative perspective, and the use of complementary methods such as interviews and historical and archive research; with a reflective and self-critical approach to fieldwork and writing.

During the time I spent in Taulli, I participated in most local communal, and many family-based, celebrations and festivities; the main agricultural tasks and many other works; communal assemblies and all kinds of meetings of local authorities; state and NGOs development-related activities; and many other aspects of local daily life. This participant-observation, duly recorded in fieldwork diaries, was complemented with interviews with local and other relevant people, which mostly had an informal and semi-structured character; historical research on regional archives and community papers from the colonial period onwards; and a survey. The latter was based on a questionnaire made to provide a source of quantitative data on some key topics and issues (e.g. land holding, housing patterns, migration), to be able to compare, test and complement personal impressions and qualitative methods. This survey was carried out in the last three weeks of 2009, mainly in the community's central village during local Christmas celebrations, when large numbers of Taullinos customarily congregate to observe this religious feast (see chapter 5). I mostly targeted local male *comuneros*. A total of 60 people were surveyed, including 48 (out of 85, 58.82%) "active" *comuneros* (those with full membership around that time), and others of different categories such as three "retired"; three "absent" (those living outside the community temporarily or permanently); a female head of a household or "woman alone" (*warmi sapa*); two men incorporated in the community by marriage (*masas*); and two just married young men about to become *comuneros*. The questionnaires were anonymous, and I individually

fields of the social sciences; and this is just an intrinsic part of these and other forms of writing. This fact has negative and positive aspects, although it does not ultimately have to compromise the quality and validity of honest and thoughtful research, which is what I aspire to do.

approached and interviewed each person filling in the data myself. The number and range of people interviewed can be then considered as a significant representation of Taulli's *comuneros*. The resulting data is used as a reference to complement and illustrate several key issues throughout the chapters. A copy of the questioner and its main results can be found in appendix 3.

Following Stobart's advice, I intentionally avoided asking "too many" questions during fieldwork, particularly at the beginning, as I wanted to create trust first and to establish a "long-conversation"¹⁷ with them. I must say that I often had small –and not that small- crises and doubts about my capacity to understand Taullinos and their society. However, with time and effort I gradually started to make sense of local life, and of many of the things that I could not understand at the beginning. The second long stay in the community, for five months in 2009, was a perfect chance to check and clarify pending doubts and questions, once I had enough knowledge of local life and trust with Taullinos. I actually spent more time answering questions than asking them. Taullinos had endless curiosity about life in Europe: work, crops, football (a big issue), the cost of things, differences with Peru, my family, and so on; and I often found myself trying to answer difficult questions about complex topics Taullinos had heard about, such as the Iraq war, or the global financial crisis that "imploded" in 2008. An ethnographer's gender, age, origin, or ethnicity, obviously influence and sometimes determine relations with the "subjects" of study and therefore the research itself. Accepting these circumstances and engaging with their limitations and problematic was part of my strategy to deal with these issues. For example, the fact that I am a Spanish

¹⁷ 'Malinowski argued that the anthropologist's task is to study the "long conversation" taking place among the people with whom he/she lives during fieldwork, and in which he/she inevitably takes part. This "long conversation" is not only made of words, though language plays a most prominent part.' According to Malinowski, 'everything' could be found in that 'conversation' (Bloch 1989 [1977]: 1-2).

citizen had obvious connotations and my name did not help. Local kids used to tease me calling me Francisco Pizarro, knowing of my dislike for such “connection”.

Even though some individuals initially and logically showed distrust and suspicions, local people generally demonstrated great patience, kindness, and sympathy. The affection and interest were mutual and reciprocal, and it is my intention to try to show a bit of Taullinos’ personalities, problems, and complexities through the thesis, trying to avoid simplifications or idealisations that would fail to account for their reality. In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary to point out the risks that are inherent to such attempt, such as subjectivity, misunderstandings and misinterpretations, self-indulgence, and so forth. I was unsure about presenting and mentioning particular individuals, because, while this is the local preference, I find it “unfair” to somehow privilege some over others. However, following the advice of the thesis examiners, I have finally decided to introduce some Taullinos who were particularly relevant for my research, or in particular circumstances, with their real names. This is so the reader can get a more vivid picture of the community and its members. I must clarify that nobody will be named in confidential or negative contexts, and I apologise to those I do not name in any other contexts.

Getting information could be complicated because local people often tended to say what they thought I wanted to hear; and I sometimes realised that I was actually unconsciously influencing people to tell me what I wanted to hear. Gradually, I developed a small group of key informants. They were a handful of *comuneros* between their late-thirties and late-fifties who demonstrated themselves to be particularly knowledgeable, articulate, and reliable; and who ended up becoming good friends. I used to discuss and check with them particular issues, conversations, doubts, or events, and they used to help me to make sense of these issues. Comparing and double checking

information with them, and between them, was a simple and efficient fieldwork method I consistently used. I must mention Edwin Antesana, who has a permanent state job as a clerk in the local primary school, and is a trained registrar and secretary of the local justice of the peace (the two most qualified local offices); Juan Quispe, who used to tell me the most intriguing and interesting stories, although they were often not confirmed and corroborated by other sources; Silverio Antezana, with whom I became co-parent in late-2009, after god-fathering his daughter Ima Sumaq; Pedro Quispe, who is a secondary school teacher of history without a fixed position, so he often shifts between communities during school courses; and Alfredo Condori, who owns the main local shop. He and his wife, Dina Jerí, are lovely people who became a main referent of my life in Taulli, as they were my neighbours and I depended greatly on their shop for daily practicalities.

Another reference I had was a handful of older *comuneros* who I amicably called “the guardians of tradition”, because they were particularly zealous about local customs. They used to participate in most local celebrations and ritual activities, often complaining when some parts or activities were not performed “properly”, and melancholically remembering how they used to be in the past. Although they were treated with respect by younger Taullinos, their “complaints” were rarely dealt with. I must mention here Victor Avalos, who was particularly religious and used to help out in all the church-related activities (he passed away in 2010); and Marcial Arone, who despite having spent most of his adult life in Lima, is a staunch “traditionalist”. Appendix 2 shows pictures and some more information about these Taullinos.

Besides these particularly important “groups” of informants, the whole community in general was the main source of information, including Taullinos who live outside the community more or less permanently, in urban and/or coastal areas. I met many of them

during their visits to Taulli, particularly during main communal festivities, and sometimes in their places of residence when I was travelling around. Staff of local educational centres and the medical post (most of them non-Taullinos), and other people visiting the community in relation to development programmes and official matters, were also very important sources of information, offering important “external” perspectives of Taulli and the Taullinos. I must mention here Vicente Cisneros, who had been working in the local medical post for several years, and became a good informant and a better friend. I always admired his work and commitment, and often enjoyed his hospitality. I apologise again to those I do not name here.

Language was a problem in some contexts. Quechua is the main local language and my knowledge of it was and still is very limited. However, nowadays most Taullinos with a few exceptions, mainly elderly women, are bilingual and they actually tend to mix Quechua and Spanish constantly (appendix 1 is a glossary of Quechua and Spanish words). A Quechua-speaking Peruvian Anthropology student, Delfín Huaranccay, helped me during my first months in the community, gathering and translating information. Of course, a proper knowledge of Quechua would have improved my research, particularly in the case of some celebrations and ritual contexts where it is dominant, and where I often had to ask for translations and explanations. My lack of Quechua speaking implies other limitations. For example, this fact, in combination with my own gender, limited much of my access to local female spheres, where Quechua is dominant; so the “version” of the community I got from local people is more of a “male perspective”. I also tried to get a comparative ethnographic perspective visiting, and spending short periods of time, in other communities of the river Qaracha area, which I walked extensively. Participation in the *ushnus* project’s archaeological excavations allowed me to get an even wider regional perspective, as we

visited many communities in northern and southern Ayacucho, and I was able to practise short-term ethnographic fieldwork there, and in large *puna* areas where I could get a wider feeling of the distinctive character of different ecological and geographical environments in the region, and of their interrelations, in terms of landscapes, ecology, economy, ritual practices and so on.

In terms of specific bibliography, the area where Taulli is located, which will be identified here as the Qaracha or Pampas-Qaracha area after the rivers whose basins shape the surrounding physical environment (figure 2), has a particular historical and anthropological relevance resulting in a certain amount of more or less directly-related academic literature. Anthropologically, the area is important for the work of T. Zuidema and some of his students from the universities of Huamanga and Illinois,¹⁸ who produced community ethnographies in Choque Huarcaya and Huancasancos (Quispe-Mejía 1968), Sarhua (Palomino-Flores 1970), Tomanga (Pinto-Ramos 1970), or Chuschi (Isbell 1978). Among them, Billie Jean Isbell's *To Defend Ourselves* is particularly important as a "classic" monograph of great quality and wide scope; and because Chuschi became later notorious as the place where Shining Path carried out their first armed action, which consisted of the burning of ballot boxes during the national elections of 1980 (see Isbell 2005 [1978]: 17-31, 286-306). As a result of this, the author unwillingly became a protagonist of a notorious academic dispute in the 1990s (see chapter 1). The use of these and others Andean community studies as a basic reference is a key strategy I have used to –at least partially– overcome the limitations of the single community framework, introducing a wide comparative perspective that covers several decades, theoretical approaches, and an extensive geographical context.

¹⁸ Zuidema worked in the former between 1967 and 1970, a period in which he established projects of cooperation and exchanges with the latter. His original idea was to undertake a wider and longer-term project studying the area's communities, but the plan was suspended when he left Huamanga (Zuidema, personal communication). Only some of the resulting studies were published, sometimes much later.

Nevertheless, such comparisons and references have to be approached carefully, as these studies were mostly undertaken decades ago in diverse communities and regions that are certain to have experienced many changes and transformation since then.

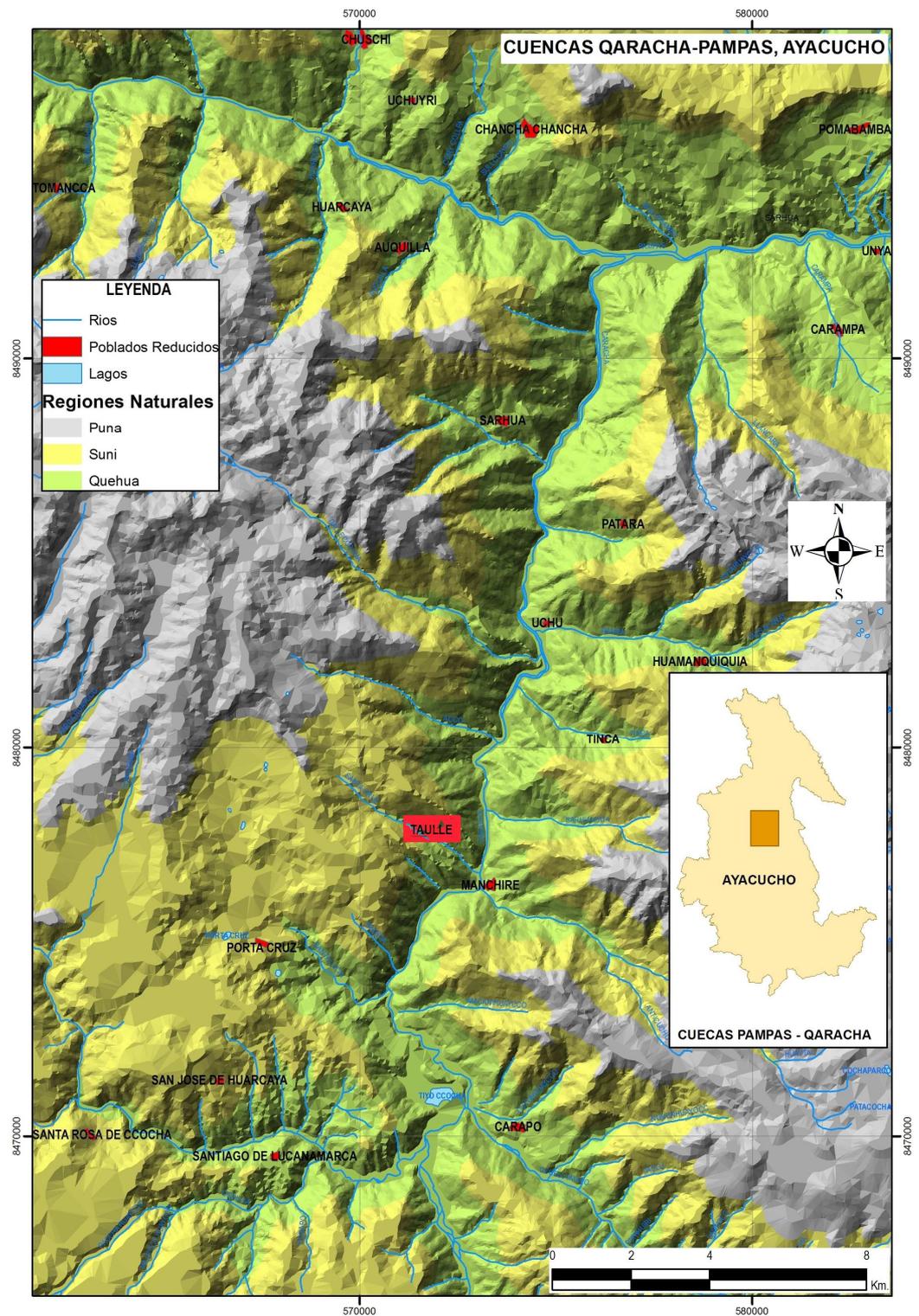


Figure 2: Map of the Pampas-Qaracha river basins with its communities and ecological zones.

Additionally, short articles were also published about the area (e.g. Zuidema 1970, Earls & Silverblatt 1977a & b), or about some aspects of particular communities (e.g. Vallée 1971 & 1972 on ecological adaptation in Manchiri). In the 1960s there were also pioneering archaeological studies in the area, by authors like William Isbell or Luis .G Lumbreras; and more recently there have been other archaeological (e.g. Vivanco-Pomacanchari 2005, Váldez & Vivanco-Pomacanchari 1994) and anthropological studies (e.g. Huamaní-Ore 1977 on Carapo). Regarding Taulli, there are some references to the community in short articles (e.g. Earls & Silverblatt 1977a & b) as well as an unpublished archaeological BA thesis (Canchari-Huamani 2007). All these works offer an important source of knowledge on the area and its communities, serving as an important reference for the study of Taulli.

Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter (**context**), I offer an historical and academic context in which to frame the study of Taulli as a PPC. Firstly, I explain the historical origins and evolution of these Andean communities, their role in the social exclusion and discrimination of their members, and their importance in Andean cultures and Peruvian society. Secondly, I review how these communities have been studied and interpreted in the context of Andean Anthropology, particularly through community ethnographies. This involves distinguishing different periods and theoretical approaches, discussing some of these studies and their contributions, and explaining my own theoretical approach to the study of Taulli. The chapter concludes with an introduction to the interpretation of Andean rituals and to the ritual life of Andean communities, in which I also offer a theoretical approach to Taulli's ritual

celebrations and practices, as a fundamental aspect of the “local Andean tradition” and a central research focus through the thesis.

The second chapter (**Taulli**) is a presentation of the community and its basic features, such as its geographical and regional context, population, economy, history, and local problems of underdevelopment and poverty. Here, I explain the social changes Taulli has been going through in recent decades and their causes and consequences; the role of the state as main motor of change since the 1980s; the public works and services and development-related initiatives that have been introduced, and their results. I also explain how, in this context of change and mainly as a result of that state intervention, the community is bringing Taullinos a whole series of improvements and new services, which, despite their many problems and limitations, contribute to reinforce the PPC institution and to deepen local integration into national society.

This is followed by three central chapters: **organisation** (chapter three), **work** (chapter four), and **celebrations** (chapter five), where I explore the advantages and disadvantages that the community has for –and brings to– Taullinos in relation to these “spheres” of local life. These are used as references or “wide themes” from which to approach related aspects of the “local Andean tradition”, analysing how they function in –and adapt to– the context of change, and how they are reinvented serving as a channel through which Taullinos experience and accommodate change. These three spheres are also used to introduce and review key aspects and theoretical references of 1960s-80s “long-termism”, assessing their expressions and relevance in Taulli. It is important to keep in mind that local organisation, work, and celebrations are all intimately interrelated, and that this division responds to analytical purposes.

In chapter three, I explore key aspects of Taulli’s organisation such as the communal system of local government and their institutions and offices; the internal

configuration of the community in terms of spatial organisation and social divisions; and the local religious and ritual landscape. Here, I explain the demands and limitations of the local communal system, and how, despite them, Taullinos generally accept and identify with this system. This chapter serves to introduce and analyse the concepts and local expressions of redistribution, *ayllu*, duality, and sacralised landscape.

In chapter four, I explore key aspects of work in Taulli focusing on the most important economic activity, agriculture. I describe the yearly agricultural cycle explaining how activities and tasks fit within it, and how Taullinos access the most important agricultural resources: land, water, and workforce. Here, I explain how the community, through its communal system and “local Andean tradition”, continues to offer Taullinos some important practical advantages that have been fundamental for local welfare; such as guaranteeing a level of access to land and water, and to collective forms of collaboration. This chapter serves to introduce and analyse the concepts and local expressions of reciprocity, fictitious kinship (co- and god-parenthood), work exchange systems between families (*ayni* and *minka*), and Andean strategies of ecological adaptation.

In chapter five, I focus on local “celebrations”, understood as a generic category that includes different types of local festivities, commemorations, ceremonies, and religious feasts with important ritual dimensions. While I introduce and discuss some – or particular aspects- of these local celebrations in previous chapters, in this one I focus on the three main communal festivities: Christmas, Carnival, and “August”, describing and analysing each of them. Here I show how, although the sponsoring and organisation of these festivities are some of the most burdensome communal duties Taullinos face, they remain very ritually elaborated and carefully observed, because they are a cornerstone of local culture and identity, playing a key role in the social cohesion of the

community. This chapter serves to analyse the role and agropastoral links of local ritual celebrations.

Finally, the **conclusions** bring together the main ideas and arguments presented and developed in the previous chapters, highlighting the main conclusions. These can be divided between those that refer to Taulli as central case study, and those with wider links and connotations, in relation to Andean communities (PPCs and others) and to their study in the early Twenty-first Century.

As a visual complement to the text, there are seven accompanying videos of between five and ten minutes available on YouTube (see page 14). These videos are based on footage I recorded during fieldwork, and show different aspects of life in the community, particularly focusing on local celebrations. They will be referred to in different sections that directly relate to their contents.

CHAPTER 1: CONTEXT

The special legal status of PPCs, and the key role that they have played in Peruvian society and Andean cultures, are based on their particular historical origins and evolution. In this chapter, I trace these origins and evolution explaining pre-colonial precedents; the formation of Andean communities in the colonial period; the changes and effects independence brought to them in the earlier republican period; their legal recognition and transformation in the Twentieth Century; and their current situation in the early Twenty-first Century. I also explain how Andean communities have been studied and interpreted in the context of Andean Anthropology, particularly through community ethnographies; distinguishing different academic approaches to, and several periods in, the evolution of these studies. The review and reassessment of some of these studies, and of key theoretical debates and approaches concerning them, particularly in relation to 1960s-80s “long-termism”, serve to explain my own theoretical approach to the study of Taulli. This historical and theoretical contextualisation of the thesis concludes with an introduction to ritual life in Andean communities and to their interpretation, where I explain my theoretical approach to Taulli’s ritual life.

I. PERUVIAN PEASANT COMMUNITIES

Even though the legal recognition of PPCs started in the 1920s, the origins of many of these communities can be traced to the colonial period, and to Spanish policies of reorganisation and control of the indigenous Andean population. However, to fully understand these colonial origins and policies it is necessary to take into consideration the previous organisation of the Inca Empire, which was very much adapted to the particular physical environment of the Andes. Additionally, it is also important to

examine some key pre-colonial precedents of these communities, particularly the ancient institution of the *ayllu*, which has been a fundamental reference of the Andean world. *Ayllu* is a concept with complex and diverse implications, making it difficult to define in the past and in the present. According to the 1608 Quechua dictionary of Diego González-Holguín the word means ‘genealogy, lineage, kinship group, nation, gender, class or kind’ (quoted in Fuenzalida-Vollmar 1976 [1969]: 235). Rowe (1963 [1947]: 253-255) argues that it ‘seems to have been a general word for kin group in Quechua’, whose ‘specific meaning was probably made clear by the context’ (ibid: 253); while Zuidema (quoted in Bolin 1998: 26) affirms that it can be ‘any political group with a local boundary’; and Stobart (2006: 44) argues that ‘*ayllu* is not simply a form of hierarchical ethno-political organisation; it also refers to people’s ongoing and reciprocal relationships with one another and the places they inhabit.’

Ancient precedents: Pre-Hispanic *ayllus*

At the time of Spanish arrival in 1532, the “core Andean region” was under the control of the Inca Empire. Andean populations were mainly rural, and they were organised in *ayllus*, which were ancient and complex forms of socio-spatial organisation. *Ayllus* had developed for millennia resulting in multiple varieties. It seems that in a basic form, they would be predominantly rural ethnically-based groups, characterised by rather dispersed settlement patterns, and governed by *kurakas*, a kind of local aristocracy. Theoretically, *ayllus* were united by kinship links, which could be based on the idea of common mythical ancestors. Their socio-economic life would be mainly based on agriculture and herding, and organised by a system of reciprocal obligations and work exchanges. They would have a rich religious and ritual life mainly based on the cult to ancestors and their mummies, forces of nature (e.g. lightning), and complex and rich

systems of sacred objects and places (*wakas*) in the landscape, which were all considered to have a direct influence on human welfare and livelihoods.¹ *Ayllus* could be loosely linked, but would ideally be autonomous. However, over time, they would go through periods of centralisation and regionalisation of power, getting hierarchically integrated into increasingly complex structures such as macro-*ayllus* and even empires (e.g. Inca), or experiencing periods of localisation and decentralisation.

Ayllus tended to be hierarchical entities with diverse internal socio-spatial arrangements, such as divisions into moieties that corresponded to different sub-*ayllus* with differentiated authorities and characteristics; so spatial and social divisions tended to be intimately related. Their spatial configuration, and the boundaries between them, would be further affected by other interrelated phenomena, such as the religious and ritual configuration of the landscape, or by diverse strategies of ecological adaptation. Another of the most remarkable features of pre-Hispanic *ayllus*, at least in Inca times when it was apparently widespread, is what could be defined as a kind of “Andean welfare system”. They would have a series of lands, herds, and resources that were collectively exploited, and whose production was dedicated to the maintenance of those who were unable to work for themselves (e.g. the elderly, orphans, the sick); so all members would generally have some minimum needs covered.²

¹ *Wakas* have been basic to Andean peoples’ configuration of and relation with their physical environment, not just in terms of religious beliefs and practices, but also in relation to their spatial, social, and economic organisation. They could be landscape features and natural elements (e.g. stones, caves, lagoons), but not exclusively. Colonial chronicles show a huge range of more or less unusual things and circumstances that could be considered as such (e.g. the birth of twins) (Torre-López 2004: 60). Others were man-made (e.g. temples) or man-related (e.g. burial places, mummies). They could be recognised and worshipped at different levels, from a particular family or *ayllu* to a much larger scale (e.g. pan-Andean pilgrimage centres like Pachacámac).

² The interpretation of this system later originated ideological and academic controversies, particularly in the 1920s-30s, when some authors considered the Inca Empire as “socialist”, comparing it with the USSR (e.g. Baudin 1961 [1928]). Villariás-Robles (1998) studies these controversies.

The colonial period

The establishment of the colonial system radically altered pre-Hispanic *ayllus*,³ which were adapted to the needs of the Spaniards (e.g. taxation, military control). Indigenous groups were distributed in jurisdictions (*encomiendas*) that were granted to Spanish individuals and institutions; and they were reorganised, and often resettled in the worst lands. A key moment in this process was the formation of the *reducciones* ordered by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in the 1570s, as part of a major re-organisation of the colonial system in the Andes. *Reducciones* consisted of the forced resettlement of rural ethnic groups into villages, to facilitate their control, taxation and evangelisation.⁴ They included the clearing of high altitude herding zones (above 3800 masl); and the concentration of population in lower altitude agricultural zones (around 3000 masl), where the villages were built. These villages were based on a Spanish colonial urban model that was organised around a central square, where the most important buildings were situated (e.g. church, jail, stores for tribute). This central square was surrounded by the residential areas following a grid-like layout. The resettlement was accompanied by the introduction of a whole set of legislation and institutions to regulate most aspects of local life.

Arguedas (1978 [1968]) compared some Spanish and Peruvian rural communities in the 1950s, finding very remarkable parallels, and proving that the model of the *reducciones* had been adopted from some distinctive Spanish rural communities, located in areas that had been “re-conquered” from the Moors in previous centuries. For example, in the combination of communal ownership and private usufruct of land by

³ Pre-Hispanic *ayllus* had been also altered -sometimes radically- during Inca times. For example, with imperial policies of fragmentation and reallocation (*mitimaes*).

⁴ The *reducciones* were first introduced in New Spain (Mexico), beginning in the Andes with a “royal provision” of 1549 (Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne & Harris 2006: 516). About Toledo’s *reducciones* see: Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne & Harris (2006: 516-534), Abercrombie (1998: 237-258), Stern (1982: 76-78), and Hurtado (1974: 74-85).

local families; or in the local government by municipal councils (*cabildos*) formed by hierarchical offices (e.g. *alcalde*, *regidores*) that were democratically chosen in communal assemblies, and whose members carried staffs (*varas*) as symbols of authority (ibid: 305-6), so they were often known as *varayuqs* (those who carry staffs) in the Andes.⁵

Nevertheless, Toledo also studied the Inca imperial system, adapting some of its institutions and forms of organisation to the *reducciones*.⁶ For example the Inca *mitas*, which were a form of taxation based on temporary work services (e.g. military, public works), were adapted to colonial mining. Moreover, many pre-Hispanic elements and features of local cultures were at least partially adapted to the new environments in a gradual process of syncretism and reinvention. For instance, collective forms of cooperation such as reciprocal work-exchange systems between families; internal socio-spatial hierarchical divisions in moieties and sub-*ayllus*;⁷ or some strategies of ecological adaptation. The Spaniards also imposed a new Catholic sacred landscape to eliminate the “pagan” one. For example, chapels and crosses were built and placed over pre-Hispanic sacred places to Christianise them, even though this superposition would reinforce their sacred nature. The result of these changes, as Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne & Harris (2006: 520-521) affirm, was the coexistence of two models of ‘sacred territory’

⁵ Arguedas (ibid: 29-30) explains his influence by François Chevalier, who had proved that indigenous Mexican communities were the result of the combination of Spanish institutions and native elements, and that the Spanish colonial system followed the “Re-conquest” model in the concession of lands and privileges. The “Re-conquest” (*Reconquista*) was the process by which the Catholic kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula expelled the Moors, who had conquered most of the peninsula in the Eighth Century. This process was understood as a “Holy War” linked to the spirit of the crusades, culminating in 1492 and serving as a kind of “foundation myth” for Spain and its empire. Following Arguedas’ work, Hurtado (1974) traces the origins and evolution of similar forms of communal rural organisation in Europe since the Middle Age.

⁶ Urton (1999: 29) explains that Toledo commissioned studies on the topic, and talks about a “Toledan school of chroniclers” (e.g. Polo de Ondegardo, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Cristóbal de Molina).

⁷ For example, the *reducciones* often replicated pre-existing *ayllus*’ dual organisation in moieties *hanan/hurin* (upper/lower) with different leaders, endogamous marrying rules, and so on. Gelles (1995: 712) argues that these divisions were part of an ancient Andean tradition, manipulated by the Inca as part of an ‘imperial policy of extraction and control’ (ibid: 729). About these divisions in the past see: Gelles (1995), Rostoworowski (2005 [1981]), or Zuidema (1989 [1967b]). In contemporary communities: Gelles (2002 [2000]), Isbell (1978), or Palomino-Flores (1970).

that produced ‘multiple reinterpretations and re-appropriations’, the ‘Spanish model’ centred in the villages and their churches, and an ‘indigenous model’ spread throughout the landscape in relation to *wakas*, rivers, stones, and so on (ibid: 120),⁸ which was partially Christianised with crosses and chapels. These kinds of adaptations would be fundamental for the development of a syncretic religion, which combined and interrelated official Catholicism with the pre-Hispanic cult to forces and elements of nature, such as the Pachamama (a kind of Andean Mother Earth) and mountain spirits.⁹ Contemporary Andean cultures are in many ways the result of processes of syncretisation like these between the hegemonic imposed Spanish culture, and the subaltern repressed pre-Hispanic cultures, resulting in the gradual development of distinctive and diverse Andean cultures throughout the colonial period and beyond.

The *reducciones* were created as a form of “indirect colonial rule”, directed in many ways to protect communities’ members from abuses and interference from colonisers, trying to combine the needs of the colonial system, such as the access to workforce and resources, with a relative independence and security of the indigenous population. The local hereditary indigenous leaders (*kurakas* or *caciques*) were maintained, when they were collaborative, coexisting with the democratically elected communal authorities. The latter managed communities’ internal daily life, also adopting some functions of pre-Hispanic leadership, such as annual distributions of land or the organisation of collective work; while the former were in charge of collecting tributes, becoming intermediaries with the colonial power, and enjoying many

⁸ The maintenance of these cults and practices could be partially seen as a form of resistance to colonial control. Significantly, one of the earliest indigenous movements against Spanish domination was the *Taqui Ongoy* (“dance sickness”), which, in the 1560s, from a messianic and spiritual perspective, advocated the return to the cult to *wakas* and the rejection of Christianity (see Millones 2007a, Cavero 2001).

⁹ Gose (2008) argues that when Spaniards started to punish and persecute pre-Hispanic cults to ancestors, Andeans turned to new forms of religiosity based on Spanish beliefs and institutions, and that this process was fundamental in the evolution of Andean religiosity since then. He also thinks that as a result of this, there was a ‘transition from mummies to mountains as objects of ancestors worship’ (ibid: 323), so, according to him, the cult to mountain spirits would mainly be a colonial creation.

privileges such as tribute exemption, access to much more land, or work services. Nevertheless, the colonial powers also had a direct presence in the *reducciones* through priests, who directed religious life, and “Indians’ protectors” (*corregidores de indios*), who presided over councils and imparted “justice”, being theoretically in charge of protecting the “Indians” against external aggressors. Priests and “Indians’ protectors” used to live in a central *reducción* (*cabecera*), having several others around under their jurisdiction.

The importance of Toledo’s *reducciones* is more qualitative than quantitative. According to Pajuelo (2000: 153) not even 1000 were founded in the 1570s, and most contemporary Andean communities were created later on, in the Colonial and Republican periods, having diverse origins. Moreover, the indigenous Andean world during the colonial period and beyond has always been more complex and diverse than this type of rural community, with urban and mining centres, the hacienda system, commercial routes and so on. Nevertheless, the *reducciones* have a paradigmatic importance, as they served as a template and fundamental reference to many of the institutions, forms of organisation, and cultural and religious expressions that can be identified with contemporary Andean cultures, and with PPCs.¹⁰ In fact, the current legal status of these communities is in many ways based on the tradition established by this institution.

Moreover, the *reducciones* have also played a key role in the legacy of social exclusion and discrimination that can still be identified with contemporary PPCs. On the one hand, although they were partially created to protect indigenous people and their independence, and abundant legislation was enhanced with this end, they inevitably ended up contributing to the gradual impoverishment and marginalisation of their

¹⁰ The *reducciones* also continued after Toledo. Navarro-Azcue & Ruigómez-Gómez (1993: 227) report how colonial officials had the power to reestablish or create new ones well into the Eighteenth Century.

members, as a result of the intrinsic nature and dynamics of the colonial system, which was ultimately based on the exploitation of the natives. As a general pattern, everything done to protect this collective was finally ignored, or manipulated and used against it.¹¹ Within the communities, the “Indians’ protectors” often become the worst exploiters, speculating and imposing a perverse dynamic of debt; while priests and *kurakas* often took advantage of the *comuneros* too. At the same time, increasingly burdensome obligations were imposed from outside, particularly in relation to work obligations and to tribute, which originally consisted of providing an established annual amount of agricultural product, animals, or manufactured products (e.g. textiles) to the *encomenderos*. Tribute was communally –rather than individually or family- based and placed a huge burden on members. For example, Fuenzalida-Vollmar (1976 [1969]: 230) cites a 1562 census according to which the average “Indian” had to work between seven and eight months per year just to pay the annual tribute. As a result, people often fled their communities to avoid these obligations, breaking social bonds with, and increasing taxation pressures over, those who remained.

On the other hand, the imposed resettlements were traumatic, radically altering *ayllus*’ settlement patterns, their territories, and many other aspects of indigenous life. These effects were combined with other interrelated factors. For example, the concentration of population facilitated the spread of diseases, contributing to the dramatic process of demographic decline of the indigenous population, which was caused by factors such as European illness, colonial exploitation, or psychological trauma.¹² At the same time, there was also a loss of traditional knowledge in relation to

¹¹ As the Spanish cleric Cristóbal de Albornoz affirmed in the 1570-80s: ‘*el obispo y el clérigo y el religioso y la monja y el visorrey y el oydor y corregidores uezino y soldado todos pendemos de ellos y ... los tratamos como a esclavos y lo que es más de sentir es que quanto su Majestad prouee en su fauor se conuirte en su daño*’ (Duviols 1984: 182).

¹² Nathan Wachtel estimates that Andean population decreased 80% between 1530s-90s (cited in Torre-López 2004: 66).

ecological sustainability and resource management. Many irrigation systems and agricultural terraces were abandoned and their technology forgotten, producing a decline of agricultural production and worsening the environmental deterioration caused by factors such as increasing deforestation and aridity, decimation of Andean camelids (e.g. llamas, alpacas) and introduction of harmful European species, or mining-related pollution, among other pernicious consequences of colonial control. Moreover, as Sallnow (1987: 60-1) explains, the resettlement policies gradually eroded wider ethnic identities and links (e.g. *macro-ayllus*), which were replaced by ‘much narrower sets of attachments to community and locality’. This process also eliminated the access to much wider resources. Fuenzalida-Vollmar (1976 [1969]: 225-230) defines the resulting environmental deterioration as ‘ecocide’, which can be considered as one of the worst long-term consequences of the colonial system for Andean peoples and communities, particularly in comparison with the very remarkable degree of ecological adaptation achieved by pre-Hispanic civilisations.

During the rest of the colonial period, indigenous Andean communities (IACs) were basically a source of goods, money and workforce to different hegemonic colonial sectors such as *encomenderos*, crown officials, religious orders, or creole *hacendados*,¹³ becoming a fundamental and subaltern part of the highly hierarchical social system. These communities very often suffered aggressions and land usurpations by external forces, particularly by haciendas, which grew in number and became increasingly expansionist and powerful across the late-colonial period. Furthermore, very often these communities engaged in never-ending land-related disputes and conflicts between themselves, regarding boundaries and the access to increasingly scarce resources. These territorial conflicts were normally channelled through endless legal processes, which

¹³ According to the colonial sectors that dominated IACs, Hurtado (1974: 74-102) distinguishes three periods: *encomenderos* power (1532-1630), clergy power (1630-1730), and creole haciendas power (1730-1821).

were burdensome and costly, and were rarely ultimately satisfactory.¹⁴ All these problems further worsened the precarious situation of these communities, and sometimes led to their disintegration. The variable degree to which they were affected by these problems and processes depended on diverse factors such as location or local resources. Nevertheless, the colonial system offered a certain level of legal recognition and paternalistic protection, and these IACs generally kept a certain degree of independence.

Independence and “legal limbo”

Early Nineteenth Century independence movements led to the division of the Andean world between the resulting new republics. The evolution of IACs from this time onwards varies depending on national circumstances and contexts, although similarities have been maintained across Andean countries. Peruvian independence (1821-4) brought theoretical advantages to indigenous peoples with its egalitarian republican legislation. For example, in 1821 the “liberator” San Martín abolished compulsory work services and physical punishments for indigenous peoples, and their tribute (Robles-Mendoza 2002: 35). However, the tribute was soon re-established,¹⁵ and compulsory work services continued being widespread well into the Twentieth Century. Moreover, independence often led in practice to worsening socioeconomic and living conditions, particularly in the case of IACs. The new legislation did not contemplate any special legal status or recognition to these communities, eliminating the precarious but still important legal protection previously offered by the colonial system. Peruvian

¹⁴ Stern (1982: 115-133) analyses the effects of the colonial legal and judicial system over Andean communities, explaining how although it offered rights and channels of protection, being sometimes successfully used as a mechanism of resistance against external aggression, it ultimately became another channel of control and abuse.

¹⁵ Bolívar brought it back in 1826 as an ‘economic imperative’. It was abolished again in 1854, in the context of the economic bonanza brought by the *huano* boom (ibid: 54); and re-established once again in 1877 as a personal contribution (ibid: 56).

governments in the Nineteenth Century generally tended to instability and weakness, and the scarce pro-indigenous legislation had very limited effects and was often reversed. As Robles-Mendoza (2002: 49) explains, state policies and legislation generally favoured the privatisation and concentration of land in IACs. For instance, Simón Bolívar, who governed Peru in 1824-27, believed that these communities were incompatible with the republican system, and decreed the privatisation of communal lands distributing them among *comuneros*. His aim was to dynamise the economy by transforming *comuneros* into small land owners. Instead, this legislation led to systematic takeovers of communal lands by *hacendados* and powerful middle men (*gamonales*), while *comuneros* generally tended to maintain their communal systems when they had the option (ibid: 46-7). The resulting massive abuses led to the temporary revocation of the law in 1826, although privatisations were legalised again in 1828 (ibid: 47, 49), and land usurpations and privatisations continued throughout the century and beyond. Therefore, between the 1820s and 1920s, Peruvian IACs were in what could be defined as a kind of “legal limbo”, in which many of them were exposed to unprecedented and often systematic levels of aggression by external forces, and to variable processes of privatisation of land. The main external threat came from the hacienda system, which had then become the dominant force in most coastal and Andean rural areas. In this historical context, the tradition of social exclusion and exploitation of IACs reached new dimensions, and many were assimilated by haciendas.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century there were also other important historical processes going on within these communities. For example, hereditary local aristocracies, which had been gradually losing power during the colonial period as a result of increasing communal democracy, lost legal recognition and disappeared as such, although they tended to maintain some privileges (e.g. more lands). There was

also a gradual development of non-*comuneros* social sectors within many Andean communities, which became widespread in the Twentieth Century. These non-*comuneros*, often known as *vecinos* (neighbours), did not participate in the communal organisation, becoming intermediaries with the “outside” world (e.g. urban centres, the state). They tended to accumulate local lands and resources, and to established relations of domination with *comuneros*. The anthropological literature (e.g. Gose 2001 [1994], Isbell 1978) provides the general impression that *vecinos* had diverse origins.¹⁶ Some could be mixed-raced that had come from small urban centres, but others could be descendents of *kurakas*, or of *comuneros* families that abandoned traditional ways looking for upwards social mobility, among other options. Nevertheless, these internal divisions contributed to increase social inequalities within Peruvian IACs, creating or worsening internal tensions and conflicts.

Legal recognition and state protectionism

By the late-Nineteenth Century, a new sensibility towards indigenous cultures started to emerge among a minority of Peruvian intellectuals and artists, who formed the “Indigenist” movement. This movement particularly vindicated and defended past and present Andean cultures. It was never massive but it was increasingly influential, reaching its heyday in the 1920s, when it became highly politicised with figures such as Luis E. Valcárcel or José Carlos Mariátegui (founder of the Peruvian communist party)

¹⁶ Arguedas (1978 [1968]: 304) explains the origin of the terms *comunero/vecino* in the differentiation Indigenous peoples/Spanish colonisers during the colonial period. The *reducciones*’ members were called *comuneros*, so the term became synonymous with “Indian”; while Spaniards –particularly *encomenderos*– were called *vecinos* (which was the equivalent to *comunero* in Spain). Arguedas (ibid: 305) suggests that the Twentieth Century *comuneros/vecinos* were respectively descendents of Indians and Spaniards (through racial mixing); arguing that the two groups represented different castes. However, other authors (e.g. Gose 2001 [1994]: XVI, 16-17; Sallnow 1987: 16) have demonstrated how, at least in the 1970s-80s, this social division was more based on different self-perceptions and conceptions of life than in real –past or present– ethnic differences. In many communities, this internal social division would have a spatial dimension according to divisions in neighbourhoods and/or sub-*ayllus* that would belong exclusively or predominantly to *comuneros* or *vecinos*. The literature accounts for very diverse situations.

among others. This decade actually marks the beginning of a whole series of historical processes that would have fundamental future consequences for IACs, and for the whole of Peru. Back then, in the context of wide socio-political changes (e.g. peasant movements and rebellions,¹⁷ Indigenism's influence, emergence of mass parties and populist politics), the government of Augusto B. Leguía (1919-30) legally recognised Peruvian IACs on the basis of their historical tradition, and started to produce legislation –starting with the 1920 constitution- to regulate their legal status, establishing mechanisms to achieve official recognition as “indigenous communities” (*comunidades indígenas*) on an individual basis. Since then, Peruvian Andean communities have systematically sought this official recognition, which implies positive effects such as a level of protection of their territorial integrity. A remarkable phenomenon is how many communities were created more or less artificially, to take advantage of this legal recognition, and how other former annexes or parts of pre-existing communities looked for –and very often achieved- independence through this legislation,¹⁸ demonstrating the flexibility and capacity of reinvention of these communities. It is also remarkable how many of them had –and have- preserved to different degrees many local institutions, forms of organisation, and social and ritual expressions whose origins can often be traced to the early-colonial period and even before. However, it would be deeply misleading to think –as was often done¹⁹- that these communities had been “frozen in time” through centuries.

The 1920s also mark the beginning of other key historical processes in Peru, such as the expansion of public education, which, particularly since the 1940s, led to the

¹⁷ Bertram (2002 [1991]: 10) talks about an increasing peasant resistance against privatisations and the hacienda system from the late Nineteenth Century, leading to a series of rebellions in the early 1920s that contributed decisively to the legal recognition of indigenous communities.

¹⁸ Dobyns (1970: 35-38) quotes several authors who noticed this phenomenon, providing abundant examples.

¹⁹ Pajuelo (2000: 141) explains how this was a very common vision of Andean communities in the Twentieth Century, offering several examples.

introduction of national primary schools in many Andean communities, where they often become the first direct state presence. There was also an unprecedented development of infrastructure -mainly roads- that would allow new levels of articulation between the highlands and the coast; facilitating an increasing emigration from Andean to coastal and from rural to urban areas, especially to Lima. This emigration reached massive scales from the 1950s, fundamentally changing the demographic and social landscape of the country.²⁰ According to Bertram (2002 [1991]: 8), this process was a result of the demographic growth of Andean regions, which put much pressure on limited resources forcing people to emigrate.²¹ Most of these emigrants came from Andean communities. Significantly, most of them kept their communities of origin as a central reference of their new lives, tending to live and socialise with fellow countrymen, setting up residents associations, recreating local traditions and celebrations, and maintaining their local links for generations. This is an ongoing process that has deeply interrelated Andean communities with urban and coastal areas, and that has created new forms of Andean culture, especially through the recreation and adaptation of local traditions in urban environments.

In following decades there were also other key events and processes that have had fundamental impacts on Peruvian Andean communities. Between 1958 and 1964, there was a whole series of social movements in which members of rural communities throughout the country -particularly in the highlands and the coast- invaded huge swathes of hacienda lands, claiming that they had been taken from them in the past.²²

As Degregori (2000a: 38: 41-2) explains, these largely peaceful movements started

²⁰ In 1940, 65% of Peruvians lived in the Andean highlands and 28.3% in the coast, while the rural population was 64.6%. In 2007 these percentages were 32%, 54.6%, and 24% respectively (INEI 2008: 19-20, 22).

²¹ Bertram (*ibid*) argues that the Peruvian Andes only reached pre-Hispanic demographic levels around the 1950s, leading to that massive migration.

²² Díaz-Martínez (1985 [1969]: 189-194) reviews these movements with detail from a dogmatic Marxist perspective.

spontaneously in different places, and had a snowball effect, reaching a massive scale, and ultimately leading to the collapse of the hacienda system that had dominated Peruvian rural areas since the late-colonial period. This system had been declining for decades as a result of its lack of productivity and obsolete character, so its collapse was relatively easy (ibid). These movements led to timid attempts at land reform in 1964, under the democratic government of Fernando Belaúnde (1963-68); and to the massive land reform of 1969, under the radical military government of Juan Velasco (1968-75), which eliminated the last remains of the hacienda system. During this regime, the government adopted a pro-indigenous discourse, strengthening protectionist policies and legislation towards indigenous communities;²³ which were renamed then as “peasant communities” to eliminate ethnic connotations from their legal title. After the military dictatorship (1968-80) democracy was restored. The 1979 democratic constitution maintained protectionism of PPCs, and further regulated them, for example, by forbidding the accumulation of land by members (Robles-Mendoza 2002: 118-9).

The 1980s were another important period for PPCs. This was a time of deep economic crisis for the whole of Latin America, caused by massive international debt and hyperinflation among other factors. In Peru, this crisis coincided with the beginning and the worst years of “the violence” (see: Roncagliolo 2007, Stern ed. 1998, Degregori 1990, Bourque & Warren 1989). During this decade, the second government of Belaúnde (1980-85) dismantled most of the previous land reform, and it also introduced pro-privatisation and pro-large landowning policies. These policies were reversed by the first government of Alan García’s APRA (1985-89), which, from populist positions,

²³ For example, the 1969 land reform bans private property of land within PPCs, revoking post-1920s privatisations but maintaining previous ones (Robles-Mendoza 2002: 90). A decree of 1970 also regulates the ‘special statute’ of these communities, establishing that land is owned by their members a whole; and that the *comunero* status can only be achieved by birth or marriage (ibid, 98).

developed a pro-PPCs discourse, and further protectionist legislation and policies.²⁴ By the 1990s, the armed conflict contributed to a change of attitude of the Peruvian state towards Andean regions, from traditional negligence towards increasing interventionism. The firstly democratic and later authoritarian regime of Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000) started unprecedented levels of investment in communications, infrastructure, and welfare services in these regions, particularly in those that were more affected by the conflict, as part of an anti-insurgency strategy that included massive human rights violations and corruption (see Caistor & Villarán 2006, Oliart 1998). At the same time, this regime had a strong neoliberal character, which in relation to PPCs resulted in policies and legislation that partially altered the previously dominant state protectionism. For example, the 1993 constitution allows the development of full private property of land within these communities; while a 1995 “law over land” (*ley de tierras*) established mechanisms to get property titles, and a 1996 law facilitates the use of communal lands for -increasingly important and conflictive- mining activities, facilitating private investment.

Current situation

Fujimori’s regime collapsed in 2000 and democracy was restored. Since then, the following governments (Alejandro Toledo’s in 2001-06, and the second García’s of 2006-11) have continued neoliberal politics in an international context of increasing globalisation. These governments have maintained a certain ambiguity towards PPCs, between the tradition of state protectionism and pressures towards liberalisation. Nevertheless, beyond this ambiguity, state intervention and investment have gradually

²⁴ For example, a “general law” for PPCs regulated with detail for the first time their internal functioning, and a “law of demarcation and titling of PCs territories” regulated and consolidated boundaries, both from 1987 (Robles-Mendoza 2002, 128-136). Large amounts of money were also distributed among PPCs, to be invested freely in their own development (ibid, 112-3).

increased in Andean rural areas, as part of a wider increase in social spending,²⁵ particularly in relation to infrastructure and development-related initiatives. In this historical context, PPCs are changing rapidly. These communities are very diverse and therefore are experiencing social change in many different ways and degrees, although Andean regions generally remain among the poorest parts of Peru, and many of their historical problems remain largely unaddressed. As general tendencies, those in the southern highlands tend to maintain their communal features and local traditions much more than those of the central and northern highlands and coast, which have historically been more affected by processes of acculturation and privatisation. The latter are more integrated into the market economy; especially those that are located in the coast and in the Andean western slopes, whose production and economies are greatly oriented to coastal urban centres.²⁶

Summarising, I suggest to differentiate three main periods regarding the Peruvian state's attitudes and policies towards these communities: from 1820s to 1910s they were in a kind "legal limbo" which allowed widespread processes of usurpation and privatisation of communal lands by external and internal forces; from the 1920s to the 1980s they were legally recognised and protected by the state; and since the 1990s, there has been a tension between neoliberal pressures for privatisation and assimilation, and continuity of state protectionism; although their special legal status has been largely preserved so far. Regarding wider attitudes towards these communities, I would distinguish two opposed positions,²⁷ between "defenders" who have often tended towards idealised visions as egalitarian and harmonious societies that must be preserved and protected (e.g. 1920s Indigenism, 1960-70s radical military, 1980s APRA

²⁵ Peruvian social spending passed from 3.9% of the GDP in 1990-91, to 7.8% in 2008-09; although the percentage is still among the lowest in Latin America (CEPAL 2010: 165)

²⁶ Robles-Mendoza (2002: 16-21) explains with more detail differences between PPCs across regions.

²⁷ Reviewing early studies of Andean communities Pajuelo (2000: 128) makes a similar distinction, which I extrapolate here to this wider context.

government), and “detractors”, who have often considered them as obsolete institutions that contribute to maintain their inhabitants in poverty, and that therefore must be eliminated to facilitate their development, and the integration of their members into national life (e.g. Nineteenth Century republican elites, most orthodox neoliberals since the 1990s). As a contrast with these positions, I argue that these communities have effectively been an important part, although not the reason, of Peruvian Andean peoples’ poverty and social exclusion; and that they are definitely not a model of equality and harmony, as they tend to present important internal social tensions and divisions. However, I also argue that these communities have historically offered important levels of social cohesion, a fundamental cultural reference and identity, and certain levels of protection and independence to their members in a wider context of discrimination and social exclusion; and that these factors are key to understand their continuity and resilience. I would also highlight the key role that state policies and legislation have had in shaping the historical evolution of these communities since colonial times (e.g. colonial *reducciones*, PPCs’ legislation), which contradicts the image of isolation and “timelessness” with which they have been often associated. In any case, it is clear that they continue to have a key role in Peruvian society and Andean cultures, which can not be ignored or underestimated. It is for this reason that I intend to contribute in this thesis to understanding their continuity, role, and functioning, at the start of the Twenty-first Century.

II. ANDEAN ANTHROPOLOGY AND COMMUNITY STUDIES ²⁸

The anthropological academic study of Andean cultures (and communities) started in the 1940s. However, it is possible to identify some earlier and some immediate precedents. Degregori (2000a: 25-30) traces the former to the writings of the early-colonial period (e.g. by conquerors, clergy, chroniclers, mixed-race individuals); and to those of European travellers of the late-Eighteenth and early-Nineteenth centuries (e.g. Humboldt, Raimondi), in the contexts of the Enlightenment and Romanticism (ibid). These authors were the first to try to understand, and to explain to western audiences, indigenous Andean cultures. Actually, the existence of such rich earlier precedents – particularly those of the early colonial period as a result of the unique circumstances of “the conquest”- provides one of the most distinctive characteristics of Andean Anthropology. As Harris (2000a: 1) noted, the importance of the past as a fundamental reference differentiates it from Anthropology in other regions, where it has focused unequivocally on the present.

The immediate precedents can be traced to the first three decades of the Twentieth Century, and are linked to the aforementioned Peruvian Indigenist movement, which led to a new interest in the study of past and present Andean cultures, and to the emergence of pioneering authors and institutions.²⁹ Regarding the study of Andean communities, as Pajuelo (2000: 128) explains, earlier monographs appeared in Peru from the 1900s.³⁰ The first ones were made by lawyers and agronomists, who were interested in the legal status of land property or by changes in agriculture. Others started to approach Andean communities in terms of supporting or rejecting their existence (ibid), normally from

²⁸ This historiographical review focuses on community studies in Peru. Specifically about this see: Pajuelo (2000), Urrutia (1992), and Fonseca (1985). On the evolution of Andean Anthropology see: Harris (2009 & 2000a); Starn (1994, 1991); Osterling & Martínez (1983); Salomon (1982); Valcárcel (1985 [1980]); and particularly –focusing on Peru- Degregori (ed. 2000), which includes: Ávila (2000a & b); Degregori (2000a & b); Golte (2000); and Roel-Mendizábal (2000).

²⁹ Osterling & Martínez (1983: 344-5) review these institutions.

³⁰ Pajuelo (ibid: 128-131) offers a complete review of these earlier studies.

ideological perspectives (e.g. Andean communities as socialist societies that must be protected or abolished, depending on the author's ideology). Castro-Pozo (1979 [1924]) is the first author that presented fieldwork-based ethnographic descriptions of some of these communities. He was a socialist Indigenist who worked as head of the Peruvian *Sección de Asuntos Indígenas*, undertaking fieldwork in the regions of Jauja and Junín, and presented a positive image of the communities, which he considered as continuities of pre-Hispanic *ayllus*. By the 1930s, the first foreign anthropologists started undertaking community-based fieldwork in the Andes. According to Starn (1994: 15), they were few and shared a dislike for the indigenous peoples they were studying, despite denouncing their exploitation. However, Pajuelo (2000: 132) convincingly argues that it was the arrival of authors like Mishkin or Tschopik, which marked the beginning of the scientific study of Andean cultures and communities.

Initial period (mid-1940s - mid-1960s)³¹

Andean Anthropology started after World War II, with a series of landmark events, such as the publication of the *Handbook of South American Indians* (1946-50), whose second volume of 1946 was dedicated to the Andes.³² There was an increasing participation of foreign scholars and institutions, such as the Smithsonian and Cornell University, which started several projects where future generations of academics from Andean countries were trained (e.g. Virú project in 1946, Peru-Cornell in 1952); at the same time as new institutions were created by national or foreign initiative. In Peru, after the authoritarian -fascist-leaning- regimes of the 1930s-1945, the democratic government of José Luis Bustamante (1945-48) was very important in this process, recovering figures of the

³¹ The following periodisation has a referential and flexible character, being partially based on those offered by Degregori (ed. 2000), and on my personal interpretations.

³² It presented fieldwork-based work by pioneering authors (e.g. Valcárcel, Mishkin), and earlier works of key future figures (e.g. Murra, Rowe). Pajuelo (2000: 132) considers it as the 'starting point' of Andean communities' Anthropology.

Indigenist movement (e.g. Valcárcel as Minister of Culture), and facilitating the creation of key institutions such as San Marcos' Ethnology Institute (1946), the Institute of Ethnological Studies (1947), and the French Institute of Andean Studies (1948).

Osterling & Martínez (1983: 345-6) affirm that during this initial period there was not much interest in theoretical issues, and anthropological work followed a practical and empirical approach; while Degregori (2000b: 39) argues that initially there were three main fields of study: folklore, communities, and projects of "Applied Anthropology", which were mainly community-based. In this context, Andean rural communities and peasant peoples became dominant themes, such that Pajuelo (2000: 132) defines these decades as the "golden age" of community studies in the Andes. Descriptive approaches were dominant, firstly of individual communities in isolation, and later, often as part of wider projects/areas. For example, the "Huarochirí-Yauyos project" (1952-55) set to study 28 communities in relation to each other and to their regional and national contexts (Matos-Mar et al. 1958); or the "Lurín valley, Pachacámac community project" (1955-58), which studied from a multidisciplinary perspective the haciendas and indigenous communities of that valley. These were organised by San Marcos' Ethnology Institute and directed by José Matos-Mar.

An earlier division between "short-" and "long-termist" approaches to Andean cultures and communities can be traced to this initial period, depending on a dominant focus on social change and development, or on historical continuities and cultural phenomena respectively. The former can be theoretically linked to schools such as "Developmentism" (*desarrollismo*), and particularly to "Applied Anthropology", whose projects were directed to provoke social change and development of certain community/ies/areas, with the idea that their positive effects would spread. Ávila (2000a: 415) criticises Applied Anthropology arguing that it was a strategy of

containment to revolutionary ideologies that resulted from the Cold War (ibid);³³ and that, although the projects were supposedly based on the respect of the beneficiaries' cultures, they actually were based on paternalistic and prejudiced positions that considered cultural assimilation as the ultimate goal and ideal (ibid: 416-7). According to Degregori (2000b: 41-2), the most remarkable aspect of these projects in Peru was how their objectives were in many ways surpassed by the massive and spontaneous peasant movements of the late-1950s-mid-1960s (see above), which practically eliminated the hacienda system without any theoretical or anthropological influence.³⁴ Nevertheless, these and other projects and initiatives, such as those of San Marcos, resulted in many community studies that generally focused on the study of social change,³⁵ looking often for communities that could be considered as examples of "progress", understood as the gradual overcoming of traditional ways through acculturation and integration into national life and the market economy. Examples of this approach are the studies of Doughty (1968) in the district of Huaylas (Ancash), and Adams (1968 [1959]) in the community of Muquiyauyo (Junín).

As a contrast, "long-termism" in this period could be theoretically linked to "American Culturalism", and identified with authors such as those linked to the *Handbook* (e.g. Mishkin, Tschopik, Kubler, Valcárcel), who were generally more interested in long-term historical continuities, and in other classical anthropological themes (e.g. kinship, ritual life), as exemplified by Tschopik's (e.g. 1955) work on Chucuito, an Aymara community in Lake Titicaca (Puno). Although the focus on social

³³ Most Twentieth Century revolutions (e.g. Mexico, Russia, Vietnam) had important peasant components, so great attention was given to this collective during the Cold War (ibid: 423-4).

³⁴ The most famous project was the mentioned "Peru-Cornell project" (1952-72), which focused on the development of the hacienda of Vicos (Callejón de Huaylas, Ancash), bought by Cornell University. It was relatively successful (e.g. former workers became land owners, living standards raised), but it did not meet the expectations created by the level of investment and effort. About this project see: Osterling & Martínez (1983: 345-6) and Ávila (2000a: 418-421), who reviews other projects of the period.

³⁵ Valcárcel (1985 [1980]: 22-3), then director of San Marcos' Ethnology Institute, explains that the plan was to combine the study of continuities and change, but that the latter finally dominated.

change was very important, according to Degregori (2000b: 43) community studies in Peru during this period were predominately oriented towards this focus on continuities, particularly those conducted in the southern highlands (ibid). From this perspective, these communities were often considered as almost “frozen-in-time”.³⁶ In my opinion, these contrasting dominant approaches, with the “short-termist” focus on “progressive” and “acculturated” communities and the “long-termist” focus on “ageless” and “immovable” communities and traditions, resulted in a simplifying dichotomy that undermines the validity of and interest in community studies conducted under such premises. However, already in this initial period, there were also more nuanced and flexible approaches, as exemplified by Arguedas’ work on Puquio (Ayacucho), which studied historical continuities and cultural phenomena in a context of social change. For example, in a 1956 article significantly titled “a culture in flux” (*una cultura en proceso de cambio*). It is possible to identify already in this initial period a geographical divide – that would continue later- between a “long-termist” focus on the southern Peruvian highlands (and the Bolivian Andes), considered as more “traditional” areas, and a “short-termist” focus on the central, northern and coastal Peruvian highlands, considered as more “modern”.

During this same period, wider academic developments influenced Andean Anthropology. As part of the interest in peasant peoples, authors such as Robert Redfield and Eric R. Wolf offered new interpretations of and approaches to Latin American peasants, exploring the dichotomies rural/urban or tradition/modernity among other topics. For example, Wolf’s (1957, 1955) categorisation of “open” and “closed corporate” peasant communities had an important impact in the Andes, particularly in

³⁶ For example, the Peruvian newspaper *La Prensa* sponsored a notorious 1955 expedition to the community of Q’ero (Cusco), made by a prestigious multidisciplinary team to study the local culture, presenting it as a ‘journey to the past’ (Pajuelo 2000: 141).

the following period.³⁷ At the same time, Anthropology in Andean countries turned to important historical processes that were going on at the time. For instance, as Harris (2000a: 6) explains, in Bolivia there was an interest in the effects of the 1952 revolution and of the resulting land reform; while in Peru there was a new focus of study on emigration from Andean to coastal and urban areas, especially to Lima, which was reaching massive scales at the time, leading to the beginning of urban anthropology there (see Golte 2000 and Sandoval 2000).

This was also the period when a new generation of scholars emerged in Andean countries, changing the study of the Andean past through a new academic perspective, Ethnohistory. As commented in the introduction chapter, the most important of them were Rowe, Murra, and Zuidema,³⁸ who surpassed the previously dominant –and ideologically partisan- approach to the study of the Inca Empire.³⁹ They pointed out the flaws of the colonial chronicles (e.g. biased Spanish perspectives, privileged Inca versions), using alternative written sources (e.g. administrative records, census); and introduced new theoretical influences (e.g. Structuralism, French Annales School) and a key multidisciplinary approach that incorporated Archaeology and especially Ethnography. As a result, the study of the Andean past became intimately linked to the study of its present, through the search for continuities, the comparison with colonial sources, and so on. These academics had a great influence over Andean anthropology in the following period, when their historical and comparative approach became a key reference to the study of contemporary Andean peoples.

³⁷ Wolf (1955) used the category of ‘corporate community’ to characterise Andean and Mesoamerican peasant communities. Later (Wolf 1957), he compared communities in Mesoamerica and Java, using the concept of ‘closed corporate’ to define the mechanism of defence of these communities against externally-induced change. This concept of “closed corporate community” was later used in the Andes.

³⁸ They came from Europe or the USA and started to work in the Andes in this period, influencing other foreign (e.g. Wachtel, Duviols) and Peruvian (e.g. Rostoworowski, Pease, or Espinoza) ethnohistorians.

³⁹ As commented in footnote 2 of this chapter, in the context of the Cold War some authors considered the Inca Empire as “socialist”, comparing it with the Soviet Union.

“Classical” period (mid-1960s – mid-1980s)

This could be considered as a “classical period” of Andean Anthropology, because of the quality and quantity of work produced, and the advances in the knowledge of past and present Andean cultures (and communities). This was the result, on the one hand, of the historical contexts of the period, as a time of radical politics (e.g. Latin America becoming a key “battlefield” of the Cold War) and of rapid social change. This also brought important changes within academia such as an increasing thematic diversification (e.g. emigration, social movements), and the influence of emerging ideologies and theoretical schools (e.g. Marxism, Dependency theory, Structuralism, Cultural Ecology). As Harris (2000a: 6-7) explains, by the late-1960s, a radical version of Modernisation theory had swept into prominence in Latin America, and political mobilisation led to a renewed interest in Marxist theory, which ‘brought a radical and much-needed rethink of the political and economic relations within which peasant communities were embedded’ (ibid). In fact, by the 1970s Marxism dominated many Peruvian universities, although its influence was problematic. Degregori (2000b: 46) defines that dominant 1970s Marxism as ‘manual Marxism’, criticising its dogmatic character that neglected culture and empirical investigation, particularly fieldwork. Nevertheless, within this historical/academic context, there were new sensibilities and interests in “subaltern” peoples, such as indigenous groups and peasants.

On the other hand, academically, Andean Anthropology acquired a new dimension as a result of the framework provided by the aforementioned ethnohistorians, to approach the contemporary Andean world from the study of its past. Murra can be considered as the main author behind this. He wanted to interpret the Andean past in its own terms, beyond western paradigms, identifying a series of key concepts (e.g. reciprocity, redistribution) and institutions (e.g. *ayllu*, *ayni*), whose particular

expressions he considered as common and exclusive to the Andean world, specifically to the “core Andean region”; and using them as the main tools to explain and interpret past Andean cultures. Golte (2000: 209-211) calls this approach “Substantivism” (*substantivismo*), which became very influential in the study of contemporary Andean cultures and communities as a result of their remarkable continuities. Moreover, Murra also identified particular strategies of ecological adaptation among Andean ethnic groups during Inca times, to access as many ecological zones as possible, complementing and diversifying economic activities, resources, and production (see chapter 4).⁴⁰ His theories were very successful and ecological adaptation became a main research focus of Andean studies in the 1970s-80s; as other authors started to look for evidence, variations, or survivals of these strategies, in past and present Andean ethnic groups and communities, with more or less success and originality.

Zuidema also had a key influence. He was linked to the Structuralist School, and focused on the study of Inca kinship, calendar, myths, and Cusco’s socio-spatial organisation (e.g. Zuidema 1964). Harris (2000a: 9) compares him with Claude Lévi-Strauss⁴¹ for his ‘seemingly intuitive grasp of what fragmentary references in the sources to indigenous beliefs and practices might signify’ (ibid). Harris also summarises the influence of these two authors:

‘Murra’s highlighting of key aspects of Inca social and economic organization, and Zuidema’s sensibility to symbolic forms together provided powerful tools for understanding the cultural practices of indigenous peasants in the Andes. Their work is historical but at the same time indicated a preference for understanding the quality of lived experience in the past, rather than the dynamic of historical transformation. Their

⁴⁰ Murra developed his theories and ideas over a long period, but his *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (1975), can be seen as the principal work in which he compiles, summarises, and articulates them. Van-Buren (1996) critically traces the influences and references of Murra’s work.

⁴¹ Lévi-Strauss’s Structuralism was based on the assumption that the human mind works through a ‘universal logic of dualities’ that he defined as ‘binary oppositions’ (e.g. life versus death), which are of ‘an integrated system of logically connected categories of meaning that structure social activity and the way that activity was conceptualized.’ (Erickson & Murphy 1998: 96).

work also encouraged the strategy of cross-referencing Sixteenth and Twentieth Centuries materials.’ (ibid).

These ethnohistorians were very influential and many anthropologists started to apply their theories and approaches to contemporary Andean cultures and communities, focusing on historical continuities. As Harris (2000a: 10) explains: ‘The emphasis on continuities from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries and on unique features of Andean civilization proved a powerful and influential combination, which by the early-1980s became identified in shorthand as *lo andino*’, and as result of this process, Andean peasants became a distinctive field of study within Anthropology, although Andean ethnography has had a small impact in the wider discipline ‘suggesting a degree of localism and introversion’ (ibid: 1). In the same vein, Starn (1994: 16) talks about limited public diffusion and insularity within the discipline, as a result of a lack of participation in broader academic contexts, and of the emphasis on some exclusive concepts. Nevertheless, this kind of approach was not exclusive to the Andean world. From a critical perspective, Field (1994) links it with what he defines as a ‘cultural survival position’ (or ‘school’) in the wider context of the ethnographic study of indigenous cultures in Latin America;⁴² which, according to this author, tended to identify particular indigenous cultures, assigning them ‘fixed cultural traits, particular language, worldview and its rituals, social organization and leadership’ (ibid: 237).

As a result of this academic and historical context, during this period there are increasingly complex and elaborate anthropological approaches to Andean cultures; and the differentiation between “long- and short-termism” perspectives reaches new dimensions. The former can logically be associated with those that are more influenced

⁴² Field (ibid) traces the theoretical roots of this school to Boas in the USA, who ‘tightly bound language, material culture, and cultural identities together’, and to British Structural Functionalism, ‘which imagines social relations as a homeostatic organism in which individual and collective behaviors are defined by cultural norms and values in order to maintain social equilibrium.’

by ethnohistorians and their approaches, while the latter remained more associated with concerns about development and social change, which during these years became influenced by emerging ideologies, particularly by Marxism. In a polarised ideologically context, since the late-1960s there was an increasing tension between “long-” and “short-termism”, which was partially –although not exclusively- the result of a certain confrontation between Ethnohistory or Marxism-influenced tendencies, even though they were not necessarily mutually exclusive. As Harris (2009) explains, “short-termists” authors accused “long-termists” authors of romanticising indigenous cultures and over-emphasising historical continuities;⁴³ while the latter criticised the former for the limited temporal validity of their approach, and for a tendency to neglect non-material aspects of life such as religion and culture. There are contradictory assessments on which tendency dominated these decades. Harris (ibid) –a self-defined “long-termist”- affirms that “long-termism” dominated, while Pajuelo (2000: 143) affirms that there was more interest in change than in continuities. Personally, I suggest that “long-termism” tended to dominate among foreign authors, who generally had a more pan-Andean vocation, while “short-termism” was more dominant among authors from Andean countries, who generally tended to more national perspectives and greater engagement with politics.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, once again, it is necessary to keep in mind that this division long-/short-termism is relative, in relation to predominant tendencies rather than to neatly defined perspectives, schools or ideologies; and that there are flexible and overlapping approaches. For example, Ávila (2000a: 193-4) explains how

⁴³ As an example, Mayer (2005: 11) recalls how B.J. Isbell and himself attended the 1971 “International Congress of Americanists” in Lima, and how, there, the French anthropologists Favre criticised Murra and Zuidema for influencing into their students a ‘romantic and selective interpretation’ of some aspects of life in Andean communities, as ‘continuities from the past’. At the time, Mayer and Isbell were students of Murra and Zuidema respectively.

⁴⁴ “Long-termist” authors were often linked to leading ethnohistorians, who had a wider international profile, attracting many foreign academics. A divide core (European-North American world)/periphery (Andean countries) could be perceived here. Scholars from Andean countries rarely have the international influence of their foreign peers. This can partially be explained by language barriers, but it could also be linked with more problematic power relationships north-south/core-periphery.

during the 1970s-80s an emergent generation of Andean academics (e.g. Galindo, Burga, Stern, Spalding) set to break the gap between Ethnohistory and Marxism,⁴⁵ introducing the study of mentalities and offering new visions of contemporary Andean peasants (and communities) as a product of ‘dynamic resistance’ and continuous re-adaptation.

Community studies during this period maintained a central role within Andean Anthropology, although not as central as in the previous period as a result of increasing academic diversification and expansion. Degregori (2000b: 44) notes how there was an evolution from more descriptive to more interpretative approaches, and also a tendency to wider projects, studying communities of certain micro-regions or areas. Importantly, during these years there were also significant attempts to systematise information produced by existing community ethnographies (e.g. Dobyns 1970, Fuenzalida-Vollmar 1976 [1969], Matos-Mar 1965); to study the origins and evolution of these communities (e.g. Arguedas 1978 [1968], Hurtado 1974); and to define their nature. For example, Fonseca (1985: 73-5) explains different interpretations of Andean communities in the Twentieth Century: as continuities of pre-Hispanic *ayllus* (e.g. Castro-Pozo 1979 [1924]); as mere “transplants” of European institutions, basically by Marxists who considered the colonial regime as a form of feudalism (e.g. Mariátegui 2005 [1928], Diaz-Martínez 1985 [1969], Hurtado 1974); as “a product of conquest” (e.g. Wolf 1957, Fuenzalida-Vollmar 1976 [1969]); or as an original product of cultural syncretism (e.g. Arguedas 1978 [1968]).

An example of “short-termist” approaches to community studies in this period is the project “Studies of change in Peruvian villages” (*Proyecto de estudios de cambios en pueblos peruanos*) of the *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*, which, with the

⁴⁵ Pajuelo (2000: 156) identifies several Peruvian works that combine both approaches (e.g. *Reciprocidad e intercambio en los Andes peruanos*, edited by Alberti & Mayer in 1973).

collaboration of Cornell and several Peruvian universities, set to study 27 communities in the valleys of Chancay (Lima) and Mataro (Junín) in the mid-/late-1960s, focusing on the factors that created social change and “progress” in these communities and areas. This project’s philosophy was similar to those discussed in the previous period, and consisted of identifying communities which were considered as positive or negative examples of progress –largely understood as integration into the market economy and elimination of traditional lifestyles- and the reasons and factors that allowed or hindered such progress. An example of this is Degregori & Golte’s (1973) study of Pacaraos (Lima), which is presented as a negative example for being considered in a process of ‘structural disintegration’, caused by its ‘conservative’ character and ‘weak integration’ (ibid: 5). The community is negatively compared with others (Lampián and Huayopampa) previously studied as part of the project in the same valley, which were becoming ‘modern’ through the introduction of commercial crops (ibid). This study is interesting, and introduces new theoretical references of the period, such as Dependency Theory, Murra’s ecological theories, and Wolf’s concept of “closed corporate community”. However, it still presents a concept of “progress” as acculturation, and a rejection or negligence of traditional culture that is generally found in “short-termist” community -and community-based- studies of this period, particularly those made from dogmatic Marxist perspectives (e.g. Díaz-Martínez 1985 [1969], Huamaní-Ore 1977).

As a contrast, “long-termist” approaches to community studies during these years tended to focus on traditional aspects of Andean culture, presenting positive –and often idealised- images of them. The theoretical framework offered by Ethnohistory created new interpretative tools, bringing a qualitative leap forward to the study of Andean communities. The works conducted by students of Zuidema –and following his Structuralist approach- in the Pampas-Qaracha area, where Taulli belongs (see

Introduction), can be considered among them. For example, Quispe-Mejia's (1968) comparative study of Choque Huarcaya and Huancasancos, which focuses on propitiatory livestock-related rituals, and on their wider links with social, religious, and ritual systems; Palomino-Flores' (1970) on the socio-spatial organisation of Sarhua and its rich ritual manifestations, which have internal *sub-ayllus* divisions as a main reference and are interpreted as expressions of duality, considered as the central organising principle; and, particularly, Isbell's (1978) comprehensive study of Chuschi, which focuses on local ritual life, kinship, and sociospatial organisation; theoretically combining influences of Zuidema's Structuralism, Murra's ecological concerns, and Wolf's concept of "closed corporate community". Here, the author argues that the traditional social organisation and rituals serve as mechanisms by which Chuschinos' *comuneros* "defend" their "closed" society against the influence of unstoppable social change, showing the tensions and contradictions that result from such a dynamic, for example in the context of an internal social division *comuneros/vecinos*.

Other "long-termist" community studies produced during this period have become key references for the particular themes they focus on, surpassing their particular case studies and often becoming "classics". For example, Urton's (1981) study on the agricultural use and wider connotations of astronomy in Misminay (Cusco) is a seminal work in the rich field of Andean ethno-astronomy. The author studies astronomical observation and the correlation of solar and lunar cycles in relation to the agricultural sequence of tasks in this community, looking for continuities from -and differences with- Inca times, by comparison with colonial chronicles and Zuidema's studies of Inca astronomy; while Sallnow (1987) uses his work in Qamawara to study pilgrimages in the Cusco region, offering a basic reference to approach this key aspect of Andean religiosity in the past and in the present. He argues that Andean pilgrimages are part of

‘certain religious structures and processes’ that ‘are endemic to central Andes society and have continued to manifest themselves, transformed, to the present day’ (ibid: 26), mingling Christian and “pagan” beliefs. This study also shows wider dimensions of these pilgrimages, such as their commercial links (through markets and fairs), or their role as a channel through which participants strength and renew their local social bonds, in the context of their regional sacred landscape. Similarly, Allen’s (1988) beautifully written and poetic study of Sonqo (Cusco) is a key reference to understand ritual dimensions and the symbolism of coca in Andean cultures. Allen argues that coca is the major ritual vehicle that serves as a bridge between the world of the people and their land in this community, and as ‘link between the social and the spiritual’ (ibid: 17), using the concepts of reciprocity and dualism to explain local religious and ritual life.

Other interesting community -and community-based- studies produced in this period following -more or less- similar approaches are Harris’ (2000b) articles on the Laymi *ayllu* (Northern Potosí, Bolivia); Bastien’s (1978) on the ritual life of the Kaata *ayllu* (Midwestern Bolivia); Rasnake’s (1989 [1988]) study of traditional authorities among the Yura *ayllu* (Potosí); Valderrama & Escalante’s (1988) study of irrigation in Yanque (Colca valley, Arequipa); or Urton’s (1990, 1984) works on myths, ethnohistory, and spatial organisation in Pacariqtambo (Cusco). Generally, all these predominantly “long-termist” studies present very interesting ethnographic information, and rich and elaborate interpretations of local Andean cultures. However, some of them tend to present more idealised and “ageless” visions of these cultures, tending to neglect or underestimate social change (e.g. Bastien 1978), while others present more flexible approaches to them, and to the dynamics between change and continuity, generally resulting in more convincing and nuanced works (e.g. Harris 2000b).

There are also some very good community studies that generally follow similar “long-termist” approaches, but are based on fieldwork undertaken in the early-mid-1980s and published after this period, incorporating other theoretical references. For example, Gose’s (2001 [1994]) study of Huaquirca (Apurímac) particularly focuses on the local internal division *vecinos/comuneros*, which is interpreted as a class –rather than an ethnic- division from a Marxist-influenced perspective; presenting also very complex and detailed agropastoral-related rituals, as deeply interrelated with the cult to ancestors and mountain spirits, and as part of ancient wider religious and social beliefs. Another examples is Gelle’s (2002 [2000]) study of Cobanaconde (Colca Valley, Arequipa). It focuses on a local irrigation, which combines traditional and state management and presents very rich ritual and symbolical dimensions, linked to an internal dual socio-spatial division. The author shows how Andean traditional beliefs and ritual practices are compatible with processes of globalisation and transnationalisation, addressing more recent academic issues and concerns.

“Revisionism” and “fragmentation” (late-1980s-2000s)

As already commented, the 1980s was a time of dramatic historical change in Andean countries and Latin America more broadly (e.g. democratisation from military regimes, economic crisis, neoliberal reform, Peruvian “violence”). In the context of Andean Anthropology, from the end of the decade there was an increasing presence of postmodern tendencies, which, among other consequences, led to a reaction against the dominant paradigms of the “Classical period”, particularly in relation to “long-termist” approaches; and to a rejection of community studies as a methodology (see introduction). This tendency culminated in the early-1990s in a context of heated

criticisms and “revisionism”. Starn (1994, 1992, 1991⁴⁶) is the author who best exemplifies this reaction. He criticises 1960s-80s “long-termism”, identifying it with the concepts of “the Andean” and “Andeanism”, and linking this academic approach with an idealisation of the native, and the ‘proclivity for presenting contemporary peasants as noble inheritors of pure and ancient traditions’ (Starn 1994: 16). Specifically, he uses Isbell’s community study of Chuschi as central example of this approach. This choice is highly symbolic because, as mentioned in the introduction, Shining Path perpetrated its first publicised violent action in Chuschi (in 1980), soon after the publication of Isbell’s work (in 1978). Starn criticises her and others ethnographers’ inability to predict the armed conflict in that part of Ayacucho, where abundant fieldwork and community studies had been carried out during previous years. Starn blames the focus on historical continuities and on essentialised aspects of Andean culture for this “inability”, using Isbell’s presentation of Chuschi as a “closed” society to illustrate his point. Regarding this polemic, I think that while many aspects of Starn’s critiques certainly have a basis and provide valuable ideas, his use of Isbell’s book can be seen as flawed, as he makes a very selective use of her work, stressing the parts that fit his argument and neglecting those that do not. For example, Starn does not mention the fact that Isbell’s central argument includes the idea that the “closeness” of Chuschi’s society is a kind of “illusion” that local *comuneros* try to maintain in a context of unstoppable social change; that she dedicates a whole chapter to local emigration to Lima, as a key factor of change in the community; or the fact that this study actually –and vividly– shows deep social and political tensions that contribute to explain and contextualise the subsequent “violence”.

⁴⁶ These articles are successive re-elaborations of the same ideas, and they attracted heated criticism and support. The journal *Allpanchis* dedicated a special issue to this debate in 1992, with a Spanish version of the first article and several responses, while the 1994 article revisited the polemic, including further feedback.

Contemporarily, and also from “revisionist” perspectives, other authors criticised other key aspects of that 1960s-80s “long-termism” such as the idea of Andean “exclusiveness” (e.g. Stanish 2001), or Murra’s theories of ecological adaptation (Van-Buren 1996). The critiques reached the concept of “the Andean” itself, which Starn (1994: 16) defines as ‘an artificial occidental invention’ associated with ‘a topical view’ of ‘a timeless Andean World’, arguing that there was never a unique Andean tradition; while Antoinetta Fioravanti (quoted in Ricard-Lanata 2005: 11) talks about an “Andeanism” that is more ‘dreamed of than demonstrated’. Field (1994) contextualises this period’s “revisionism” as part of a wider ‘resistance school’ emerging at the time in the ‘analysis and representation’ of Latin American indigenous cultures and peoples. According to this author, the followers of this school brought an ‘anti-essentialist’ perspective, and a new focus on ‘the processual nature of indigenous identities’ (ibid: 237),⁴⁷ tracing the theoretical references of this school to Canclini’s (2001 [1992]) concepts of hybridity in Latin America, and to Clifford’s (1988) critiques of western approaches to Ethnography, among other authors (ibid).

As a result of this “revisionism”, 1960s-80s “long-termism” became quite discredited in the 1990s. Some authors that were linked to it turned more to History (e.g. Platt, Urton, Gose), and others engaged to varying degrees with self-criticism or with other academic concerns (e.g. Isbell). Paradoxically, this academic “discredit” took place at the same time that many aspects of this “long-termism” became popular in other spheres such as development policies and legislation towards Andean regions and communities (e.g. the emphasis on concepts like reciprocity), which increasingly

⁴⁷ Field (ibid: 237), a follower of this school, argues that indigenous identities are continuously redefined by their self-identified protagonists, in the context of ‘a struggle for resources’ waged between hegemonic sectors of the nation-state and ‘the social organizations of indigenous communities.’ Field also argues that indigenous cultures have been so much moulded by colonialism that ‘have little or not connection’ to pre-colonial societies, and that ‘the resistance struggle itself has become the primary characteristic of Indian ethnicity.’ (ibid).

incorporated an attention to and sensibility towards local cultures and traditions (e.g. 1980s legislation on PPCs). Similarly, Ricard-Lanata (2005: 11) explains that the academic “revisionism” of “the Andean” was parallel with an increasing popularity of the concept in international politics (e.g. initiatives of economic regional integration like the 1997-founded “Andean Community of Nations”), and social movements (e.g. emergent indigenous movements in Bolivia claiming Andean identity and using pan-Andean symbols, like the Tawantinsuyu flag).

Personally, I believe that this 1990s “revisionism” rightly identified and criticised negative aspects of the 1960s-80s “long-termism”, but that the resulting rejection of this whole academic perspective led to a regrettable lack of continuity in the study and use of other perfectly valid and useful aspects. For example, regarding the concept of “the Andean”, so criticised in the 1990s, I found it a valid practical category that is based on some objective basis (e.g. historical similarities of the “core Andean region”); and that can be considered as artificial as any division in academic disciplines, which are just practical categories to approach a complex and multidimensional reality. I also perceive certain “fashionability” in the way that “revisionism” took place, or in how community studies were generally rejected; although this could be also linked to wider academic dynamics, and the way new trends and schools sometimes emerge -with greater or lesser justification and fairness- as a reaction against pre-existing ones, showing an almost “ritualistic character” which would benefit from anthropological study in its own right.

Since these years of “revisionism”, there has been a much greater diversification of Anthropology in Andean countries as a result of the emergence of new research foci and theoretical approaches (e.g. development studies, urban Anthropology, international migration, gender). This has also affected the study of Andean cultures and peoples,

which has experienced certain fragmentation and a shift towards predominantly “short-termist” approaches, with an increasing importance of the world of Development Studies and projects and NGOs (see Ávila 2000b),⁴⁸ and an interest in other aspects of Andean culture (e.g. urban-rural interconnections, emergence of Evangelism, effects of Peruvian “violence”). In this academic context, the anthropological study of Andean rural areas and communities has lost ground compared to previous periods, and community studies have become quite marginal; although ethnographic fieldwork continued to be undertaken in Andean areas and communities, with an increasing participation of other disciplines (see Pajuelo 2000: 161-4), such as Cultural Geography, and an increasing involvement of ethnographers in development-related projects (see Ávila 2000b: 423-439), whose related fieldwork tends to have very practical objectives and limited scope.

Nevertheless, a significant number of community studies have been published since the 1990s, although they have often been based on fieldwork undertaken earlier. Some contrasting examples based on fieldwork undertaken in the context of “revisionism” are Alber’s (1999 [1993]) on Huayopampa⁴⁹ (Lima) and Bolin’s (1998) on Chillihuani (Cusco). The former is a community whose members completely changed traditional settlement patterns and economic activities, to exclusively produce fruits orientated to Lima’s market. Here, Alber focuses on local migration, which she characterises by its mobility between the community and urban centres, rejecting “the Andean” (1960s-80s “long-termism”) from a revisionist-influenced perspective. The latter is an isolated high-altitude herding community where Bolin studied local ritual life, which she considers as direct –and practically unchanged- survival from Inca times

⁴⁸ Ávila (ibid: 429) talks about a “boom” of NGOs in Peru, which went from 218 in 1988 to 900 in 1996.

⁴⁹ Alber (1999 [1993]: 91) chooses this community because it had been the object of previous ethnographic studies, defining it as a *pueblo célebre* or “classical community”. This “revisiting” strategy is very interesting, allowing the study of changes and contrasted theoretical approaches.

This study is beautifully written and offers fascinating ethnographic insights, but it is also highly idealised and neglects current academic debates. These two studies also show a continuity of the division “short-/long-termism”, and of its related geographical divide (respective focus on traditional/aculturated regions) and problematic (e.g. respective negligence of culture/change and overemphasis of “progress”/historical continuities).

The community studies based on fieldwork undertaken after the early-1990s have been much scarcer, and they have generally presented much more flexible and diverse approaches and theoretical references. For example, Stobart’s (2006) ethnomusical study in Kalankira, a high-altitude Quechua-speaking hamlet in Northern Potosí, combines influences of 1960s-80s “long-termism” and postmodern-influenced concerns with subjective and subtle aspects of life, such as the sensory dimensions of music and ritual; or Pérez-Galán’s (2004) study of traditional authorities and their ritual activities in communities of the district of Pisac (Cusco), located in one of the more tourist parts of the Andes (the “sacred valley” of the Inca), where the author explores the influence of tourism and social change on these communities and authorities. In recent decades there have also been other types of original community-based studies, based on fieldwork undertaken between the late-1970s and early-2000s, which have incorporated new approaches and theoretical concerns. For example, Abercrombie’s (1998) study of Andean concepts of history and memory, based on fieldwork undertaken on the Bolivian community of Culta; or Salomon’s (2005) ethnohistorical work on *kipus* (ancient Andean skeins of knotted cords used to store information), which is partially based on fieldwork undertaken in the community of Tupicocha (Huarochirí, Lima). These are also examples of ethnographies that transcend the case studies they are based

on to reach much wider issues, challenging established concepts of history, literacy, or writing.⁵⁰

Early Twenty-first century: A personal perspective

The 2000s in Latin America have been a time of integration into international markets and of economic export-led growth in the context of increasing globalisation, while issues such as income inequality and the social exclusion of large sectors of the population remain among the major problems of the region. Politically, there has been an expansion of leftist parties and governments of more radical or moderate nature, respectively exemplified by the governments of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and Lula da Silva in Brazil, which has been defined as a “left turn” or “turns” (e.g. Ardite 2008). In some Andean countries this “left turn” has been accompanied by a rise of indigenous movements, resulting in sympathetic governments in Ecuador (Rafael Correa from 2007) and particularly in Bolivia (Evo Morales from 2006), where an unprecedented and remarkable pro-indigenous constitution was promulgated in 2009 (see Postero 2010). Meanwhile, Peruvian governments have followed much more orthodox neoliberal policies, based on the attraction of foreign investment and on the exploitation of primary sources (particularly mining-related). These policies have achieved very remarkable macroeconomic success in recent years and some social improvements,⁵¹ in a favourable geopolitical context propelled by the impressive growth of emergent countries (especially China but also others like Brazil); in what seems to be part of a gradual and global shift of power from western countries (particularly from the USA and Europe) towards those emerging ones. However, this “success” has generally failed

⁵⁰ Rappaport’s (1990) work on the Nasa ethnic group, in the Colombian Andes, follows similar lines, challengingly approaching Andean concepts of history, this time outside the “core Andean region”.

⁵¹ Peru’s Human Development reports from 1990 are available in:
http://hdr.undp.org/xmlsearch/reportSearch?y=* &c=n%3APeru&t=* &lang=en&k=&orderby=year

to reach significantly the poorest sectors of national society, contributing to create or worsen social conflicts and environmental problems, particularly in Andean and Amazonian regions where primary resources are mostly found. As aforementioned, since the 1990s state presence and intervention have gradually increased in traditionally neglected Andean areas (and communities), with the introduction of public works and services; although Andean regions generally remain among the poorest. The recent election of the first left-leaning president in Peruvian history (Ollanta Humala in 2011) can be seen as a result of these historical circumstances and context, and has meant that Peru has also joined the Latin American “left turn”. The new government promises to continue pro-market policies, but with a much greater emphasis on social policies and redistribution, whose results are yet to be seen.

In this historical context, Andean areas and communities (PPCs and others) are going through rapid and deep social changes that, with a few exceptions, have not been studied at the level of particular communities, nor with the in-depth attention and insight that community studies allow. In fact, the previous decades, particularly between the 1940s and 1980s were also a time of deep social change, which, with its limitations, was well-reflected and sometimes specifically addressed in many communities through this methodological approach. Besides particular theoretical references, periods, or focus of study, these community ethnographies can be seen as pieces of a fragmentary puzzle that allows partially reconstructing and understanding the rich and diverse world of Andean communities and rural areas in the Twentieth century. With my own study of Taulli, I aspire to add a -hopefully significant- piece to this “puzzle”, contributing to extend it into the Twenty-first Century, and to follow the evolution of these communities, in a context of challenging and fascinating global change. Therefore, and taking into consideration the limitations of a case study, I intend to use Taulli’s study to

address, illustrate, and provide hard evidence of key issues raised by this historical and academic contextualisation; such as why the vast majority of PPCs members continue to support their existence and continuity, the kind of changes and development these communities are going through and their effects, or how Andean cultures and traditions work in and adapt to this context of change.

Moreover, as stated, I also intend to use this case study to rethink the validity of community studies in the Andes, and to reassess some of the key academic issues and debates that have “surrounded” them. I think that the passing of time allows us to look back with certain perspective, and that this can be useful to think about the present and the future, as a kind of “looking forward through looking back”. The knowledge of Andean cultures (and communities) has advanced greatly with both “long-” and “short-termist” approaches, as well as with others that combine or do not neatly fit these categories, through community studies and through other methodologies and approaches. However, I have personally chosen as main theoretical reference the commented 1960s-80s “long-termist” perspectives as a result of their particular focus on distinctive aspects of Andean culture that -according to my fieldwork- remain fundamental in Taulli (e.g. syncretic religiosity, collective and communal forms of social organisation). I also found relevant the concepts used from this academic perspective to understand many aspects of local culture. For example, concepts such as reciprocity and redistribution, which I do not consider as structural or underlying “fixed” features of Andean cultures, but as useful references to approach aspects of these cultures that have historically presented important and diverse manifestations and continuities. Within “long-termist” studies, I particularly value those that present historical continuities as flexible and dynamic, in the context of social change, rejecting those tendencies towards overemphasising historical continuities and neglecting social

change, or the idealisation and essentialisation of Andean cultures (and communities), that -as 1990s “revisionism” criticised- often resulted from this academic perspective. Moreover, on the basis of Taulli’s case, I also argue that those “long-termist” perspectives are compatible with the gradual and hybrid vision of Andean cultures that emerged in the 1990s. On the basis of these ideas, I propose a pragmatic and flexible approach to PPCs (and to Andean communities in general) that has that 1960s-80s “long-termism” as main theoretical reference, but that ultimately aims to surpass that framework, and to overcome the distinction “long-/short-termism” as a false dichotomy.

Besides academic approaches, it is also necessary to engage with other key issues that affect these communities, such as their wider socioeconomic and political contexts. For example, I find it necessary to question and challenge the currently dominant and globalised neoliberal system, particularly its capacity to deal with the social exclusion and underdevelopment of very large sectors of society in developing countries like Peru. Although the country and South America in general have nowadays a much better political and economic situation than in the past, and that this has allowed some important social progress, the “trickle-down promise” of this system continues to be largely unfulfilled for most. Moreover, this system, led by the markets and based on an “ideal” of unlimited growth and on the exploitation of limited natural resources, has had very high social and environmental costs in Latin America and elsewhere, and has proved to be highly volatile and unstable. From my perspective, the massive –although uneven- global financial crisis caused by this neoliberal system since the late-2000s exposes its unsustainability and undermines its very foundations,⁵² evidencing the need to shift towards different paradigms and ideals, such as environmental protection, fair – rather than free- trade, markets regulation, the respect of women’s and minorities’ rights

⁵² I use as reference here the much critical interpretations of neoliberalism of Harvey (2005), and of the current economic crisis of Keen (2011 [2001]).

(e.g. ethnic groups), or much wider policies of redistribution and social inclusion for the most disadvantaged sectors of society.⁵³

III. ANDEAN RITUALS

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Andean communities have tended to present rich ritual lives. This is also the case of Taulli, where celebrations and festivities with important ritual dimensions are fundamental aspects of life in the community, and some of the main expressions of the “local Andean tradition”. As a result of this, and of my original research focus (related to the *ushnus* project), I pay special attention to Taulli’s ritual life throughout the central chapters of the thesis, providing here a basic theoretical background in which to approach it. Of course, the study of rituals is an institutionalised and enormous field of Anthropology, presenting multiple definitions and interpretations.⁵⁴ With such variety, I prefer to follow an “open” definition of rituals, as symbolic sets of actions that are performed in a highly prescribed manner and in very diverse contexts, in ceremonial ones and also in everyday life. Particularly, I focus on how rituals have been identified and interpreted in the context of Andean Anthropology, particularly in community studies related to 1960s-80s “long-termism” (as main

⁵³ The “left turn” that Latin America has been experiencing in recent years can partially be seen as part of wider -and still embryonic- attempts to create much needed alternatives to this dominant system, without yet breaking away from it; although it is not to be idealised as it is fraught by problems, conflicts, and contradictions (e.g. Postero 2010 analyses them in Bolivia’s case), presenting very uneven results and great diversity.

⁵⁴ Nelly & Kaplan (1990: 120) review different theoretical approaches and definitions of rituals, whose ‘delimiting features range from biological bases; to functional values; to linguistic, symbolic, or semiotic forms; to rejection of the category altogether, and insistence that the proper starting point is indigenous experience...’. At risk of simplifying and generalising, it is useful to briefly outline some main interpretative approaches within the wider discipline, which have influenced the study of Andean rituals. Roughly following a chronological order, some authors such as Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown, or de Coulanges, have considered rituals as channels of integration and reproduction of the social order. Others, such as Saussure, Radcliffe-Brown (again), or the school of Cognitive Anthropology, have established an analogy between language and rituals, adopting a semantic approach to their study. Gennep and Turner’s school of Symbolic Anthropology have considered rituals as mechanisms of social control rather than channels of integration; while authors such as Leach have offered a synthesis of the previous approaches - which I find more interesting for its more flexible and integrative character- considering them complementary rather than mutually exclusive (Erikson & Murphy 1998, Keesing & Strathern 1998 [1976], Munn 1973, Leach 1972).

theoretical reference of this thesis). These studies have generally paid great attention to ritual practices, considering them as key expression of the social, cultural, economic and religious systems and beliefs of Andean communities, and offering very rich and elaborated descriptions and interpretations. These “long-termist” interpretations have approached rituals in relation to the concepts used to characterise wider Andean cultures (e.g. reciprocity, dualism), and to their distinctive aspects (e.g. sacralisation of landscape, particular forms of socio-spatial organisation); although they have often been affected by the tendencies towards idealisation, essentialisation, and negligence of social change. Theoretically, these approaches tended to be influenced by Structuralism and Functionalism, and by their ahistorical and stable visions of culture (and ritual); focusing on semiotic analyses (as systems of signs), binary oppositions, links with myths, and so on. For example, rituals in Andean communities were sometimes seen as the ahistorical response of traditional societies to change, or as a channel to preserve their “closeness” (e.g. Isbell 1978 in the case of Chuschi, even if she argues that the image of stability created through rituals is fictional).

There have also been other theoretical references and mixed approaches to Andean rituals. For example, especially since the late-1970s there was an increasing influence of the school of Symbolic (or Interpretative) Anthropology that had emerged in the 1960s, with authors such as Turner and Geertz (see Erickson & Murphy 1998: 132-3). Assessing their influence, Nelly & Kaplan (1990) define Turner and other related authors (e.g. Gluckman) as ‘process theorists’, arguing that they introduced the idea that rituals –as societies- ‘are not structures but processes’ (ibid: 136); and explain that, under Geertz’s influence, there was an increasing interest in studying rituals in changing contexts (ibid: 129). These authors contributed to the processual visions of culture that emerged from 1980s Anthropology, also influencing some “long-termist” approaches to

Andean rituals at that time (e.g. Gelles 2002 [2000]; Gose 2001 [1994]). Partially as a result of this evolution, a more recent interpretation of Andean rituals is offered by Abercrombie (1998) in his community-based study of Andean notions of history and memory, where he argues that rituals are a main form of social memory through which Andean peoples understand and represent their past, by replaying it ‘in the polysensual experience’ of singing, dancing, drinking and sacrificing that rituals involve (ibid: 411). Abercrombie traces the theoretical roots of his approach to what Kelly & Kaplan (1990) define as a ‘turn to history’ in 1980s Anthropology, represented by authors such as Kelly himself or Tambiah, who turned ‘towards a theory of ritual as part of history-making in all societies’ (ibid: 139), showing that ‘ritual is also a potent force for change, not merely a conservative power’ (ibid: 140).

During fieldwork, I found Taulli’s ritual life as generally consistent with that presented in community studies completed from 1960s-80s “long-termist” perspectives, and also found valid their interpretations of Andean rituals as key expressions of distinctive social, religious, cultural and economic systems. However, I also found that local ritual life allows multidimensional readings and interpretations, being a key sphere where the “local Andean tradition” is dynamically reinvented, serving as a channel through which Taullinos adapt to -and incorporate into local culture- social change; as I show in the central chapters. Therefore, my own theoretical approach to ritual has as basic reference that 1960s-80s “long-termism”, rejecting its tendencies towards idealisation, essentialisation, or ahistorical and stable visions of culture (and ritual) that result from Structuralist and Functionalist influences; at the same time that I also assume that interpretation of ritual as “channel for change” reviewed by Kelly & Kaplan.

Andean communities' ritual life

To contextualise Taulli's ritual life, in this section I offer a brief introduction to the kind of ritual practices and celebrations that have been more characteristic of Andean communities, and to how they have been interpreted from 1960s-80s "long-termist" approaches (as a main reference of my own approach to ritual). Ritual life in these communities can be approached from different perspectives that are not exclusive or categorical. A possible criterion to approach it is according to when ritual practices are performed. This varies from those that belong to the day-to-day life, such as the simple act of pouring some drops to the earth before drinking as an offering to the *Pacahamama*, to those of calendrical fixture, which can be unmovable or movable according to the sun or moon calendars.⁵⁵ There are also those practised in relation to the human cycle of life (e.g. baptism after birth), or in the context of special occasions (e.g. construction of a new house) or exceptional circumstances such as times of crisis (e.g. droughts).

Depending on who is involved in their performance, rituals can be performed at individual, family (often with the participation of extended social networks), or communal levels. The latter may involve a whole community, some internal sectors, or even several communities, as in the case of ritual battles (*tinkus*) and pilgrimages, which both have a long tradition in the Andes (see Allen 1988, Sallnow 1987) and can be seen as channels of regional integration; even if this integration is achieved through confrontation and local self-reaffirmation. Communal celebrations and rituals have traditionally been managed and sponsored through rotating cargo systems, which tend

⁵⁵ For example, the correlation Carnival-Lent-Easter-Whit Sunday-Corpus Christi of the Catholic liturgical calendar depends on the moon cycle, and it turns around Easter, which, following the Jewish moon calendar, is celebrated on the first weekend after the first full moon of the northern hemisphere spring (between late-March and late-April). Going backwards, Lent starts 40 days before Easter Sunday with Ash Wednesday. The Carnival is celebrated just before that Wednesday (from Friday to Tuesday). Going forwards, Whit Sunday (Pentecost) is celebrated 50 days after Easter Sunday, and Corpus Christi two weeks after (60 days after Easter).

to mirror communities' internal socio-spatial divisions and organisation, and can be seen as a channel for redistribution of wealth, and/or as a levelling mechanism, between members.

Andean rituals can be performed in the context of Catholic feasts (e.g. Christmas), of offerings to the nature-spirits world (e.g. livestock-related propitiatory offerings to mountain spirits), or of civil celebrations (e.g. Peruvian independence) among other contexts. Custred (1980: 196) talks about the complementarity and ambiguity of Andean rituals based on separate categories of 'spiritual beings'. For example, those of Catholic tradition require the mediation of Christian liturgical objects, while those based on non-Christian Andean beliefs involve 'interactions with the physical environment' with the intention to control or influence it, and require the mediation of other kind of objects and substances such as coca and alcoholic drinks (ibid). Nevertheless, because of the syncretic nature of Andean religiosity and culture, those separate categories of spiritual beings belong to a single -although heterogeneous and ambiguous- set of religious beliefs and ritual practices, where those different mediating substances and objects are often combined.

Isbell (1978: 13-14) identifies some key symbolic referents underlying ritual life in Andean communities such as fertility, reproductivity, or the regeneration of the social and cosmological order; while Gose (2001 [1994]: XII) affirms that rituals are part of the process through which peasants 'develop a cultural identity, cosmology, and political economy'. Other authors have interpreted ritual life in Andean communities as a form of channelling internal conflict (e.g. Bolin 1998: XV, Allen 2002 [1988]: 180); while Custred (1980: 195) affirms that Andean rituals operate in two interrelated ways: 'as a means' or 'symbolic language' of self-affirmation to establish and maintain groups

and alliances; and also as a channel to express through religious symbols the nature of these social entities, mirroring internal social hierarchies and practices.

Andean communities' ritual life can be also seen as an expression of a peasant conception of life, which is very much related to agriculture and herding. As a result, these activities have been key references of Andean religiosity and ritual life. This is common with many other rural societies and cultures, but in the Andes these factors have to be seen in the contexts of the particularly difficult physical environment. As Custred (1980: 197) affirms, 'environmental control' is a key factor of Andean ritual life, which often involves sacrifices and offerings to natural forces and spirits 'in return for a reasonable level of agriculture production and peasant (and animal) health'; while Bolin (1998: 31) argues that Andean beliefs 'do not separate the natural from the spiritual environment' (ibid: 43), considering nature as the 'matrix of all life' (ibid: 31). These kinds of beliefs and their related ritual practices can be linked to the tendency to identify sacred objects and places (*wakas*) in the physical environment, which has presented important continuities since pre-Hispanic times and can be defined as a "sacralisation of the landscape". This tendency overlaps others to the "humanisation", "hierarchisation", and/or "socialisation" of the sacred landscape, which are produced through applying human characteristics (e.g. feelings, kinship links) to those sacred elements of the landscape, interrelating and blurring the boundaries between the world of humans and the natural world of sacred places and objects.⁵⁶ Andean peoples' relation with their environment and sacralised landscape has been traditionally regulated by ritual activities, according to a principle of reciprocity. *Wakas* have an ambiguous nature, neither positive nor negative, but reciprocal. They are "good" with those who

⁵⁶ Chroniclers report such phenomena. For example, the "idolatries extirpator" Arriaga (quoted in Torre-López 2004: 59) explains how many *wakas* were considered as relatives (e.g. children, spouses); while the anthropological literature presents many contemporary examples (e.g. Millones 2007a: 17, Gelles 2002 [2000]: 90-1).

pay them due respect through the right ritual offerings, but they are “bad” with those who fail to do this, or do not do it properly. Fatality is often explained by negligence in fulfilling ritual customary obligations with *wakas* and forces of nature.

In a context of religious syncretism, Catholic celebrations and rituals can be often linked to agriculture and herding. On the one hand, there is an ancient widespread Andean belief that the energy liberated during religious feasts and festivities results in the welfare of people and animals, as well as in agricultural success, which makes the proper observance of these events very important, even for those who may not directly participate in them.⁵⁷ On the other hand, Catholic rituals often have more explicit agricultural and pastoral links for their correlation with key times and tasks of agriculture and herding. For example, the Catholic feast of Santa Cruz (Holy Cross, 3rd May) coincides with the maturation of maize in the Andes, and has been interpreted as a celebration of the beginning of the harvest in Andean communities (e.g. Allen 1988: 151-4, Isbell 1978: 145-151).⁵⁸

The most obvious agriculture-related rituals are those performed in the contexts of agricultural work. There is a whole range of these practices reported in the literature, and they can be much elaborated involving large groups of people at a family or communal level. For example, Isbell (1978: 57) explains how when a family sows their first field in Chuschi, they invite their co-parents to help them, and make a special *chicha* that is sprinkled over the field; while Urton (1981: 26) mentions the practice of starting planting in Misminay with the ritual burial of an offering in a field, which is

⁵⁷ The colonial chronicler Cobo (quoted in Zuidema 1989 [1982]: 489) explains that in Inca society even the poorer people used to eat and drink the best food and drinks, and avoided confrontations and quarrels, during ritual celebrations, believing that these days’ abundance and welfare would be replicated for the rest of the year. Several authors report similar beliefs in contemporary Andean communities (e.g. Allen 1988: 151).

⁵⁸ The Spaniards imposed the Catholic calendar, which is based on the northern hemisphere’s correlation of seasons and moon and sun cycles. As these correlations are inverted in the southern hemisphere, the adaptation was odd, giving new connotations to Catholic feasts and facilitating their syncretisation with pre-Hispanic ritual celebrations that were celebrated around the same times.

accompanied by abundant drinking. Gose (2001 [1994]) is particularly exhaustive describing and analysing the very rich ritual expressions of agropastoral work in Huaquirca. There have also been important, elaborate, and widespread herding-related practices such as yearly propitiatory rituals and offerings, whose frequency and distribution vary involving fixed months and sometimes days for different animals (e.g. Gose 2001 [1994], Bolin 1998, Isbell 1978, Quispe-Mejía 1968).

Agricultural and herding-related rituals deal with a spiritual-religious world, but at the same time, are expressions of modes of economic production and social organisation that have tangible practical expressions. Both dimensions are fundamental for their comprehension. These rituals tend to be performed in the places where the different economic activities take place. In most Andean communities, agriculture and herding are complementary activities, and, as Isbell (1978: 201-2) affirms in the case of Chuschi, this complementarity is ritually enacted throughout the year. For example, in this community, some agricultural rituals are performed in the higher herding zone (*puna*), while some fertility rites for the herds are performed in the village (located in the lower agricultural zone), and sacred objects 'are moved from the agricultural to the herding zone and *vice versa* to underscore the economic interdependence of the two activities' (ibid). Location always has important symbolic relevance and connotations, and is never gratuitous.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Peasant communities have had a key importance in Peruvian society because they are very numerous, dominate very large areas of Andean regions, and constitute an important percentage of the national population (and territory). Moreover, they are also the place of origin of many of the migrants, in coastal and urban centres, who have been

changing the social and demographic landscape of the country, particularly since the 1950s, becoming deeply interconnected with these centres through this emigration. These and other Andean communities have played a central role in –without being the cause of- the tradition of social exclusion and discrimination Andean peoples have been associated with since Colonial times, contributing to their decimation, impoverishment and marginalisation. However, these communities have also offered some levels of protection, social cohesion and cultural identity to their members in that context of social exclusion, helping to explain why most of their members support their maintenance and continuity in the early Twenty-first Century. These factors and the special legal status of these communities, which is based on their communal and corporative features and particular historical origins and evolution, confer them with a distinctive -and subaltern- character within national society.

State policies and legislation have been determinant in the formation and evolution of these communities since pre-Hispanic times; although direct state presence and intervention were generally marginal until well into the Twentieth-Century, increasing to unprecedented scales in recent decades in a context of wider social changes (e.g. national democratisation and economic growth, international globalisation). In this context of change there are tensions between the continuity of state protectionism towards PPCs, and neoliberal pressures of privatisation and assimilation. However, so far their special legal status has been largely preserved.

These and other Andean communities have also played a fundamental role in the development of wider Andean cultures. In the past, as a key context for the syncretisation of pre-Hispanic and Spanish elements, producing new forms of Andean culture since the early colonial period onwards; and also in the present, as many contemporary expressions of these cultures are a result of the adaptation of their local

traditions to urban and coastal environments by Andean emigrants, for whom communities of origin have generally remained a key reference of life. This importance explains why these communities have been a central focus of study in the context of Andean Anthropology since its very beginning, particularly through community ethnographies. I have distinguished three periods in the evolution of these studies (“initial”, “classical”, and “revisionism and fragmentation”), as well as two main -but relative- academic approaches depending on their predominant focus on historical continuities and culture (“long-termism”), or on social change and development (“short-termism”).

I have explained that my main theoretical reference is the “long-termism” of the “Classical” period (1960s-80s), as a result of its focus on distinctive aspects of Andean culture that remain fundamental in Taulli; recognising its limitations (tendencies to overemphasise historical communities and neglect social change, criticism by 1990s “revisionism”), and concluding that this is a good time for reassessing related academic polemics and to retake and update community studies from new perspectives (e.g. overcoming the differentiation “long-/short-termism”, rejecting their approach in terms of positive/negative visions, looking at the effects of recent social change on traditional aspects). Finally, I have also introduced some basic aspects of ritual life in Andean communities, as a central research focus of study in Taulli; explaining that my theoretical approach to Andean rituals combines some approaches of 1960s-80s “long-termism”, with a vision of ritual as a channel for change.

The following chapters are specifically dedicated to Taulli’s case, and are mainly based on empirical and ethnographic data and experiences extracted from fieldwork in the community, to which I apply the theoretical framework presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER 2: TAULLI

One of the most obvious and dominant aspects of Taulli and its area is widespread poverty. However, some improvements have been introduced in recent years. For example, Taullinos can today make telephone calls, get a van to Huamanga, attend secondary school, or visit the medical post and get free treatment and medicines in their own community. This contrasts sharply with the situation just a couple of decades ago, when none of these services and possibilities existed. This chapter is a presentation of Taulli in the early Twenty-first Century, where I introduce key aspects of the community such as its population, economy, geographical and regional context, or history; paying special attention to the social changes the community has been going through in recent decades and to their effects on local people, exploring their causes, effects, problems and limitations; particularly in relation to communications and infrastructure, education and health, development, and religion, which are among the fields that have experienced the most important transformations. This presentation of the community provides a basis for the central chapters of the thesis, where I explore how the most traditional aspects of local life related to local organisation, work, and celebrations function in -and adapt to- the context of change explained in this chapter.

The community and the region

Taulli is an “annex” (*anexo*) of the district of Carapo (Huancasancos province, department of Ayacucho).⁷⁷ The community borders with the district of Sarhua in the north (Fajardo province); and with Carapo’s annexes of Portacruz, in the south, and

⁷⁷ In Peru, “district” and “department” are equivalents to municipality and region respectively. Departments are subdivided into provinces, and those into districts, while “annex” is the smallest administrative entity within districts.

Manchiri in the east (see plate 9 below). These annexes, districts, and provincial capitals are all legally recognised “peasant communities” (PCs),⁷⁸ whose origins, except for the case of Portacruz that used to be part of Taulli, can be traced to the 1570s colonial *reducciones*. During fieldwork, Taulli had a population of around 450 people that included some 85 “active” male *comuneros* and around a hundred families, some headed by widows or single mothers. This population was distributed as it follows: 226 people in the central village (Taulli itself), around 3369 masl; 61 people in the settlement of Urabamba, around 3700 masl; 149 people in the settlement of Taulliwasi (plate 8), around 3800 masl; and the rest in scattered *estancias* in the *puna*.⁷⁹



Plate 8: The hamlet of Taulliwasi.

The central village is typical of the planning associated with the *reducciones*, organised around a central square. It has some 150 habitable houses, most of them with their respective courtyards; as well as other communal buildings and infrastructure (e.g.

⁷⁸ These administrative statuses imply important differences between communities, as they suppose different levels of organisation and complexity, showing how the PC status can overlap others.

⁷⁹ This data corresponds to the local census of early-2008, but continuous population fluctuations should be recognised as a result of migrations.

schools, medical post). The stone-made colonial buildings have been gradually substituted by others made of adobe, often built over colonial foundations; although it is still possible to find some original constructions, such as the jailhouse and the church, both in the central square, and some isolated features (e.g. arches, chapels), which are all badly preserved but still evidence admirably crafted stonework.⁸⁰ As a contrast, Urabamba and Taulliwasi are small hamlets (*caserios*) that were gradually developed without any planning from the mid-Twentieth Century, as people moved there looking for water. They both consist of random concentrations of houses without hardly any infrastructure, except for an irrigation reservoir and a small school in Urabamba.

It is important to keep in mind that the distribution of population is fluid, as a result of patterns of multiple housing across ecological zones, and of seasonal rotations between them. Many local families have, beyond their main residence, other houses in different local settlements and/or ecological zones (described below).⁸¹ In the case of the upper and particularly of the lower zones, these houses are sometimes just small huts used to spend short periods of time (e.g. when fruits are ripe in lower zone around February). These housing patterns can be linked to traditional Andean strategies of ecological adaptation, according to the combination of several crop cycles and activities (see chapter 4), and also to local cultural, organisational, and ritual practices. For example, the central village is the political, religious and ritual centre of the community, and practically all local families have houses there even if they live -more or less permanently- elsewhere, in order to participate in festivities and religious feasts, or to attend to communal affairs. Local population is also affected by recent migratory

⁸⁰ Local sources affirm that many colonial buildings were demolished in the last thirty years or so. Of the remaining ones, the church is particularly beautiful, presenting richly-decorated wood-work, front-pieces and sculptures. Unfortunately, part of the ceiling collapsed in the 1990s and the interior was exposed to the elements for several years, so much of the original structure and decoration was damaged or lost.

⁸¹ According to the 2009 survey, 73.33% of Taulli's *comuneros* have more than one house in the community (2 houses- 33.33%, 3 houses- 33.33%, 4 houses-5%); while 8.33% also have houses outside Taulli, mainly in neighbouring communities or in the provincial and regional capitals.

patterns that –particularly since the mid-Twentieth century- have had a fundamental impact on the community, and are analysed below. This emigration can have a more or less permanent character, although it also has very important temporal and seasonal dimensions. Practically at any time of the year, significant numbers of Taullinos are temporarily working in coastal and urban areas, creating continuous movements and fluctuations of local population, and interrelating the community and these areas. Learning about the comings and goings of local people, I was often surprised by the volume and fluidity of these population flows, which have to be seen in a wider regional context.

Ayacucho is a predominantly rural region. 70% of the population over 14 year-old works in agriculture (Maquera & Osorio 2010: 5), and its countryside is dominated by PCs, which in 2009 numbered 662 (ibid: 9) and occupied around 86% of the region's productive land, that is suitable for agriculture and herding, and 87% of the non-productive (ALLPA 2005: 5). As a result of lack of water, poor soils, inadequate farming practices, or adverse climate, physical, and ecological conditions, 88% of Ayacucho's land is not suitable for agriculture. Of the remaining 12% PCs only control 61%, while their other productive lands correspond to pastures (ibid). As a result of these factors and of demographic pressures, the vast majority of Ayacucho's *comuneros* families have very little agricultural land, whose production is mainly dedicated to subsistence agriculture, and often is not enough to sustain whole families. This forces them -or some of their members- to look for alternative and complementary economic activities and livelihood strategies, and/or to emigrate to urban and coastal areas.

Ayacucho and neighbouring Huancavelica and Apurímac are the three poorest departments of Peru according to poverty indicators (Maquera & Osorio 2010: 2). On the basis of these indicators, the Huancasancos province and many other parts of

Ayacucho are considered as “zones of extreme poverty” (*zonas de extrema pobreza*).⁸²

Figure 3 shows some poverty indicators from 2006-07 at the national, regional, provincial, and district levels.

| | Population | % population without | | | Illiteracy rate | % children | Malnutrition rate | Human develop. index |
|---------------------|------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| | | Water | Sewer/latrine | Electricity | Women | 0-12 years | Children 6-9 year-old | |
| PERU | 27.428.169 | 23% | 17% | 24% | 11% | 26% | 22% | 0.5976 |
| AYACUCHO | 628.569 | 37% | 30% | 44% | 27% | 31% | 38% | 0.5280 |
| HUANCASANCOS | 10.620 | 69% | 44% | 51% | 30% | 30% | 44% | 0.5102 |
| CARAPO | 2.609 | 100% | 72% | 64% | 31% | 28% | 46% | 0.5132 |

Figure 3: Poverty indicators from the national to the district levels according to FONCODES poverty map 2006, updated with 2007 census data (<http://www.foncodes.gob.pe/mapapobreza/>).

A whole series of development projects, policies, initiatives and legislation addressing these problems has been implemented by the Peruvian state, state-related institutions and NGOs, often with international funding. Some of these policies and initiatives specifically focus on Ayacucho and neighbouring regions.⁸³ There are also a series of important social and political processes taking place in Peru that have an impact in this region and on its development, such as a gradual national process of decentralisation;⁸⁴ demands and complaints by social groups and collectives (e.g. conflicts between mining companies and communities);⁸⁵ or the process of compensation for those affected by the 1980-90s “violence”. As mentioned earlier (see introduction and chapter 1), this conflict led to a change of attitude of the Peruvian state towards highland regions, from traditional negligence to increasing intervention, particularly in the most affected such

⁸² These zones are determined by “maps of poverty”, made by the state institution FONCODES to serve as reference for development policies. During fieldwork the 2006 map was being used.

⁸³ E.g. 2009 Supreme Decree 048-2009-PCM declaring Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huancavelica as priority departments, *Acuerdo Nacional sobre Reducción de la Pobreza, Proyecto Especial Sierra Centro Sur, Mesa del Dialogo para el Desarrollo Integral de los Pueblos Andinos de Extrema Pobreza*.

⁸⁴ Peru has historically been a greatly centralised state. A 2002 “law of decentralisation” was promulgated to reverse this, providing new powers and resources to regional, provincial and local governments.

⁸⁵ Besides these conflicts and the widespread poverty, the region presents other major problems, such as important levels of crime and delinquency, and remaining members of Shining Path in the northern jungle area of the VRAE valley, where dozens of people were killed during the fieldwork period.

Geographical context

Taulli is located on the west bank of the Qaracha River, which runs south to north and is a tributary of the Pampas. The latter is one of the main rivers of the Ayacucho region, crossing it approximately through the middle, from west to east. Geographically, the Pampas-Qaracha area belongs to the eastern slopes of the southern Peruvian highlands, which are characterised by a combination of mountains peaks, high altitude pastures, deep ravines, foothills, rugged terrains, temperate valleys, and diverse ecological zones largely reflecting differences in altitude. These zones produce contrasting landscapes and weather conditions within short distances. There is a dominant overall yearly climatic division between the dry and the rainy seasons. The dry season lasts from April to September, and includes the coldest period of the year (July-August), corresponding with the southern hemisphere winter. The rainy season lasts from October to March, and includes a period of heavier precipitation (late-December-February), coinciding with the southern hemisphere summer. Despite these marked seasonal differences, days are quite regular throughout the year in terms of temperature and hours of light, with sunrises starting around 4.30 am, sunsets finishing around 6.30 pm, and precipitation and lower temperatures in the late-evenings and nights.

The Qaracha River has a deep meandering basin. The banks of the river tend to be quite narrow, and are surrounded through most of its length by tall rocky walls with pronounced inclines. Taulli's territory is situated around a pronounced gorge (*wayku*) that starts on the west bank of the Qaracha (at around 2950 masl), and runs perpendicular to this river, in an east-west direction, up to the high parts of the community, above 4000 masl. Taulli's territory has 2,347 hectares divided between irrigated agricultural lands (100 ha), non-irrigated agricultural lands (268 ha), natural pastures (1650 ha.), and other non-agricultural lands (329 ha) (*Memoria descriptiva*,

COFOPRI, folder 6), which are distributed between three ecological zones. They are locally known as *quichwa*,¹ the lower zone; *suní*, the middle zone; and *puna*, the upper zone. The lower *quichwa* zone corresponds to the river bank and has warmer temperatures and lower precipitation, producing a quite arid landscape. Vegetation is brushwood, cactus and small trees, serving as a source of fruits (peaches and prickly pears), firewood, and other resources (e.g. maguey plants used to produce an alcoholic drink). There is little agriculture due to the lack of water, as there is insufficient rainfall and no irrigation systems.



Plate 10: Taulli's lower ecological zone (*quichwa*) is on the west (left) bank of the Qaracha river basin.

The middle *suní* zone is located at the top of the rocky walls that surround the west bank of the river. This zone includes relatively flat valleys at both sides of the central ravine, and their higher northern slopes, up to around 3800 masl, where the *puna* starts. Most of the agricultural (irrigated and non-irrigated) lands and human settlements are found in this zone. The landscape there combines agriculture fields with rocky

¹ The word is sometimes spelled as *quechua*, like the language, but I follow Howard's (2007: 86) spelling. This author explains that the name of the language, originally known as *runa simi* (people's tongue), was the result of a Spanish distortion of the name of the ecological zone (*quichwa*) (ibid).

grounds, in hilly terrains that become more pronounced as they ascend towards the west. There are trees and brushwood, but they are scarcer and different to those from the lower zone (e.g. eucalyptus instead of fruit trees). Temperatures are warm during the day, falling significantly during the night, although surrounding mountains offer some protection against the nightly low temperatures that are common at these altitudes.



Plate 11: Taulli's middle ecological zone (*suní*) located around a central gorge.



Plate 12: Taulli's upper ecological zone (*puna*).

Finally, the upper *puna* zone corresponds to the highest parts of the community, above 3800 masl. The landscape here is hilly, combining natural pastures, some non-irrigated agricultural lands, and mountain peaks. Water is more abundant thanks to rainfall and springs. Temperature differences are extreme between the day and the night. Heavy precipitation, virulent storms and frosts are very frequent during the rainy season. All these local ecological zones can be covered by foot in a few hours.

Communications and infrastructure

Until the late-1980s Taulli was linked to surrounding communities through pathways, and the only transport options were walking for hours or using horses and donkeys. Then, an unpaved road² was built connecting the central village, and the hamlets of Urabamba and Taulliwasi, to the communities of Portacruz and Carapo. This new road merged near Carapo with a pre-existing one (built in the 1960s), which leads towards the southwest to Huancasancos, and from there to southern Ayacucho and the coastal Ica region; and to the north, to the regional capital, Huamanga, passing the provincial capitals of Huancapi, and Cangallo. The journey by car from Taulli to Huamanga along this road (some 250 kilometres away) takes around nine hours, and the only regular transport service –a daily van- leaves from Carapo. There are also daily buses from Huancasancos to Ica, but to get any of these bus services from Taulli, it is necessary to walk several hours (e.g. three to Carapo, seven to Huancasancos).

In 2005, a new unpaved road was opened along the west bank of the Qaracha River, as an extension of one made in the 1990s to neighbouring Sarhua, linking this community, towards the north, with Huamanga, through the communities of Pomabamba, Pampa Cangallo and Condorcocca. This road is planned to run the whole

² Except for a very few main paved roads, all the other roads in the Ayacucho region are unpaved. The most common means of public transport are buses in the former and vans (*combis*) in the latter.

length of the Qaracha River, connecting further south with the one to Carapo and Huancasancos; although a whole series of problems have delayed its conclusion for years (e.g. embezzlement led to the suspension of works for several years). A completed part of this road passes Taulli's territory through the river bank area called Putika, in the lower *quichwa* zone. In 2006 a *combi* route was established through this road, between the neighbouring community of Manchiri (on the opposite bank of the river) and Huamanga (plate 13). It makes three services per week, on alternate days, in each direction. Before 2009, the service was reduced to twice a week during the months of heavier rains because the road became often impassable and too dangerous. In 2009 it was greatly improved allowing a normal service throughout the year.



Plate 13: The van to/from Huamanga.



Plate 14: A zigzag path connects the village to the new road and the river.

The van passes along the road following the river bank. From there, it takes six hours to complete the 150 kilometre route to the regional capital, greatly reducing the distance and duration of the journey in comparison to Carapo's road, and avoiding the walk to this community. However, it is still necessary to descend or ascend the distance –and the 410 metres of altitude- that separates Taulli's central village and the river bank, through the very steep zigzag path that join these places (plate 14). This walk takes between 40 (descending) and 60 (ascending) minutes, or much longer if coming from or going to higher parts of the community, or if carrying packages and luggage as people usually do, normally with donkeys. This *combi* route is the first regular transport service directly connecting the community with the outside. After fieldwork, in mid-2010, works started to extend this road from Putika to Taulli's central village, which will facilitate much local transport. It is also expected that the connection to the south of the Qaracha road will be completed in the near future, saving distance and time when travelling between some parts of northern and southern Ayacucho. According to some unconfirmed sources, a major national bus company (Molina) has bought the license to start a line Huamanga-Puquio (further south) along this road, once it is completed.³

These roads built in the last couple of decades have been made following state initiatives, sometimes with financing from international institutions (e.g. the EU in the case of the Qaracha road). A common problem with highland roads is that they are often badly engineered, and subject to corrupt practices and political interests in their construction. Travel often becomes difficult and roads sometimes impassable during the months of heavier rains (January-March) as a result of floods and landslides, making journeys unpredictable and dangerous, as I experienced on several occasions. However, despite these problems, the new roads have transformed local communities'

³ According to the same sources, there is also a plan to make, in the longer-term, a major road from Brazil to the Peruvian coast, which supposedly will pass through Portacruz's territory, further transforming the area's communications

communications in the Qaracha area, particularly in places like Taulli where there were none until very recently. Moreover, these and other public works have become important sources of temporary waged labour for local people, who normally provide most of the unskilled workforce for their construction. Nevertheless, walking long distances and using animal power to move goods around, within and between communities, remain essential aspects of life in the community.⁴

In the early-2000s electricity was installed in Taulli's central village. Urubamba, Taulliwasi and isolated *estancias* still do not have this service;⁵ so almost half of the local population still lives without electricity on a daily basis. Nowadays, the central village has a fairly regular service and even night lighting, although supply can be occasionally faulty, particularly during the rainy season. Around this time, the medical post (*posta médica*), built in 1999, was equipped with a radio transmitter that allowed, for the first time, direct communication with the outside world. In 2006, a satellite phone was installed in the central village's main shop, together with a tannoy (PA) system.⁶ From there it is possible to make and receive calls during opening hours, usually between six and eight o'clock am and pm, when the owners are not working elsewhere. To reach someone in the village, it is necessary to phone first and ask the shop owners to call the person with the PA system, and to phone again later once the person is in the shop. Calls are made with phone cards. The sound quality is bad, and the service is irregular (e.g. it does not work when raining), expensive (phone cards cost

⁴ In Taulli by 2010 there were no private vehicles, neither regular transport services to the district and provincial capitals. People walked to these places or to Portacruz, where there is a daily van to Huancasancos.

⁵ These settlements need to meet certain requirements to get electricity and other services, and they involve major changes in houses and planning that are not locally contemplated in the near future.

⁶ In 2009 there were four PA systems in the central village, in the main shop, medical centre, local government building, and the office of the justice of the peace/registrar. They are the main channel of internal communication in the central village, where their announcements and music are part of the daily local soundscape. However, they do not reach the upper settlements.

three or five soles, US\$1-1.66,⁷ and last few minutes), and very limited (available only during the shop's irregular opening hours for those who are in the central village). In August 2008, a mobile phone antenna was installed in the Qaracha area by the company Movistar, allowing the use of this company's phones in some parts of Taulli. This service also presents severe problems: coverage is very limited, regional calls to other mobile phones depend on companies/areas,⁸ and pay-as-you-go cards are expensive by local standards. Despite these problems, this service has further transformed local communications, particularly at the level of facilitating families' contacts with emigrated relatives, which were extremely limited in the past. As an example, I remember how, soon after mobile phones started functioning, the then President of the community, Celso Antesana, explained admiringly and movingly how he had just been at home, talking with his son in Lima for an hour. His son had emigrated there as a teenager -some ten years before- and they had spent years talking and meeting very rarely, so Celso was amazed that keeping in touch had suddenly become so easy. Moreover, as elsewhere, the arrival of mobile phones brought a little "lifestyle revolution", especially among the youngsters, who -very similarly to what I had myself observed in my own hometown a decade earlier- hastily managed to obtain one, making them fashionable prestige objects, and fuelling aspirations to get a "flashy" model.

Local communications will be further transformed in the short and medium-term. For example, nowadays local access to news and media is restricted to a few radio stations that can be accessed from some parts of the community (battery-powered radios have been around for decades); while in the near future there will be a whole range of options. In late-2009 there were confirmed plans to install a local TV antenna, and to set

⁷ Currency conversions are made from Peruvian soles to US\$ with an exchange rate of 3 soles for 1\$, which was the average during fieldwork.

⁸ During fieldwork two companies were active in Ayacucho, Movistar and Claro. They had different antennae in rural areas and their coverage only overlaps in some places. Therefore, most of the time services are restricted to one or the other company; while many areas have no coverage at all.

up a computer cabin with Internet connection by 2010-11; although, as a general pattern, projects and public works normally start and more often finish much later than planned as a result of administrative delays, technical problems, or other causes. Television and Internet are already present in most surrounding district and provincial capitals (e.g. Sarhua, Huancasancos), which have Internet centres with relatively cheap prices, normally crowded with local youngsters. These services also present many problems such as extremely slow connections, regular failures, low-quality virus-infected and often out-of-order- computers, and so forth. In Taulli, although there is no TV signal yet, many local families already have TV and DVD players in their central village homes to watch DVDs, which are cheaply bought in the massive DVD “pirate” market, particularly of extremely popular folkloric music but also of Evangelical programmes, the latest Hollywood blockbuster, or even “adult” films according to some sources. There are also abundant computers in Taulli’s central village, most of them in local official institutions, although a few individuals also have their own at home.⁹ Despite the problems and limitations of these recently introduced technological novelties, they already have an important impact in local daily life, which undoubtedly will be much greater in the future in combination with forthcoming ones, particularly for younger Taullinos. An ongoing problem is the gap in the access to these services between those who live in the central village, and those who live in other parts of the community.

Other major infrastructures built in Taulli in recent years by state-related institutions and projects have been the aforementioned medical post (1999), a primary school (2000), a kindergarten (2009), a major irrigation channel and a reservoir (early-

⁹ In late-2009 there were 15 computers, some out of order: six in the secondary school, four in the primary, one in the medical post, one in the Directive Committee’s office, and three in private houses owned by local teachers. During this time, 10 new computers were in the district capital (Carapo), expecting to be brought to local schools.

1990s), and a new communal building for local authorities, still unfinished after years. Of course, these changes also affect ethnographic research. For example, a few decades ago, ethnographers often had to walk for days, live without electricity, and experience much hardship to carry out fieldwork in the area; while I had a laptop, and could phone home or get a van to get to the city and to an Internet connection with relative ease. Once again, the state is the main motor behind the introduction of these communications and infrastructure, at diverse levels (central, regional, provincial, municipal), through institutions, or projects and programmes that are often implemented by private companies or NGOs. For example, the forthcoming introduction of Internet is part of a Rural Internet project (*Proyecto de Internet Rural*) of the Peruvian Ministry of Transport and Communications, which is implemented by the company Telefónica.¹⁰ These policies often create or result in paradoxical situations, as in the case of Taulli where mobile phones have arrived before electricity for almost half of the population. However, these kinds of paradoxes are not strange in the current context of globalisation, where advanced technology can easily coexist with utmost poverty.

Economy and emigration

The main local economic activity is agriculture, which is mostly practised in the middle (*suni*) and upper (*puna*) ecological zones. Local agricultural production is severely limited by the lack of a regular water supply throughout the year. Irrigated lands are the most productive. They are located in the middle *suni* zone, around irrigation channels that bring water from the *puna*. They mainly produce maize, which is often mixed with other crops. These crops depend on a combination of irrigation and rainfall, while non-irrigated crops depend exclusively on rainfall. The latter are located in the lower parts of

¹⁰ See: http://www.mtc.gob.pe/portal/comunicacion/proy_comunica/proyectos/proyecto_internet.htm

the *puna*, among the dominant pastures, and in the middle *suní* zone, out of reach of irrigation channels. The main non-irrigated crops are tubers in the *puna* and wheat in the *suní* zone, although there are also quinoa, olluco, beans, and others. While most agricultural production is for subsistence, some families have variable levels of surplus that are channelled towards local trade and regional markets.

The most important complementary economic activity is herding and livestock keeping. Most Taullinos have chickens, pigs, and guinea pigs at their main home, while some have other livestock such as cattle and sheep in the *puna*. Horses and particularly donkeys are used for transport and are quite abundant. Although important, herding is nowadays marginal in comparison with other communities. This activity requires extensive and diverse *puna* pastures and areas, to rotate animals during the year, and Taulli has a reduced *puna* territory as a result of important territorial losses suffered to neighbouring communities. Therefore, local herding was much more important in the past but has been much limited (e.g. previously abundant Andean camelids disappeared because they need large pastures). Nowadays, cattle is the most profitable and important *puna* livestock locally, but only those who have enough access to pastures and investment can afford to have more than a very few cows or bulls if any.¹¹ Most pastures are communal but the number of cattle that people can graze on them is limited, so to keep more animals it is necessary to have access to “private” pastures.

Owning cattle is a kind of insurance and investment, as when cash is needed they can be easily and profitably sold in Huancasancos, an important cattle centre, or to itinerant cattle traders who regularly visit the community. An adult bull can be sold for 2000 soles (US\$500), although, as local people explained, the free trade treaty between Peru and Mercosur (in 2003) has led to a sharp decrease in cattle prices, as a result of

¹¹ 51.66% of those surveyed owned cattle: 33.33% had fewer than 8 heads, 15% had between 8 and 15 heads, and 3.33% had more than 19 heads (2009 survey).

the subsequent massive arrival of meat and cattle from Argentina.¹² This is a good example of the direct impact of macroeconomic processes and policies in communities like Taulli, in the context of an increasingly globalised world, and how local peoples are increasingly aware of these processes and their consequences. Another significant and “painful” example of this phenomenon was the global process of increasing prices of basic staples that took place in 2007-08, which was largely due to financial speculation and had a dramatic impact in developing countries.¹³ I was able to see its effects in Taulli where, in a few months of 2008, the prices of some basic products (e.g. oil, rice) rose by up to 80%, causing much distress to local families.

Besides the most traditional economic activities, there are also other channels and alternatives to access waged labour, cash, or just to complement families’ economies. Waged labour is mainly linked to state jobs in education and health.¹⁴ Two local *comuneros* are civil servants with permanent positions in the community, the director and the administrator of the primary school, and there are also some qualified teachers and an assistant nurse without permanent positions, who work in different communities –sometimes in Taulli- depending on shifting vacant positions and their availability. Some years some may not get a position and just work in agriculture. When they work in the community or nearby, they combine teaching with their *comunero* duties, and when they work elsewhere –as other *comuneros* who spend long periods away- they have to ask for permission from the communal authorities to temporarily become “absent” -instead of “active”- *comuneros*.

¹² This is part of whole series of free trade treaties established by Peru in recent years (e.g. USA 2005, China 2007).

¹³ See: <http://www.bancomundial.org/temas/preciosalimentos/>

¹⁴ These state jobs have low wages, but in rural areas they are associated with “privilege”. Most teachers earn around 900 soles (US\$300) per month.

These employees are considered “professionals”, a highly desirable and respected category that implies having a formal job with the associated benefits, such as regular income and holidays. This is the most common expectation that *comuneros* families have for their children. Local professionals generally have the best economic positions within the community, and tend to occupy positions of responsibility in the communal organisation more often. Other sources of waged labour are the aforementioned temporary and irregular opportunities on state-sponsored public works. When such opportunities arise within the community, a regulated shift system secures equal access among *comuneros*. These works are paid on a daily basis, normally around 20-30 *soles* (US\$6.6-10) per day. Finally, there is also the *jornal*, the hiring of labour on a daily basis for agriculture and other types of work (e.g. construction of houses) between Taullinos. In 2009 the *jornal*'s average payment rose from 10-12 *soles* (US\$3.3-4) to 15 *soles* (US\$5), as a result of the abundant public works that were taking place at the time.

In terms of local commerce, there are several shops that are located in the owners' houses. In the central village there are two shops stuffed with some basic products (e.g. alcoholic and fuzzy drinks), three that are moderately stocked, and the main shop that is quite well stocked, and where is possible to access the local public telephone, and to buy food, drinks, and articles such as clothes and mobile phones. In 2009 one of the moderately-equipped shops successfully converted into a restaurant, offering set menu lunches and dinners to teachers and visitors (e.g. workers of NGOs and state institutions). There are also a couple of small shops in the upper settlements of Urabamba and Taulliwasi. Another alternative ways of getting money is the regular or occasional sale of livestock, agricultural surplus, and other products such as cochineal. In recent years some *comuneros* have been getting increasingly specialised in the production of honey and the breeding of guinea pigs, which are regularly sold in

Huamanga or Huancasancos. In this economic context, there is a continuous movement of people and goods between the community and surrounding urban centres, taking advantage of the new communications and commercial opportunities, although the main movements of local people are related to emigration, which is caused by factors such as the mentioned demographic pressures over limited land and resources, or the search for opportunity and education.

In the case of Taulli, and of southern Ayacucho in general, emigration is mainly oriented towards the Peruvian coastal regions of Ica and Lima. Spending at least some years in these emigration centres for working and educational purposes, or both, has become a fundamental part of the life of most Taullinos (68.33% of surveyed Taullinos had spent years outside the community). Coastal commercial agriculture (e.g. collecting cotton, harvesting asparagus) and mining are the main work options in rural areas. In urban areas, the most common jobs are in factories, domestic service for young women, and other services. For example, I found the number of Taullinos who had worked for years as waiters or cooks in Chinese restaurants in Lima remarkable. The return, or not, to the community and its timing depends on diverse factors, such as the relative success of the migratory experience or family circumstances. Sentimental reasons are also important. Many Taullinos cited homesickness and longing among their reasons to return, normally alongside family reasons such as getting married and starting a family, taking care of elderly parents, or receiving an inheritance.

A remarkable case within migration trends is the systematic temporary migration of local children and teenagers to Ica and Lima, to work in coastal commercial agriculture during school holidays (January-March). Children as young as seven years-old travel with older siblings or relatives to these areas, using family networks to move around and get jobs depending on demand. This seasonal work involves exploitative

practices, starting with child labour, but it is an important contribution to families' economies, and also has the important effect of exposing children, from very young ages, to experiences, environments, and often to degrees of relative independence, that are very different to their daily life in the community. This serves as an initiation to similar future experiences.

In both long- and short-term out-migration, family and local networks and links are fundamental references and channels of adaptation, so the community and local identity remain a basic feature for emigrated Taullinos. Of course, these processes are widespread throughout Andean areas in Peru and beyond, and have been a focus of anthropological study for decades.¹⁵ However, in recent decades they have reached new dimensions. For example, in the case of increasing international emigration to neighbouring countries, the USA, and Europe. In Taulli, except for a few individuals going to Chile, international emigration has not yet had an impact as a result of the lack of the economic means and family networks that facilitate such migration. These processes are already present in some neighbouring communities (e.g. people from Sarhua migrating to Spain), but it seems unlikely that they will take place in Taulli in a near future.

Education and health

Education has been seen as the main, sometimes the only, channel of upwards social mobility by members of Andean communities,¹⁶ despite the problems that have been identified, such as low quality, the lack of resources and facilities, the marginal participation of girls, or the radical “divorce” between teaching contents and the reality

¹⁵ Sandoval (2000) and Golte (2000) trace and analyse the evolution and nature of these studies.

¹⁶ Degregori & Golte (1973: 152) note this phenomenon but also how local expectations on education tend to be largely unfulfilled. Doughty (1968: 191) explains how teaching work is the main channel of social mobility. Ames (2000) traces anthropological approaches to education in the Peruvian Andes.

of children's life (e.g. linguistic, cultural). In this context, some authors have seen schools as channels of acculturation and indoctrination rather than of formation and education (e.g. Doughty 1968: 206). In many ways these are ongoing problems in Taulli. I found it disheartening to see how many local education-related problems and challenges are extremely similar to those noted in other community studies made decades ago. For example, those explained by Doughty (ibid: 196-200) in Huayllas in the 1960s: child malnutrition affecting learning capacity, work with parents limiting attendance, poor teaching and so on. However, there have also been important improvements in recent years. Taulli's first school was probably set up around the 1920s-30s.¹⁷ For decades only some children, mostly boys, used to study several courses, very few completed primary education, and even fewer went into secondary somewhere else. As a result illiteracy was widespread, being dominant among women, and many local people were monolingual Quechua speakers. The experiences of migration and the generalisation of primary education gradually changed this situation, particularly from the mid Twentieth Century. Since then, most local men and many women have been bilingual and literate, although only in the last couple of decades has illiteracy been practically eradicated among young people, while secondary education has been generalised recently; even if those who leave school earlier often have difficulties reading and writing with some fluency.

Taulli's central village nowadays has a kindergarten (*inicial*), primary (*escuela*) and secondary (*colegio*) schools, which in 2008 were respectively staffed with one, four and seven teachers (for 14, 62, and 64 students). The settlement of Urabamba has a one-teacher school where children who live in the community's upper areas, and are too young to travel to the central village, can attend the first three courses of primary

¹⁷ I could not find a precise date, but a middle-aged Taullino explained me how his grandfather, who was born in the 1900s, had participated in the process of getting the first local school when in his twenties. He also affirmed that during the early years there were two, one for girls and one for boys.

school. These educational centres have quite new and good facilities built in the 1990-2000s, except for the lack of electricity in Urabamba's, and the very old and inadequate building of the secondary school, which used to be the old primary school. In 2009 it was announced that a new building was going to be built for this centre within a short period of time. As an example of common –and often absurd- bureaucratic problems that very often arises when dealing with official affairs, the approval of this new building was much delayed partially because the secondary school had been named after a former regional president, as it was thought that this would facilitate getting support and funding from his government. However, it happened that regulations forbid naming schools after people who, as in this case, are still alive and it took endless time and paperwork to sort out this apparently simple problem, which basically involved changing the school's name.

This secondary school was set up in 2002, firstly as a “branch” of neighbouring Portacruz's, and from 2006 as an independent centre. Taullinos lobbied hard and long to get it, being proudly considered as a great achievement by and for the community. Juan and Pedro Quispe, who participated actively in this lobbying, described the many journeys to the provincial and departmental capitals, meetings with different authorities, and paperwork that required. Previously, it was necessary to move elsewhere to continue studying after primary school, and many families could not afford it. Nowadays all local children have this chance, even if only a minority completes these studies, as many give up before, often to start families. In 2007 the first group of seven students graduated, and it was celebrated as a landmark for the community's progress in a solemn event, in which I was asked to be one of the godfathers. All the graduated students, except for one, left the community afterwards to continue studying in Ayacucho, Lima or Ica. None of them went into university, opting for technical studies

such as agricultural, mechanics, electrician or secretarial. They all planned to live with relatives and work in unskilled jobs while studying.

There have also been introduced initiatives to adapt education to local culture in recent years, conducting a few classes in Quechua,¹⁸ celebrating and participating in cultural traditions, or establishing practical classes in agricultural techniques and livestock breeding in the secondary school, which, similarly to others in the province, have a teacher specifically dedicated to this. There are also abundant initiatives to improve teaching levels in all the centres with evaluations, regular training and formation courses for teachers and so on.¹⁹ On the negative side, teaching standards continue to be low as a result of the pernicious circle of low-quality public education. I met and befriended many teachers in Taulli and its area during fieldwork, and must say that I found that the vast majority of them good and committed professionals who worked hard under difficult conditions and with very limited resources. However, I also found some individuals clearly unfit for teaching, showing precarious preparation, cases of alcoholism, despotic behaviour, and even a case of a man who was teaching despite having a pending conviction for sexually abusing a student.

Most teachers have no permanent positions, having to go through exams every year to compete for available vacancies, choosing destinations according to marks, and normally ending up in a different place each year. These continuous movements cause distress, and prevent the establishment of desirable longer-term relations with students. Distant communities like Taulli are inevitably among the less desirable destinations, so they are chosen by teachers from the area or assigned to those with lower marks.

¹⁸ In 2007, 63.4% of Ayacucho's population over 15 had an indigenous language, mostly Quechua, as first tongue, while the national average was just 13.2% then (INEI 2008: 117, 123).

¹⁹ Most training courses are organised by PEAR, *Programa de Educación en Areas Rurales* (Education in Rural Areas Programme): <http://www.foncodes.gob.pe/mpmiaula.htm>. In 2008 PARUA, a regional NGO specialising in teacher training, started a three year project to improve teaching standards in the province, regularly sending specialists to all its schools, to monitor and advise teachers.

Taulli's teachers used to be almost exclusively among the former, although in recent years there are increasing numbers coming from coastal regions, where vacancies are scarce. Most of these coastal teachers have Andean origins and speak Quechua, and they generally seem to be better prepared than some of their peers from the region. Many of them pointed out that children in Taulli, and similar communities, generally have more learning difficulties than children in urban and coastal areas; blaming the problem on malnutrition, lack of appropriate learning environments at home, or the negligence of some parents among other factors. It would be possible to conclude then that local education has been improving but is still very deficient. Nevertheless, the problems are far from being a local, Andean or rural issue. The quality of public education is a major problem in Peru and Latin America more generally (see Ames 2000).

Regarding local health standards, the establishment of the medical centre in 1998 has had many positive effects. Previously, an assistant nurse used to be allocated in the community, living and working in a room of an unsuitable communal building. As a contrast, the medical centre has appropriate facilities, and is staffed by two assistant nurses and, since 2008, a graduated nurse,²⁰ who coordinate their shifts and vacations so there is always someone available to handle emergencies. Two graduated nurses from coastal Ica worked in the community during my fieldwork. Taullinos disliked the first one because she did not show sensitivity to local people and customs, so local authorities lobbied the provincial health authorities to have her removed, alleging that she did not speak Quechua and therefore was unable to attend properly to the local (monolingual) elderly. Her substitute did not speak Quechua either but fitted in well and was accepted by all, regardless of her language skills. This was an interesting case of

²⁰ In Peru there are nurses with university degrees, and assistant nurses (*técnicos de enfermería*) that have a lower technical qualification. Nurses working in the area normally are recently graduates, often from the coast, who have to work for some years in Andean areas as part of their on-the-job training.

successful local resistance against an external imposition of someone who did not meet expected norms of behaviour and respect. I followed the process through several communal assemblies and authorities meetings, where the matter was discussed and lines of action were decided, witnessing the decision and acute awareness of required procedures that local authorities demonstrated dealing with this issue.

Health staff in Taulli consistently proved to be committed to their work, which often has to be carried out in complicated conditions, involving long walks, adverse weather and so on. The assistant nurse Vicente Cisneros, who had been working in Taulli for longer, provided me with extensive information about local health standards in 2005-08. He explained that the most common problems are diarrhoeas caused by the poor state of food and water, and respiratory and parasitic diseases. Chronic child malnutrition is a widespread problem which, rather than due to insufficient food, is caused by an unbalanced diet that lacks enough basic products such as fruits, meat, milk, eggs and potable water. Besides the treatment and prevention of diseases, the medical post implements abundant health programs, and also serves as the coordinating body for most local development projects and initiatives. Among other functions, it freely provides medicines, vaccines, contraceptive methods,²¹ and food to pregnant women and children under three years-old, whose growth is individually monitored by the staff through monthly appointments. In March 2008 almost half of these children were below their ideal weight and height. Health staff regularly receive training courses in the provincial capital. In addition to their work, doctors with different specialities such as dentists visit the province's communities –including Taulli- every few months, checking the local children, and those adults who need it for free. The local medical post also attends the population of San Antonio de Qechawa, a recently developed

²¹ The pill and contraceptive injections are provided as part of a national project of birth control. As a result it is rare nowadays to find young local couples with more than two or three children.

hamlet of around 130 inhabitants further north, on the bank of the river, which belongs to neighbouring Sarhua but depends on Taulli in relation to the medical post and the secondary school.

All the local population is covered by a state “Integral Health Insurance” (*Seguro Integral de Salud*)²² that guarantees free access to these services and assistance in the community. However, it does not cover the treatment of some chronic diseases. Local people generally agree that health has greatly improved in the community in recent years, particularly compared with the situation of a few decades ago, when health-related programmes, initiatives and infrastructure were practically non-existent. For example, between 2005 and March 2008 (when this data was collected), there were no birth or infant deaths in Taulli. During this period six people died, there were thirty births, and an eighteen-week abortion caused by pregnancy complications. Those who died were all elderly, except for two middle-aged women with tuberculosis. These figures indicate a huge improvement of health standards in comparison with what local people remember about the situation in the past, and with the image provided by community studies conducted in the area decades ago when mortality was much higher, particularly affecting children and woman giving birth.²³ For example, Isbell (2005 [1978]) reports how she attended fifteen funerals during her first seven months of fieldwork in Chuschi in 1967 (ibid: 43), and how three women died there giving birth during three months in 1975 (ibid: 259). Chuschi’s population was around twice that of Taulli today; so these figures indicate a great improvement of health standards, which, despite persistent serious problems (e.g. child malnutrition), generally is the field where

²² See: <http://www.sis.gob.pe/Portal/index.html>

²³ A very successful pilot programme was introduced in 2000 in Ayacucho to tackle childbirth-related mortality in rural areas. Pregnancies are monitored in communities’ medical posts, and women are obliged to give birth in properly equipped hospitals in provincial capitals, where they can choose traditional delivery options (e.g. “vertical” delivery). As a result by 2009 this mortality had been reduced 80%, and there were plans to extend the system to other regions and countries (Machuca 2009).

I detected the most positive changes in recent decades. Education and health can be considered then as key fields where it is possible to see major changes brought by state intervention in recent years, and where remarkable improvements contrast with the scale of historical problems and deficiencies.

Development and the environment

A whole series of development programmes, initiatives and institutions with diverse nature, duration, and objectives have been introduced in Taulli in recent years by the state and NGOs, and new ones are constantly appearing. Visits from representatives and workers of different institutions and projects, meetings with local authorities or certain collectives, training courses and presentations and other activities, are frequent and sometimes constant in Taulli; to the point that I sometimes had difficulties following them. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse them in detail, although I briefly present those that were functioning or introduced during fieldwork, with some ideas and impressions that can be useful to understand the key issue of development in the community. The following are all state programmes and institutions.

Vaso de Leche (glass of milk) is a national programme that involves providing milk and food baskets to cover basic nutritional needs. It targets priority groups such as children under seven and between seven and thirteen, pregnant women, disabled and elderly people. It is coordinated and implemented through local governments and committees of beneficiary “mothers” democratically elected every two years. In Taulli, there are 98 beneficiaries, most local families. The programme’s food is provided by **PRONAA**, *Programa Nacional de Alimentos* (National Food Programme), that also supplies food to the local kindergarten, primary school and medical centre, where it is regularly distributed among students and some patients (e.g. pregnant women), as well

as during times of crisis through local authorities. For example, in late-2007 several tonnes of food (e.g. potatoes, milk, canned fish) were distributed in Taulli to partially compensate for the loss of crops produced by extreme weather conditions during the previous months. The food is brought from the provincial capital every few months.

AgroRural (called PRONAMACH until 2009) is a programme of rural development that works on reforestation, soil conservation, and the improvement of agricultural and stock-breeding techniques and infrastructure. It has promoted the formation of two local “conservation committees” in Taulli and Urabamba, which had their respective trees nurseries, among other initiatives. This programme uses traditional communal channels to mobilise the workforce (e.g. communal working days) and resources. A zone coordinator visits the community every week to check the work and evolution of local committees. AgroRural also supervises the implementation of related projects made by other institutions and programmes. For example, since 2009 it has coordinated the programme **ALIADOS** (allies), which promotes and subsidises the formation of associations of agricultural and livestock producers in rural communities of the poorest Peruvian highland regions, to commercialise their surplus in regional markets. The project is financed by the World Bank that has similar projects in Ecuador and Bolivia. As a result, in 2009 there were two associations of producers in Taulli, one of cereals and other of honey; while another one of guinea pigs breeders was being set up.

One of the most interesting development programmes is **JUNTOS** (together), which was introduced in Taulli in 2006, and consists of monthly payments to beneficiary families of 100 soles (US\$33), which is a considerable amount in a community like this. The programme targets children through their mothers, as they bear the greatest responsibility for their upbringing, although widowers and

grandparents can also participate if mothers are missing. Beneficiary mothers must have children under fourteen, and live permanently in rural communities of “extreme poverty” areas (according to FONCODES poverty maps). The program’s objective is to generate “human capital” through improvements in the fields of children’s health, nutrition, education and identity (providing IDs and birth certificates). Among other conditions, mothers must send their children to school every day, clean and on time, improve family homes through ventilating kitchens, building latrines outside, and beds and shelves in bedrooms using local materials.²⁴ Mothers also have to attend monthly meetings in the medical post (plate 15), led by a zone coordinator and the post staff.



Plate 15: Monthly meeting of JUNTOS in the medical post.

There, they receive training and courses on several topics, such as cooking with local products, health issues (e.g. nutrition) and so on. There are also competitions among beneficiaries to encourage participation, and social events that recognise and celebrate local traditions and culture. Failing to fulfil these obligations is penalised with

²⁴ Traditionally people sleep on sheep skins on the floor. In 2007 only some local families had beds and latrines at home. However, thanks to this programme and the installation of a potable water supply, by late-2009 most families had beds and all had latrines in their main homes.

fines or even with the temporary or permanent suspension of the monthly payments. The programme has a temporary character and different phases, whose goals have to be gradually fulfilled in order to pass to the following one. In 2009 there were around 60 beneficiaries in Taulli, although in practice many more local families were eligible to join the programme. New members are regularly allowed, and local medical staff encourages families to join in. However, some of the families who need this support the most lack the initiative or will to go through the process of joining, which requires a certain amount of paperwork.

PRONAMA, *Programa Nacional de Mobilización para la Alfabetización* (National Programme of Mobilisation for Literacy), works on eradicating illiteracy and improving education among adults. It works through the selection of some local trainers (*capacitadores*), among those that have at least completed secondary education, who are paid to teach those who need it. Materials and supervision are provided through area coordinators. There have been several trainers in Taulli for years, but no activities were undertaken until 2009, when a three-year course to complete primary education was introduced for local adults. Two groups with their respective local trainers -two *comuneros* with technical studies on farming- were set up in Taulli and Urabamba. Classes lasted two hours and took place on Saturdays and Sunday evening, in a communal building in Taulli, and a private house in Urabamba. Around 50 people enrolled in both groups, although only around a dozen attended classes regularly in each of them. Those enrolled were mainly middle-aged and younger women with children. Many of the later joined as part of JUNTOS's conditions.

Moreover, there are also abundant NGOs working in the area, which normally undertake specific projects at a provincial level that last for two or three years, and are funded by the state and international institutions. During fieldwork two of them worked

in Taulli. **CÁRITAS** Perú implemented a project in 2008-09, to increase alfalfa production, distributing special seeds and providing expertise to local people. The objective was to improve livestock feeding, increasing milk and meat production, and as a result improving child nutrition. **CEDAP**, *Centro de Desarrollo Agropecuario* (Centre of agropastoral development), started a three-year project in 2009 to promote the formation of family and communal projects and associations, to improve agricultural production, farming techniques, and commercialise surplus. They provide some financing and expertise to those who fulfil their requirements, and organise regular competitions among them. Other state projects and NGOs were working in the province but do not have a direct presence in Taulli, such as CEM, *Centro de Emergencia de la Mujer* (Women's Emergency Centre), that works on women's rights; or COMISEDH, *Comisión Derechos Humanos* (Human Rights Commission), that works with victims of "the violence".

All the state programmes and institutions depend on –or are financed by– different ministries (e.g. Agriculture, Development and Gender) and have been created by successive governments since the 1980s.²⁵ The results of these initiatives, like other aspects of state intervention, present different levels of success; where some positive effects and outcomes are combined with others that are disappointing, producing a mixed landscape. Nevertheless, the vast majority of them have been implemented in recent years and their longer-term effects are to be seen (I intend to follow them up in future research). It is possible to differentiate between those initiatives that have a purely welfare character (e.g. *Vaso de Leche*), which may provide important short-term assistance, and those that have a wider and more ambitious scope encouraging

²⁵ For example, in 2007 the new APRA government of Alan García created the programme CRECER ("to grow"), theoretically to coordinate and rationalise pre-existing programmes, although its functioning is not clear and seems to be oriented to shadow or capitalise achievements of previous governments' initiatives. This shows a certain clientelistic dependency on electoral calendars and political interests.

individual and communal participation, introducing conditionality, or demonstrating cultural sensitivity and engagement with local traditions (e.g. JUNTOS); even if these laudable purposes and intentions are often more rhetorical and theoretical than practical.²⁶ This approach to development is not new. For example, 1950s projects of applied anthropology (e.g. Vicos) already contemplated using communities' traditions and institutions to implement development policies (Urrutia 1992: 9). However, it has become increasingly important in the context of latest development theories and trends, such as those related to the concepts of "ethno-development" and *buen vivir/sumak kawsay* ("living-well"), which stress the importance of ethnic groups developing according to their own cultures and traditions and look for alternatives to neoliberal models of development (see Radcliffe 2012).

In this same vein, one of the most remarkable characteristics of some of these development-related initiatives (as with other aspects of state intervention) is their –at least partial- adaptation to the local PPC status and its communal organisation. For example, most of them are locally managed by committees of *comuneros/as* elected following communal procedures (see chapter 3), and use communal work and channels to mobilise and coordinate local resources and workforce, and to perform and implement many of their activities (see chapter 4). I suggest that this is a key factor that contributes to reinforce the PPC institution among Taullinos, as it has become a channel through which they have access to these whole series of new services and improvements. Moreover, I also argue that this adaptation shows the potential of the communal organisation, in combination with state intervention, to contribute to the development of the community in its own terms and, in many ways, according to local

²⁶ Current Peruvian legislation recognises the obligation of respecting cultural traditions and ethnic identity in developing policies (Robles-Mendoza 2002: 201). This legislation is partially result of the 1989 *Convenio 169 de la OIT sobre Pueblos Indígenas y Tribales en Países Independientes* (ibid), which was subscribed to by Peru in 1993 but that has been systematically unredeemed in many aspects. Available at: http://www.oit.org.pe/WDMS/bib/publ/libros/convenio_169_07.pdf

traditions. These processes have been redefining state-community relations in recent years, and also the role that the community plays for its members, which is acquiring new connotations and dimensions as a result of state intervention.

Other key aspects of some of these development-related projects and initiatives are the increasing importance that they pay to environmental concerns, and the special attention to particularly disadvantaged collectives or groups, such as women, children and the elderly. The case of women deserves special attention because they have traditionally had a subordinated role in the public life of these communities (e.g. local government), playing their main social roles as mothers and wives.²⁷ For this reason it is very important that as a key part of their objectives, programmes such as JUNTOS and PRONAMA aim to empower them, even if indirectly as in the case of JUNTOS that is mainly directed to children, and therefore approaches women from their main traditional role, as mothers.

In the case of the environment, AgroRural specifically targets some basic ongoing problems like deforestation, erosion and soil degradation, while other projects stress the importance of sustainability (e.g. using local materials and products). Of course, these programmes and policies are totally insufficient to tackle problems such as climate change that have a global dimension, and are increasingly noticeable in the region (e.g. extremely cold winters in recent years), but they still have an important role creating awareness among local people. Peru is considered among the worst affected countries in the world by this phenomenon,²⁸ particularly due to the gradual melting of Andean glaciers caused by global warming. Climate change potentially is the greatest challenge for humanity, and, significantly, Taullinos generally have an increasingly clear notion

²⁷ In her review of gender studies in Peru, Oliart (2000: 337) traces this differentiation public/domestic spheres to the work of Zimbalist & Lamphere, explaining how it has been often used to approach gender roles and relations in Andean communities.

²⁸ The third, after Bangladesh and Honduras, according to the Tyndall Centre on Climate Change UK (quoted in Paz-Cigarrán 2004: slide 5).

of this problem, through the media during emigration experiences, and through some local development programmes. For example, the NGO CÁRITAS showed a short documentary on the topic in Taulli, as part of a training session for their alfalfa project. There were around twenty participants and I found that most of them already had an idea of what climate change is. Besides, Taullinos also have empirical knowledge of this phenomenon, because they are directly affected by it, among other factors in terms of increasing weather instability and the direct effects on crops (e.g. cold waves, unseasonable frosts, later arrival of precipitation). The local elderly consistently reported major climatic changes affecting agriculture since their youth. It is important to remember that the physical characteristics of the Andes have always presented major problems and challenges to human adaptation, although the huge ecological diversity of the region has also created opportunities. As mentioned (in chapter 1), pre-Hispanic Andean cultures achieved impressive levels of ecological adaptation, and one of the worst consequences of the colonial system was the lost of traditional technology and knowledge on this regard. Current poverty in the Andes can still be directly linked with that pernicious process. Many authors have pointed out how environmental degradation produces poverty and *vice versa*, creating a vicious circle (e.g. Salinas 2003: 220-1).

One of the main sources of environmental problems and social conflicts in Peru in recent years has been the exploitation of mining and of other natural resources, which are concentrated in Andean and Amazonian areas. Although there is abundant legislation regulating these activities and their environmental impact, the many conflicts reveal systematic failures of supervision, compliance, and accountability (e.g. Haselip & Martínez-Romera 2011, Bebbington et al. 2007).²⁹ In Taulli there was a gold mine during the Colonial period, and the ruins still exist. In mid-2008, a mining entrepreneur

²⁹ There are many NGOs and institutions working on this problem, and much literature. See for example: <http://www.conflictosmineros.net/contenidos/19-peru>

and engineer visited the community several times, to prospect the old mine and its surroundings. He concluded that it was worth exploiting it for gold and other minerals, and started a series of dealings with governmental institutions and the community, in order to obtain permits to work. Around September 2008, he attended a communal assembly in which he explained his plans to the community, offering regular waged labour to at least forty local men, the construction of a road from the river area to the village and so on. The prospect of regular waged labour carried away some local *comuneros*, who were eager to accept the offer straightaway, although others pointed out potential environmental hazards, mentioning mining-related conflicts and negative experiences (many Taullinos have temporarily worked in mines), so it was finally decided to postpone any decision about it. I met this individual a couple of times during his early brief visits. We had civil conversations, but I found his explanations confusing and elusive, leading me to mistrust him. I was away during the mentioned communal assembly (its account is based on diverse accounts from those who were there), and he did not come back afterwards; although most of what I heard about him increased my initial mistrust. At the time of writing this (by late-2011), there was still no news about it, but this remains a potential major issue for the future of the community.

A case study: water supply

To exemplify some of the development-related problems in the community and its area, I have chosen to explain with some detail the installation of a system of water supply for human consumption that took place in mid-2009. This was the most important and largest public work undertaken in Taulli during fieldwork, and I closely followed several stages of the project, getting a vivid image of its related problems. The central village already had a very basic water supply system that had been installed in 1993.

Water was piped from the *puna* to a water tank located in the village's upper side. From there a simple system of thin pipes distributed the water to different parts of the village, where outlets with taps were installed. This system substituted old public fountains that had become obsolete, but the water only reached some parts and was not potable, being insufficient, irregular, and inefficient. In the upper parts of the community there was no water supply, and people depended exclusively on surrounding small springs and streams.

Following guidelines of the municipal (district) government, JAAS, *Junta Administradora de Agua y Saneamiento* (board of water and sanitation management) committees had been set up in the district's communities (including Taulli) in 2006, to manage local distribution of water for human consumption. The activities of the local JAAS committee were minimal until 2008, when new members were elected, including individuals who would become some of my most trusted local sources, such as Juan Quispe and Silverio Antesana, under the coordination of the nurse Vicente Cisneros. These new members had committed themselves to get a new system of water distribution for human consumption, at least for the central village, replacing the existing one. Taullinos consider the lack of sufficient water -both for human consumption and for agricultural irrigation- as their main local problem, so I started to follow and attend the committee's activities and meetings with particular interest, trying to help out. By mid-2008 I wrote a report, stating the problems and potential solutions that the committee members and other local people saw regarding water supply in the community. During the following months, I took advantage of my visits to Huamanga to look for and contact -mainly through the Internet- relevant development-related state institutions and NGOs, sending them the report and requesting potential economic and technical support regarding this issue.

As a result of these procedures, I learnt that in 2004 a large project was started by the development state institution FONCODES, to install a proper potable water supply system in several communities of the area, including Taulli. The technical study was conducted by the NGO CARE Perú, and it was implemented in all the planned communities except for Taulli, because of problems with Carapo's district mayor of the time, who apparently demanded to control part of the budget in return for his support. This demand was not accepted by FONCODES due to suspicions of potential corruption. The technical study was filed in FONCODES's Ayacucho's office for a couple of years, before being sent to PRONASAR in Lima, another state institution dedicated to bring water and sanitation to rural areas. This information was provided confidentially by a worker of CARE Perú, who helped me to trace Taulli's unrealised technical study. I was surprised by all this, as nobody had told me anything about it in Taulli. After contacting these institutions, I learnt that this technical study had been recently recovered as part of a large new plan to install a potable water supply in all communities of several districts of the Qaracha area (including Carapo's), which was planned to start in a few months time. I later told all this to the JAAS's members, realising how most Taullinos did not know about the existence of this project-study, and how none knew about this "incident" with the mayor, which had apparently prevented the community getting potable water years before. However, nobody was surprised, as this kind of –in this case supposedly- corrupt practice is seen as widespread and treated with certain "fatalist" permissiveness. I was however myself surprised how local people in general –and JAAS members in particular- received the news about the coming project with more caution and scepticism than joy, despite directly addressing one of the most important local problems, and at a much larger scale and with more resources than

anyone was expecting. With these ideas in mind I left the community and Peru soon after, to return to Europe.

The project's works finally started in July 2009, a month before my return to Taulli; so I could witness and participate in the works during the following months. The project had been granted to another NGO (ADRA Perú), and Taulli's budget alone was 306683 soles (around US\$102227), a very considerable amount. The project included the construction of latrines and laundry sinks in every local family's main house, water tanks with sanitation systems to make water potable, and a distribution system reaching all local settlements. A catchments system was installed bringing water from a *puna* area of neighbouring Sarhua, and a new JAAS committee was set up for the upper settlements with the plan that the members of both committees were to be trained to maintain and manage the water supply. NGO technicians stayed in the community for months directing the works, which were carried out by local people through a combination of paid communal and individual work. By August 2009 works were being carried out more or less as planned, but many troubles and unexpected negative side effects gradually arose. Members of neighbouring Sarhua complained that they had not been consulted before taking water from their territory, so threatened to dismantle the installation. Neighbouring Portacruz took advantage of their own works to capture from their territory waters for human use that legally belong to Taulli to be used for irrigation, greatly decreasing the already insufficient agricultural-related water supply, and creating a major new problem for Taullinos. The institutions involved, such as PRONASAR and ADRA,³⁰ were not qualified to arbitrate in the conflict and the case ended up in courts, involving much long-term future waiting, expenses, and no

³⁰ About these institutions see: PRONASAR (*Programa Nacional de Agua y Saneamiento Rural*): <http://www.vivienda.gob.pe/pronasar/>; FONCODES (*Fondo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo Social*): <http://www.foncodes.gob.pe/>; CARE Perú: <http://www.care.org.pe/>, ADRA Perú: <http://www.adra.org.pe/>.

guarantee of future compensation or reparation. Moreover, months after, the community still had no a functional potable water supply as a result of different technical problems: the available water was less than expected, some materials had not arrived, training of local people had not taken place, and so on.

On the positive side, as a result of this project all families got latrines and other new facilities in their main home, contributing to improve local hygiene standards. All *comuneros* also got the chance to get some regular waged labour for a few months, even if the payment was finally less than previously agreed for unclear reasons. However, these positive effects did not even remotely compensate the level of investment, and the failure to properly meet the original project aims, not to mention about the unexpected long-term problems that it finally caused. This is a significant example of the problems that may involve development projects in the area; in this case as a result of a lack of proper planning and coordination between institutions and communities (and between them), combined with pre-existing conflicts between local communities, leading to unexpected negative consequences and new problems, without properly resolving those planned.

This case study can also be used to address how local people, as the ultimate protagonists, perceive and experience this kind of projects, state intervention in general, or the wider social changes the community is going through. In this particular project, Taullinos were not surprised about these results, and I understood then that their initial caution and scepticism towards it was caused by previous frustrating experiences with other projects and public works, which reinforced a certain traditional wariness and mistrust towards external intervention. At a wider level, Taullinos generally appreciate particular new public works and services, and they are aware that their local PPC status guarantees a level of access to them, contributing to reinforce the institution. However,

they also tend to think that, overall, their situation as a community has not improved much in recent decades. In my opinion such ambivalence can be explained by several reasons. On the one hand, many aspects of daily life have hardly changed in practical terms. For example, the dependence on agriculture and its related hardships, or the fact that around half of the local population continues living on a normal basis without electricity and other services of the central village. On the other hand, although poverty indicators (e.g. literacy, access to education and health) have clearly improved, there are also other more subjective factors that shape peoples' views and perceptions, such as their comparative poverty in relation to surrounding communities, the gap between positive change and expectations, or self-perceptions. Older people in particular tend to think that as a result of social change local traditional ways and values are declining, and negatively compare them with others that are emerging instead, such as a perceived increasing materialism, loss of some communal traditions, or the pernicious influence of urban life over the young.

Religion

Taullinos are overwhelmingly religious. Most local people are Catholic, although, as in the rest of Peru and Latin America in general, Evangelism is an emerging force.³¹ Local Catholicism is linked with the already explained syncretic tradition of colonial origin. It would be possible to talk about a gradual decline of this Catholicism since the mid-Twentieth century, when the last priest living in the community left.³² Elderly Taullinos

³¹ According to the 2007 national census, Peru's population is 81.3% Catholic (82.3% urban/77.9% rural) and 12.5% Evangelic (11.5% urban/15.9% rural); while in 1997 they were 89% Catholic (90.3% urban/85.7% rural), and 6.8% Evangelical (5.4% urban/10.3% rural) (INEI 2008: 138-139).

³² There has been a shortage of priests in the Andes since the Colonial period. Rural priests used to have several communities under their jurisdictions (*doctrinas* or *curatos*), living in a central one (*cabecera*) and visiting the others regularly; while delegations of those other communities visited the *cabecera* to celebrate key religious feasts. In the Qaracha area, following that colonial tradition, several communities were *cabeceras* at different times. This was the case of Taulli at least in the 1940-50s (elderly locals still

still remember him, and some parts of the Latin prayers he used to teach them, as well as his bad reputation for impregnating several local women. Since then, the celebration of some Catholic feasts such as Easter started to gradually decline, although priests based in nearby provincial or district capitals used to visit the community frequently, when requested, to celebrate ceremonies (e.g. weddings) and feasts (e.g. patron saint). Priests' visits and Catholic feasts –like most local celebrations- stopped altogether in the 1980s in the context of “the violence”. After the worst years of the conflict, some of these feasts and celebrations (e.g. Christmas, Carnival) were re-established following their previous format, while others were definitely lost (e.g. most saints and virgins feasts), or recovered in much simpler versions (e.g. Easter). The visits of priests were never recovered as before, as locals stopped requesting them, increasingly celebrating religious ceremonies while living in coastal and urban areas. The local decline in the observance of Catholic rites has been parallel to a gradual emergence of Evangelism, which was introduced in the community in the 1970s by returned emigrants who had converted while living in the coast. However, it was marginal until the 1980s, when it started growing in the context of “the violence”.³³

Local Evangelists belong to the Peruvian Pentecostal Evangelic Church, specifically to its region number eight (of ten) of Ayacucho, whose base is Chuschi. Since 2001 the community has had an Evangelical temple, a large adobe building capable of accommodating around a hundred people, and there is a local *comunero*, Juan de Dios Tacas, who acts as pastor and celebrates four weekly services. These are attended by an average of twenty or thirty followers during normal days, and more – including followers and ministers of other communities- during special occasions, such

remember delegations of surrounding communities spending Easter in Taulli); although probably the community has had no permanent priest for most of its history.

³³ Some authors have argued that the conflict was a breeding ground for Evangelism (e.g. Isbell 2005 [1978]: 296-7), because it offered more support and coherent responses than traditional Catholicism.

as an annual September party that lasts for three days. This situation contrasts with the state of local Catholicism. Nowadays there is only a single priest for the whole Huancasancos province, who is changed every few years so there is not much chance to be known well in communities like Taulli. During fieldwork, the priest at the time -a young man who looked overwhelmed by his duties- visited Taulli only once. He arrived unexpectedly one evening and was received quite indifferently by local Catholics. Only a very few devout elderly women and some of those in charge of the local church came to see him. He looked quite disappointed and left the morning after, without even saying a mass as it was his original intention. He explained this indifference a result of Evangelism, although I had the impression that local Catholics have just become accustomed to living their religiosity without the intermediation of priests.

There is certain uneasiness between local Catholics and Evangelists because the former tend to blame the latter for undermining, or not fulfilling properly, communal obligations, or for causing the loss of local traditions. I found this very interesting because it looks as if there is a clear tendency among the former to exaggerate the impact, and even the number, of the latter. For example, most Catholics estimate that the percentage of local Evangelists is at least half of the population, but these estimations do not seem to correspond with my observations (e.g. attendees at religious services). In fact, among surveyed *comuneros*, only 23.33% of the interviewed declared themselves as Evangelists. I got the impression that this could be explained by the fact that Evangelism is among the most visible aspect of the much wider social changes, so it is perceived by many as a main cause behind some of the effects of those changes that are considered as negative. For example, Evangelicals tend to show quite a rigid stance against the consumption of alcohol and coca, which has a central role in traditional celebrations. This means that some local evangelists sometimes resist participating in

them, or holding the offices that sponsor them, even though most of them are quite flexible and just adapt to the circumstances (e.g. drinking alcohol, chewing coca, or attending a Catholic ceremony when necessary). In any case, these kinds of situations create potential contradictions and paradoxical situations, which tend to be solved pragmatically.

History

To conclude this presentation of Taulli, it is useful to consider local history, to better understand the community's origins and evolution, and to examine to what extent it fits the historical introduction to Andean communities (and PPCs) of the previous chapter. This section is a brief summary of a historical study of Taulli that I completed there in late-2009, leaving copies with local authorities and education centres, and presenting it to the secondary school as a contribution to the community. The sources of this study were colonial documents,³⁴ ethnographic data (e.g. local oral traditions and myths), and secondary literature (e.g. studies on the area and its communities). The fragmentary nature of these sources and their many gaps inevitably give this study a partial and speculative character. Besides these limitations, there are other issues to take into consideration when approaching local history. On his community-based study on Andean concepts of history and memory, Abercrombie (1997: xxiii) reflects on the task of creating a 'written past (...) for a people who had not written their own', arguing that Andeans understand their relationship with the past 'through mostly unwritten forms of social memory' (ibid), such as rituals. He also warns about the risk of colonising their

³⁴ Copies of many of these documents of the region's communities are kept in Huamanga's COFOPRI archives. I used those related to Taulli in combination with others –copies and originals- kept in the community (see primary sources). I must thank Francisco Condori for the access to them.

past through its writing.³⁵ Such considerations are relevant to approach Taulli's history, as Taullinos have a few oral traditions about particular aspects of their past, which they generally identify with their *costumbres del pueblo* (e.g. ritual celebrations), but not a coherent or elaborated narrative (oral or otherwise) about it.

On the basis of the fragmentary sources, and taking into consideration those wider concerns, it is possible to partially reconstruct the origins and evolution of Taulli since Inca times.³⁶ According to these sources, the community was formed as a *reducción* of Aymarae "Indians"³⁷ following the *visita* (census-taking inspection) of the Spanish colonial official Juan de Palomares in 1574, in the context of Viceroy Toledo's reforms. Local Aymaraes would originally be a group -among others- of *mitimaes* settlers brought to this territory by the Incas in the Fifteenth Century, as part of their policy of resettling and securing the Pampas-Qaracha area, which had been previously occupied by hostile Chancas.³⁸ According to Zuidema (1966: 71), the Aymaraes proceeded from the current province of Aymarae (Apurímac region), spoke Aymara, and had been allies of the Inca against the Chancas (ibid: 72). Earls & Silverblatt (1977a: 17-8) affirm that the Aymaraes were settled in several communities north (e.g. Chuschi, Cancha Cancha) and south (e.g. Choque Huarcaya, Auquilla, Taulli) of the Pampas River.

Some time before the *reducción* resettlement, by 1569, Taulli belonged to the *encomienda* of one Juan de Lezana (Huamani-Ore 1977: 39; Taulli's papers, folder 1,

³⁵ Abercrombie argues that 'Andeans adopted Spanish reverence for writing but preserved their own alternative forms of historical practice', which 'did not take place through the written text, or even primarily in the realm of verbal narrative' (ibid: 19), but by 'ritually reformulating and transforming their relationship to the past' (ibid: 22).

³⁶ The local pre-Inca past logically is more complicated. Canchari-Huamani (2007) presents a partial reconstruction based on archaeological evidence and wider regional studies.

³⁷ According to Sarhua's property titles (quoted in Earls & Silverblatt 1977a: 18), although none of Taulli's documents or oral traditions mention the Aymarae.

³⁸ The Pampas-Qaracha area was part of the core territory of the Chanca confederation (Twelfth-Fifteenth Centuries), whose defeat by the Inca is considered as a catalyst of the latter's expansion (for alternative interpretations see: Zuidema 1989 [1967b], Urton 1999: 45-58). Numerous colonial chroniclers (e.g. Garcilaso de la Vega 2004 [1609]: 378-9) explain that, after defeating the Chancas and conquering their territory, the Inca repopulated it entirely, or almost, with *mitimae* groups brought from different parts of their empire (Zuidema 1966: 60-70). As a result, the area presented great ethnic diversity.

doc. 7), which was part of the *Corregimiento* of Vilcashuamán, Bishopric of Huamanga, *Audiencia* of Lima, Viceroyalty of Peru. The *reducción* would suppose a major change in local life (see chapter 1). Taking into consideration the village's size, Spanish policies, and archaeological remains of the abandoned settlements, the original population would probably have been around 500 people. Originally, Taulli's territory was much more than double the current extent, as it included current Portacruz, part of Sarhua, and abundant lands beyond its core territory. According to the local oral tradition (version by Pedro Quispe in May 2007), the Jesuits arrived after the foundation, started to exploit a local gold mine, and built the church with the profits over a previous small chapel.³⁹ This oral tradition may contain some truth because the colonial mine existed, the Jesuits -who had arrived to Peru in 1881- were present in the area, and the church evidences very rich decoration despite its poor preservation.

The Pampas-Qaracha area has been historically characterised by the dominance of indigenous/peasant communities, and, differently from other parts of the Andes, by the marginal presence of the hacienda system. However, territorial conflicts between communities have been continuous in the area. All Seventeenth Century local documents refer to such conflicts (Taulli's papers, folder 1, doc: 1-21).⁴⁰ They start from the early part of the century, maybe indicating an increasing pressure over resources caused by certain demographic recovery.

There are no available documents from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries among the consulted sources. During the late-colonial period, the local *encomienda*

³⁹ There is another local oral tradition (told by Victor Ávalos in March 2008) that links the location of an original chapel, and therefore of the village, with miraculous appearances of the patron saint. Similar legends are widespread in the area (e.g. Quispe-Mejía 1968: 18-9, Isbell 1978: 65), and they could have been used by the Spaniards to erode local opposition to resettlements, providing a "sacred legitimacy" to the chosen sites. In the case of Taulli, the village was built over an ancient Wari settlement and burial ground (Canchari 2007: 84), which probably had already sacred connotations for local people.

⁴⁰ These conflicts are actually common to the whole Peruvian highlands. In his 1960s systematisation of Peruvian community studies, reinforced with statistical data, Dobyns (1970: 127) reports how all the surveyed communities reported such conflicts in four highland departments, while in the remaining seven departments between 75% and 85% did.

would have expired reverting to the crown. Administratively the community would become part of the *Audiencia* of Huamanga, sub-delegation of Vilcashuamán, substituted later by Cangallo as capital (Canchari 2007: 18). With independence, Taulli became part of the Department of Ayacucho (new name of Huamanga), province of Cangallo. There is no evidence of how independence affected Taulli. It is likely that local *kuraka* families would gradually leave or be completely assimilated with the others, after losing any legal recognition (no local family is nowadays identified as formerly notable), although this could have happened before, as a result of a loss of power through the colonial period caused by increasing “communal democracy”. It is also very likely that territorial conflicts with other communities worsened, as the precarious protection and recognition of communal rights of the colonial system disappeared.⁴¹

A remarkable phenomenon is how local surnames seem to have changed very substantially between the documents of the early-colonial period and those of the Twentieth-century, a process that takes place during these intermediate centuries. Of 58 surnames counted in a local census of December 2009, only three of them (Remache, Pillaca and Huamán), which are not among the most common, coincide with any of those thirteen surnames (five of notables and eight of commoners) that appear in local early colonial documents (Taulli’s papers, folder 1); while none of the most currently common (Condori, Quispe, Tacas, Tucno, Parco, Ocán and Aroni) do. This could be partially explained by a flexibility regarding surnames, for example in the well-known tendency, particularly among notable families, to adopt Spanish ones as a symbol of “prestige”, which appears in late-Seventeenth Century local documents (e.g. Taulli’s papers, folder 1, doc: 1, 5, 6, 20). These documents indicate a certain generational

⁴¹ A final territorial settlement with neighbouring Sarhua in 1930, and local oral traditions, indicate much trouble with this community in previous decades.

continuity since the early-colonial period. However, the nature of surname changes and local oral traditions⁴² suggest important shifts and movements of local population during these intermediate centuries. As there is no evidence of any particular or “traumatic” event, such the Túpac Amaru rebellion (1780s), Independence wars (1820s), or the War of the Pacific (1880s), affecting the area and causing this process, it is likely that these population movements would take place gradually due to escapes, trade routes, mining *mitas*, or religious pilgrimages among other options.

It is logically easier to study local history in the Twentieth-century. By 1910 Taulli became part of the new province of Víctor Fajardo, with its capital in Huancapi. (Canchari 2007: 18). During the 1920s ancient territorial conflicts with Sarhua reached momentum, until a final boundaries settlement was agreed in 1930 (Taulli’s papers, folder 2), which meant that Taulli lost a very important portion of its north territory to its neighbour. This provoked an internal redistribution of population, as Taullinos who used to live in the lost territories moved into the central village, and also to the area of Wichqa Punku (future Portacruz), which, having more abundant water, was attracting increasingly numbers of people from the early-century. This would have major consequences as the pre-existing hamlet became a proper village with increasing aspirations of independence. By 1945 Taulli achieved the legal recognition of “indigenous community” (COFOPRI, subfolder 1), and by 1948 Portacruz achieved the same status on its own, becoming independent (ibid). This independence meant the lost of more than half of Taulli’s remaining territory, including some of the most fertile lands and important water resources, provoking much resentment among Taullinos, who generally consider Portacruceños as “traitors” and “renegades”. Despite existing family

⁴² Contemporary Spanish surnames of those of the colonial period do not coincide, and several local sources believe that some of their ancestors arrived in the community in relative recent times.

links, the collective hostility is mutual and remains a major issue for both communities up to today.

Since the mid-century, local families have increasingly moved to higher parts of the community looking for water, gradually developing the hamlets of Urabamba and Taulliwasi. By the 1960s, the first roads linked the Qaracha area with the north and south of the region. As a result, the muleteers that had controlled trade there disappeared, regional integration improved, and emigration was facilitated reaching unprecedented levels. The area was hardly affected by the 1969 land reform due to the lack of haciendas, but the 1980s-90s “violence” had a major impact, particularly in the first half of the 1980s, when many people were killed in -and many others escaped from- the massacres that took place in so many communities, reaching extreme degrees of cruelty and dehumanisation. Fairly fortuitously, Taulli and neighbouring Portacruz were practically the only communities of the Qaracha area where no local people were killed during the conflict. According to local sources, the reason was that, unlike in other places, there was no informing and blaming among locals, who dealt with guerrilla and army incursions without getting involved with either side. There is also a widespread belief among Taullinos that Pucarumi, the “enchanted stone” that claimed so many lives in the past fooling and attracting men to the abyss, defended the community during those years, as a kind of protective force against Shining Path and the army that sometimes acted proactively (see introduction). According to the most notorious episode, once a group of the army arrived with the intention of killing some Taullinos. The group was resting in the school, where the commander fell asleep. Pucarumi’s ghost, in her *gringa*’s shape, appeared in his dreams and threatened him with castration if he hurt any of “her people”. Apparently the commander had heard about Pucarumi before, and after waking up in panic asked local people to take him to

see the stone. There he began insulting and shooting his gun at the stone in anger, until one of the bullets ricocheted and nearly hit him, so he got so scared that left the village with his men, never to return again.⁴³

Nevertheless, normal life was completely disrupted in the community during the worst years of the conflict. Many people fled to urban and coastal areas, and those who stayed lived in constant fear of the guerrilla and the army. Moreover, being from Ayacucho during those years was enough to become a suspect of terrorism, and several Taullinos who lived in the coast were arbitrarily jailed and suffered abuses as a result. Therefore, although the conflict's effects were comparatively less traumatic in Taulli than in most communities of the area, they were not less important, having very important long-term consequences such as producing major changes in local traditions (e.g. contributing to the decline of local Catholicism and the emergence of Evangelism), or taking migration patterns to new scales among other consequences. By the late-1980s, after the worst years of the conflict, many Taullinos started to return to the community, which in 1984 became part of the newly created province of Huancasancos (Canchari-Huamani 2007: 18). Since then, and as discussed earlier, largely as a result of the conflict, state intervention reached unprecedented levels in the area and the community, becoming the main motor of change in recent years. By 1998, following the 1995 "law over land" for PPCs, Taulli got a property title that legally fixes and protects local territorial boundaries and communal ownership (Maquera & Osorio 2010: 33).

This partial and fragmentary reconstruction of Taulli's past shows how the community and its area present some distinctive characteristics in comparison with the general historical introduction to Andean communities (and PPCs) offered in the previous chapter. Those include the practical absence of the hacienda system and the

⁴³ This is a brief summary of several versions gathered during fieldwork. This story is known by all Taullinos (and by many more in the area), and some narrated it as an historical fact; although I was unable to find anyone claiming to have witnessed it.

dominance of indigenous/peasant communities in the area, where territorial losses and external aggressions have mainly resulted from conflicts between communities, and the particular (comparative) recent isolation and poverty of the area. Taulli's case also illustrates how state policies and legislation have decisively shaped the historical evolution of Andean communities since pre-Hispanic times; in Taulli's case through Inca *mitimaes* policies, colonial *reducciones*, and republican legislation on PPCs, which have determined local history since very long before direct state presence or intervention became significant.

Concluding comments

Taulli has been going through far-reaching social changes in recent decades. The main motor of change has been an unprecedented state presence and intervention (in the community and its area). This has occurred mainly through the introduction of new infrastructure, communications, social services, and welfare and development-related initiatives, which are -at least partially- adapted to the local PPC status and its communal organisation (e.g. use of communal channels and work). This level of state intervention started in the 1990s as a reaction to "the violence", which so dramatically affected the Pampas-Qaracha area (and of the whole Ayacucho), and has been gradually increasing since then. The combination of this state intervention with other pre-existing factors of change, particularly with the emigration to coastal and urban centres, has been deepening local integration into national society, and has brought some remarkable improvements to the community (e.g. increasing health standards and education opportunities, new communications and economic activities), particularly in comparison with previous decades.

Nevertheless, this “integration” takes place in a situation of comparative disadvantage, which can be ultimately linked to the tradition of social exclusion and discrimination Andean regions and peoples have experienced within colonial and national society (explained in the previous chapter). For example, the community continues to suffer many and very deep problems as a result of its historical underdevelopment and poverty (e.g. chronic child malnutrition, lack of water, environmental hazards). There are also new challenges and potential risks (e.g. climate change, mining), and state intervention and development policies and initiatives are also riddled with problems and limitations (e.g. corruption, mismanagement, lack of coordination and planning). It is possible to conclude then that the current historical context, the community is bringing new advantages to and opportunities for Taullinos, mainly as a result of the increasing state intervention, which, despite its limitations and problems, contributes to reinforce the PPC institution.

Taulli presents very distinctive characteristics such as being a particularly poor and marginal community in one of the poorest Andean regions of Peru, which also was the most affected by the 1980s-90s “violence”; its almost complete lack of communications, modern infrastructure, and state presence until very recently; the historical lack of haciendas and the strength of “traditional” aspects of Andean culture in the Pampas-Qaracha area, and so on. Nevertheless, taking into consideration its particular circumstances and the great variety of Andean PPCs and regions, Taulli’s case provides evidence of key social changes and processes going on in these communities in the early Twenty-first Century, such as the increasing presence and importance of state intervention; the kinds of development-related policies and initiatives that are being implemented; and the kind of problems and challenges these

communities face for their development. As a complement to this chapter see “the community” video (type “*Taulli la comunidad*” in YouTube box).

CHAPTER 3: ORGANISATION

As outlined in the Introduction chapter, this ethnographic study of Taulli focuses on the role that the community (as a PPC) plays for Taullinos in the early Twenty-first Century. In particular, on how and why the local communal system is maintained in the current context of change. To assess this role, in the following chapters I explore Taulli's organisation, work, and celebrations, looking at the advantages and disadvantages that the community has for Taullinos today in relation to these key spheres of local life. Additionally, these spheres serve as references from which to approach related aspects of the "local Andean tradition", especially ritual practices, and to analyse how they function in and adapt to the context of change. In these chapters, I also introduce and review key aspects and references of 1960s-80s "long-termism", assessing their relevance in Taulli. This is to contribute to another key strand of this thesis, which is the examination of theoretical approaches to Andean cultures and communities, and the place of community studies, in Andean Anthropology.

In this chapter I explore Taulli's current organisation, explaining in a first section the different offices and institutions that are responsible for the local communal government, which can be divided between civil and traditional depending on their origin. I explain how this form of government works through democratic assemblies and elections, and the demands and limitations that this system places on Taullinos. I also explain the concept of "redistribution" used by 1960s-80s "long-termism" in relation to local traditional authorities, and how they are sometimes integrated with civil authorities within ritual contexts. This is followed by another three sections where I explore different aspects of the local socio-spatial organisation, in relation to concepts such as *ayllu*, sacralised landscape, and dualism. I consider 1960s-80s "long-termist"

approaches to them, and their relevance and local expressions in Taulli and in other neighbouring communities. In the second section, I do this with the concept of *ayllu* as a socio-spatial form of organisation, and with the concept of Andean dualism applied to some local ritual celebrations. In the third section I analyse the local religious and ritual configuration of the landscape, particularly in relation to a system of chapels and crosses, while in the fourth and last section I analyse the social configuration of the community, exploring differences between Taulli's households and local expressions of paradigmatic socioeconomic differentiations within Andean communities.

I. LOCAL COMMUNAL AUTHORITIES AND INSTITUTIONS

One of the most remarkable features of Taulli, and of PPCs in general, is the large number of internal institutions and offices that their communal organisation implies, and the way in which they are filled and function. In such a small community with a population of around 450 people and 85 "active" male *comuneros*, in 2009 there were some 20 institutions and 76 different offices (figure 4). These offices have to be filled on a rotational basis between local *comuneros*, and in some cases by *comuneras* too, as one of the main duties of membership. This system implies that most *comuneros* hold one or more local office in any given year, and that all of them hold many of these offices throughout their adult life. This is then an extremely participative and democratic system, but also very demanding in terms of time and effort. Local offices and institutions can be divided between civil and traditional. The former have a republican origin and a secular character, being mostly related to the official organisation of the community as a PPC. The latter have a colonial origin, and may have pre-Hispanic precedents, being based on the "local Andean tradition" and often presenting religious and ritual connotations or purposes.

TAULLI'S ORGANISATIONAL CHART (2009)

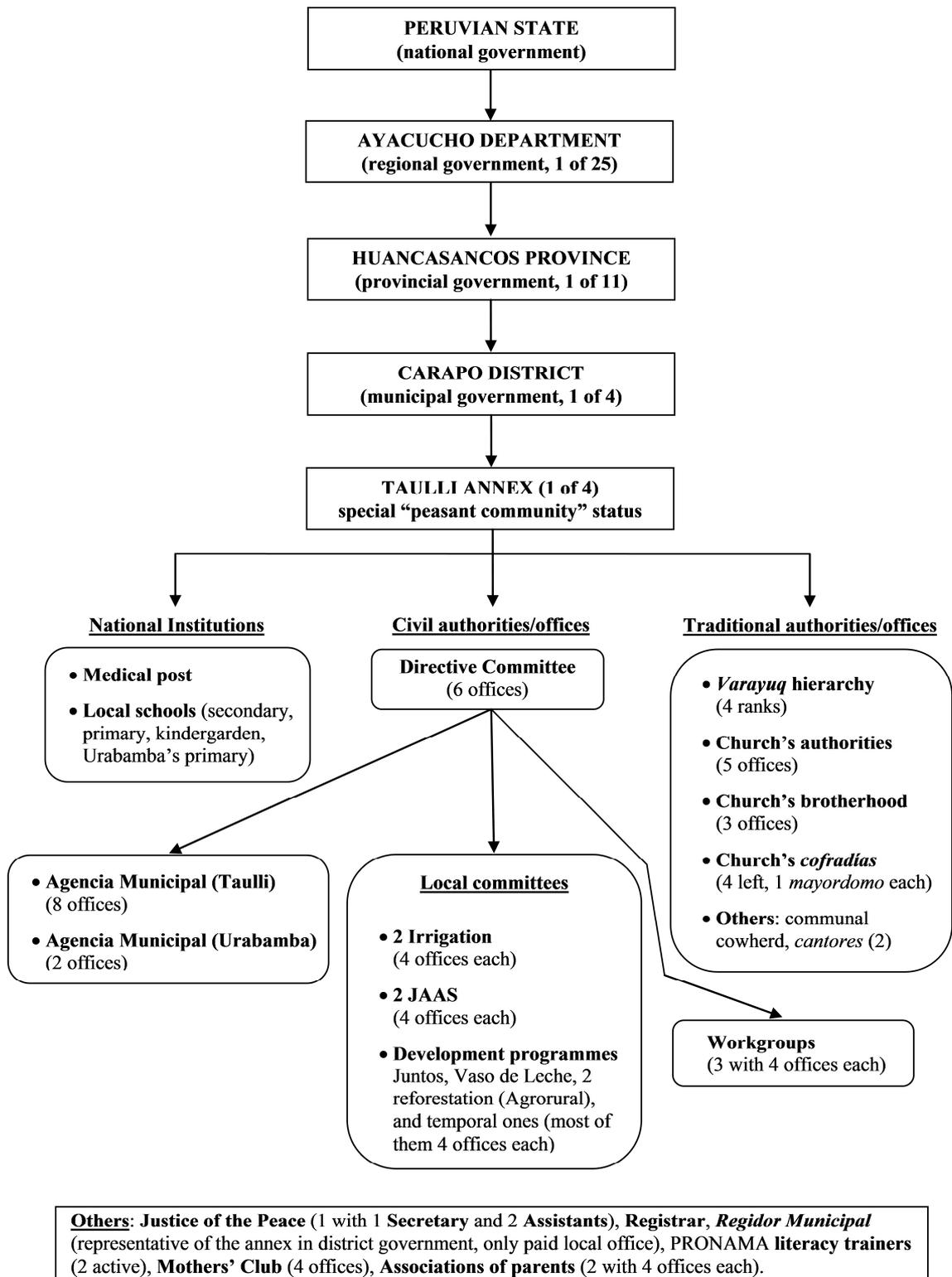


Figure 4: Taulli's organisational chart.

It is important to remember that -as explained in chapter 1- the PPC status and legislation is partially based on the communal tradition established by the colonial *reducciones*, which actually originated Taulli and many aspects of its “local Andean tradition”; so these common features contribute to the coexistence and interrelation of these different institutions and offices in the community. Figure 4 (above) shows Taulli’s administrative status within the Peruvian state, and its local institutions and offices.

Civil offices and institutions

The most important civil offices in Taulli are the communal authorities that are in charge of the local government. Nowadays, they are divided between two main institutions. The first one is the “Directive Committee” (*Comité Directivo*), which manages the government of the whole community. It is headed by a president and made up of another five officers, who are democratically elected by secret ballot for two-year terms. The second one is the “Municipal Agency” (*Agencia Municipal*), which manages the government of the central village,¹ and is made up of eight offices, headed by the local municipal agent. There are another two officers in charge of the internal affairs of the upper settlements of Urabamba and Taulliwasi. These, as most of the other civil offices, are filled through democratic election by a show of hands in communal assemblies; in this case for one-year terms. Even though these institutions and authorities have their own sets of responsibilities and duties, and keep their finances and records separately, they work together most of the time. They do not have a fixed calendar of work, but they meet very often to deal with the local government.

¹ This form of PPC government was introduced in 1987 (Law no. 24656), during Alan García’s first government. It substituted the “Vigilance” and “Administrative” Councils established -as explained by Isbell (1978: 30)- by the 1969 Land Reform, which had substituted a system established in 1938 of a president (*personero*) and his three-members board (*junta*), elected for two-year terms among literate local males (ibid: 30, 89).

Another key local civil authority is the “municipal alderman” (*regidor municipal*), who is the representative of the community -as an annex- in the municipal government of the district of Carapo. This is the only paid office in Taulli (the monthly payment is around 800 soles, US\$266) and, paradoxically, it is also the only local authority that is not elected directly by democratic vote. During official elections for local (municipal/district) governments in Peru, competing political parties in the district of Carapo have to present a candidate to represent each of the district’s annexes (including Taulli) in the future Carapo government. The winning party’s candidates are then indirectly elected for five-year terms, becoming the paid representatives of their annexes. Other important individual offices in Taulli are the registrar and the justice of the peace, who has two assistants/substitutes and a secretary. Among other duties, they respectively issue certificates (e.g. birth, marriage), and deal with land disputes and other internal legal conflicts that involve amounts of less than 2000 soles (US\$666). These are the only local offices that require specific training. They are elected democratically for two-year terms among those that have undergone the relevant legal training.² In 2009 there were three trained registrars, and one of them, Edwin Antesana, was also the only trained secretary, so he held this position permanently.

There are many other local civil offices and institutions such as committees and associations related to different aspects of the local organisation. Their importance, level of functionality, and the work burden and time demands that they bear for their holders, vary greatly. Local committees have different characteristics depending on the function and origin. For example, they can be created locally for a particular project (e.g. construction of a new communal building) or be imposed from outside (e.g. by governmental or NGO requirements to manage a development program), have a

² Training sessions are periodically held in Huamanga. In the case of the justice of the peace, the secretary deals with most legal aspects, so non-trained candidates can be elected and undertake some training later.

temporary or a permanent character, to work throughout the year, seasonally or to just have a nominal character. Most of them are formed by four offices: president, secretary, treasurer and spokesman (*vocal*), which are democratically elected by a show of hands for one or two-year terms, among the *comuneros/as* in communal assemblies, or just among those involved (e.g. beneficiaries of development programmes), in their own meetings. Their responsibilities include keeping records of meetings and activities, liaising with local and external institutions and authorities and so on. Some of the most important in the late-2000s were the dual Irrigation Committees in charge of managing the two main local irrigation channels; two JAAS committees respectively in charge of managing water supply for human consumption in the central village and in the upper settlements; and the committees of the different development programmes, which, as discussed in chapter 2, are adapted to the PPC status and communal organisation. Other local institutions are the associations of students' parents in each education centre, a "mothers' club", or the three "work groups" in which *comuneros* are divided when carrying out communal work. These different institutions and offices mainly meet and work during late-evenings and very early-mornings, so as not to interfere with individual day work. Authorities' meetings are held in the communal buildings (there are two in the central village), and they are often accompanied by tannoy announcements of many kinds, which are normally preceded and followed by loud music.

Holding some communal offices can be very time consuming as they may involve attendance at many meetings, dealings in urban centres, and many other duties. People logically tend to nominate and elect those that are considered more prepared and responsible for important offices, so more "prestigious" and better educated *comuneros* tend to bear a disproportionate burden of communal offices and obligations. Moreover,

holding these offices brings exposure to public criticism, which can be more or less fair. As a result, there is a general tendency to try to avoid holding the most demanding or “exposed” offices as far as possible, although, as I explain below, there are also mechanisms to pressure and force people to accept them.



Plate 16: A communal event presided over by civil authorities.

Communal assemblies and elections

The main forum of communal participation and decision making is the communal assembly (*asamblea communal*), which is normally conducted on Sunday mornings in a small square that is situated besides the central village’s church.³ These assemblies do not have a fixed calendar, but they take place regularly depending on necessities. I noted a logical correlation between their frequency and the different periods of the agricultural cycle. For example, during the months of irrigation and sowing (October-December) collective action and coordination is very important, so the assemblies are very frequent

³ Assemblies used to take place in the central square. In the 1980s they were moved to the nearby small square in the context of “the violence”, to minimise public exposure. In 2009 this small square was enlarged to build a sports field paid for by the district government. Since then, the assemblies take place in this field.

(normally weekly), while they are sporadic during the harvest period (June-July), when the need for collective action is much reduced. Communal assemblies are called and presided over by the local civil institutions. They are normally called at 8 am but start around 10 am, and, as all kind of public events, tend to last for many hours, finishing normally between 2 and 5 pm.⁴

Assemblies are conducted with solemnity. There is a tendency to speak Spanish, as the language of “official” occasions and spheres, although people use Quechua too or switch languages back and forth. In the case of women Quechua is clearly dominant, but their intervention in communal assemblies tends to be marginal. The authorities sit around a table that is set in a corner, while the other *comuneros* sit around the square. Women are always a minority and sit together in a corner. Assemblies normally start with the singing of the Peruvian national anthem, which is followed by a moderator’s formal greetings and the presentation of the main issues (*agendas*) that are going to be dealt with. There is also a round of news, announcements, and requests made by the authorities, or by whoever wants to speak after asking for permission to intervene by raising a hand. This is followed by the *agendas*, which are normally between five and ten. Some of the most frequent involve the organisation of communal working days, voting on issues that require communal agreement, and the election of public offices. As an example, appendix 4 shows the contents of a communal assembly held on 17th February 2008, where it is possible to see some general trends and patterns of public communal life discussed below.

Dealing with an *agenda* can take a long time. It may involve presentations, different interventions, ballots, and so on. Final or provisional decisions can be reached,

⁴ This is an example of a general tendency for relatively flexible timekeeping that affects all aspects of social life. Most Taullinos do not have watches but they always have a precise idea of the time through the movement of the sun, or the position of the stars and the moon. There is an informal agreement based on custom about approximate timekeeping, so people normally show up within a workable time span.

or postponed to the future. After dealing with *agendas*, assemblies conclude with the reading of the minutes and the names of those attending are taken down by the assistants. Attendance is obligatory for all *comuneros*, as well as for *comuneras* who are heads of families, while it is optional for other *comuneras*, who can stand in for their husbands in assemblies that do not involve particularly important issues. As in the case of communal work, absences from assemblies are fined (penalties increased from 10 to 15 soles in 2009). In practice, there is usually a flexible aspect to attendance with a continuous coming and going of people, who may attend other business or take a rest in the middle. However, most show up at the end to avoid getting fined.

Participating in assemblies and in other authorities' meetings and activities, I recognised some general trends and patterns that help to understand the way local communal organisation and government works in Taulli, and some of their related problems. For example, the formality and solemnity with which "public affairs" are generally conducted, and the importance given to manners and styles of social interaction. In these contexts of public life Taullinos always shake hands, use elaborate greetings, address authorities by their title, and demonstrate utmost respect for fellow *comuneros*. Sticking to forms, and following established procedures and channels to deal with communal affairs (e.g. making requests), is highly appreciated and can greatly facilitate public transactions. This importance of forms, manners, and procedures often contrasts with a flexible approach to the observation of rules and the fulfilment of duties, which can often be precarious. To some degree, it could be argued that in this context of communal affairs "forms" may be sometimes more important than "substance".

There is also a certain tendency to avoid direct confrontation and issues that can create internal conflicts and tensions. These types of issues often arise in communal

assemblies. They can relate to the scarcity of key assets and resources such as land and irrigation water, or to legislation that creates conflicts of interest between individuals among many other possible matters. A very common way of dealing with these issues is through postponing them, so a certain level of internal “harmony” tends to be privileged over potential conflict through procrastination. As a result, the communal organisation often has an “inconclusive” nature because of a certain inability to deal with conflictive issues. However, this problem can also be seen as an adaptation strategy that helps to maintain that certain level of internal harmony in the face of internal contradictions and tensions, which often do not have viable satisfactory solutions (examples of these “tendencies” can be found in appendix 4).

Communal assemblies involve frequent voting and elections. As mentioned the only secret ballot is for the election of the Directive Committee. An electoral committee is set up to supervise the process. Several candidates are proposed for each office in a communal assembly, forming two electoral lists. These lists are voted in the next assembly following a system of colours (each colour representing a different list). Votes are counted publicly by the electoral committee, who announce the results. The election of all the other local civil offices is carried out by a show of hands in assemblies. Attendees propose several candidates for each office, and then consecutively vote for each candidate. The one who gets more votes is elected. Once a person is proposed or has been elected, he –sometimes she- may object to the candidacy/election, but such objections are rarely accepted and the elected person normally fills the position. Elections for most communal local civil offices are conducted at the end of the year, between November and December, so the transfer of powers from the old to the new authorities can take place in the first communal assembly of the following year, which is normally held on the 1st of January, in a very solemn ceremony that includes speeches

from the old and the new authorities. Most decisions affecting the community must be decided by voting in communal assemblies, which are also done by a show of hands; so civil authorities are more intermediaries of the communal will than decision makers. However, logically, civil authorities that demonstrate more initiative, competence, and engagement with their responsibilities, clearly make a difference in the way local public affairs are conducted.

Taullinos also participate in state elections that are carried out following the conventional procedures of contemporary democracy. As in other Latin American countries, voting is compulsory in Peru. Taullinos vote in the district capital, although in 2009 there were plans to set up an electoral polling station in the community for future elections, to avoid displacements. Universal suffrage in Peru was only introduced with the 1979 constitution (Caistor & Villarán 2006: 3). Before, during “democratic” periods, illiterate people did not have the right to vote, and this was the equivalent to the disfranchisement of high percentages of the Andean rural population. However, paradoxically, during non-democratic periods (e.g. Velasco’s regime), the members of PCs were the only Peruvians who maintained a democratic system of local government as a result of their special legal status.

Full membership in the community in terms of communal participation and democracy remains an almost exclusively male prerogative. Women’s representation in these spheres is minimal, and is mainly confined to some committees of development programmes who target them as mothers (e.g. JUNTOS). Evidence of discrimination is found by comparing the elections for male and female-dominated committees. Elections for the latter are hurried and much less formal. This type of gender differentiation is clear in many other spheres of public life, and it is ultimately the result of embedded cultural concepts of gender relationships. Nevertheless, there is an increasing –though

still marginal- tendency to incorporate women in male-dominated committees and institutions (during fieldwork there were a couple of cases). Even if these attempts are just half-hearted, they still make a difference in comparison with the absolute absence of women filling local civil offices a few decades ago.

Having explained the functioning of Taulli's local government as a PPC, it is important to note that, despite its many demands and limitations, I never heard –or heard of- any Taullino questioning or criticising the local communal system itself. In fact, according to my fieldwork experiences, local people unanimously accept and identify with this system, and with the local PPC status that guarantees its continuity. This overall acceptance and identification can be seen as a result of a combination of more subjective and emotional factors with others that are more objective and material. Among the former, I would highlight that the official PPC status is consistent with the “local Andean tradition”, which has the community and its communal organisation as central features and as basis of local identity and culture. Among the latter, I would highlight that this legal status has offered for decades –and still does- an important degree of legal recognition and protection to the community by the state, which is perceived as a hard-won achievement by local people. Moreover, as mentioned in the previous chapter, in recent years this PPC status has become a channel through which local people can have access to new services and improvements as a result of increasing state intervention, contributing to reinforcing the PPC status. Nevertheless, Taullinos often resist or complain about specific aspects of the communal system when they feel adversely affected by them; the fulfilment of communal duties tends to be far from ideal; and I assume that emigration can sometimes be a form of dissidence, although I did not find a specific case where this had occurred.

Traditional offices and institutions: the *varayuq* hierarchy

The most important traditional offices in Taulli are those of the *varayuq* hierarchy, whose origins can be traced to the *reducciones* legislation of the 1580s (see chapter 1). Nowadays, the main role of Taulli's *varayuqs* (a.k.a. *envarados* or *cargoantes*⁵) is the sponsorship of communal celebrations and religious feasts, although they also have other practical duties such as the maintenance of fences and the cemetery. This hierarchy is composed of four levels or ranks of offices that are held for one-year terms, and that every local man is supposed to go through at different times of his life. These offices are in ascending order: *albaceres*, *alcaldes de campo* (*campos*), *regidores* and *alcalde mayor* (*alcalde*). Every level implies a higher level of responsibility and expenses. The lower ranks of *albaceres* and *campos* are held by children and teenagers following their parents' initiative, *albaceres* normally are between 10 and 15 years-old, and *campos* between 15 and 20. Their responsibilities are to assist the higher hierarchies, and to organise and lead parts or days of certain communal celebrations. The higher ranks of *regidores* and *alcalde* are held by adult *comuneros*. The former normally are between 25 and 40 years-old. They bear the higher expenses as main sponsors of the most important communal celebrations. The latter are normally more than 40 years-old and, as the top of the hierarchy, play a major symbolic and ritual role heading most *varayuq*-related activities. Figure 5 shows these *varayuq* offices schematically.

| Varayuq hierarchy | Average age | Number |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| 1. <i>Alcalde Mayor</i> | over 40 | 1 |
| 2. <i>Regidores</i> | 25-40 | several |
| 3. <i>Alcaldes de Campo</i> | 15-20 | several |
| 4. <i>Albaceres</i> | 8-15 | several |

Figure 5: Offices of the local *varayuq* hierarchy.

⁵ *Envarados* –like *varayuqs*- mean “those who carry staffs (*varas*)”. *Cargoantes* are “those who hold offices (*cargos*)”.

Varayuqs' sponsoring consists of organising and leading customary communal festive, ritual, and religious activities; providing music, abundant food and drinks, or mobilising people among other related duties. This sponsorship involves very significant expenses, bringing high pressures and hard sacrifices for the economy of *varayuq* office-holders and their families. Silverio Antesana, who was one of the three *regidores* in 2007, explained that the average *regidor*-related expenses then were around 5000-6000 soles (US\$1200-2000), the *alcalde*'s were around 2000-3000 soles (US\$660-1000), while the lower ranks' were much lower but still significant at times. As a reference, the daily local wage then was 10-12 soles (US\$3-4). Silverio, who was in his mid-thirties then, also explained that he had originally planned to save money and hold this office some years later, but that his family in Lima had convinced him to do it that year, promising economic support and help. Nevertheless, despite the generous support of his eleven siblings and large extended family, he had spent many sleepless nights throughout that year, tallying and squaring accounts to fulfil his duties properly. Even though sponsorship-related expenses are very significant, older Taullinos asserted that these pressures have decreased very significantly in recent decades, due to the gradual disappearance of some celebrations, and some of the related expenses in others. For example, Edwin Antesana, who had already held all main traditional local offices, explained how a few decades ago it was impossible to save any money or accumulate resources, because of the many burdensome offices and obligations, while nowadays they are comparatively not that burdensome.

There are several strategies to deal with these expenses, for example, people often spend time working in urban and coastal areas to save the necessary money. Although *varayuq* offices are held only by men, the fulfilments of their sponsorship-related obligations would be impossible without the assistance and support of close and

extended families and social networks. Women, particularly mothers or wives, have a key role, organising and mobilising their own social networks to help out, cooking and providing food and drinks, and so on. Therefore, the success of a *varayuq* in the fulfilment of his duties depends on a collective effort, and his family also benefits from that success. During sponsored celebrations, *varayuqs*' presence is ubiquitous and very visible. They head their respective entourages carrying their staffs, parade the village's streets, or pay each other hierarchical rounds of visits among many other duties. However, during the rest of the year they hardly have any relevant presence in local public life, or in the running of the community, where the holders participate just as *comuneros*. Older Taullinos remember how these traditional authorities used to have a much more powerful role and presence in daily life decades ago, being in charge of overseeing the community's morals and order, administering harsh punishments to transgressors (e.g. whippings, imprisonment) and so on.⁶



Plate 17: Local *varayuqs* lead and sponsor communal celebrations (*regidores* at Christmas 2007).

⁶ Older Taullinos often complain about youngsters' lack of respect and discipline, missing such effective punishments. Palomino-Flores (1970: 100) reports similar and harsher *varayuqs*' punishments in Sarhua.

Going through all the hierarchy's offices is equivalent to a progression towards a kind of Andean version of local "full citizenship" for a *comunero* and his family. People are supposed to volunteer to hold these offices. Volunteering takes place at Christmas time. During the central days of celebrations (24th-26th December), the church remains open. A small table is set up in the middle serving as an altar, with an image of baby Jesus and the patron saint (San Jerónimo), candles and flowers. The vacant staffs are lent against the table. Their size depends on the rank they represent. Volunteers enter the church and get the staff that corresponds to the hierarchical position they want to fill. Afterwards, the church bells are rung to announce their commitment, which is greeted with signs of approval and curiosity by those around, particularly in the case of the higher ranks. There is just one *alcalde* each year, but there are several of the other ranks, whose numbers vary each year. It is considered that the higher the number the better, as it implies greater abundance during celebrations. In 2007 there were four *albaceres*, three *campos* and three *regidores*, but in 2008 and 2009 there were only two of each. Older people remember melancholically how in the past there could be five or even more of each, making celebrations better. Nevertheless, despite this gradual decline of the *varayuq* system, there still exists a general consensus among Taullinos of the convenience of maintaining it, being perceived as a fundamental part of the *costumbres del pueblo* that I have largely identified as the "local Andean tradition".

***Varayuq* sponsorship and Andean redistribution**

The sponsoring of communal celebrations by Taulli's *varayuqs* can be linked to the concept of Andean redistribution used by 1960s-80s "long-termism". Van-Buren (1996: 340) explains how this concept can be traced to the work of Karl Polanyi, who, concerned with distinguishing capitalist market behaviour from other forms of

economic organisation of non-industrial societies, divided trade into three general types: market exchange, redistribution and reciprocity (ibid). In his search to define ancient Andean cultures in their own terms, away from Western conceptualisations, Murra was partly inspired by Polanyi, adapting the concept of redistribution to the Andean context. In pre-Hispanic times, it would mainly consist of the redistribution by the *ayllus'* *kurakas* of some of the goods, products and resources, obtained as a result of their privileged position, among the members of their *ayllus*, through ritual feasts and celebrations. Beyond the local sphere, these types of relations would be reproduced at much larger scales, such as the level of macro-*ayllus* and imperial structures. For example, in the case of the Inca, the state would provide goods and services to local leaders for support, and the leaders would redistribute some of these to their subjects. In colonial times, particularly in the context of the 1570s *reducciones*, new local offices and institutions established by the Spaniards (e.g. *varayuq* hierarchies, *cofradías*) in Andean communities adopted part of these redistributive functions, adapting them to the sponsorship of Catholic religious feasts, in another example of syncretism that became a fundamental aspect of life and of the internal organisation of these communities. This syncretism, as Taulli's local organisation demonstrates, often continues to the present.

In his classification of Latin American "corporate peasant communities", Wolf (1955: 458) links this kind of sponsorship to the concepts of 'levelling mechanism' and 'cult of poverty', which he uses to explain redistributive practices within these communities, as channels of social control that are used, in the name of an internal – often more ideal than real- egalitarian ethos, to preserve and reproduce this form of organisation (ibid). This sponsorship has traditionally implied huge sacrifices for the economies of local families, and, as Stobart (2002: 110) explains, it has been often blamed for contributing to the maintenance of poverty among Andean communities.

Isbell (1978: 97) argues that the economic demands of sponsorship are one of the main causes of the gradual reduction and/or disappearance of traditional authorities. However, as Stobart (2002: 110) also explains, people who practise these forms of sponsorship are normally convinced that its related sacrifices ‘would ultimately reap dividends’ in terms, for example, of social prestige, future prosperity (e.g. good harvests, human and animal welfare), or personal fulfilment. All these points are useful to understand, both the maintenance and the gradual reduction, of Taulli’s *varayuq* hierarchy and its related sponsoring duties.

Besides related expenses, this kind of sponsorship has also put those responsible in the spotlight, exposing them to criticism if people think that they do not fulfil their duties properly (e.g. if they do not provide enough food and drink). As a result, there has been a widespread tendency on the part of members of Andean communities to resist or avoid sponsoring offices and duties. However, there are also well established mechanisms to pressure and push people into holding these offices and fulfilling these – and other- communal duties, such as public criticism and disapproval. “What people would say” (*el que dirán*) acts as a threat which encourages individuals to put their own preferences to one side in order to fulfil communal responsibilities. Andean community studies offer abundant examples of these tendencies and mechanisms,⁷ and during fieldwork I witnessed many examples in Taulli of individuals’ resistance to holding both civil and traditional offices. However, significantly, as in the case of the communal organisation and the PPC status, none of these cases involved a questioning or challenging of the existence of these offices and institutions. Moreover, once offices were finally accepted, holders normally fulfilled their duties appropriately. As an example, in Christmas 2007 nobody volunteered to be the following year’s *alcalde*.

⁷ For example, Sallnow (1987: 152) explains some cases in the community of Qamawara (Cuzco), interpreting them as an expression of ‘management of the contradictions between the ethos of community egalitarianism and the hierarchical nature of political-religious organization’.

Civil authorities intervened in early-January, choosing three candidates among those who were considered as more suitable according to age and personal circumstances. The three nominees tried to avoid the office offering a series of different reasons and excuses for a few weeks, provoking widespread public pressure and criticism, and further intervention by the civil authorities. Their close involvement in this election shows the importance Taullinos give to the maintenance of these traditional authorities. Finally, one of the nominees, Elías Arone, gave way to the pressures, accepting the office and becoming the 2008 *alcalde*. Elías was then in his late-fifties and lived with his wife and younger son. He had claimed to lack sufficient resources and support to hold this office, as all his other children were living on the coast at the time. However, he finally fulfilled his duties successfully, gaining recognition and prestige as a result.

Other traditional authorities and institutions in Taulli and its area

Besides the local *varayuq* hierarchy, there are other traditional offices and institutions. The local church has its own hierarchy of offices composed by an *ecónomo* (keeper of the church), secretary, and treasurer, which are held for two-year terms; and *sacristán* (sacristan) and *prebeste* (keeper of the church's objects⁸), which are held for one-year terms. These offices are normally not overly time consuming, and do not involve major expenses. Particularly religious *comuneros* normally volunteer to hold these offices, but if there are vacancies they are filled in the same way as most civil offices. This can create paradoxical situations as in the case of the elected 2009 *sacristán*, who was a staunch Evangelist. Despite his strong opposition and repeated complaints, he was

⁸ The church contains valuable works of art and objects, although they are –like the church itself- badly preserved. Thieves broke into the building three times between the 1940s and the 1990s, stealing valuable objects on each occasion. Thefts are extremely rare and are always attributed to strangers, but people are normally careful about locking doors, and not leaving valuables around. In 2006 a computer was also stolen from a communal building.

finally obligated to accept this position, although he later used to ask others to perform his duties for him when necessary, while he waited outside the church.

The local church owns some of the best agricultural fields in the community, which are nominally owned by individual saints and virgins that are locally worshiped. Each of these saints and virgins used to have a *cofradía* headed by a *mayordomo* and composed by complex systems of offices,⁹ which included parallel male and female hierarchies that were filled on a rotational basis among local people.¹⁰ These *cofradías* were in charge of observing their respective patron feasts, which were very elaborate celebrations sponsored by their *mayordomo*, who, in return for this effort, had the right to exploit the corresponding virgin/saint *cofradía* field. This *cofradía* system was very important but, as with many other aspects of local Catholicism, it started to decline in the 1950s after the last priest left, until its related hierarchies finally disappeared during the 1980s “violence”. Since then, most of the former *cofradía* fields have been used for communal purposes such as the construction of educational centres, although there are still four left which continue to be allocated to individual *comuneros*, who act as *mayordomos*, for two-year terms. The holders are still supposed to organise night vigils and religious services, but often fail to do so. All the *cofradía* fields and the mentioned religious offices and institutions are linked to the “local church” rather than to “the Church”, which has no presence in the community.

Another local religious institution is the local *Hermandad de la Iglesia* (Church’s Sisterhood), formed by a few devout elderly women who used to organise religious ceremonies (e.g. rosaries, Sunday prayers). They are not longer active as only a few

⁹ *Cofradías* are Spanish religious institutions that were introduced in the American colonies. *Mayordomo* means “butler”, but in this context refers to the head of a *cofradía*. The term can also refer to any sponsor of a religious feasts or celebration.

¹⁰ Isbell (2005 [1978]: 129) reports how a similar female hierarchy (mirroring some male authorities) had disappeared in Chuschi some decades before the 1970s. It is likely then that these parallel female hierarchies were common in the area.

now remain, but the group still has its own internal offices (President, Secretary and Treasurer) elected for three-year terms. Apparently, this used to be a very active and important institution, whose members took care of childless elderly people, who, in return for their help, used to donate their lands to the local church. These donations were the origin of many *cofradía* fields. Thereby, this institution established then a kind of “welfare system” for the local elderly. This function disappeared many decades ago, but the Sisterhood was still active until part of the church’s roof collapsed in the 1990s. Since then, its activities have stopped and most members have now died, emigrated or even became Evangelists. The religious organisation of the community is completed with the figures of the *cantores*, two *comuneros* specialised in leading Catholic ceremonies such as rosaries and funerals,¹¹ and the Evangelist minister, although these can not be considered as communal “offices”.

Another traditional local office is that of the *vaquero communal* (communal cowherd), which consists of taking care of the communal cattle for a one-year term. It requires living in the *puna*, rotating among communal *estancias* according to the availability of grazing lands. It is supposedly another voluntary office, but, again, if there is no volunteer, the civil authorities are in charge of nominating candidates among those who have not done it before. The communal herd includes animals of the church and the primary school. In 2008, it was composed of 34 animals (13 of the Directive Committee, 17 of the church, and 4 of the school). There are other traditional institutions and offices that have disappeared in the recent past; for example, the *repartidores de agua* (water distributors), who used to manage local irrigation and were substituted in the 1980s by an Irrigation Committee.

¹¹ The figure of the *cantor* (singer) was created by a Royal Act of 1560, to counteract the shortage of priests. It established that towns with more than 100 “Indians” should have at least two or three trained *cantores*, so called because of the sung prayers they performed (Castro-Pozo 1979 [1924]: 167-8).

Local oral sources and community studies made in previous decades demonstrate that traditional offices and institutions in Taulli, and in other communities of the area, are nowadays much less numerous and burdensome than in the past. These sources also provide evidence of their diversity, flexibility, and capacity for reinvention. For example, Isbell (1978) studies traditional authorities in 1960-70s Chuschi, where there was a dual socio-spatial organisation into two neighbourhoods with their respective *varayuq* hierarchies, another hierarchy for those living in the *puna*, and a general common hierarchy related to the local church. Therefore, there were four different *varayuq* hierarchies for a population of around a 1000 people. Isbell (ibid: 93) reports how traditional authorities were then subjected to a ‘continuous process of reduction’ because of external pressures and the high expenses they involved.¹² In the introduction to a 1985 second edition of her book, Isbell (2005 [1978]: 27-31) laments the disappearance of local *varayuq* hierarchies in the context of the 1980s “violence”. However, in a 2005 Spanish edition of the book (ibid: 17-25), the author explains how, after the conflict, the dual hierarchies had been restored in the community.

Earls (1996) also reports the reintroduction of traditional authorities in many communities where they had disappeared in the context of “the violence”, and I found abundant examples in the Qaracha area that can illustrate this phenomenon.¹³ For example, in the case of Manchiri, the local *varayuq* hierarchy was recovered basically as it was before the conflict. In contrast, in Carapo, where dual *varayuq* hierarchies had disappeared, new civil hierarchies were created substituting them, although they significantly adopted many of the previous institutions’ characteristics and functions,

¹² As examples of this gradual reduction, Isbell (1978: 90) explains how Chuschinos decided in 1970 to eliminate the church-related hierarchy, which was too costly. She argues that facing the need to reduce their organisational structure, local people decided to get rid of the hierarchy in charge of celebrating ‘external’ Catholic feasts, maintaining those that were in charge of the celebrations that were more related to ‘the core of their traditional life’ (e.g. agriculture-related) (ibid).

¹³ The examples are extracted from local sources consulted during visits to these communities, and on their comparison with community studies made there.

such as the organisation of communal works and sponsorship of celebrations according to the dual division. These cases demonstrate the resilience of traditional authorities and institutions and their flexibility, and how their formal disappearance does not necessarily mean the complete disappearance of their functions, symbolism, and properties, which can at least be partially adapted or adopted by substituting institutions. At a wider level, they also show how Andean communities logically change according to their own cultural references and traditions, which are dynamically reinvented, and serve as channels through which members experience and incorporate social change.¹⁴

Earls (ibid: 10) also explains that many scholars have considered these traditional authorities as ‘ritualistic survivals’ from the past ‘on the verge of extinction’, while other authors have remarked on their democratic, redistributive, spiritual and organisational functions. Earls suggests that their continuity can be explained by their ‘capacity to bring cohesion’ and ‘their resilience in the most adverse circumstances’ (ibid). The case of Taulli and other neighbouring communities seem to confirm Earls’ view. It is interesting to wonder why these traditional authorities have disappeared in some communities and still exist in others. In the case of the Qaracha area, I found that the interrelation of factors such as size, economic and social diversity, administrative status, location, or the impact of the armed conflict in the recent past, among other factors, are key to explain their maintenance or not. Nevertheless, I generally noted a continuous process of reduction in these offices, similar to that reported by Isbell in Chuschi in the 1960-70s, and the gradual substitution of some traditional offices by new civil institutions (e.g. Taulli’s water administrators replaced by an irrigation committee). This raises questions about the future of such offices in the current context of increasing

¹⁴ For example, *varayuq* hierarchies disappeared in Huancasancos and Lucanamarca in the 1960-70s. In these nearby communities, a local system of rotating *mayordomos* is in charge of sponsoring main communal celebrations, showing similar functions (e.g. ritual, redistributive) that *varayuqs* fill in Taulli.

social change and integration into national society. Significantly, during a conversation with Alfredo Condori in his shop, I asked him if *varayuqs* would exist in Taulli in twenty years time. After thinking for a few seconds, he answered that it would be unlikely to be the same as today, but that, certainly, there would be ‘something similar’, implying that the potential disappearance of the institution would not have to mean the disappearance of its functions.

Interactions between civil and traditional authorities

The coexistence of civil and traditional authorities is characteristic of many PPCs. Community studies have portrayed diverse arrangements, and interpreted them from different perspectives. For example, in 1960s Sarhua, Palomino-Flores (1970: 90) interprets the coexistence of civil authorities with dual *varayuq* hierarchies, mirroring an internal division in *ayllus*, as an example of duality, which he considers as the community’s main organising principle. In the case of 1960s Choque Huarcaya, Quispe-Mejía (1968: 36-37) reports how traditional authorities were in charge of the internal running of the community, while the civil ones dealt with external issues (e.g. provincial and departmental governments).¹⁵ In Chuschi, Isbell (1978: 89) interprets the existence of civil authorities in the social organisation of the community as part of the ‘bureaucratic structures’ that ‘represent the presence of foreign domination in the midst of the *comuneros* social space.’ Outside the Pampas-Qaracha area, in his study of irrigation in mid-1980s Cabanaconde (Arequipa), Gelles (2002) pays great attention to the coexistence of traditional and civil irrigation authorities in this community, pointing out the different logics they belong to, and to the cultural and ritual connotations of the

¹⁵ The author explains how the real government of the community was in the hands of the association of residents in Lima (ibid: 40). Similar cases of “remote control” seem to have been quite common at the time. I have not heard of similar cases in the area nowadays, and definitely not in Taulli where links with the association of residents in Lima are loose and sporadic.

former. These are examples of diversity between communities, but also of some common elements that can be useful for approaching the current coexistence of both types of authorities and institutions in Taulli.

The bureaucratic character of civil authorities contrasts with the ritual connotations of traditional ones. The *varayuq* system in Taulli -and in other Andean communities- combines social, religious, ethical and ritual connotations. However, civil and traditional authorities also share common characteristics. For example, all authorities have an ethical dimension for their service to the community, and their behaviour is supposed to be exemplary, particularly to young people. They also share the taste for formality, manners and pomposity, which, as previously mentioned are a general trend in public life, but that, in the case of authorities, has a dignifying character, as an expression of responsibility. Ultimately, both civil and traditional authorities' offices are services to the community that every *comunero* -and by extension his family- is supposed to go through at different times of life, so all the community is involved with them and they are not seen as completely separate entities. Therefore, despite their different nature and origins, civil and traditional authorities in Taulli have a complementary role, and share some common characteristics and interrelations.

Civil authorities actively intervene in *varayuqs*' business when necessary (e.g. making sure offices are filled), because their activities are considered to be in the interests of the whole community. They often work together in the organisation of celebrations or religious feasts. Moreover, the complementarity between these authorities is ritually enacted in the context of some key event and celebrations. For example during the *Circay* (or *Circo*), which is first activity of the new *varayuqs* that have taken office during Christmas. The *Circay* takes place on any day in January, after

all *varayuq* offices are filled, incorporating some civil authorities.¹⁶ It consists of repairing the walls that separate different zones and fields in the *puna*, and culminates with the construction of a small stone chapel, and a ritual feast, in a place that marks the frontier with the neighbouring community of Portacruz. I participated in the 2008 *Circay*, which took place on Wednesday 16th January, just after the conflict over the lack of *alcalde* (explained above) was resolved. The night before Elías Arone had accepted to fill this office, and this was announced by ringing the church bells. The main civil authorities and new *varayuqs* then organised an urgent meeting and decided to perform the *Circay* the day after.

The new *varayuqs* or their representatives,¹⁷ with some members of the Directive Committee and Municipal Agency, other companions, and me, got together in the central village around 8 am. From there, we ascended to the *puna* led by the new *alcalde*, who, despite his initial resistance over the previous weeks, looked satisfied after accepting the office. Some fifteen *comuneros* participated in this event. The *varayuqs* carried their staffs with respect, putting them together in a privileged place every time we stopped for *mishkipas*, which are breaks to drink alcohol and chew coca, in this case provided by them. After a couple of hours walking, already in the *puna*, we started to repair or to add more stones in the walls that separate different areas and fields along the way. The work was quite superficial because the walls mostly were in a good state. Finally, we arrived at the frontier with neighbouring Portacruz, stopping by a door located in the big stone wall that separates the communities. Once there, we built an improvised “chapel” with rocks, creating a kind of rudimentary cubicle or niche with

¹⁶ The *Circay* is often the first official activity of the new civil authorities too, after their investiture in the first communal assembly of the year.

¹⁷ Substitutions are very common because *varayuqs* often spend the previous year and/or time between main celebrations working at the coast to save up for their offices’ expenses. Moreover, the *Circay* takes place in January when many local children are temporarily working on the coast during school holidays, so lower ranks are often absent. On this occasion, more than half of the *varayuqs* (four out of the seven) were absent and had to be represented by relatives.

smaller stones, placed in two parallel lines in front of the chapel to be used as seats for the ritual feast that culminated the day, after carrying out further repairs in the frontier wall and gate, such as re-thatching the latter. All the staffs were put together leaning against this chapel, and a couple of crosses were made tying sticks with grass, to be put inside the niche.



Plate 18: *Circay*'s ritual feast (*suisuna*) integrates civil and traditional authorities.

Once work was completed, civil and traditional authorities sat on the stones in front of the chapel for the feast (plate 18). Before starting to eat, some participants took turns to kneel in front of the chapel, saying a prayer. Among them was Marcial Arone, one of the “guardians of tradition” and brother of the *alcalde*, who was there representing his absent younger son (one of the *campos*). After praying with devotion, Marcial complained that authorities had not sat in the right order. He explained that the tradition is that civil and traditional authorities had to approximately pair each other hierarchically, with the highest ranks sitting close to the chapel and the lowest at the far

end.¹⁸ In this case, only the president of the community and the *alcalde* were correctly situated at the top, facing each other as heads of the civil and traditional authorities respectively, while the others had just sat in the first place they found, causing Marcial's disapproval. His attitude and religious devotion contrasted with the easygoing attitude of the others, who just joked about it and started eating. Despite this initial annoyance, soon everybody was drinking, eating and enjoying themselves. All participants had carried in their *quipis* (blankets used as back bags) the same types of food, which are typical of key celebrations.¹⁹ These ritual feasts are called *suisuna* and they also take place in the context of the local August's *yarqa aspiy* (see chapter 5), being conducted in a festive atmosphere. I was told how years ago the *Circay* used to be attended by lots of people, but that nowadays normally only the new *varayuqs* and some civil authorities attend. It finished around 2 pm, when we dispersed.

The *Circay* has a clear ritual nature. Its practical work-related dimension is minimal, and it has obvious religious and symbolic connotations given by the chapel, crosses, staffs, theoretical hierarchical order, and by the food. It primarily serves as a "ceremony of possession" for the new *varayuqs*, but it also appears to reaffirm territorial boundaries internally, arranging walls that divide different community zones and fields, and, above all, externally, celebrating the most important parts in the frontier with neighbouring Portacruz. It transpired that this activity is quite recent, although some people thought of it as very ancient. Some participants told me how January was the time when Taullinos used to build a hanging bridge over the Qaracha River with neighbouring Manchiri, connecting both communities. Traditionally, this was the first activity of the year in which the new *varayuqs* used to participate as such. At some

¹⁸ Civil authorities' hierarchies are not as clear as the *varayuqs*' so the pairing is relative.

¹⁹ They included *picante de papa* (potato stew), fresh cheese, *charki* (sun-dried meat), fried eggs, *buñuelos dulces* (a kind of crepe), and *humitas* (a sweet made of corn), which had been prepared by their wives or mothers.

point during the 1950s there were big floods and landslides on the river bank, which made it impossible to continue building the bridge. After that, Taullinos decided to substitute the work on the bridge with a work on a new wall that served as frontier with Portacruz, which had become independent around that time (in 1948). The *Circay* was established as a new ritual celebration, adopting many features of the lost tradition. For example, in the combination of work and celebrations in a ritual context, or in sharing an element of territorial reaffirmation with relation to a neighbouring community.

Therefore, the *Circay* can be considered a very significant example of how Taulli's local Andean tradition is dynamically reinvented, and of how this tradition serves as a main channel through which Taullinos experience and incorporate change; in this case to symbolically respond to a major local historical event as the independence of Portacruz, creating a new ritual celebration on the basis of a lost one. Moreover, I also found that the participation of the civil authorities in this ritual celebration, and their spatial hierarchical integration with the *varayuqs*, shows how civil authorities have acquired part of the values and connotations associated with traditional ones. The fact that in the described case the "right" hierarchical order was not respected can be seen as part of a wider trend of increasing relaxation with respect to traditional celebration, rituals and conventions. As in many aspects of local life, "theory" is just a loose reference to a flexible reality. This case can also serve as example of how ritual can be a channel for change through its adaptation to -and reinvention in- new context; and of the flexibility of the local Andean tradition at a more general level.

II. THE CONCEPTS OF AYLLU AND ANDEAN DUALISM

Besides local government and other civil and traditional offices, the internal organisation of Taulli can also be studied in relation to some of the key references in the

organisation and interpretation of Andean communities, such as their diverse socio-spatial internal divisions, or the complex concept/institution of *ayllu*. As explained in chapter 1, although pre-Hispanic *ayllus* -as ethnic groups- were radically altered with the establishment of the colonial system, the concept and some of its features were at least partially adapted to the *reducciones*. In the Twentieth Century, Andean communities were often seen as survivals of ancient *ayllus*, and both concepts (*ayllu* and community) were sometimes identified with each other, even though the contemporary concept of *ayllu* has basically referred to kinship, and to the diverse socio-spatial divisions and arrangements within Andean communities. For example, in dual and quadripartite internal divisions in “territorial” and “non-territorial” social groups (*ayllus*/sub-*ayllus*), depending on if they are spatially localised or not in separate neighbourhoods; exogamous or endogamous depending on marriage practices; purely based on ritual purposes; or divided according to an ancient differentiation between original inhabitants and newcomers among others.

These internal socio-spatial divisions of Andean communities have been approached from different perspectives, for example in relation to the concept of dualism (or duality), which has been considered as a key organising principles of Andean cultures from 1960s-80s “long-termist” approaches, particularly by those influenced by Structuralism (e.g. Palomino-Flores 1970). Dualism is a system of conceptual ‘opposed yet complementary units’ (Gelles 1995: 729) such as male/female, sun/moon, sky/earth, high mountains/valleys, or consanguine/affine among others. It has been identified and interpreted in different contexts. For example, Bolin (1998: 125) affirms that Andean people ‘recognize duality in a variety of oppositions, such as vertical and horizontal, upper and lower, civilized and uncivilized –that is- concepts that have meaning only in relation to each other.’ Sallnow (1987: 239) argues that dualism is

the ‘cultural mechanism by which the random power of the wild is channelled into the domain of human society’; while Gelles (2002 [2000]: 130) considers it as a ‘cultural logic’ oriented to seek ‘equilibrium’ in relation to concepts such as reproduction and fertility, and a wide range of social and semantic spheres, such as the concepts of ‘complementary opposition’. This author also distinguishes between this ‘cultural logic’ and the political use of dualism as a tool of ‘social control’ (ibid: 130). As an example of the latter, he presents the ancient dual socio-spatial hierarchical division in *hanan/hurin* (upper/lower) moieties, as an ‘administrative model’ and a form of ‘institutionalized social dualism’ (Gelles 1995: 712), based on the ‘cultural logic of competition and alternation’ (ibid: 729).²⁰

Isbell (2005 [1978]: 47) considers dualism as an ‘organizing principle’ of Quechua culture, and relates it also to complementarity, particularly in the realm of social relationships (ibid: 48), and gender conceptualisations (ibid: 47, 244). She also refers to communities’ socio-spatial dual divisions introducing the concept of ‘concentric dualism’, referring to the duality centre-periphery (referring to the relation central village-surrounding territory). In the community of Chuschi, Isbell (1978: 83) affirms that ‘dual structures and concentric dualism are basic to the organization of *comuneros*’ conceptualisation of physical and social space’, pointing out some particular ritual expressions of duality, such as the opposition civilised village/savage *puna* dramatised during Carnival, when men of the *puna* descend into the village insulting everyone and simulating sexual acts (ibid: 91).

²⁰ Gelles (ibid: 712-713) explains how there are two main anthropological interpretations of moiety divisions. The Culturalist perspective represented by Maybury-Lewis (followed by Gelles and others in Andean Anthropology) that interpret these divisions as an ‘expression of dualism found in other semantic and social domains of a particular society’, and the Structuralist perspective represented by Levi-Strauss (followed by Zuidema and others) that considers such divisions as ‘expression of underlying indigenous conceptual and social models in relation to reciprocity, kinship and other concepts.’ There are other forms of Andean communities’ socio-spatial divisions, such as tripartite, quadripartite, and others, but they have also been sometimes interpreted, from both Culturalist and Structuralist perspectives, as complex expressions of duality (e.g. Palomino-Flores 1970: 16).

The case of Taulli and the Qaracha area

Taulli does not present any internal division in sub-*ayllus*, moieties or neighbourhoods. When asked about the meaning of *ayllu*, Taullinos explain that it refers to relatives or to a particular group of people, but do not identify Taulli as an *ayllu*. It is only when asked about *ayllus* in other communities of the area that most people explain that some of them, like Sarhua and Huancasancos, are internally divided into *ayllus* to organise communal work, or traditional authorities, implying a different meaning than the mere family connection. Local people also affirmed that those types of internal divisions have never existed in Taulli, considering them as something “alien”. This seems to be confirmed –or at least not rebutted- by local historical documents, which, unlike those of other communities, do not mention any internal socio-spatial divisions in the past. In fact, among these documents I found just a single reference to *ayllu*, referring to the *ayllu* of Taulli’s village (*ayllu del pueblo de Taulli*), in singular, in a document of 1666, as a definition of the whole community (Taulli’s papers, doc. 16). It seems then that the 1570s *reducción* that originated Taulli was formed with members from a homogeneous single ethnic group/*ayllu*, and that the identification village/*ayllu*/community that, according to the mentioned document, still existed in the 1660s was lost afterwards.

Nevertheless, the cases of neighbouring communities allow a consideration of the evolution of the concept of *ayllu* in terms of communities’ internal socio-spatial divisions in the Qaracha area. Palomino-Flores (1970) studies this phenomenon in Sarhua in the late-1960s, comparing it with and reviewing the internal organisation of other communities in the area and beyond (ibid: 56-72). These cases show a full variety of possibilities in a limited geographical area, and a continuous process of evolution and change. Palomino’s study also allows a comparison with their situation in the late-2000s. For example, in the case of Manchiri, Palomino-Flores (ibid: 60-63) reports a

purely spatial division into two neighbourhoods (upper and lower²¹), divided by the central square, and a further social division into five non-spatially localised *ayllus*. These *ayllus* were used to organise communal work, and did not present any major social or economic differences between them. At that time, they were in a process of disintegration because of their numeric unbalance, which resulted in an unfair share of communal workload. Visiting Manchiri, I confirmed that these *ayllus* have now disappeared, and that many younger people are unaware of their existence in the quite recent past. However, a system of five *cuadrillas* (work groups) exists to organise and divide communal work, resembling the lost *ayllus*' division. In Huancasancos, the author reports a non-spatially localised division into four *ayllus* with very different social and economic configurations often expressed in ritual terms (ibid: 63-66). I confirmed there that this internal division into *ayllus* still exists today and has practical implications (e.g. organising communal work), but that those social differences between *ayllus* have disappeared. In the already mentioned case of Sarhua, Palomino-Flores (ibid) explains that the community is divided into two non-spatially localised *ayllus*, Sawqa and Qullana,²² which, according to local oral tradition, were respectively formed by original inhabitants and newcomers. I could also confirm that this division still exists, although many of their ritual implications explained by Palomino-Flores have disappeared.

These cases suggest that the communities of the Qaracha area where the concept of *ayllu* as socio-spatial form of organisation still exists are mainly those that have presented internal socio-spatial divisions into *ayllus*/sub-*ayllus* (e.g. Sarhua, Huancasancos), contributing to keep that concept alive between their members; while in

²¹ This was not a division *haran/hurin* with their hierarchical and social implications, but purely spatial.

²² Apparently the community originally had four *ayllus* that were dually paired as "brothers"; but two of them were respectively integrated into their related ones as a result of internal changes in land distribution (ibid: 77). Palomino-Flores affirms that some evidence suggests that these *ayllus* were originally spatially located (ibid: 79), so maybe this was also the case in other neighbouring communities.

other communities where there have not been such internal divisions (e.g. Taulli), the concept of *ayllu* has been reduced to define kinship or categories of things. The case of Manchiri shows how when internal divisions in *ayllus* get lost, there may be new institutions (in this case work groups) that partially resemble or adapt some features of the old organisation. This constitutes another example of reinvention and adaptation of local Andean tradition, which confirms how even when certain aspects of the tradition disappear (e.g. institutions, forms of organisation) some of their elements or symbolism can be at least partially adapted to or adopted by new practices or institutions. The reinvention of local Andean tradition can also acquire other expressions and interesting interrelations between communities. Palomino-Flores (ibid: 80-1) reports how, according to Sarhua's oral tradition, the origin of the local internal division in *ayllus* was based on creating a rivalry between them, with the positive result for the whole community of improving and energising the performance of communal work. This idea can be linked with Gelles' (1995) affirmation that dual socio-spatial divisions in Andean communities can be seen as forms of 'institutionalized social dualism' (ibid: 712) based on the 'cultural logic of competition and alternation' (ibid: 729). Interestingly, Taulli has three work groups that are based on a very similar logic of competition. Local sources explained how these work groups were set up in the 1980s to introduce an element of competition and rivalry during communal work, improving its performance, and how the idea was copied from neighbouring communities where communal work is organised and divided between different internal groups.

Regarding the concept of dualism in Taulli, there are diverse aspects of local culture that can be interpreted according to it, particularly in ritual contexts, as expressions of gender, social, spatial, or ecological duality; dual complementarity; concentric duality and so on. Carnival is the local festivity where some of these ritual

expressions are most striking. During Carnival celebrations, local youngsters form the *sallqa* group, which is led by the *varayuq*'s lower (and younger) ranks, and represent the *puna* ecological zone; while local adults led by the higher (and older) *varayuq*'s ranks form the *quichwa* group, which represent the lower ecological zones. The behaviour of the former is wild and rowdy (plate 19), while the latter demonstrate maturity and restraint. For several days these groups perform different ritual activities separately, but they meet at some key moments, in which they perform ritual exchanges of products called *hananwayku* (upper part of the gorge) from the different areas they represent, ritually dramatising an opposition and complementarity between ecological zones and economic activities.

This *sallqa/quichwa* differentiation in Taulli's Carnival can be related to a paradigmatic socio-ecological division that has traditionally been found in many parts of the Andes between agriculture and herding, and a related widespread identification "uncivilised" *puna*/"civilised" temperate valleys. Although agriculture and herding are complementary activities which most communities combine to some extent, they also represent a high level of specialisation according to ecological zones. In predominantly *puna* areas, the economy of some communities, or some of their internal sectors, may depend exclusively, or almost completely, on herding. In these cases, herders often perceive themselves or are perceived as different peoples than those who live in lower zones and are primarily agriculturalists. This differentiation goes beyond mere economic factors, as it implies contrasted lifestyles, settlement patterns, and even systems of belief and religious and ritual practices.²³

²³ This differentiation agriculturalists/herders has very ancient precedents. In a seminal article, Duviols (1973) explains how many Andean communities in the early colonial period were formed by –sometimes separated and other times mixed– differentiated social groups according to their origins as *huari* (agriculturalists from lower zones), or *llacuaz* (herders from the *puna*). The herders were considered as late-comers, sometimes as invaders, by the agriculturalists, who considered themselves as original



Plate 19: Members of the *sallqa* group misbehaving during the 2008 Carnival.

Interestingly, these differences are still present in some parts of the Andes, and are often expressed in terms of opposed self-perceptions and prejudice towards “the other”. Those who live in temperate valleys and are mainly agriculturalists often consider themselves more civilised than herders from the *puna*, characterising them as “savage”.²⁴ The latter are normally better off because herding is more profitable than agriculture, also tending to look-down on the former. Therefore, Taulli’s Carnival celebrations can be interpreted as ritual expression of ancient Andean dualisms between ecological zones (*quicwa/puna*) and economic activities (herding/agriculture), and of related stereotypes and conceptualisations of such divisions (Taulli’s Carnival is analysed in detail in chapter 5).

settlers, and, even in the cases where they were mixed together into communities, they used to keep separate social groups, religious practices, and so on (ibid: 178).

²⁴ There are abundant references in the literature to this type of prejudice, particularly in community studies made in high-altitude herder communities (e.g. Stobart 2006, Bolin 1998). During the 2007-2008 archaeological fieldwork of the *ushnu* project, I found similar phenomena in the Huánaco Pampa plateau of southern Ayacucho, where herders are called *alto runa* (people from high zones) by valley dwellers, who are called *bajo runa* (people from low zones) by the herders. I did not find these differentiations and prejudices in the Qaracha area, where there are no very large *puna* areas and communities tend to have mixed –although predominantly agricultural- economies. These local ritual expressions may therefore be based on ancient differentiations.

III. RELIGIOUS AND RITUAL CONFIGURATION OF THE LANDSCAPE

As explained in chapter 1, one of the most remarkable features of past and present Andean cultures has been the complex and rich system of sacred objects and places (*wakas*) of the landscape that Andean peoples identify and worship, which can be defined as a tendency towards a “sacralisation of the landscape”. I have also explained how the establishment of the colonial *reducciones* was a key moment for the adaptation of this tendency to the resulting indigenous communities. The *reducciones* involved the imposition of a new –Christianised– religious and ritual landscape, for example by building chapels and crosses over pre-Hispanic sacred places; although this resulted in the creation and development of new syncretic forms of sacred landscapes. These systems of chapels and crosses are still a basic feature of the sacred and ritual configuration of the landscape in many Andean communities, including Taulli.

Taulli’s chapels, crosses, and “corners” system

Taulli’s central village, with its square, church and internal chapels, serves as the religious and ritual centre of the community, denoting the existence of a locally centralised and concentric sacred and religious landscape. This centralised model coexists with a system of chapels and crosses distributed within the village and throughout the community’s territory, which have been gradually neglected for decades. Most of the chapels, both inside and outside the village, are very old and badly preserved niche-shaped stone structures that nowadays are empty (plate 20). Local sources affirm that that they all used to house crosses, and that there were more chapels across the community’s territory that were gradually abandoned and finally destroyed. There were also several crosses of different sizes, mostly at the top of mountains,

although nowadays there are only a couple left while the others are kept permanently in the church.



Plate 20: A chapel located in the *suní* zone (*Wayku capilla*).

Inside the village, there is also a distinctive informal system of places that local people call “corners” (*esquinas*) across the central square, and the street that goes from the square to the east entrance of the village (figure 6).²⁵ Although some of these places correspond to real corners, others do not. In every type of ritual contexts where groups of people parade through the village (e.g. religious processions), they almost always follow the same route, stopping in these “corners” to drink, dance, or do whatever the particular ritual activity involves. Taullinos follow this system of corners naturally and quite unconsciously. When asked about it, they just say that is the *costumbre del pueblo* without offering any other explanation. Significantly, some “corners” correspond to chapels, indicating a level of overlapping between the “corners” and the chapels systems.

²⁵ This street concentrates the richest architectural remains of the colonial period, which are seen to have been some of the most important buildings in the past. It is likely then that this street had a higher status within the spatial configuration of the village.

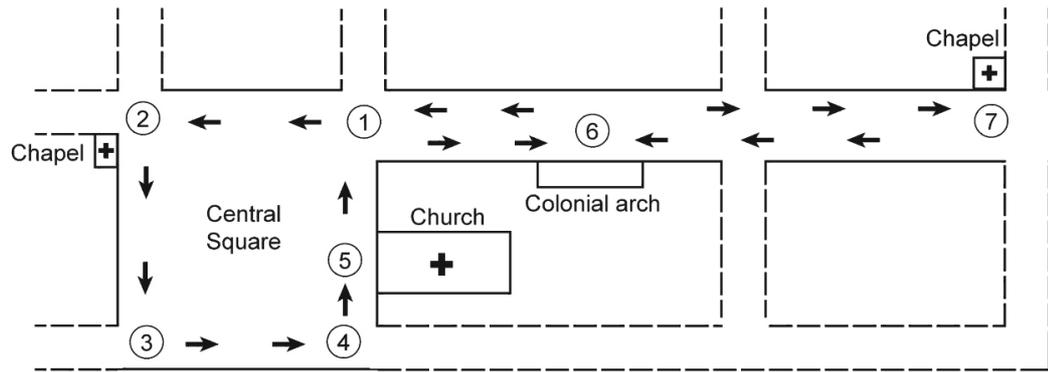


Figure 6: “Corners” system of Taulli’s central village.

In the central square, these “corners” correspond to the four real corners (numbers 1, 2, 3 & 4) and the front of the church (number 5). One of them, the south-west corner (number 2), corresponds to a “surviving” chapel. “Ritual groups” always move anticlockwise in the square, stopping in these five places and then moving into the mentioned street, where there are another two “corners”. One (number 6) is in the middle of the street and is not a real corner. It is located in front of a colonial arch (plate 19) that undoubtedly corresponded to an important building in the past, and that now serves as entrance to a communal courtyard (plate 21). The other (number 7) is located near the east entrance of the village, and is a real corner that corresponds with a chapel, the *Tranca capilla*, which was built in recent years over the remains of an old one. Based on its location, this chapel probably marked the village’s original eastern limit. The normal order followed in ritual contexts is 1-2-3-4-5-6-7/7-6-1. Once back to 1, the cycle can start again, or the group can move on somewhere else. This “corners” system is normally followed as part of wider ritual contexts that involve other activities and places (e.g. visits to the church or to participants’ houses).

Evidence suggests that all the square’s corners contained chapels in the past, and that the contemporary “corners” system is a remnant of the original internal chapel

system of the village. As mentioned, there is a chapel left in one of square's corners, which happens to be the only one that still has colonial architectural remains. Older Taullinos remember how decades ago provisional chapels used to be built in the other corners during some *cofradías*-led religious feasts, and Palomino-Flores (1970: 84) reports how there used to be permanent chapels in the corners of other neighbouring communities' squares (e.g. Huancasancos and Manchiri).



Plate 21: Colonial architecture (the arch corresponds to the “corner” 6 of the graphic).

Taking into consideration the widespread colonial practice of Christianising pre-Hispanic sacred places by building and placing chapels and crosses over them, it is also likely that the chapels and crosses system across Taulli's territory resembles or overlaps to some degree the pre-Hispanic sacred configuration of the local landscape. In the same way that people follow the “corners” system in ritual contexts inside the village, they also tend to follow the chapel system across the community's territory in those and other contexts. For example, stopping besides them for a rest when going up and down the local territory, or during some ritual activities. I mentioned above that there are only

a few chapels left and none of them house crosses anymore. Local sources explain how each of these chapels, and presumably those destroyed too, are (or were) considered to have particular special characteristics. The most remarkable are those that mark the limits between ecological zones and sub-zones.²⁶ There are at least two of these chapels, the *Wayqu capilla* that is situated a couple of kilometres away from the village, on the pathway that goes to the upper zone, marking a subdivision of the middle ecological zone (*suní*) between predominantly irrigated and non-irrigated crops (plate 20), and the *Qasa capilla*, which is situated at the top of one of the pathways that descends to the lower *quichwa zone*, and where people rest before and after walking this very steep path. Edwin Antesana, who took me to visit the chapels around the central village and told me many oral traditions about them, explained that *qasa* means frost, and that this chapel marks the lower limit of frosts and colder winds; so this chapel is situated in the limit between the middle *suní* and the lower *quichwa* zones. I checked and confirmed Edwin's information with several elderly Taullinos, who explained how years ago everybody would stop at the chapels when passing by, to say a prayer, light a candle, offer –and consume– some coca and liquor and so on. This would be especially important when starting a journey to do it safely. The chapels were considered as safe places in Taulli and elsewhere. For example, if a person arrived in a different community at night and had no place to stay over, he/she would sleep besides one of the entrance chapels, as a kind of haven.

The local system of crosses and chapels is ritually integrated during Holy Cross (*Santa Cruz*) celebrations (2nd-3rd May), which is a Catholic feast that commemorates the cross as an instrument of Jesus' passion and a symbol of Christianity, and is marked

²⁶ Significantly, Isbell (1978: 57) noted the same phenomenon in 1960-70s Chuschi: 'The vertical zones of Chuschi's ecology are conceptualized onto space through the delineation of boundaries between each of the zones and their sub-zones. The boundaries are demarcated by the location of chapels housing crosses. The focal point of the conceptual scheme is the village, which mediates between the high *puna*, *sallqa*, and the river bottom'.

by religious syncretism in the Andes. Traditionally in Taulli, during this celebration the lower *varayuq*'s ranks gather the crosses that are situated across the community's territory and, after decorating them with flowers and agricultural products, take them to the village's church, where they are kept between May (beginning of the harvest) and September (beginning of the new agricultural cycle). Then, they are supposed to be taken back to their places, according to local sources to soften the potential negative effects of weather elements (frosts, lightning, rains) over the crops that are about to be planted or sowed at this time of the year. Thus, the crosses are supposed to have power over these elements, and are situated at places where those powers are particularly useful. The observation of *Santa Cruz* has been increasingly neglected over the years and nowadays most –sometimes all- crosses are permanently left in the church. In 2008, when I participated in this religious feast, just a few days before the lower *varayuq* ranks were asked to take some of the crosses from the church to their customary locations, in order to bring them back to the village during the celebration (see appendix 5 and “Holy Cross” video typing “Taulli *Santa Cruz*“ in YouTube box). Despite this increasing negligence, this religious feast demonstrates how in Taulli's local Andean tradition, the official ritual and religious configuration of the community's territory has been deeply linked to the agricultural cycle, and to notions of fertility and reproduction.

Other features of the local “sacralised landscape”

Besides the Catholic -but syncretic- religious and ritual landscape marked by the crosses and chapels system, Taulli presents other features of “sacralisation of the landscape”, such as the cult to mountain spirits (*apus*) that has been and still is widespread in the Andes. *Apus* have been traditionally linked to natural forces (e.g. lightning and thunder), and considered as owners of the livestock that have a direct influence on the wellbeing

of people and animals; being honoured in herding-related propitiatory rituals. Logically, this cult has been particularly important in *puna* areas and among herders, for being much more exposed to the natural –and supernatural- forces linked to mountain spirits; tending to be comparatively less important in predominantly agricultural communities like Taulli. There, this cult and its related rituals are –at least nowadays- quite marginal, playing only a central role in the context of communal and family *herranzas*, as livestock-related propitiatory rituals are locally known (these rituals are described in appendix 5). Nevertheless, Taullinos generally are well aware of the regional hierarchy of mountains/*apus* and of their alleged powers,²⁷ and their related beliefs and ritual connotations can re-emerge with force in times of crisis or situations of emergence, as I found in November 2009. Then, in the context of the conflict with neighbouring Portacruz (explained in chapter 2) caused by the installation of the water supply that and led to a dramatic reduction of available irrigation water, Taullinos started digging in a *puna* mountain within their territory, urgently looking for an alternative source of irrigation water. During these days, I was invited by Pedro Quispe to join a small group of men who travelled during the night to this mountain to perform a “semi-secret” propitiatory offering (*pagapu*) dedicated to its *apu*, as a way of asking its permission for and protection in the digging. This *pagapu* included the burial of a pig alive in a nearby place, and was very ritually elaborated; being one of the most remarkable ritual practices I participated in during my time in Taulli, and changing my perception on the local cult to mountain spirits and its related beliefs.²⁸

²⁷ Within this regional hierarchy stand out Comuñawi, the largest mountain in the Qaracha area, and Qarwarasu, the highest one in southern Ayacucho.

²⁸ Several civil authorities decided to organise this ritual offering without previous public notice, in order to avoid potential opposition from some Evangelists *comuneros*. I was asked not to comment on it for a few days –although I later found that most *comuneros* knew about it- but was given permission to write about it.

Other remarkable features of Taulli's sacralised landscape are the archaeological remains and certain rocks. The former are mainly located in the *puna* and are generally considered special and potentially dangerous places, where some people make their propitiatory offerings (*pagapus*) for their animals in the context of herding related rituals. Regarding "sacred" rocks, Pukarumi, the rock enchanted by a beautiful *gringa*, is the single most important local case, and a symbol of local identity. This is a paradigmatic example of sacralised Andean landscape, with its ambiguous nature that can be negative (cheating and attracting drunken men to the abyss) as well as positive (protecting the community during "the violence") depending on the circumstances and, above all, on peoples' attitudes towards it/her. There are several similar stones across the community's territory, and Pukarumi does not seem to have any apparent special characteristic except, perhaps, for its/her proximity to the central village and particularly large size. However, no similar rocks have comparable connotations. Although local people affirm that Pukarumi is not as dangerous as it used to be, many men explained personal supernatural experiences with it/her, which nowadays are mainly confined to the world of dreams, in the form of ultra-realistic ghostly nightmares and erotic dreams. Besides Pukarumi, there are other rocks with "special" characteristics, which, often, are just remembered by older people. For example, in the lower *quichwa* zone, besides the river, there is a rock called Almasamay, where the spirits of the dead were supposed to rest, and where people used to stop to say a prayer, and to offer and consume coca and liquor when passing by. These examples of a gradual decline or abandonment of the cult to sacred landscape features (crosses, chapels, mountains, rocks) and of their related beliefs and ritual activities, can be seen as part of a certain local process of "desacralisation of the landscape", which can be seen as a gradual reversal of the

traditional Andean “sacralisation of the landscape” caused by changes in religious and ritual practices and the wider social changes.

IV. SOCIAL CONFIGURATION OF THE COMMUNITY

People’s wellbeing in Andean communities has traditionally depended on their capacity to access land, water, and social networks to mobilise a workforce and reciprocal help. Although PPCs and other Andean communities have a certain intrinsic egalitarian ethos based on their communal and corporative nature, the anthropological literature has consistently reported marked internal social differences and divisions between the members of these communities, depending mainly on households’ unequal capacities to access the aforementioned basic resources. For example, Dobyms (1970: 38-43) compared the social configuration of 37 Peruvian Andean communities in the 1960s, noting how all of them showed unequal internal distribution of wealth between *comuneros*, which were only small in three cases. Dobyms also explained how, according to these differences, it was normally possible to distinguish between two and five internal subgroups of households (ibid: 43).²⁹ Nevertheless, these internal differentiations have been generally based on comparative factors and local perceptions rather than on real class divisions, as *comuneros* have normally tended to share common values and an overall poverty.

Moreover, as discussed in chapter 1, many Andean communities have presented internal divisions between *comuneros* and *vecinos*, which were often respectively identified as “Indians” (*indios*) and mixed-race (*mestizos*). These internal divisions have been a major focus of anthropological research, particularly in community studies. Gose (2001 [1994]: 15-23) explains how there have been two main lines of interpreting this

²⁹ Divisions into three *comuneros*’ subgroups have been particularly abundant, for example Isbell (1978: 76-78, 97) reports how in 1960s Chuschi, local people distinguished between ‘rich’, ‘poor ones’, and ‘those without land that must depend upon others’.

division. Those who have considered it as purely based on ethnicity (ibid: 15-16), and those –mainly linked to Marxism- who have considered it based in ethnic as well as in class differentiations (ibid: 22-27). In the case of Taulli, local sources affirm that there have never been non-*comuneros* sectors within the community. This is probably because the community has been too small and exempt of economic incentives and opportunities that would attract other type of population, or lead to the development of non-*comuneros* sectors within it.

All Taullinos living in Taulli are *comuneros* or belong to *comuneros* families, and the only non-*comuneros* inhabitants are state employees (most teachers, and the staff of the medical centre), who do not live in the community on a permanent basis, and do not have a major influence in local life beyond their professional spheres. As mentioned in chapter 2, in the case of the few local “professionals” they combine their work with *comunero* status. When asked about communities where there are non-*comuneros* members living on a permanent basis, Taullinos normally argue that is relevant to district or provincial capitals, where there are a number of jobs and opportunities for non-*comuneros*. However, significantly, they do not consider these non-*comuneros* with similar –mainly negative- connotations to those reported in the division *comuneros/vecinos*. On the contrary, they are often highly regarded as “professionals”. More significantly, when I asked about these social divisions *comuneros/vecinos* to members of nearby communities where their existence and importance were reported in the recent past by the anthropological literature, such as in Huancasancos (Palomino-Flores 1970, Quispe-Mejía 1968) and Carapo (Huamani-Ore 1977), they explained that these differentiations have disappeared as such, and I could not find any evidence of them when visiting these communities. The overall impression I got regarding this issue is that, at least in the Qaracha area, communities’ internal divisions *comuneros/vecinos*

are basically something from the past, as a result of the social changes the area has been going through in recent decades (e.g. experiences of urban emigration, 1980s “violence”, increasing educational and commercial opportunities), and of the increasing integration into national society. These have made the division *comuneros/vecinos* obsolete, leading to more flexible, dynamic, and diverse, local societies and social boundaries within them.

Economic differences between local households

Taullinos generally consider themselves as “poor” and this is part of their identity, although they distinguish three economic –rather than social- levels within local households. Around a third of them have greater access to cash, land, and social networks, while a little less than one fifth have a much more reduced access to these resources; and the rest occupy an intermediate situation between these two groups. I came to these percentages gathering and comparing several local sources, which generally coincided in that the most important factors determining these differences today are the unequal levels of access to land and particularly to cash, through waged labour, temporary migration, commercial activities and so on. The data on land holding extracted from the 2009 survey seems to corroborate the percentages given by oral sources. 53.33% of those *comuneros* surveyed declared to have between more than two and fewer than eight *yugadas* of land.³⁰ 25% declared eight or more *yugadas*, and the remaining 20% declared two or fewer *yugadas*. It is locally considered that an average household of four or five members needs at least four *yugadas* to maintain themselves

³⁰ Isbell (1978: 71) explains that a *yugada* is the amount of land that can be ploughed by a pair of oxen in one day. This follows a tradition of relative Andean measurements in relation to variable factors (e.g. type of terrain) rather than of fixed measures (see: Rostoworowski 2005 [1978], Zuidema 1989 [1982]). However, nowadays in Taulli it is considered as 2500 square metres, and the central village’s square is used as a reference of its approximate size.

properly, and most families have access to around that amount.³¹ Those who have more than eight *yugadas* do not normally use all of it, while those who have two or fewer often endure great hardship to maintain their families, having to look for alternative strategies (e.g. emigration, borrowing land).

As already noted, these internal economic differences are relative and comparative; however, they can still create internal tensions. For example, on 24th August 2009, during the ritual feast (*suisuna*) that culminates the first day of *yarqa aspiy* (the cleaning of irrigation channels, see chapter 5), I witnessed a number of discussions and rows between several *comuneros*, which, propelled by widespread drunkenness, were at times close to physical violence. Some blamed others for not fulfilling their traditional offices and customary duties properly. Significantly, a *comunero* who was sadly witnessing the scene explained me that the real reason behind this discussion was the privileged situation of some *comuneros* in comparison to others, marking different capacities at the time of fulfilling those customary duties, and ultimately causing resentments between people. This reality contrasts then with the egalitarian ethos on which the communal organisation is theoretically based.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Taulli's communal system is very participative and democratic, but also very demanding and full of limitations and tensions, particularly when communal obligations clash with personal interests. Within this system, filling and fulfilling communal offices and duties is a fundamental aspect of life in the community. Although the fulfilment of these obligations tends to be far from ideal, the system itself remains basically unchallenged among Taullinos, who unanimously accept and identify with it, and with

³¹ As a comparative reference, Isbell (1978: 72) reports that, in late-1960s Chuschi, the average amount of land of local families was between six and eight *yugadas*.

the PPC status that guarantees its continuity. This acceptance and identification can be explained, on the one hand, by more subjective and emotional factors, such as the social cohesion, cultural identity, and historical tradition that the community and its communal system continue to offer to local people in the current context of change. On the other hand, there are also more objective and material factors to take into consideration, such as the important degree of legal recognition and protection from the state that the PPC status offers to the community; as well as the advantages that (as seen in chapter 2) increasing state intervention has been bringing to Taullinos in recent decades, which, as commented, it is partially adapted to the PPC status and communal organisations, contributing to reinforce this institution.

The “Local Andean tradition” presents very remarkable historical continuities and is subjected to dynamic reinvention, in which some aspects are increasingly neglected or even disappear. For example, the religious and ritual configuration of the local landscape around the chapels and crosses system, which are gradually abandoned; or the concept of *ayllu* as socio-spatial forms of organisation, which has disappeared in the Taulli but remains in communities of the area that had historically present internal socio-spatial divisions. Nevertheless, even when certain elements of this tradition are transformed or disappear, some of their aspects and characteristics are adapted to or reinvented in new or different contexts, institutions, or forms of organisation. This shows their flexibility and capacity of adaptation, and also how the “local Andean tradition” serves as a main reference for, and as a channel through which local people experience and accommodate, change. This can be seen for example in the context of ritual practices and celebrations in the case of the *Circay*, which show how ritual can be a channel for change. Therefore, Taulli and its area are then subjected to change according to their own cultural references and traditions, and local Andean culture is in

a continuous process of transformation and reinvention, demonstrating its resilience and adaptability. 1960s-80s “long-termist” approaches to concepts such as redistribution, dualism, sacralised landscape, or *ayllu*, offer useful references to understand and interpret many aspects of Taulli’s organisation, and of the “local Andean tradition”.

CHAPTER 4: WORK

As Taulli's local economy is mostly based on subsistence agriculture, most aspects of work in the community are related to this activity and basically organised around the annual agricultural cycle. Other complementary and secondary economic activities, such as herding, house-keeping, commerce, casual waged labour, or temporary migration, as well as many other aspects of local life, are adapted to –and often related to– this cycle. Therefore, in this chapter I explore key aspects of “work” in the community describing in a first section the local annual agricultural cycle, and explaining how other activities fit within it. This description provides the background to analyse other facets of local agriculture and work, such as their ritual expressions and gendered dimensions. In the following sections I explore how Taullinos access the most important agricultural resources, the key role than the communal organisation and the “local Andean tradition” play in such access, and how this role influences Taullinos attitudes towards the community. The second section is dedicated to the access to water (irrigation) and land; the third to the mechanisms through which Taullinos access a workforce and wider cooperation; and the fourth and last to Andean strategies of ecological adaptation and their local expressions.

Through these sections I explore different aspects of the “local Andean tradition” related to agricultural work, such as work-exchange systems between households (*ayni*, *minka*) and co-and god-parenthood bonds as channels to mobilise wider workforce and support; analysing 1960s-80s “long-termist” approaches to them and to the concept of “reciprocity”, and their relevance in Taulli. It is important to take into consideration that agriculture in Andean communities has historically been much more than a mere

economic activity, having important emotional and moral connotations,¹ and wider cultural links. For example, Taullinos generally feel a very strong attachment to their land, as the basis on which their own existence as a community, as well as their livelihood, is built upon. Local *comuneros*' pride and self-esteem are based on fulfilling communal obligations, and also on -borrowing Harris' (2000) words- making 'the earth bear fruit'; although they also acknowledge the hardships and risks agriculture implies, and general aspire to their children being "professionals".

I. THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE IN TAULLI

As the most important crop in Taulli,² maize can be used as reference to describe the local agricultural cycle, which can be divided into four periods: "sowing/planting" (late-October-December), "growing" (January-mid-May), "harvest" (mid-May-July) and "rest" (August-mid-October). The first two correspond to the rainy season, and the last two to the dry season. The beginning and distribution of tasks across the agricultural cycle is relatively flexible and open to internal variations according to different factors (e.g. weather). Nevertheless, as Urton (1981: 32-33) explains in the case of the community of Misminay, once the cycle is set in motion 'one task follows another according to the understood sequence of duties' in a way that 'shorter cycles of time and sequences of activities are combined to form longer cycles and sequences' (ibid); integrating other agricultural and non-agricultural activities in the different ecological zones (e.g. herding in the *puna*, and fruit collection in the *quichwa* zone) and beyond (e.g. seasonal migration to the coast).

¹ Of course, the attachment to the land and the moral dimensions of agriculture -and of other kinds of work- are not exclusive to Taulli or the Andean world. However, they have presented some distinctive characteristics in the Andes, as a result of the particular physical environment and cultural traditions.

² Maize and potatoes are the most important Andean crops, and many authors have pointed out their historical importance and cultural connotations (e.g. Stobart 2006: 58, 233-6, Gose 2001 [1994]: 169), such as the consideration of maize as more 'prestigious' (e.g. Isbell 2005 [1978]: 113).

Besides agriculture and other complementary and seasonal work-related activities, there is a whole series of daily tasks that have to be performed throughout the year such as cooking and housekeeping, livestock feeding and care, wood gathering (wood is the main fuel for cooking), or the fulfilment of burdensome communal obligations and duties. Workdays in agriculture and in other main activities start around 8-10 am and finish around 4-5 pm, although Taullinos undertake a whole series of those other jobs and tasks at home or elsewhere before and after the central daily work, also dedicating many working hours and days to communal obligations (e.g. communal work).

Planting-sowing period (late-October-December)

This is a period of intensive work, which requires careful planning and the mobilisation of a large workforce during key tasks. Maize is an irrigated crop and, therefore, depends on the water brought from the *puna* by irrigation channels, between the beginning of sowing, around late-October, and the arrival of the heavier rains, around mid-December. Maize is basically grown in the middle ecological area (*suní*), which is divided into different irrigation sectors according to altitude and proximity to the channels. The fields that are beyond the reach of the channels are dedicated to non-irrigated crops (e.g. wheat). Agricultural fields (*chakras*) are sown from higher to lower altitudes. This task requires some preparatory work, such as the weeding and turning over of soils, and the irrigation of the fields. Irrigation is done the day before a field is sown, by rather small groups normally composed of three to six members. It consists of flooding the field and turning over the soil using hoes and picks, so the water penetrates it.

Maize sowing tends to involve rather big groups of people (often between ten and thirty people), which normally include members of the household that owns/usufructs the field/s to be sown, and others of the extended family and social networks who are mobilised through the reciprocal work exchange system of *ayni*. In practical terms, *ayni* consists of a person or a couple (the “sponsors”) asking others (the “sponsored”) to work for them in a particular task on a daily basis. This implies that, when requested, the sponsors will work for the same amount of days for the sponsored, in the same or in a similar task. The sponsors must provide food, drinks and coca, and work is normally conducted in a festive and relaxed atmosphere. This work-exchange system is widespread during the planting/sowing and growing periods, when a larger workforce is needed. Daily waged labour (*jornal*) is increasingly important but it is not mutually exclusive with *ayni*. Working groups often include members of a nuclear family with people working on *ayni* and *jornal*.



Plate 22: November. An *ayni* work group during a maize sowing day.

Maize sowing is normally done with Roman ploughs dragged by teams of oxen.³ If a field is very small, as is often the case, it can be ploughed by hand with hoes by smaller groups, or even with smaller ploughs especially made to be dragged by a single donkey (plate 22). If there are several teams of oxen and ploughs, several nearby fields can be sown in a single day, moving from one to another. Maize sowing starts with the preparation of the soils that consists of further turning over the soil that has been previously disturbed and irrigated. This is followed by the ploughing that requires at least one person leading the oxen, another one directing the plough to create the furrows, a third person throwing the seeds into the furrows behind, and someone else with a hoe covering the seeded furrows with soil. The first two tasks are normally done by men, while the last two, particularly the throwing of the seeds, tend to be done by women. *Ayni* groups include women cooking, normally in the patron's house, and serving food in the field. Maize seeds are normally combined with other types, such as beans and snow peas. Fields have to be irrigated again soon after sowing, except if there is enough rainfall already.

These tasks dominate agricultural work until the arrival of the heavier rains by around mid-December, which makes further irrigation unnecessary. The rains permeate and moisten soils, allowing the planting of non-irrigated fields and crops in the upper *puna* (e.g. potatoes, broad beans) and middle *suni* (e.g. wheat) zones. This task is combined with a first hoeing of irrigated fields, which is done four or five weeks after sowing. Hoeing consists of removing weeds and piling up soil around growing shoots in order to protect them from the wind. This task is normally done in small groups of four or five people, which may include some members working on *ayni* or *jornal*.

³ Roman ploughs were introduced in the Andes by the Spaniards. In many places, foot ploughs of pre-Hispanic origin (*chakitakllas*) are still used, as in the neighbouring community of Manchiri, where they are more suitable for the very steeply-sloped territory occupied by agricultural terraces, which are marginal in Taulli.

Maize is normally hoed twice, first when shoots are around 10 centimetres high, and later when they are around 30 centimetres. The beginning of local Christmas celebrations (18th-26th December) has traditionally been taken as the reference date to finish the sowing of irrigated lands, while the planting of non-irrigated crops continues into January.

Growing period (January-mid-May)

This is a less intensive time of agricultural work, which allows concentration on other complementary seasonal tasks. The main agricultural task during this period is hoeing. Most crops need to be hoed during their growing process, but the number of times and their timing varies. For instance, while maize is normally hoed twice potatoes are hoed just once, a few months after been planted. As potatoes and other tubers are subterranean, hoeing them just involves weeding and disturbing the soils. January and February mark the height of the rainy season, when pastures are abundant and fresh in the high *puna* zone. This is the time of the year when cattle produce more milk, allowing milking and cheese making. This is also the time of maturation of fruits, which get ripe around February, in the lower *quichwa* zone. Therefore, the movement between ecological zones, continuous throughout the year, intensifies during this period. Those who live in the middle *suní* zone and have cattle in the upper *puna* spend more time in their *estancias*, and everybody goes to the lower *quichwa* zone to collect fruit.

These months also coincide with school holidays (January-March), when many children temporarily migrate to coastal areas to work in commercial agriculture. This emigration stretches family resources in terms of the agricultural workforce. Each family has different strategies to deal with this problem depending on their individual

circumstances. For example, if there are several young siblings, normally, at least one of them remains in the village to help their parents. *Ayni* is practised during this time, but *jornal* work increases because families have more resources to hire extra help when necessary. March marks the transition between the rainy and the dry seasons. By late-April hoeing is normally completed, and the maize fields that have been sown earlier start to mature.



Plate 23: February. Hoeing potatoes in the *puna*.

Harvest period (mid-May-July)

Before the beginning of the maize harvest people have more time available, and many start to prepare adobe bricks for the construction of new houses. Every year, quite a few Taullinos build new or second homes or extensions and annexes,⁴ for them or their relatives. Adobe making is done close to the site where the house is going to be built, by teams of men (between five and ten) normally working in *minka* for the sponsors (in this case, the couple who is building the house). *Minka* is another widespread work-

⁴ Fifteen new houses were built in 2007 and at least eight in 2008, in the different local settlements. For a detailed description of adobe making and the construction of houses see Doughty (1968: 88-96).

exchange system in the Andes. It implies working for someone for food, drinks and coca on a daily basis, without directly implying a future reciprocal service. Adobe making consists of mixing soil and water with a binding agent (e.g. grass), and using moulds to make big bricks with the mix, which are left to dry in the sun. This task is followed by or combined with the making of tiles, which are made by similar small teams around the central village, where clay deposits exist. Taulli's houses are mostly tiled because of the local abundance of clay. This situation contrasts with neighbouring communities where there is no clay or it is scarce, so houses there are covered by grass from the *puna* (*ichu*) or corrugated. Tile making consists of mixing different types of clay and water, and using a curved mould to make the tiles that are also dried in the sun (plate 24). These activities can take several weeks, and the groups change almost every day as people alternate this task with their individual obligations.



Plate 24: May: Tile making.

The harvests of maize, and of the other crops that are mixed with it, start around late-May and are done in small groups of around five people, normally comprising just members of the nuclear family including women and children. Work consists of cutting

the stems and sorting the cobs. The remains of the stalks are left on the fields serving later as forage for cattle, which are temporarily brought from the upper ecological area to feed on them after the task is completed. This task is done hastily, without the festive atmosphere of *ayni* days. The task is continued through part of June, and is followed by the harvest of non-irrigated crops (e.g. wheat), that continues into July and is similar to that of maize. Late-June to August is a time of frosts in the upper *puna* zone, and some people make dehydrated potatoes (*chuñu*) there by exposing them to night frosts, water, and sun. This is extremely hard work because people have to spend several days sleeping outdoors in freezing temperatures to soak the potatoes with water several times during the night, and to protect them against animals. *Chuñu* last for long periods and is used as a staple during the rainy season, while the surplus is sold in provincial markets.

Rest period (August- mid-October)

Normally, by late-July the harvest has finished and the agricultural cycle can be considered as completed. The following months are mainly a time of “rest” regarding agriculture, when the focus of work shifts to other activities, such as house construction that may continue until October and even later, overlapping and parallel to the beginning of a new agricultural cycle. Some people emigrate temporarily to urban centres during these months, to earn some extra cash. Nevertheless, there also some important agriculture-related tasks that have to be performed, such as the cleaning of the irrigation channels (*yarqa aspiy*), which serve as preparation for the beginning of the following cycle.

Interpretation and ritual dimensions of the agriculture cycle

Agriculture and the agricultural cycle present important and distinctive symbolic and ritual dimensions in the Andes (see chapter 1). From predominantly “long-termist” perspectives, several authors have interpreted the agricultural cycle in Andean communities in relation to the division between the rainy and the dry seasons, and the transition from one to the other. For example, Isbell (1978: 203) talks about a ‘dichotomy’ between the two seasons, as a case of duality ‘in which dual forces are balanced against one another’, and where the *comuneros* ‘try to maintain equilibrium and order’. Urton (1981: 30-31) notes seasonal differences of working patterns: collective in the rainy season, and family-centred in the dry; and of cultural expressions, for example in music (drums and flutes in the rainy season, trumpets in the dry). Gose (2001 [1994]: 10) also stresses these differences in working patterns, and argues that the rainy season has a more ‘egalitarian and symmetric nature’ based on common waiting and effort; while the dry season is a time to ‘enjoy privately the benefits of the previous collective work’.

Regarding the ritual dimensions of agriculture, as discussed in chapter 1, Andean communities have presented a whole range of ritual practices performed in relation to, or in the context of, agricultural work, which go from simple individual acts (e.g. making libations in a field before starting and during work) to those involving large working groups and elaborate ceremonies performed before, during, or after agricultural tasks, to decide when to start working, and so on. Some authors have also interpreted these ritual practices in relation to seasonal divisions, arguing that rituals in the rainy season can be seen as expressions of death and scarcity, while they would be expressions of abundance and renovation in the dry season (e.g. Gose 2001 [1994]: 10-11, Isbell 1978: 163-4). On similar lines, Stobart (2006) symbolically characterises the

rainy season as a time of ‘hunger, grief and passions’ (ibid: 233), and the early rains with ‘sorrow, images of death, and sexual desire’ too (ibid: 223).

In the case of Taulli, I found that the mentioned working patterns between seasons are clear (collective-rainy/family-based-dry seasons), although the increasing presence of waged day labour in all periods and seasons contributes to partially diffuse such distinctions. I also found that the potential symbolic connotations of the seasonal differences of the local agricultural cycle more ambiguous and contradictory than those discussed above. For example, regarding a symbolic identification of the rainy season with death and grief, I saw that this is a time of generalised deep concern among Taullinos about the availability of water for irrigation, even though this is also the time when *ayni* is more abundant and work tends to be conducted in a festive atmosphere of social interaction. In the same way, Christmas and the Carnival, two of the main –and most joyful- local festivities, which both have important agricultural links and ritual dimensions (see chapter 5), are celebrated during the rainy season. As a contrast, during the dry season, key agricultural tasks such as the harvest tend to be carried out in a much more sober and hasty way, without time for enjoyment, while others like the construction of new houses, where *minka* prevails, are done in a festive atmosphere and involve wider social networks, resembling *ayni* working days of the rainy season.

In connection to the local ritual dimensions of agriculture, I found that many agricultural-related ritual practices have been gradually abandoned in recent decades in the community. For example, many older Taullinos explained nostalgically how *ayni* working days used to be much better and nicer (*‘más bonito’*) in the past, because they involved many customs that have been largely lost. The sowing of the *cofradía* field of

San Francisco,⁵ performed on the “Day of the Dead” (2nd November) of 2007, can serve as an example of what is left of such practices. This is one the biggest fields in the community, and is situated nearby the upper part of the central village. Its *mayordomo* then was Evaristo Felices, a *comunero* from neighbouring Sarhua incorporated into Taulli by marriage (as *masa*), who kindly invited me to join the working group that gathered after the religious celebrations of the day. Work involved four pairs of oxen, and some thirty people, most of them working in *ayni*, as the only people who were paid that day were the owners of the oxen. The group involved some fifteen men working in the field with five women helping them out; a few more women cooking at Evaristo’s house nearby, and later bringing the food to the field; as well as children and elderly people just hanging around.

During the first work break, after turning the earth and before starting the actual sowing, a blanket was extended on the ground, in a corner of the field, with the bags of maize grains that were about to be sowed on top. Four women of different ages -an elderly lady, two middle-aged adults and a teenager- sat around the blanket, untied their hair (women normally keep their hair in pigtails or ponytails), plucked some hairs out from their heads, held them by the ends with both hands, licked them to get them wet, and started to drag them over the surface of the maize bags. Each time there were one or more grains getting caught in the hairs, because the grains have a very small hook-like protuberance in which hair can get caught. The women kept these grains aside, on their respective skirts. They carried on this task for around fifteen minutes while men rested in the shade around the field, drinking and chewing coca. These selected grains were the ones sown first after the break, because -as participants explained- they are supposed to grow up best, dragging the others behind them. This practice is obviously

⁵ As explained (in chapter 2), *cofradía* fields belong to the local church, and are nominally owned by a saint or virgin. They are worked by individual *comuneros* who act as *mayordomos* for two year periods, in exchange for sponsoring the saint/virgin feast.

directed to enhance fertility. Elderly participants explained that this ritual activity is a *costumbre del pueblo* called *harkas*, and that it is performed just occasionally nowadays, out of tradition, but that was very common decades ago during maize sowing by *ayni* groups.

Elderly attendees also lamented how other customs that used to be common during *cofradía*'s sowing days are now disappearing. These included bringing a music ensemble to play during work, singing special sowing songs, or organising night vigils the night before. These vigils were conducted in the *mayordomo*'s house, and were presided over by the image of the *cofradía*'s titular saint or virgin, which was taken to the field the day after to preside over the work. The *harkas* described was the main ritual activity carried out that day, and also the most elaborate that I witnessed in the context of agricultural work during fieldwork. This case can be seen as part of a wider tendency towards the decline of ritual practices performed in the context of work and everyday life in the community; which can be then considered as a neglected aspect of the "local Andean tradition".

Gendered dimensions of work

Several authors have analysed the specialisation in work patterns and activities in Andean communities along gender lines, paying special attention to their agropastoral manifestations, and to their ritual and symbolic dimensions. For example, Urton (1981: 19) explains that in the community of Mismanay women focus on pastoral activities and men on agriculture, and that these different activities respectively mark a different passing of time for each sex, 'by the alternation of pasturelands and the growth of the animals' and 'by the cycling and duration of different agriculture duties and the growth of the crops' (ibid). Urton also notes that men in this community tend to undertake

commercial activities outside the community (e.g. barter and sales), while women ‘are responsible for the transactions inside the community’ (ibid: 21). Regarding the symbolic connotations of such gender differentiations, Isbell (1978: 57) for instance reports how, during sowing and planting in Chuschi, women are always in charge of managing the seeds placing them in the earth, implying a clear symbolism of fertility; while Gose (2001 [1994]: 113) explains that there is ‘a widely extended Andean belief that the water of the first rains brings diseases and infertility’, so in many places women are not supposed to touch this water. Other authors have noticed a symbolic identification male-vertical plane/female-horizontal plane (e.g. Bolin 1998: 195-196), which can be expressed in the context of agricultural work. For example, Gelles (2002 [2000]: 54) suggests a similar link and symbolism in Cabanaconde, where before sowing and planting, after men had prepared the fields, women perform ritual selections of seeds sitting around blankets while men stand around them, indicating –according to the author- their physical and ideological superiority. This ritual practice presents clear similarities with the one described above in Taulli, showing how these kinds of practices, beliefs, and symbolism have been widespread in Andean communities.⁶

Work in Taulli generally follows traditional gender roles of specialisation and complementarity, which have a clear hierarchical nature. Male work has a higher social standing and it is completely dominant in communal and paid work, where women are mostly excluded. Women’s work tends to focus around the household (e.g. children’s nurture, cooking, housekeeping) (plate 25), while men’s work tend to focus outside the home (e.g. communal work, commercial activities, occasional waged labour). However, I found that these general tendencies are relative and very flexible depending on the context and individual circumstances (e.g. if there are small children or not). In the most

⁶ Gose (2001 [1994]: 119-123) also describes similar –although much more elaborate- ritual practices performed in Huaquirca by *ayni* groups during maize sowing breaks, which also include women sorting seeds, as well as divinations, or the playing of symbolic roles among others.

important economic activities -agriculture and herding- men and women normally work together. In these contexts there is a tendency for a specialisation of tasks, but they are often changeable. For example, consistently with the cases discussed above, women tend to handle the seeds during sowing and planting and men tend to handle the plough. However, they sometimes undertake any of those tasks indiscriminately, and all kind of agricultural tasks can be exclusively done by groups of women alone if men are not available.



Plate 25: Local women cooking and socialising during a family celebration.

II. ACCESS TO WATER AND LAND

Agriculture depends on the access to water and land, which are scarce and precious resources in Taulli, and in Andean communities (PPCs and others) in general.⁷ The access to water is particularly important during the “sowing-planting period”, when it depends on highly volatile weather conditions, mainly rainfall, that make this a time of tension and uncertainty for local people. As aforementioned, maize sowing depends

⁷ The lack of water has historically been an endemic problem in many parts of the Andes. For example, 86% of the Peruvian Andean communities surveyed by Dobyms in the 1960s reported that they had no sufficient water for agriculture and human consumption (Dobyms 1970: 122).

first (between October and November) on the availability of water for irrigation, whose amount largely depends on the level of earlier rains in the *puna*; while it depends later on the arrival of the heavier precipitation of the rainy period (in December), which also allows the planting of non-irrigated crops. A difference of a few weeks can unbalance the combination of agricultural tasks with climatic and seasonal factors that influence the successful development of the crops. If planted or sown too late, crops can be affected by the frost and cold of the Andean winters (from late-June), which are becoming increasingly harsh. Although climate factors and weather instability have always been key factors and risks affecting Andean agriculture (e.g. weather events associated with the periodic *el Niño* phenomenon), it is clear that climate change is increasingly worsening the situation (see chapter 2).⁸ For example, elderly Taullinos reported how heavier rains used to arrive in early-December, while they now tend to start around mid-month or even later, being increasingly irregular and jeopardising the planting of crops.

Irrigation in Taulli

Irrigation is one of activities in which the need for collective forms of collaboration has been more important in the Andes, where it has presented rich symbolic, cultural, and ritual dimensions. The development of pre-Hispanic Andean civilisations was intimately related to the development of irrigation, as a fundamental aspect of agriculture that –in combination with others (e.g. terraces)- allowed an increasing environmental control, much more productive crops and soils, and the expansion of fertile lands. As mentioned in chapter 1, one of the worst consequences of Spanish colonialism in the Andes was the resulting lost of traditional knowledge and strategies

⁸ E.g.: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/series/climate-journey-ecuador-peru> (see also chapter 2).

in this, and in other aspects of ecological adaptation. Some irrigation infrastructure (e.g. channels) and techniques survived, but many others were more or less gradually abandoned and forgotten, contributing to the gradual impoverishment and marginalisation of the new indigenous communities. Nevertheless, the need for collective action and collaboration to carry out this activity (e.g. for its management and coordination, for the construction and maintenance of related infrastructure) has continued until today; contributing to explain the ongoing maintenance and strength of communal and collective forms of organisation in PPCs and in other Andean communities, particularly in those –like Taulli and many others- that basically depend on subsistence agriculture, and where, therefore, irrigation remains vital.

Taulli has two main irrigation channels, Pakllawaylla in the southwest and Samaqucha in the northwest, both named after the *puna* areas they start in, which are located in neighbouring Sarhua's territory. Each of them originates in several springs and streams that are channelled towards their respective main ditch, which descend through the mountains until meeting in the big reservoir that is situated in the settlement of Urabamba. From this reservoir, there is just one main channel that continues descending towards the fields that surround the central village, having different bifurcations, which can be opened and closed, along their route to those fields. Each channel has an irrigation committee in charge of managing its use. During maize sowing, until the arrival of the heavier rains, weekly meetings are held in the early hours of Sundays by these committees (one each week alternately) in one of the central village's communal buildings, to organise irrigation shifts among those that have fields in the sector that is going to be irrigated the following week. Even in the good years, when first rains arrive earlier and reserves are more abundant, irrigation water is insufficient to fully cover all the local households' necessities, so it has to be

administrated very carefully, in a way that some minimal needs are covered. As a result, the stakes are high and communal management of and intervention in irrigation is very important.

In late-2007, when I arrived to the community, the situation was particularly bad because heavier rains arrived later than usual, so the lack of water dominated conversations and social gatherings. I found that this tension was more evident during the weekly meetings of the Irrigation Committees, which started around 3 am and lasted for hours. The signs of anxiety were clear among those waiting for their shifts, who huddled around the table where the authorities were organising and allocating irrigation times. There were often endless discussions and complaints among attendees of alleged abuses and misuses of irrigation water, although the tension used to decrease gradually through the night as people got their turns. Significantly, civil authorities took advantage of these meetings to settle outstanding fines for unattended communal duties (e.g. assemblies, working days), which are often accumulated throughout previous months, and that have to be paid before getting an irrigation time and day.

Another important aspect that requires communal management and collaboration is the maintenance of irrigation infrastructure, which is basically done through communal work. For example, the channels have to be cleaned each year before being used, and this task is called *yarqa aspiy* (irrigation ditch cleaning), which combines work with ritual celebrations. The ancient channel of Samaqucha is customarily cleaned on the 24th and 25th of August, as part of one of the main communal festivities (see chapter 5). The case of Pakllawaylla is different. This channel, like Urabamba's reservoir, was built in the early 2000s with economic and technical support from the governmental development institution FONCODES, and its construction has changed water management in the village, even if the results have been disappointing (see

chapter 2). For example, irrigated lands increased and their sectors were reorganised. Following state legislation a new Irrigation Committee was set up to manage the new channel, joining the existing one that had substituted traditional water authorities some years before.

Another new and practical need, but with broader cultural and ritual connotations, was the necessity to clean the new channel. Significantly, Taullinos chose to integrate this cleaning within the community's customary participation in the *yarqa aspiy* of neighbouring Portacruz. This community has an ancient irrigation channel called Pakllaqucha that starts very close to the place where Taulli's new Pakllawaylla channel starts, and that passes through Taulli's territory until it gets into Portacruz's, continuing until arriving to its central village and beyond. Portacruzeños celebrate the *yarqa aspiy* of this channel each 24th and 25th of July. As Portacruz belonged to Taulli until its 1948 independence, this was a Taulli's tradition. After independence, Taullinos managed to maintain ownership over most of an area called Ñiqeska, which is a fertile valley within Portacruz's territory, so despite the problems and confrontations brought by independence, Taullinos continued to participate in Portacruz's July *yarqa aspiy*, as a way of insuring the irrigation of this area.

Since the recent construction of the new irrigation channel in Taulli, on the first day of Portacruz's *yarqa aspiy* (24th July), Taullinos clean part of Portacruz's channel, as it has been done since Portacruz's independence, as well as long stretches of their new channel, in a day of communal work. They are led by the members of this channel's irrigation committee, who are in charge of directing the actual cleaning, and by local *varayuks* with companions and a band of music, who are in charge of performing customary festive and ritual celebrations in both channels. Thus, the cleaning of the new channel is integrated with -and recreates- local traditions of the

yarqa aspiy. On the second day (25th July), while most Taullinos finish the cleaning of their new channel led by civil authorities, their delegation of *varayuqs*, musicians and companions continues participating in the cleaning of their neighbours' channel, arriving at Portacruz's central village, where, as a separate entity, they also participate in the celebrations that culminate the cleaning, before continuing on their own to the valley of Ñiqeska, where they spend the night performing further festive and ritual activities. The day after they conclude the cleaning of the extension of Portacruz's channel that irrigates this area, before going back to Taulli together.

This participation is very problematic because of old feuds between the two communities. As discussed earlier in the thesis, Taullinos still deeply resent Portacruz's independence and its current comparative prosperity, which they feel that has been achieved at their expense. Moreover, they argue that Portacruzeños are continuously trying to usurp further land and resources from them. As a result, every July's *yarqa aspiy*, there is hostility between Portacruzeños and the delegation of Taullinos that participate in the cleaning, as I could observe participating in the 2008 activities. In fact, the following year Taullinos did not participate in this task, alleging that they were too busy with the installation of the water supply system that was going on at the time, although I got the impression that this was mainly an "excuse" to avoid the ongoing yearly problems and conflicts. The truth is that Taullinos have been gradually decreasing their land holding in the area of Ñiqeska for decades, through exchanges of land with or sales to Portacruzeños; or shifting to non-irrigated crops there to avoid the dependence on Portacruz's irrigation system. As a result, the practical need to participate in their July's *yarqa aspiy* (securing irrigation rights over Ñiqeska) has been much eroded, and it is likely to stop altogether in a near future. Nevertheless, the incorporation of the cleaning of the new state-sponsored channel with the customary

participation in Portacruz's *yarqa aspiy* can be seen as another significant example of how Taullinos use their local Andean tradition as main channel to experience and accommodate change (in this case brought by the independence of Portacruz first, and by a new irrigation channel built by state intervention later), contributing to the dynamic reinvention of that tradition. This case can be also seen as an example of how this state intervention can have a direct impact, and bring major changes, in local agriculture, work, and even traditional customs.

Moreover, this example can be also used to approach some of the symbolic and ritual connotations of water and irrigation in Andean communities, which have been intimately related to wider social, cultural and religious beliefs and forms of organisation. As Gelles (2002 [2000]: 167) affirms, past and present indigenous peoples in the American continent have venerated what sustains life, and it is for this reason that 'mountains, water, and the earth are often at the core of their religious systems'. Significantly, in pre-Hispanic times, Andean origin myths often identified the sea, or particular lakes and springs (e.g. the Incas with Lake Titicaca), as the place where ancestors had originated from (*pakarina*); while some legends attributed the origin of irrigation channels to a mythical past, when animals were able to speak (e.g. Rostoworowski 1999 [1988]: 291-292). Gelles (2002 [2000]: 19) also explains that irrigation was 'one of the most elaborated resources from a cultural and ritual point of view in Andean society and civilization', and even nowadays, 'the system of beliefs and rituals intertwined around irrigation is part of a wider cosmology that –including mountains, water and the earth- incorporates pastoral and agricultural work, and human health', as part of a system that has 'health and fertility at its very core' (ibid: 103). In Taulli, elderly local informants reported different irrigation-related ritual practices and beliefs that have been lost in recent decades (e.g. women were not supposed to touch

irrigation water during their period). However, the only clear expressions of the symbolic and ritual dimensions of water and irrigation that I could find nowadays were related to the *yarqa aspiys*, showing the aforementioned local tendency to the decline of ritual practices -and related underlying beliefs- practised in the context of work and everyday life.

Land in Taulli

There are different factors to take into consideration in relation to land in Taulli, such as the different types of land use and tenure between ecological zones; the different channels through which local families access this basic resource; the role of the community and the communal organisation on this access; and the ambiguous relation between the communal property of the territory, which is legally based on the PPC status, and the private usufruct of –mainly agricultural- lands, which are locally considered as private property. Taullinos’ rights over land are based on local custom and on testaments, which are just manuscripts signed by the titular and witnesses without clear legal value. I learnt that there are some property titles in the community that theoretically are legally valid, because they were granted before the 1945 recognition as an “indigenous community”. However, the lands the titles refer to have been fragmented since then between different “owners”, so these documents are also ambiguous. There are often conflicts over land regarding testaments, boundaries, and so on, but there are also mechanisms to deal with them, particularly through the mediation of local civil authorities.

Taullinos sometimes, although not often, sell land between themselves, and these sales are confirmed by the justice of the peace with documents that just certify the transactions, rather than property. When I asked local informants about the possibility

of selling land to non-members of the community, they all agreed that it could be possible, but did not agree over the conditions and procedures that such transactions would involve, as no one knew of any precedents. Some thought that there would no problem at all; others argued that the potential seller would have to participate in communal work and in institutions like the irrigation committees; while a *comunero* concluded that ‘it would be a very strange situation’. This shows how “owning” and working land in Taulli implies nowadays full participation in the communal organisation, and also how Taulli is today a “closed corporate community”⁹ regarding land tenure. Not “closed” in the sense of inward-looking or reluctant to change, which is not the case, but in the practical sense that membership and access to land are today –and have been in living memory- exclusively restricted to incorporation by birth or by marriage.

There are actually cases of people from neighbouring Portacruz owning land in Taulli and *vice versa*, but this is because after the former became independent (in 1948) most people from both communities had land in the other.¹⁰ However, throughout the years people have been exchanging, selling, giving away -mostly between relatives- or even abandoning land on the opposite side, to concentrate “ownership” in their own community, so, nowadays there are few cases. The exception is the zone of Ñiqeska, the fertile valley within Portacruz’s territory that largely remained in Taullinos’ hands after 1948, although, as commented above, here too there has been a gradual process of exchange and sale of lands. Nowadays, around 80% of Ñiqeska’s lands belong to Portacruzeños, reversing completely the original percentages and demonstrating that marked tendency to concentrate land “ownership” within one’s own community’s

⁹ As commented (in chapter 1), this concept developed by Wolf (1957, 1955) was highly popular in Andean anthropology in the 1960s-70s, and was later criticised in the context of 1990s “revisionism” for presenting a static and “essentialist” image of Andean communities.

¹⁰ Dobyns (1970: 53) explains that there have been abundant similar cases of ‘mixed lands’ as a result of some communities gaining independence from others.

boundaries. Nevertheless, 53.33% of the surveyed Taullinos claimed to still have some land in this valley in 2009.

Taulli's households have access to land through different channels, which are combined according to individual circumstances and strategies. The most important is through inheritance. All the siblings –both men and women- have equal inheritance rights over their parents' lands.¹¹ When a couple gets married, normally the spouses receive some land from their respective parents as an “advance” of their inheritances, through the allocation of some plots or/and the subdivision of others. The land that each of the spouses receive is normally discussed and agreed between their parents, as part of the wedding arrangements, to try to make sure that they have enough to make a living. Because of the centrality and scarcity of land, this discussion is often the most “delicate” and complex part of those wedding arrangements, as there are many potentially conflictive factors and interests to take into consideration, such as the possible asymmetry in land tenure, or the number of children each family has. Families' land holdings and land heritage options were fundamental factors when establishing local marriage alliances in the past, although this has been greatly relaxed in recent decades. For example, a local elderly couple candidly explained to me how they had had to run away from the community when young (in the 1960s) to get married, because their respective families did not approve their union on the basis that their capacities to provide land were considered “unmatchable”. They told me how, back then, marriages in Taulli were often arranged by families as strategic unions to concentrate -or secure access to- land, while nowadays young people are free to decide.

The land received from both sides is considered as a unity that belongs to the couple, without distinguishing which side it comes from. In some cases, parents may

¹¹ There may be differences in the inheritance of other assets. For example, if a sibling takes care of the parents when they are old, he/she may keep the main family house as a reward.

not be able to give enough land or none at all.¹² In those cases, the new couple may live with some of their parents, or, more likely, to emigrate, although a potential future return is possible if circumstances change (e.g. after receiving their parents' inheritance). Scarcity of productive land is then a major motor of emigration, although there are also abundant cases where new couples would be able to get enough land but they still emigrate, looking for opportunities that can not be found in Taulli. In fact, only a minority of new couples actually establish themselves in the community after getting married. For example, in 2008-09 ten local couples got married, but only two of them stayed (data provided by Edwin Antesana).

The community and the communal organisation also play an important role in the way Taullinos access land, and this also contributes to explain Taullinos' support of the system. On the one hand, the community guarantees the existence of communal lands, which are mainly pastures in the upper *puna*, and some level of access to them by all members. On the other hand, local married couples are entitled to receive some communal land in the *puna* -as the only place where productive communal land is available- from the community for their private usufruct, after fulfilling communal duties for at least five years, such as holding civil and traditional offices. Requests for these allocations have to be formally presented to civil authorities, and discussed and voted on in communal assemblies. Nowadays, the amount is fixed in one *yugada*, which can be used as pasture or for agriculture depending on circumstances (e.g. location, if the couple owns livestock). These allocations of communal land are now highly regulated, but some decades ago, new couples just grabbed available *puna* land, taking what they considered necessary within reasonable limits. This is not possible anymore because the amount of communal land available has sharply decreased, as a

¹² When asked if they have enough land to leave to their children, 31.66% of those surveyed responded affirmatively, 28.33% responded no, and 16.66% said more or less. The remaining 23.33% had no children, had already passed on their land, or did not answer.

result of those successive allocations through time, and of the historical territorial losses of the community. Civil authorities agreed that there is only between 20% and 30% of communal *puna* land left for future allocations,¹³ and that is a source of concern. I sometimes perceived signs of resentment by younger people because of this issue. For example, once I was asking a young *comunero* and two older ones about this, and the younger started to complain about the limited amount of *puna* land that he had, blaming older *comuneros* for taking what they wanted in the past. The tone of the conversation was joking but there was a certain tension about it. According to Pedro Quispe, a possible solution to this problem Taullinos are studying is the division of the remaining land into equal plots, for their future temporary rotation between newly-formed couples; resembling the traditional local *cofradías* system, in another example of how the “local Andean tradition” can be a reference for change.

This *cofradías* system is in fact another channel for accessing land through the community, although, as explained in chapter 3, there are only three *cofradía* fields left (S. Francisco, S. Jerónimo, and Virgen de las Nieves, the latter two located in Ñiqeska) for the rotating two-year allocations among *comuneros*, so the system is now quite marginal. In the past, when there were many *cofradía* fields, only those who had passed all traditional offices were able to hold *mayordomo* offices, as a reward for their communal services, but any dutiful *comunero* can do it nowadays. This change is another example of how traditional social hierarchies are becoming increasingly flexible in the context of change.

Land can be also accessed through purchase and rent, although these channels are quite uncommon in Taulli. Most people need and use all the land they have, and those who have comparatively more, and could afford to sell some, generally prefer to keep it

¹³ Some *puna* lands are not considered for allocations. For example, pastures of communal use, enclosed zones for communal herds, and passages.

for their children. Normally, it is only emigrants who live permanently, or on a more permanent basis, outside the community who are the ones who sell land, preferably to relatives and normally just when they really need money, as they also tend to keep land as a resource, or for a possible future return to the community. 46.66% surveyed *comuneros* had bought land in the community, while just 5% have sold any, always in Ñiqeska and to Portacruzeños. Sentimental reasons must be also taken into consideration, as people tend to feel attached to their land even if they live far away, as it is an important link with their place of origin. Rent is also very rare, and only 3.33% of those surveyed affirmed that they were renting some land. Those who have land and live away normally let their close relatives work it, establishing different types of arrangements that are overwhelmingly non-monetary. For example, the owners receive part of the harvest, or some gifts; or they just feel satisfied doing a favour for their relatives, and knowing that their land is productive. 41.66% of the surveyed *comuneros* claimed to work the land of relatives who have emigrated on a permanent basis, so this is also an important channel to access this scarce resource.

Finally, there are also “illegitimate” appropriations of land. This practice can be seen in relation to the tradition of grabbing communal *puna* land, which was an accepted practice in the past, but that, as this land is decreasing, has been forbidden. Vigilance is strict and there is a system of fines in place, but it still happens to some degree. Depending on how people do it, there is a certain margin of implicit tolerance. A typical example is someone who has an *estancia* in the *puna* and just takes a few metres of adjacent communal land without permission to build a new corral. In a case like this, there may be public complaints and requests to give the land back in assemblies or other public meetings, as well as criticisms, but, if “the grabber” is firm, it is very likely that the matter will be gradually forgotten, and that the person will keep

the land. I witnessed several similar cases during fieldwork, but only once was the person concerned forced to return the grabbed land, because it was located in a place considered as particularly valuable, provoking a firmer reaction from the authorities and fellow *comuneros*.

III. ACCESS TO A WORKFORCE

Although agriculture in Andean communities is basically a family-based activity, during some particular periods and tasks it requires a larger workforce, which normally includes the cooperation of the extended family and social networks. Andean cultures have historically developed and formalised a series of mechanisms and channels to mobilise that larger cooperation, which often imply the establishment of reciprocal relations between those involved. Among them the work-exchange systems between families stand out, particularly the aforementioned *ayni* and *minka*, and the establishment of formal bonds beyond the family through co- and god-parenthood. These are all key concepts and institutions of the Andean world. In the following sections, I review them along with –and in relation to– the key concept of reciprocity, looking at how they function today in Taulli in the context of local work.

Andean reciprocity and work exchange systems: *ayni* and *minka*

Reciprocity is the concept that has been most often used to explain the nature and function of past and present Andean societies from 1960s-80s “long-termist” approaches. Pre-Hispanic Andean societies did not use money, and their economic and social systems were based on the establishment of reciprocal relations that regulated the exchange and provision of services and resources (e.g. workforce), the production of goods (e.g. agricultural), and also the relations between the different social groups,

internally (within *ayllus*) and externally (with other *ayllus*, macro-*ayllus* or imperial structures), creating different overlapping and hierarchical levels and layers of reciprocal relations.¹⁴ At the same time, reciprocity was extrapolated to the realm of moral behaviour,¹⁵ and to the relation of humans with natural and supernatural forces and deities, becoming also a cornerstone of religious systems. On a local level, reciprocal relations -like the *ayllu*- would be based on kinship, and could have some egalitarian ethos. However, as *ayllus* were integrated into increasingly bigger and more complex socio-political structures, the nature of reciprocal exchanges and relations would be increasingly hierarchical. In this sense, it is possible to differentiate between symmetrical and asymmetrical reciprocity, depending on whether it is practised between equals or not. As Stern (1986 [1982]: 32) affirms, ideal principles such as ‘equitable exchange’ would be manipulated by different social groups to their own benefit. Under the Inca Empire, local reciprocity (within *ayllus*), based on kinship and traditional relations, would coexist with a state reciprocity, based on a military and administrative apparatus (Murra quoted in Rostoworowski 1999 [1988]: 69).

With the collapse of the Inca Empire and the establishment and development of the Spanish colonial system, state reciprocity disappeared, but local forms of reciprocity continued to be at the core of indigenous communities’ socioeconomic organisation and religious beliefs. Monetary economy was increasingly important, but rural economies continued to be basically based on non-monetary exchanges or products, services and resources. This not only included relations within communities, but also wider contexts

¹⁴ For example, Rostoworowski (2006 [1988]: 68-69) defines reciprocity in pre-Hispanic times as the organising socio-economic system that regulated the provision of services at different levels, the production and redistribution of goods, and social relations. She affirms that it worked across the whole Andean territory, linking the different models of economic organisation.

¹⁵ Stern (1986 [1982]: 42) explains how reciprocity also ordered the relations with the supernatural (e.g. deities, ancestors) through rituals, and affirms that indigenous vocabulary demonstrates that past Andean societies conceived ideas such as justice, retaliation, or improper behaviour in terms of balances and imbalances in the moral quality of each person, judged according to a criteria of reciprocal rights and obligations (ibid: 31).

such as regional markets, muleteers routes, transactions between predominantly herding and farming areas and communities, and so on. This situation continued well into the Twentieth Century, when, as Gose (2001 [1994]: 7) affirms, the anthropological literature tended to consider the lack of waged labour and of monetary exchanges as one of the distinctive features of Andean 'relations of production'. However, many authors noted a gradual decline of Andean communities' economic autonomy and reciprocal relations. For example, Isbell (2005 [1978]: 74-75) notes how, in 1970s Chuschi, the costs of reciprocity-based relations were often higher than those based on monetary exchanges, denoting the different logics on which they were based, and also noting the gradual advance of the capitalistic logic. Differences in access to cash and in the tendency towards monetary relations, as well as in attitudes towards those factors, were also a key factor determining the social division *comuneros/vecinos*, in the communities where it existed, leading to the establishment of asymmetrical reciprocal and non-reciprocal socio-economic relations between the two groups.

Regarding work-exchange systems, Stern (1986 [1982]: 27) argues that families' access to assistance and workforce from other families has been 'the key to economic welfare in the Andean agricultural system'. This is the reason why institutionalised exchanges of work and services, especially those based on reciprocity, have had such a centrality in Andean communities (and studies). As aforementioned, the most paradigmatic and extended of these systems are *ayni* and *minka*,¹⁶ which are mainly practised among members of extended families, co-parents, and friends, so the wider the family and social networks the greater the capacity to mobilise people. These systems have wider implications than their mere economic and practical functions. For

¹⁶ Fuenzalida-Vollmar (1976 [1969]: 241) compiles some of the terms that are used in different parts of Peru to refer to *ayni*, or to similar reciprocal work exchange systems: *uyuay*, *flete*, *tornapeón*, *wallak*, *wallpo*, *echama*, *puna*, *wájete* y *rantín*. He also affirms that *ayni* can be understood as mutual assistance in wider contexts than work exchanges (e.g. borrowing tools, seeds, or even cash). For *minka* he only finds *wallpo*, explaining that in some places the word is the equivalent to daily-waged labour (*jornal*).

example, ideally *ayni* implies symmetrical reciprocity between participants, and can be linked to concepts of balance, justice and equality, implying ideological and moral connotations. Gose (ibid: 148-149) reviews different interpretations of *ayni*, explaining how it has been often approached -and idealised too- as a ‘cosmologic principle’ that has been applied to explain the relations between the living and the dead in the agricultural cycle, the cyclical movement of the sun and the water, ritual battles (ibid), or gender relations in marriage (ibid: 152-3).

Moreover, *ayni* working days can also be also seen as a form of socialisation, as they tend to involve –as explained in Taulli’s case- quite large groups of people, working in a relaxing and often festive atmosphere, long breaks, the performance of ritual practices, and the provision of abundant food,¹⁷ drinks, and coca. In the case of *minka*, the work exchange does not imply reciprocity, and it has, in fact, a great potential to channel social differences and even exploitation in the case of asymmetrical relations. However, it can imply a form of ‘future reciprocity’ when practised among equals. For example, in Taulli when a man works in *minka* in the construction of a house, he can expect that the sponsor will work for him when building his own house in the future. *Ayni* and *minka* are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, as explained above, they have a certain complementary seasonal nature (predominance of *ayni* during the rainy season, and of *minka* –besides household-based work- during the dry season). These work-exchange systems have coexisted with other forms of labour such as communal work, compulsory state-related work services, or daily waged labour among others.

Talking with some elderly Taullinos, such the “guardian of tradition” Víctor Ávalos, I was told several times that *ayni* and *minka* are not practised anymore in the

¹⁷ Gose (ibid: 9) notes the centrality that the provision of food has in work exchange systems, arguing that, in the Andes, the capacity to feed (understood as an expressions of power) versus the need to eat are at the basis of hierarchical social relations; and concluding that food is at the core of everything.

community. Those who affirmed such thing alleged different reasons to explain this “disappearance”, such as the influence of teachers from outside, the increasing number of local Evangelists, or the existence of temporary waged labour opportunities in state-related public works, which have accustomed local people to work for money. Those older Taullinos often remembered melancholically how *ayni* working days, and traditions and celebrations in general, used to be much better or nicer (*‘más bonito’*) in the past, regretting their lost. I was surprised by these affirmations, as these practices are still common in the community, particularly in certain tasks such as maize sowing (in *ayni*) or the construction of houses (in *minka*), in which I often participated, even if work groups were often mixed, combining people working for money with others working on *ayni/minka*.

I came to realise that this “divorce” between elderly locals’ perceptions of the disappearance of these traditional work exchange systems, and the reality of their ongoing existence, can be explained by the fact that these elderly people identified *ayni* –and to a lesser degree *minka*- working days not just with the practical exchange of work that they imply, but also with the forms of socialisation and the complex and rich ritual practices that used to be a fundamental part of this type of work, and that have been increasingly neglected and sometimes disappeared in recent decades, in the context of wider social changes. These elderly people therefore do not consider the work exchange that is still practised as real *ayni*. Furthermore, there has also been a quantitative and comparative decline with respect to a recent past in the performance of these work-exchange systems, which used to be completely dominant while they are now increasingly combined with *jornal*. These work exchange systems can be seen then as another increasingly neglected aspect of the local Andean tradition, qualitatively (e.g. in terms of ritual elaboration) and quantitatively (e.g. number of days and tasks

performed under them). Nevertheless, I found that the concept of reciprocity, and reciprocal relations, are still fundamental to understand the community in the early Twenty-first Century, because even if they are comparatively less important in the context of work exchanges, they are still fundamental in many other aspects of local life, such as the mobilisation of support when sponsoring celebrations (see chapter 5).

God- and co-parenthood (*padrinazgo* and *compadrazgo*)

These social relations and bonds in the Andes have been sometimes defined as ‘ritual kinship’ (*parentesco ceremonial*) (e.g. Zapata-Velasco et al. 2008: 288) or as an ‘elaborate system of fictive kin’ (e.g. Doughty 1968: 114). Their main function is to formalise and strengthen social and affective ties with affine kin and non-relatives, creating a ‘network of social relations and obligations’ (ibid) based on reciprocal relations. These “institutionalised” relations were introduced by the Spaniards as a Catholic tradition. However, as in other cases, there would be some similar pre-Hispanic institutions that would contribute to their adoption and reinterpretation by Andean peoples. For example, according to the indigenous chronicler Huamán Poma (quoted in Zapata-Velasco et al. 2008: 288), in Inca times it was customary to adopt ‘ceremonial relatives’ as initiators and mediators to passage rites such as the first hair cut ceremonies.¹⁸

The most important forms of god-parenthood are linked to Catholic baptism and marriage, which introduce an element of religious legitimacy and formality into these relations. Godfathering in these contexts implies a life-long commitment with the baptised child or the newlyweds, but also the establishment of a life-long- relation of co-parenthood with the two parents of the child, or with the four parents of the newly-

¹⁸ Kind of pre-Hispanic baptism in which children received their adult name. These ceremonies have been performed to the present coexisting with Catholic baptism (e.g. Bastien 1978: 11-14), in another example of Andean syncretism. Rowe (1963 [1946]: 282) explains this practice in Inca times.

weds. As Isbell (1978: 116) explains, the demands associated with these kinds of relations have been traditionally very high in the Andes. For example, in Chuschi godparents were expected to pay for a good deal of their godchildren's expenses until their marriage (e.g. school materials, clothes), and marriage godparents had to advise and supervise the newly married couple (e.g. punishing abuses, teaching to run a household) (ibid). These god-parenthood obligations also imply others related to co-parenthood, such as assistance in and co-sponsoring of celebrations, or attending calls for *ayni* working days among others. God-parenthood implies important efforts and sacrifices but also brings "rewards" in the long-term. For example, baptism godparents are supposed to partially support their godchildren when they are young, but godchildren are also supposed to contribute to support godparents when they are old.

Co- and god-parenthood, and the way in which they are established, can have complex social dimensions and respond to diverse strategic ends. Isbell (1978: 116) defines as 'horizontal' the relations of this type that are established between persons of the same social class. In these cases, they serve as mechanisms to formalise and strengthen social and affective ties, and have very practical repercussions implying mutual help and assistance.¹⁹ In other cases, they are established between people from different social levels and status, responding to different types of circumstances and interests. For example, as a way of achieving some level of social prestige and mobility, responding to a sense of paternalistic social responsibility, and so on. Relationships can be established at the local level, and also in larger geographical contexts, seeking access to wider and diverse social networks and resources. Doughty (1968: 114-115) argues that 'the complexity and varieties of fictive kinship, and the way in which the relationships are structured in terms of social class, are reflections of openness, rigidity,

¹⁹ Doughty (1968: 114-126) offers interesting insights on these relationships, and argues that they can be seen as a 'form of social insurance through the creation of a "community of responsibility",' making the 'sharing of wealth and responsibility not only possible but obligatory' (ibid: 18).

or change in the social system.’ Besides these most lasting and formal forms of godparenthood relations, there are many other contexts in which godparents are sought,²⁰ which do not have to imply the establishment of co-parenthood relations, and may or may not have religious connotations, and a more or less formal and lasting nature (e.g. Catholic confirmation, inauguration of a house). In these contexts, godparenthood can be often interpreted as a form of sponsorship, as it normally consists of providing some kind of tutelary or prestigious presence that enhances a particular event; and/or in carrying the burden of part or even all of the related expenses, not necessarily or exclusively in monetary terms as it can involve providing some particular goods or services.

The most important form of godparenthood in Taulli is established through baptism or by the “water of help” (*agua de socorro*), which is a kind of provisional baptism.²¹ These godparents are normally a married couple although individual cases are also possible.²² The second most important godparents are those of marriage, which are always a respected married couple. Catholic baptisms and weddings have been performed very rarely in Taulli since the 1980s, when regular visits by priests stopped in the context of “the violence”. As a result, nowadays god- and co-parenthood in Taulli are mainly based on “water of help” ceremonies, and on civil weddings that are performed in the central village by civil authorities, and are normally followed by two days of traditional celebrations (plate 26). The bonds established by these ceremonies

²⁰Doughty (1968: 114) identifies fourteen different types in the district of Huayllas (Ancash), in the 1960s. Coincidentally, Juan Ossio finds the same number in the community of Andamarca (Ayacucho) (Zapata-Velasco et al. 2008: 288), and John Gillin in a Peruvian coastal community in the 1940s (Fuenzalida-Vollmar 1976 [1969]: 235).

²¹ The Catholic Church established that children who die without being baptised could not enter “paradise”, going instead to a “children’s limbo” (*el limbo de los niños*), where they would be eternally happy but without enjoying the full advantages of paradise (see Millones 2007b). For this reason an early baptism was very important. The “water of help” was created as a temporary form of “protection” in cases where priests were not available to perform baptism.

²² This was for example the case when I acted as a godfather to Imaq Suma, the daughter of Silverio Antesana and his wife Priscila, in December 2009.

lack the institutional prestige of Catholic ceremonies, although they are locally considered as equally important life-long commitments and legitimate. Ideally, they are supposed to be confirmed in the future with Catholic baptisms and weddings. Some Taullinos actually oblige, normally during stays in urban centres and many years later. However, nowadays many local Catholics feel that the “water of help” and the civil wedding are enough, while others do not even consider these to be necessary.

Co-parenthood bonds between godparents and godchildren’s parents (either of the child or of the newlyweds) are not automatically established by the “water of help”/baptism or wedding ceremonies. To do so it is necessary to perform, just or soon after, another customary ceremony called the “forgiveness of the co-parents” (*el perdón de los compadres*), which is directed by some prestigious and experienced *comunero* and basically consists of the co-parents asking for forgiveness between themselves for potential past affronts, and promising to maintain family-like bonds in the future (these ceremonies –like local weddings- are briefly described in appendix 5). Co-parents are supposed to collaborate between themselves and to assist each others. Beyond the theoretical and ideal implications of these relationships, there is a whole series of factors to take into consideration. For example, people logically tend to seek godparents or co-parents who are considered as particularly responsible and reliable, or that have a comparatively better economic situation (particularly “professionals” such as local teachers), so these people are disproportionately “charged” with godchildren and co-parents, and it can be very complicated to fulfil the demands that such bonds ideally imply. This was for example the case of Edwin Antesana, who, as a respected local professional, had a dozen baptism and/or “water of help” godchildren and, therefore, twenty-odd co-parents. In these cases, some levels of engagement are kept but often are far from the “ideal”.



Plate 26: Wedding in Taulli. Civil weddings are followed by two days of traditional celebrations.

In the context of mobilising a workforce, the importance of co- and god- parenthood is logically decreasing, as monetary relations increase and there is a gradual decline of traditional work exchange systems. In terms of mutual help, co- and god- parenthood are nowadays much more relevant in festive and ceremonial contexts, such as the sponsoring of celebrations, where the support of extended social networks - including the extended family and god- and co-parents- are still fundamental for the successful fulfilment of those duties (e.g. providing food and drinks, cooking, paying musicians, and so on). These are actually the contexts in which reciprocity and reciprocal relations have the most obvious presence and importance in Taulli.

Another important factor to take into consideration in relation to god- and co- parenthood is the effect of Evangelism. Evangelists are supposed to receive baptism when they are fully conscious of what this sacrament means. They do not get the “water of help” in their earliest years, and when they do get baptised, in their teens or as adults, they do not have godparents. Every September, local Evangelists celebrate a two-day

festival, when ministers in charge of the area visit the community and among other activities celebrate baptisms, which are performed in the Qaracha River by full immersion. Weddings are also performed if requested, although they are not common (none of them were performed in 2007-09). In the case of evangelical weddings, there are no godparents although there may be “companions” that have a similar role, and normally are the civil wedding godparents. As a result, in relation to god- and co-parenthood, Evangelism supposes a major break with the Andean tradition, where these institutionalised relations have had a key social role. Nevertheless, I found that many local Evangelists have god- and co-parents established when they were Catholic, maintaining customary bonds with them, and that others may still establish these relations disregarding religious differences.

Communal work

Besides family-based work and work exchange systems between families, Andean communities have traditionally presented systems of collective and communal work between their members, as a cornerstone of local organisation and welfare. In fact, the need for such systems has been an important reason for the existence of these communities and for their maintenance. Since pre-Hispanic times, Andean *ayllus* developed forms of collective work to carry out fundamental public works (e.g. irrigation systems, agricultural terraces, roads), for the maintenance of agricultural fields and herds dedicated to the leadership, religious cult, or of those unable to work; or to combine different agricultural cycles and economic activities between diverse ecological zones and geographical environments.²³ Macro-*ayllus* and imperial structures were based on the capacity to integrate, adapt, and expand local forms of collective

²³ Doughty (1968: 159-188) traces the historical roots and evolution of Andean forms of collective work from pre-Hispanic times.

work to a much larger scale; so the evolution of Andean cultures has been intimately related to the development of these systems of work. Those forms of organisation were further manipulated and adapted by the Spanish colonial system for its own needs (e.g. mining *mitas*). In the *reducciones*, this adaptation took place between local Andean traditions of collective work and the tradition of communal work of the Spanish communities that served as model to the *reducciones*. Already in the Twentieth Century, Doughty (1968: 159-188) discusses the role of communal work in Andean communities, considering it as a form of bringing internal cohesion and social responsibility to members, and arguing that it provides leadership skills and experience, encourages engagement with community affairs, and fosters community pride and unity (ibid: 187).

In Taulli there are different local institutions that can call and organise days of communal work, at different levels and scales. The Directive Committee and the Municipal Agency are the most important, having the capacity to call these days independently, and keeping their own lists of absentees (*faltantes*) and fines. The former can call them for works anywhere in the community's territory, while the latter calls for days related to work in the central village. Other local institutions, such as church authorities and committees, can also call for days of communal work for particular tasks related to their function, in coordination with civil authorities and through communal assemblies. Communal work days normally involve all the *comuneros*, although if a task is small, or has to be undertaken on different days, it can involve smaller groups of people, normally organised according to the three local "work groups" (see chapter 3), or composed by absentees from previous days who want to fulfil their responsibilities and avoid fines. Communal work theoretically just involves *comuneros* and women

who head households (*warmi sapas*), although children and women can often substitute *comuneros* undertaking “lighter” tasks.

Communal working days normally start around 8-10 am and are preceded by a “short” communal assembly, of between one and two hours, which takes place where work is to be conducted. During these assemblies urgent or pending issues are dealt with, and tasks are organised and decided between civil and work groups’ authorities. Each group has its own *warmi sapas* assigned, who tend to do complementary tasks such as serving drinks, cooking, or assisting in lighter tasks. During work, fizzy drinks, alcohol, coca and candies are normally provided by the organising institution, and distributed through the work groups. Food is rarely provided unless work is in a distant place and is going to take a longer time. In these cases, the *warmi sapas* carry the necessary utensils (e.g. pots, dishes) and cook for their respective groups. The number of days and the nature of the work vary widely depending on the time of the year, particular needs and circumstances, and potential emergencies that can arise. Some of them have a seasonal nature. For example, around September, before the beginning of the sowing and planting season it is necessary to fix walls and enclosures to stop animals getting into the agricultural fields, and to do maintenance work in irrigation channels. During periods that require more intensive communal work, there may be several (sometimes up to three or four) days per week dedicated to these tasks. During other periods, there may be one day per month or even less.

As exemplified by Taulli’s case (see chapter 2), communal work has today a key role in relation to state intervention in development-related projects and public works in Andean PPCs, being incorporated into their planning and becoming a channel for their implementation. In these cases, the state (through different ministries and institutions) provides technical direction and expertise, materials and supervision; and the

community provides the main workforce, which can be paid or unpaid depending on the nature and budget of the particular project. Budgets often contemplate a 20% of their value in non-qualified workforce that has to be provided by the community by paid communal or/and individual work. This system can be seen within a long tradition of the state using local forms of collective and communal work for major public works (e.g. Inca and colonial *mitas*), which could provide advantages to participating communities (e.g. infrastructure, communications), but that generally involved coercive methods and exploitative conditions. However, as I have suggested on the basis of Taulli's case (see chapter 3), nowadays the combination of these forms of communal work, with an increasing state intervention in PPCs, show the potential of these communities to contribute to their development in their own terms, according to their communal organisation and traditions.

IV. ECOLOGICAL ADAPTATION

Ecological adaptation has played a key role in Andean studies beginning with Murra's theory or model of the "vertical control of a maximum of ecological zones" (*control vertical de un máximo de pisos ecológicos*) (Murra 1975, 1972). Murra developed this model from his study of the 1562 census (*visita*) of the Huanuco and Chucuito regions of central and southern Peru. This census, made by the Spaniards to assess the tributary capacity of the "Indians", presented strong evidence that the Lupaqa's *ayllu* (or macro-*ayllu*), which was located on the south-western shore of Lake Titicaca and composed then of 20000 households, maintained permanent settlements in distant warm valleys of the eastern and western lowlands, whose objective was to provide their core territory with products that were unavailable there. Murra (1972: 427) defined these distant settlements as 'vertical archipelagos', and considered them as 'a very late and distorted

manifestation of a very ancient Andean pattern' that had been developed over a very long period, with many variations and contributions (ibid: 465), arguing that these practices were so embedded in Andean societies that they would have survived for decades in some places (e.g. among the Lupaqa) under Spanish rule.²⁴

Murra's model and later contributions and critiques

From this case and other evidence, Murra (1985b: 16-8) developed an explanatory model with some key points: Andean ethnic groups made efforts to control a maximum of ecological zones or 'niches', given mostly by altitude ("verticality"), to complement and diversify production and resources. The control of distant resources, often beyond the highlands, was established through the creation and maintenance of a kind of ecological colonies (archipelagos), which were controlled by the ethnic leadership from the core territory. The relationship periphery (archipelagos)-centre (core territory) was established by the principles of reciprocity and redistribution, and by kinship links that were 'periodically reaffirmed ceremonially' in the centre (ibid: 16-7), and archipelagos were often shared by various ethnic groups in 'tense but real coexistence' (ibid: 17). Under increasingly hierarchical and expansionist political systems -as in the case of the Inca Empire-, archipelagos were established in increasingly distant zones; their function could sometimes turn towards military ends; and the nature of the relation periphery-centre would change towards asymmetry and exploitation, instead of kinship links and reciprocity (ibid: 18).

²⁴ Although Murra was the person who developed a coherent model to explain these practices, some of them were already known. For example, Rowe (1963 [1946]: 270) writes in the 1940s: 'The (Inca) Emperor assigned certain fields in the lower, warmer country to each province of the Titicaca Basin and the Bolivian plateau, so that the mountaineers could have their own source of the subtropical fruits. The Aymara sent colonists to care for those lowland fields. These colonists did not pass under the jurisdiction of the local officials, but remained subject to the Highland governors.'

Murra (1972: 445) did not believe that this model was applicable to the entire Andean world, 'nor chronologically and neither geographically'. Assessing his own theory years later, he states how his original aim was to explain the demographic and development levels achieved by pre-colonial Andean societies, as a 'major human achievement, forged by Andean civilizations to handle a multiple environment, vast populations, and hence high productivity' (Murra 1985a: 11). He also explains that it was not his intention to apply this model to contemporary Andean societies (ibid). However, it became extremely popular and soon, by the 1970s and early-1980s, many authors were trying to find survivals, adaptations, and variations in Andean communities. Murra himself was initially surprised by these developments, though he partially justified them later, arguing that 'continuities in the Andean world are so pervasive as to make such applications attractive' (ibid).

By the 1980s, there was a change from the earlier emphasis on the concept of "verticality" towards a wider approach to strategies of ecological adaptation, partially as a reaction to quite uncritical applications of Murra's model. As Shimada (1985: XIII) affirms, the concept of verticality was often misused presenting a 'polarized, rigid view of the environment and its management', and that it was inaccurate too in the sense that 'a similar range of variation (in ecological tiers) may be found horizontally.' (ibid); though he still concludes that: 'The basic underlying belief is that there is a specific Andean collective form of productive organization that is at the core of the creative dynamism between man and environment' (ibid: XXV-XXVI). Strategies of ecological adaptation remained a major focus of study through most of the decade. There were some good contributions to their study in the past and in the present,²⁵ and more subtle

²⁵ E.g.: Masuda, Shimada & Morris (eds. 1985) reassessing Murra's model; Rostoworowski (1999 [1988]: 286-92) on different strategies according to geographical areas in the past. Regarding contemporary strategies see: Harris (2000 [1985 & 1978]), (de la) Cadena (1989[1985]), Mayer (1989 [1985]), and Golte (1980).

concepts were developed to define them, such as ‘discontinuous territoriality’ (*territorialidad discontinua*) (e.g. Rostoworowski 1999 [1988]: 271-4) or ‘ecological complementarity’ (e.g. Masuda, Shimada & Morris 1985). However, already in the 1980s and especially in the 1990s, there were a series of critiques of Murra’s model,²⁶ and a gradual decline of these ecological studies, which was part of the wider reaction against 1960s-80s “long-termism” that I have defined as 1990s “revisionism” (see chapter 1).

Nevertheless, beyond the problematic of Murra’s case, the overall impression that can be extracted from those 1960s-80s ecological studies is that of the existence of great variety and flexibility of strategies of ecological adaptation in the Andes, and of their fundamental importance for human livelihoods in the past and in the present. The key common elements of these strategies would be the complementarity and diversification of crops, economic activities, and resources between diverse ecological zones and geographical environments, so I find the concept of “ecological complementarity and diversification” appropriate to generally characterise these strategies. Several authors (Mayer 1989 [1985]: 72 refers to Rhoades & Thompson, Brush, and Guillet) have pointed out that these kinds of strategies of ecological adaptation have not been exclusive to the Andes, but common to other mountain environments like the Himalayas and the Alps. However, as De la Cadena (1989 [1985]: 159) argues, what makes Andean ecological adaptation unique, are the very distinctive institutions and forms of social organisation developed according to such strategies, or their interdependence with political and religious systems. Andean communities from the colonial period onwards would be basically limited to their own core territories, which, as in the case of

²⁶ E.g. Shimada (1985: XXI) explains how Catherine J. Julien criticised Murra’s interpretation of the Lupaqa case, arguing that it was an exception rather than the rule. Van-Buren (1996: 339) makes a similar criticism, arguing that the existence of the Lupaqa’s colonies-archipelagos was the result of the particular historical circumstances of this macro-*ayllu* under Spanish rule, rather than an ancient Andean practice.

Taulli, would often decrease across time. However, normally these core territories still included several ecological zones,²⁷ and ancient forms of social organisation (e.g. reciprocal work exchange systems, collective forms of work) were adapted to exploit them according to principles of complementarity and diversification; while alternative channels were developed to access some distant resources (e.g. muleteers routes, exchanges between communities).

Ecological adaptation in Taulli

Colonial documents of Taulli (e.g. Taulli's doc., folder 1, no. 6) and other communities of the Qaracha river basin, and studies on the area, offer abundant evidence of the widespread existence of patterns of discontinuous territoriality between the ethnic groups that occupied this territory during Inca times and the early-colonial period.²⁸ For example, Earls & Silverblatt (1977a: 17-18) identify the main ethnic groups that were resettled in the 1570s *reducciones* of the area (Huancas, Chocorbos, Lucano-Andamarca, and Aymaraes), explaining that they were scattered in different subgroups whose territories were mixed forming a 'mosaic pattern', which the authors identify with Murra's concept of ecological archipelagos. Taking into consideration what I have explained above, it is very likely that these territorial patterns responded to strategies of diversification and complementarity of crops, economic activities and natural resources between different ecological zones and territories by (and between) the area's ethnic groups, although it is not possible to know how they worked (e.g. the arrangements

²⁷ The access to these zones could also decrease across time as a result of territorial losses. For example, according to a survey of the Peruvian Ministry of Agriculture, by the 1980s 46% of PPCs had access to only two ecological zones (Mayer 1989 [1985]: 55).

²⁸ Some of these documents are quoted in community studies made in the area. For example, in his study of Sarhua, Palomino-Flores (1970: 51) refers to a document that affirms that by the time of the 1574 *visita* of Palomares, the boundaries of the area's communities were 'together and mixed' (*juntos y mezclados*) within six 'non-delimited' (*no delimitados*) jurisdictions (*repartimientos*). This document also refers to a particular plain (*llanada*) called Upa Upa, where the peoples from three different communities (including Sarhua and Taulli) had fields (*ibid*).

between groups, the role of the Incas in this organisation). This evidence is consistent with Rostoworowski's (1999 [1988]: 271) account of abundant colonial documents with information about *ayllus*' dispersed and discontinuous land holding elsewhere in the Andes. Interestingly, Rostoworowski (ibid) points out how these 'fragmentary' lands were often situated within the same ecological zones where the owning community has part of its core territory, a fact that -she hypothesises- could be explained in terms of diversification of risks within ecological zones (rather than verticality). This could also be the case in the Qaracha area.

The patterns of discontinuous territoriality would be undoubtedly affected by the 1570s reorganisation of ethnic groups in *reducciones*. Spanish policy was to demarcate communities' boundaries following those established by the Inca, although those complex forms of land holding would be hard to understand for the Spaniards. Earls & Silverblatt (1977a: 18-9) assume that there would be a general tendency to limit communities' boundaries to their core territories, so *visitador* Palomares would have eliminated patterns of discontinuous territoriality in the area, establishing the *reducciones* in 1574, and that this could have contributed to the subsequent existence of widespread land disputes among the resulting communities. However, the local judicial records that I studied (e.g. Taulli's papers, folder 1, no.: 2, 6, 13, 17) prove that in Taulli these patterns of discontinuous territoriality survived to some degree at least until the 1670s-90s, and that this survival –rather than their elimination- was a source of much territorial conflict. The most obvious cases are those of land disputes with communities Taulli never bordered, such as Choque Huarcaya (ibid: no. 13), which can only be explained by such patterns of land holding, although there are also other legal documents that directly mention, and refer to, the existence of Taulli's lands and properties mixed with others of neighbouring communities, which became subjected to

endless legal disputes. For example, a document of 1662 (ibid: no. 11) explains that the Huancas ethnic group of the communities of Sancos, Sarhua, and Lucanamarca had occupied thirty *estancias* and pens owned by Taullinos from ‘immemorial times’ (*tiempos inmemoriales*), to lease them to outsiders, and that these *estancias* were located within Huanca *puna* lands. The document states that the viceroy ordered the Huancas to return those lands. However, subsequent documents (e.g. ibid: no. 16, 17, 20) show that the lawsuit continued at least until 1699 without solution.²⁹ Nevertheless, Taulli ended up losing these lands outside its core territory, as well as a very important percentage of its 1570s original territory, in the context of territorial conflicts with surrounding communities; a process that culminated with the 1929 territorial settlement with Sarhua, and the 1948 independence of Portacruz (see chapter 2).

This gradual but massive territorial reduction had to cause a process of continuous adaptation of local communal and household strategies of exploitation of -and ecological adaptation to- an increasingly reduced geographical environment. For example, local sources report how the dramatic loss of *puna* territory throughout the first half of the Twentieth Century led to a decreasing importance of herding, and the disappearance of Andean camelids, which need large *puna* pastures, in the community. However, despite these changes, the local economy is still very much based on having access to the three ecological zones occupied by the community’s territory, according to strategies of complementarity and diversification of crops, economic activities, and resources, and on the combination of different cycles and activities among them. This can be still generally defined as a strategy of “ecological complementarity and diversification”. Every household in Taulli has some degree of access to the three local

²⁹ Other colonial documents suggest the survival of these territorial patterns elsewhere in the area. For example, Quispe-Mejía (1968: 16) refers to an unspecified document that explains that Palomares ordered the leaders of the communities of the *repartimiento* of Quilla-Sacccamarca to prepare together a sketch of their territories, to establish their boundaries according to Incas’ delimitations, because all the *encomiendas* were mixed as a result of the irregular distribution of *mitimaes* made by the Incas.

ecological zones. For example, of the surveyed *comuneros*, 78.33% claimed to have some land in the lower *quichwa* zone, 83.88% in the middle *suní* zone, 66.66% in the *puna*, and 53.33% in the valley of Ñiqeska.³⁰ Moreover, as mentioned above, a level of communal access is guaranteed to all local families to the upper *puna* zone, and to the lower *quichwa* zone; and this is another practical and important advantage that the communal organisation offers to members; contributing to explain the maintenance and strength of such organisation in Taulli and in other Andean PPCs.

A main consequence of the combination of different crop cycles and economic activities between different areas, ecological zones, and geographical environments is the importance of mobility³¹ and multiple housing. Work in Taulli implies a continuous movement of people, products and resources between local ecological zones, as well as between the community and urban centres and the highlands and the coast. Moreover, as B. Sillar (personal communication) argues, coastal and urban emigration could be considered as “modern versions” of ecological archipelagos, as strategies and channels to access distant resources (e.g. waged labour, education) that are scarce or unavailable in the core territories (the Andean communities). Therefore, there are different overlapping types of economic complementarity and diversification.

Finally, strategies of ecological adaptation can also have ritual and symbolic expressions. For example, the ritual exchanges of products (*hananwaykus*) from different ecological zones practised as part of local Carnival celebrations (see plate 27, chapters 3 and 5), which can be seen as a ritual dramatisation of the contrasts and

³⁰ 41.66% affirmed to have land in the three local ecological zones and in Ñiqeska, 26.66% in three zones, 13.33% in two zones, and 1.66% just in one zone. 16.66% did not explain the distribution of their land.

³¹ As Howard (2007: 208) argues ‘Andean societies have always been mobile societies’; while Arguedas (quoted in Gelles 2002 [2000]: 29) affirms that ‘distances are not strange’ (*las distancias no les son ajenas*) to Andean peoples; and Harris (2000 [1978]: 88) explains that ‘the widespread use of labour/time in travel and transport is an important characteristic of the vertical economy.’

complementarity between ecological zones (*quichwa* and *puna*) and economic activities (agriculture and herding).



Plate 27: Carnival's *hananwayku*. Ritual exchanges of products from different ecological zones.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Most aspects of work in Taulli gravitate around agriculture and the agricultural cycle. Agricultural work depends on basic resources such as workforce, and the scarce land and water. The community, through its communal organisation and “local Andean tradition”, has historically offered a series of channels that guarantee Taullinos a certain level of access to these resources. For example, in the case of water through the communal management of local irrigation and the maintenance of its infrastructure. In the case of land, the community guarantees to all members a level of access to different ecological zones, through the use of communal pastures in the *puna* and of certain resources in the *quichwa* zone, through allocations to dutiful couples, or by the *cofradías* system; as well as providing channels of intermediation in land disputes. In the case of workforce, although agriculture is basically a family-based activity, it

requires different forms of wider collective collaboration to be carried out successfully, between families (e.g. through work-exchange systems such as *ayni* and *minka*, and the establishment of wider networks of cooperation with co-parenthood links) and at a wider level (e.g. communal work for the construction and maintenance of infrastructure). The provision of these very important services and advantages has actually been a main reason behind many aspects of the communal organisation and “local Andean tradition”, in Taulli and in many other Andean communities (PPCs and others). This helps to explain Taullinos’ ongoing support and maintenance of -and identification with- their communal system, this time on a very practical basis.

In the current context of change, the community continues to offer Taullinos these practical advantages in terms of agricultural work, as well as new ones that result from the increasing state intervention and wider social changes (e.g. local irrigation transformed by state intervention, through the introduction of irrigation committees and the construction of a new channel and infrastructures). This contributes to reinforce the local PPC status. Work-related aspects of the “local Andean tradition” are also subject to dynamic reinvention in this context of change. For example, as part of the adaptation of the increasing state intervention to the PPC status and its communal organisation, communal work has become a fundamental part of many state-sponsored development-related projects, initiatives, and public works, demonstrating the potential of these communities to contribute to their development in their own terms, according to their communal organisation and traditions. As a contrast, the increasing integration into the market economy has led to a gradual decline of work-exchange systems between families, and of the institutions of co- and god-parenthood, as channels through which local families mobilise wider support; while daily waged labour (*jornal*) is increasing. *Ayni* and *minka* are still practised and important, but not as much as they used to be.

Besides, they have lost most of their related ritual expressions and symbolic connotations, particularly in the case of *ayni* which some elderly people do not recognise as such anymore, as a result of the wider tendency of a decrease of ritual life in the context of daily life and work. The concept of reciprocity, embodied in the practice of *ayni*, is then not as important as before in terms of mobilising a workforce, although it is still fundamental to understand this and many other aspects of local life, such as the sponsorship of celebrations, where reciprocal exchanges of support remain fundamental. 1960s-80s “long-termist” approaches to this concept, or to strategies of ecological adaptation, are still relevant and important to understand local agricultural work and many other aspects of life in the community. For example, to understand the need to complement and diversify crops, economic activities, and resources, across available areas and ecological zones, which has gone through continuous processes of evolution and re-adaptation (e.g. adaptation to gradual losses of territory across time). The “local Andean tradition” can serve as a reference and channel for change, as demonstrated by the case of the cleaning of the new irrigation channel built by state intervention, which has been incorporated to the customary participation in the *yarqa aspiy* of neighbouring Portacruz, partially recreating irrigation-related traditional local ritual practices.

CHAPTER 5: CELEBRATIONS¹

Local celebrations and ritual life have played a central role in the social cohesion and cultural identity of Andean communities, as some of the main expressions of their social, cultural, and religious values and beliefs. As such, they have been a fundamental aspect of life in these communities, contributing to their maintenance and reproduction. Throughout the previous chapters, I have introduced and commented on a series of –or particular aspects of some- Taulli’s celebrations and ritual practices (e.g. *Circay*, Portacruz’s *yarqa aspiy*, Carnival’s groups, *Santa Cruz*), explaining how there has been a gradual decline in the observance and ritual elaboration of most of them. This has also been the case for ritual practices performed in the context of everyday life (e.g. during agricultural work). As a contrast, in this chapter I approach Taulli’s celebrations focusing on the three main communal festivities: Christmas, the Carnival, and “August”, as some main expressions of the “local Andean tradition” that remain most carefully observed, ritually elaborate, and popular among Taullinos, who consider them among the most important *costumbres del pueblo*.

Firstly, I offer a general contextualisation of these main communal festivities, explaining some of their common elements and ritual characteristics. This is followed by individual descriptions of how these main festivities were performed during the fieldwork period (2007-09), which are accompanied by brief interpretations of their meaning, wider connotations, agricultural links, and role in the reinvention of the “local Andean tradition”. Within this I comment on 1960s-80s “long-termist approaches” to these –or similar- festivities, assessing their validity in Taulli. Finally, in the concluding

¹ As stated in the introduction, I refer to “celebrations” as a generic category that includes different types of local festivities, commemorations, ceremonies, and religious feasts, with important ritual dimensions.

comments I offer some considerations about the current role of local ritual celebrations, and on the advantages and disadvantages that they have for Taullinos.

Main communal festivities

Taulli's main communal festivities present some remarkable similarities, such as their colonial or even pre-Hispanic origins and syncretic character, and their links to traditional forms of Andean religiosity and ritual life (introduced in chapter 1). They are all organised and sponsored by the local *varayuqs*, although the different ranks play very different roles in each of them. The *varayuq* ranks that are more directly involved in sponsoring these festivities have to undertake many preparations in advance (e.g. buying food and drinks, booking communal spaces), and to mobilise their wider social networks to successfully fulfil their duties, which normally involve some level of competition between them. During these festivities, those sponsors need the help of "close entourages" of relatives, co-parents, and friends, which normally involve between ten and twenty people fulfilling specialised tasks, such as playing music, serving food and drinks, and cooking. Sponsors also need to mobilise "larger entourages" of relatives and friends for some central events and ritual practices, which sometimes involve most of the local population. Joining one group or another depends on family and friendship links, and can be sometimes problematic as most people share these links. *Varayuqs* also need "headquarters", which are family houses with courtyards or bigger communal spaces, to accommodate large numbers of people in the central village, where most -if not all- parts of these festivities take place, as the community's social, ritual, and religious centre. Both close and large entourages tend to involve Taullinos who live elsewhere, as these festivities are the times of the year when more migrants return to the community, normally when their closer relatives are among

the sponsoring *varayuqs*, to support and assist them during their most demanding and important duties.

Each of these festivities involves different events and ritual practices that sometimes are parallel or overlapping, such as streets parades and visits to the central square and the church, normally following the internal “system of corners” (see chapter 3). There are also hierarchical rounds of visits between all or some *varayuq* ranks to their respective houses/headquarters, where food and drinks are served most of the time. These festivities also demand high endurance and stamina on the part of participants, particularly sponsors and their close entourages, and the capacity to consume large amounts of food and alcoholic drinks over consecutive days. However, they also include some times or days of rest to make them physically bearable. For example, preparations in *varayuqs*’ headquarters take a long time, and their hierarchical rounds of visits are often very repetitive and low-key, combining the performance of some ritual practices with times of eating, drinking, and dancing and others of rest, and relaxed socialising.

These communal festivities suppose a break with normal daily life, forming what could be termed as “cycles of core celebrations” across several days, which share a common “internal ritual narrative”. They normally start with an *apayku* (translatable as a “welcoming”) in which the *varayuqs* and their close entourages get together in their respective headquarters the night before the “official” beginning of the festivities. During that night, the hosts welcome everybody thanking them for their support, receiving contributions from them, and performing different ritual practices. After *apaykus*, the first days of celebrations normally involve some kinds of rehearsals and preparations, or low-key celebrations, which normally culminate with one or several days of central celebrations. Finally, there are *avíos* (translatable as “farewell”) that lasts

for one or two days, in which *varayuqs* thank their respective “close entourages” for their help and assistance, offering them special feasts. These different “stages” have their own characteristics in each of the festivities, involving different sectors of the community, and building up a ritual sequence that culminates with some moments of collective catharsis, normally during the central day/s. These festivities also include rich “ritual repertoires” that gradually unfold through different moments and days, such as different songs and dances, special foods and feasts, or the dramatisation of particular roles by participants. For example, all these festivities present some comic characters who act as what could be described as “agents of chaos”, showing ridiculous behaviours, subverting social conventions, and dynamising the celebrations they participate in.² Some elements of these ritual repertoires are exclusive to a particular festivity, while others may appear in different contexts across different ones with variations.

There is also a tendency to incorporate other types of celebration and social events within these “core cycles of celebrations”, and also before and/or after. They can be family-based (e.g. weddings), and also civil celebrations (e.g. school parties). This tendency can be seen as a result of practical considerations, such as concentrating and minimising expenses and organising efforts, or taking advantage of the temporary presence of emigrants. It can also be seen as an example of the flexible, integrative, and syncretic character of the wider “local Andean tradition”, and of how it is reinvented. Significantly, local civil celebrations also tend to acquire or replicate aspects of traditional ones (forms of sponsorship, particular practices), providing further evidence

² These kinds of characters are very common in Andean celebrations. A well-known example is the role of *ukukus* played by some participants in the pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Qoyllur Rit’I (Cuzco). As Allen (2002 [1988]:168-9) explains, they represent ‘bear-dancers’ who act as policemen and ‘court jesters’.

of how the “local Andean tradition” can serve as a reference or channel through which Taullinos experience and accommodate change.

As commented in the introduction to Andean rituals (chapter 1), traditional ritual practices and celebrations in the Andes tend to present important agropastoral links and connotations, and this is also the case of Taulli’s main festivities and of other local celebrations, which are often given by their temporal correlation with respect to the agricultural cycle. To complement this chapter, and to offer a wider overview of local celebrations and ritual life, and of their agropastoral links, in appendix 5 I offer a brief description of Taulli’s annual cycle of celebrations, according to the different periods of the local agricultural cycle (presented in chapter 4). There, I also discuss other non-calendrical celebrations that mainly are family-based. Figure 7 shows the correlation between the local annual cycle of celebrations and the agricultural one, serving as a reference to approach the agropastoral links of Taulli’s celebrations.

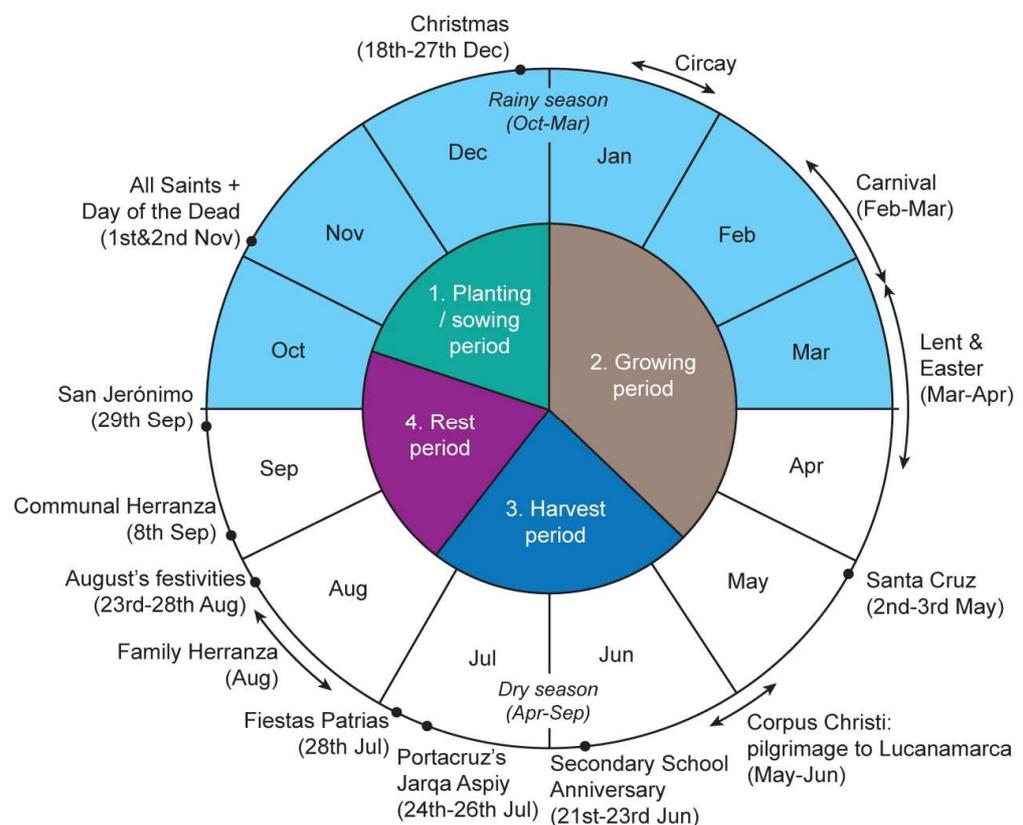


Figure 7: Taulli’s yearly cycle of celebrations in relation to the agricultural cycle.

The following descriptions and interpretations of Taulli's main communal festivities are based on those I participated in during 2007-09. During this participation, or participant-observation, I constantly moved between the different protagonist groups, and the places where relevant things and activities were going on -often simultaneously- to get an as complete overview as possible of the festivities and their related aspects. I have chosen to offer a kind of general account of how each of these festivities was performed during this period, rather than a more personalised account focusing on particular participants or in my participation in them, even if I sometimes refer to particular participants to identify the festivities with some real people; or mention some personal experiences if I found them particularly relevant or significant. There is an accompanying video for each of these festivities, and they are referred to in the text.

I. CHRISTMAS (*Navidad*), 18th-27th December³

Christmas in Taulli is the longest festivity of the year, lasting for ten days. It is exclusively sponsored and organised by the *varayuq* rank of the *regidores*, and this is the most expensive and burdensome celebration they have to sponsor during their term. Each *regidor* and his wife organise and lead a large dance group, and most activities gravitate around these groups. Most Taullinos participate in the Christmas celebrations, even though the level of participation and engagement varies greatly depending mainly on the level of proximity to the year's *regidores*. The following account is based on the 2007 and 2009 Christmas I participated in; although it particularly refers to the former because the accompanying "Christmas video" (type "Taulli *Navidades*" in YouTube box) partially illustrates it. That year there were three *regidores*: Silverio Antesana, Serapio Fuentes, and Marino Tucno.

³ Christmas celebrations in other Andean communities in: Gose (2001 [1994]: 172-184), Isbell (1978: 186-201), Sallnow (1987: 166-7), Palomino-Flores (1970: 110).

***Apaykus* and rehearsal days (18th-22nd December)**

Taulli's Christmas starts on the night of the 18th December with the *regidores'* *apaykus*, although end of course parties at the primary school are normally celebrated during that day, or the night before, involving many local people (the students' parents). This civil celebration is therefore integrated with the traditional Christmas. *Apaykus* are conducted in parallel in the different *regidores'* headquarters/houses, where a table is set in the middle of the main room -or courtyard- with a type of rattle (*sonaja*) on top, in front of the musicians (a harp and violin players) who sit against a wall. The musicians play different melodies and songs, but there is a special one –simply known as “Navidad”- that is played continuously throughout the celebrations, becoming a kind of mantra.⁴ Guests gradually arrive bringing different contributions (e.g. food, drinks, animals) that are left on or next to the table. As a show of gratitude, the *regidores* exchange toasts with them, make them dance with the *sonaja* in front of the table and the musicians, and give a pack of presents to the main contributors, which include highly appreciated goods (e.g. fruit, bread, a bottle of liquor). These Christmas' *apaykus* take place in a festive but relaxed atmosphere, and often go on all night long.

The next four days (from the 19th to the 22nd) are a time of preparations, rehearsals, and socialisation which mainly take place in the different *regidores'* headquarters. Long evening-night sessions of dance rehearsals, and hard drinking (on the 20th and 22nd) are alternated with quiet evenings and nights of rest (on the 19th and 21st). Dance rehearsals normally last between around 10 pm and 1 am, because the younger participants, who are a large percentage of each dance group, normally have to

⁴ This melody is typical in the region. Some local sources affirmed that there used to be some exclusively local Christmas music, but that it was gradually lost as a result of the influence of musicians from other communities. There are plenty of Taullinos who are able to play Christmas music, but it is common –and prestigious- to bring particularly good musicians from elsewhere.

attend school the day after;⁵ while the drinking and socialising continues afterwards between adults. During these rehearsals, the dancers perform an established choreography, forming several rows ordered according to gender and age, fronted and directed by the *regidor* and his wife, who mark the steps and pace. At times, some young girls chosen among each groups' dancers sing lyrics to the Christmas melody. The lyrics are sung in falsetto (women always sing in high pitch), and are a kind of Andean carol about the birth of Jesus that mixes Quechua and Spanish words. During these days of preparation, these girls have to rehearse in the afternoons in their respective headquarters, directed by experienced elderly *comuneros*, and there is a gradual incorporation of people who will be playing different roles during the central celebrations; so the groups grow day by day. The "Christmas" video shows scenes of these night rehearsals in the headquarters of Silverio (0-0.52 min.), Marino (0.53-1.10 min.), and Serapio (1.10-1.53 min.).

On the night of the 22nd, some characters -between two and four per group- dressed in eccentric outfits (e.g. colourful ponchos and overalls, glasses, helmets) and carrying cowbells and whips, interrupt the night rehearsals behaving rowdily, teasing everyone, drinking copiously, and making people laugh with their outrageous and exaggerated manners. They are the *huamanguinos*, who will accompany each dance group for the following days, acting as "agents of chaos".⁶ There are other roles within dance groups. Male and female dancers are considered as *pastores* and *pastoras* (male and female shepherds), and during central days there are also the *abuelos* (grandfathers) played by a few men who wear masks with white beards, and also behave outrageously,

⁵ The only school holiday days during Christmas are 24th and 25th of December, as courses last until the very end of the year, and summer holidays start in January.

⁶ Local people explain that the *huamanguinos* were the muleteers (*arrieros*) from Huamanga that used to control the region's trade routes in the past. Huamaní-Ore (1977: 110-111) reports their presence in the Qaracha area until the 1960s, when the arrival of roads brought an end to this profession there. Interestingly, Arguedas (1956: 31) reports how *yarqa aspiy* celebrations in Puquio (southern Ayacucho) in the mid-1950s, also included local people playing the role of *huamanguinos*.

interacting with and playing a similar role to the *huamanguinos*. The “Christmas” video (1.38-1.53 min.) shows the arrival of the Huamanguinos to Serapio’s headquarters.

Central days (23rd-25th) and avios (26th-27th December)

On the 23rd, there is the first encounter of dance groups in the central square. The different groups have lunch in their respective headquarters around midday, before making their way to the central square. Women carry wood branches adorned with multicoloured papers, called *azucenas*; men wear wooden platforms on their feet to stomp to the music loudly; and they all follow the rehearsed choreographies, creating a very colourful and cheerful atmosphere. The groups are headed by their respective *regidores* couples and a few closer companions (e.g. parents, siblings, co-parents) wearing ceremonial sashes,⁷ and are preceded by the *huamanguinos* and *abuelos*, whipping, ringing cowbells, and behaving wildly as usual. Once in the square, one by one the groups occupy their predetermined places in front of the church, facing each others; before starting to take turns to dance with a certain competitive spirit, which consists in being the most energetic, coordinated, and noisy (plate 28). The “Christmas” video shows images of the departure from their headquarters, and of their way to the church, of the groups of Marino (1.55-2.36 min.), Serapio (2.36-3.31 min.), and Silverio (3.40-4.28 min.), as well as parts of the dancing in front of the church (4.29-4-46 min.).

A while after, the *regidores* couples and their closer companions pay a first visit to the church, where a table has been previously set up as an altar, with images of baby Jesus and San Jerónimo, the patron saint. Inside, they take turns to pray and offer candles to the altar, while their respective groups keep on dancing outside. All these

⁷ These expensive (they are over 100 soles, US\$33) symbols of prestige are given away to couples that sponsor major festivities by closer relatives and co-parents. They are personalised, showing the name and cargo of the owner, and are bought in specialised shops in urban centres. In Taulli, they are given to *alcalde* and *regidores* during their term, particularly for Christmas.

procedures last for around an hour. Afterwards, the different groups leave the square to parade the streets and undertake rounds of hierarchical visits to the houses of the other *varayuqs*, starting from the *alcalde* downwards, which include pre-coordinated visits between the *regidores* too. In each house they are served drinks, and people dance and socialise, while the *varayuqs* -or their parents in the case of the lower hierarchies- pay their respects to each other, exchanging toasts and salutes. These visits last until dark, when dancing groups disband, and *regidores* and their close entourages go back to their headquarters to rest. The “Christmas” video (4.47-5.00 min.) shows images of parts of these streets parades and house visits.



Plate 28: Christmas dance groups competing in front of the church.

The day after (24th), the groups move again to the central square around midday, after having lunch. They follow the same trajectory and choreography as the previous day, occupying their places in front of the church, facing each others, and dancing competitively. The *regidores* couples and their closer companions visit the church again, while the groups dance outside. They repeat the previous day’s offerings, but this time they do them all together, with the *cantor*, altar boys, and some others. The *cantor*

directs prayers for 15 or 20 minutes. Afterwards, they take the image of San Jerónimo to the chapel that marks the north exit of the community in a procession. Outside the church, the dance groups disband to follow the procession to the chapel. Once there, the image of San Jerónimo is placed in the chapel's niche, and the *cantor* directs further praying for another 15-20 minutes, surrounded by the *regidores* and their closer companions; while the dance groups regroup across the street, and continue dancing and drinking noisily, indifferent to the prayers (see plate 29, and “Christmas” video: 5.00-9.47 min.).



Plate 29: Manchiriri. The image of San Jerónimo is paraded from the church to a chapel.

Local sources explained that this procession commemorates the old lost tradition of conducting a procession to neighbouring Manchiri during this day, which is still called “Manchiriri” for this reason.⁸ When prayers conclude, everybody makes their

⁸ Palomino-Flores (1970: 110) reports that in neighbouring Sarhua, in the 1960s, local people used to process to the village's entrance on Christmas Eve, commemorating the old lost tradition of sending a delegation to Chuschi, its former central parish's community, during that day. This is exactly the same as Taullinos do in their Manchiriri, so it is likely that there was a time when Manchiri was Taulli's central parish, and that this was the origin of that lost procession. Some elderly Taullinos affirm that their

way back to the church. Dancing groups regroup again in the square, while the *cantor* and the *regidores* couples enter the church again for a final session of prayers, for another 15-20 minutes. Afterwards, the groups parade around the square before taking their respective places in the internal system of “corners”, following the order in which their respective *regidores* took office the previous year. The first one occupies the “corner” that is closer to the square, and the others the following ones, reaching outside the village if necessary. In their respective “corners”, *regidores* present each member of their dance group with a bottle of liquor or beer, and practically everybody drinks abundantly, dances, and sings until dark. After nightfall, the groups make their way, amid widespread drunkenness, back to the central square, where they occupy different parts randomly and continue partying for as long as they can, with some party-goers continuing until dawn and beyond. During this night the church remains open,⁹ and (as discussed in chapter 3) staffs that correspond to the different *varayuq* ranks are left against the table/altar, so whoever wants to hold one of these traditional offices the following year can enter the church, and grab its corresponding staff. Every time someone grabs a staff, the person or companions ring the church bells afterwards, to announce his promise to fill the cargo, provoking curiosity and gestures of approval among those present. The atmosphere during this whole day – and night- is very vibrant and euphoric. In my experience, drunkenness is more widespread on this day than on any other day of the year in the community.

25th Christmas day: during the morning dance groups gradually regroup in the central square, in the same places they occupied the previous night, to eat, socialise, and start -or continue- drinking until around 2 pm, when they retake their position in front of

grandparents participated in that procession, so it would have been performed at least until the early-Twentieth century.

⁹ Apparently, in the past, the church remained open from this night until Epiphany (6th of January), but nowadays, it is just open until the following night.

the church to dance for a couple of hours. This is the time when dancing takes the most overtly competitive character between the groups. In fact, some years the corresponding civil authorities -depending on their initiative- organise and judge a contest between the dancing groups, with their members competing for collective and individual awards (e.g. best group, harp and violin players, *huamanguino*, male and female *regidores*). This was the case in 2007 (although not in 2009), when Silverio's group won the collective award (several boxes of beer) and some others. Many members of his group – mostly youngsters- euphorically celebrated their triumph “climbing” the mountain that is situated just in front of the village, in an extravagant and dangerous physical effort. Apparently this practice was common in the past but it had been banned some years before because of its risks, although nobody objected on this occasion.

This day the church remains open, but the *regidores* do not visit it anymore, staying outside and leading their respective groups during the competitive dancing. Once they finish, the groups return to their respective places in the central square and keep on going for a while, until people gradually go to rest. This is the end of Christmas central days' celebrations, although after dark, some people, mainly youngsters, start the “Carnival nights”, which consist of forming one or more groups that play, dance, and sing Carnival songs across the village streets at night. These groups are also known as *tuta puriy*, which Taullinos translate as ‘the night ramblers’ (*los que andan de noche*) and are normally formed of between seven and twenty people, with two to four musicians playing a type of guitar (*requinto*) and mandolins, and the others dancing around them in a circle of alternating male and female members. The custom is that there is a male sponsor (*capataz*) mobilising people and providing drinks, but, nowadays, the organisation is usually more of a collective effort. These groups follow the “corners system” stopping in the customary places, although they also visit the

houses of friends, playing outside to persuade them to join in. These “Carnival nights” normally start around 10pm-12 am, and can last until dawn. They are associated with single young people and have clear flirtatious overtones, with call and response-styled singing between men and women, although nowadays young married couples and some older people often join in too. Carnival nights are organised with certain regularity between this Christmas night and the following year’s Carnival, ritually linking these two main communal festivities.¹⁰

For two days after Christmas, *regidores* have their *avios* as a show of gratitude to their close entourages. Normally, during the first day groups reunite in their respective headquarters to slaughter animals and cook. The day after, each group visits the houses of their members in the morning. People wear garlands of produce that represent abundance (*wallqas*¹¹), and they dance and drink, while the *regidores* couples exchange toasts with the successive hosts, thanking them for their help. Around midday, each group heads back to their headquarters for an abundant ritual feast, which includes different types of food. After the meal people hang around socialising and further drinking until dark, when the group leaves again to successively accompany their different members to their respective houses. According to the local tradition, the *regidores* couples must literally put to bed some members (e.g. musicians), after further dancing and drinking outside each house, before going to sleep so putting an end to the ten days of celebrations. The atmosphere during *avios* is very laid back, as a time of relief and rest.¹²

¹⁰ Allen (2002 [1988]: 159) reports similar night rounds in the community of Sonqo, where they are organised by groups of young people every Sunday for five weeks before Carnival, culminating ‘the following Sunday to usher in Carnival week’. The groups visit houses, play music, dance, and get food and drinks.

¹¹ They are made and worn in different ritual contexts in Taulli, and there are abundant reports in Andean anthropological literature of their use in many communities (e.g. Isbell 1978 reports them in Chuschi’s *Santa Cruz*, and Gelles 2002 in Cabanaconde’s irrigation-related rituals).

¹² This description portrays the most common *avios*, although there are other alternatives. For example, in 2009 one of the groups rested on the 26th and celebrated its *avio* on the 27th and 28th.

After so many days of celebrations, for the following days people go back to work. There is no special event or celebration during New Year Eve's or at Epiphany (6th January). However, on the 1st of January there are festive events, and a special communal assembly in which the new civil authorities solemnly take office (see chapter on organisation), and authorities from the district and/or provincial governments visit the community and deliver toys and cakes for all the local children.

Interpretation of Taulli's Christmas

Christmas in Andean communities is normally not among the most important annual festivities, and the related celebrations tend to be low key. However, as aforementioned, in Taulli it is the longest and most ritually elaborated festivity of the year, while in other communities of the Qaracha River they are also quite important, although there are no obvious reasons for this particular distinctiveness. One of the characteristics that I found most remarkable about Taulli's Christmas is the ambiguity of its Christian elements, which are quite marginal through most of the celebrations, except for some central events, such as the prayer sessions and religious parade. Dance groups perform in front of the church, and they sing about Baby Jesus, but it is only a very small minority -the *regidores* couples and their closer companions led by the *cantor*- who enter the building and participate in the prayers. It is also remarkable that during the Manchiriri's procession it is the image of San Jerónimo, the local patron saint, that is paraded, and that this saint's image presides over the table/altar besides Baby Jesus in the church. It is also significant that a procession commemorates the lost tradition of taking the local saint to neighbouring Manchiri that day, which could be seen as a form of local self-reaffirmation with respect to a neighbouring community. I suggest then that Taulli's Christmas is more of a ritual self-affirmation of local identity than a religious

commemoration of Jesus' birth.¹³ This interpretation seems to be reinforced by the fact that these celebrations are the context in which local *varayuqs* are renewed, playing then an important role in securing the continuity and reproduction of the local social order. It is therefore possible to identify the reaffirmation of local identity and the reproduction of the social order as central themes of Taulli's Christmas celebrations, rather than its Catholic connotations.

"Long-termist" approaches have stressed the agropastoral links of Christmas celebrations in Andean communities, as a result of a syncretism with pre-Hispanic traditions and beliefs. For example, Isbell (1978: 201) affirms that this Catholic feast has been syncretised with ancient Andean celebrations of the (southern hemisphere's) summer solstice, and explains how, in Chuschi this is a time for fertility rites, such as maize libations and livestock rituals (ibid: 186-201). Gose (2001 [1994]: 172-184) analyses Christmas in Huarquica, where dance groups perform a symbolic ritual battle/dance, which is also practised by *ayni* working groups returning from maize sowing days, evidencing a local link between Christmas and agriculture. Gose (ibid: 184) affirms that the dance expresses a 'reaffirmation of life' that anticipates 'the coming period of consumption'. The existence of competing dance groups during these celebrations in Andean communities is widespread, and can be linked with Gelles' (2002 [2000]: 112) affirmation that in the Andean tradition human rivalry and competition are considered as enhancers of fertility and production. These interpretations seem consistent with Taulli's case, where Christmas celebrations culminate the sowing/planting period, coinciding with the beginning of the heavier rains.¹⁴ In fact, several local sources explained that Christmas has been traditionally

¹³ It is important to remember that both Christmas and the Carnival are a result of a religious syncretism between Christianity and previous "pagan" traditions.

¹⁴ Heavy rains are actually abundant during Christmas (and the Carnival), mainly in the late-evenings and nights, when they often interrupt celebrations (see "Christmas" video: 9.47-10.16 min.).

considered as the limit to complete maize sowing in Taulli, while All Saints (1st November), another Catholic feast with syncretic connotation and agricultural links in the Andes (see appendix 5), is the reference date to start it

II. CARNIVAL (*Carnaval*), February-March

Carnival celebrations in Taulli last for six days, finishing on Ash Wednesday and starting the Friday before. This is the main local festivity that requires a major involvement and coordination among all the local *varayuqs*' ranks. As discussed in chapter 3, during Carnival the *varayuqs* form two groups, the *sallqa* group who represent people from the *puna* and is led by *albaceres* and *campos*, and the *quichwa* group who represent people from the lower ecological zone and is led by the *regidores* and *alcalde*. The former can also be identified with "youth", because it is headed by the lower (and younger) *varayuq* ranks, and behaves wildly, while the latter can be identified with "adulthood" because it is headed by the upper (and older) *varayuq* ranks, and demonstrates more mature and restrained behaviour. Young people actually tend to join the *sallqa* group, although incorporation to one or another often depends more on personal allegiances rather than on age, so there are older people in the *sallqa* group and *vice versa*.

During Taulli's Carnival, *varayuq*-led celebrations take place during the day, normally between 8 am and 4-5 pm; and they are parallel to the celebration of "night rounds" (plate 30). These night rounds mark the culmination and end of the "Carnival nights" (discussed above) that started during the previous Christmas celebrations. When asked about the differences between these parallel celebrations, local people classify the daily ones as "public", because their organisation is part of the customary *varayuqs*' duties and have a communal character; while the "night rounds" are classified as

“private” because they are organised by groups of friends on their own initiative. “Night rounds” normally take place every night between Saturday and Tuesday of Carnival, despite the frequent heavy rains at this time of the year. Participants tend to gradually build up an ecstatic atmosphere of joy and camaraderie. There is abundant drinking and, as in the daytime celebrations, people cover each other’s faces with talcum powder, and wear paper garlands. When the groups finally dissolve, some people have a few hours sleep –or no sleep at all- before joining the daily celebrations, while others go on to work, or just rest until dark before starting a new “night round”.



Plate 30: Carnival’s “night rounds” often last until the early morning.

The following account of Taulli’s Carnival is based on the 2008 celebrations I participated in, which that year fell between Friday 1st and Wednesday 6th of February; and is partially illustrated in an accompanying “Carnival” video (type “Taulli Carnival” in YouTube box). That year’s *varayuqs* –some of whom I mention to in the text- included the *alcalde* Elias Arone (of whom I talked in chapter 3), the *regidores* Santiago Fuentes and Martín Ocán (only two compared to the three of 2007), and the *campos*

Cris Antesana and Ronald Arone as well as some other *albaceres*. The case of the *campo* Cris deserves special comment because he and his brother (one of that year's *albaceres*) were holding *varayuq* offices even though that they were both born and live on the coast, in the Ica region. This was because their Taullino parents wanted them to maintain the links with the community and to experience local customs, so they were making the boys hold these traditional offices. As the family had sufficient financial means, they travelled several times to Taulli that year to fulfil the main duties of the boys' offices. This practice is not uncommon among Andean migrants in coastal and urban areas, and shows the strength of the attachment to the community and of local identity.

Friday of Carnival: *cortamonte* in Taulliwasi

The lower and higher *varayuq* ranks used to have their respective *apaykus* on Carnival's Friday and Saturday respectively, but they have been abandoned in recent years. Instead, the local Carnival now starts and finishes with a *cortamonte*. This is a recreational celebration in which participants cut a tree to set it up with its base buried on the ground in a customary site. The tree is decorated with valuable goods (e.g. toys, plastic pots) provided by a pair of sponsors, the *mayordomos*, who normally also supply music, drinks, food, talcum powder, and paper garlands to those present. The central event of the *cortamonte* consists of participants dancing in pairs around the tree. The *mayordomos* lead the dance carrying an axe, which they alternatively pass to the other dancing couple. Dancers take turns to hit the tree's trunk with the axe until it is finally brought down. Then everybody rushes up to get the goods that decorate it and the dancing couple that gave the last blow becomes the following year *mayordomos*. Because of this, when the celebration is reaching its culmination it becomes like a game,

in which the dancing couples try to hit the tree without bring it down, avoiding the following year's responsibility. The *mayordomos* are always a man and a woman but not necessarily a couple (like the participant pairs). In Taulli, normally he is in charge of getting the drinks and the tree, which is cut somewhere else, taken to and set up –with the necessary help of other men- where the *cortamonte* takes place; while she is in charge of providing food, and the goods that decorate the tree, with the help of other women.



Plate 31: Friday of Carnival. *Cortamonte* in Taulliwasi

Local sources explained that *cortamontes* were introduced in Taulli in the 1990s, as a result of local emigration to coastal urban areas. Migrant Taullinos had acquired a taste for these celebrations in the coast, where they are very popular, and later “imported” them to the community, incorporating them into the local Carnival. Nowadays *cortamontes* are performed on Friday and Wednesday of Carnival. The first one takes place in the upper settlement of Taulliwasi (plate 31), while the second one takes place in the village’s central square. In 2007 the former was attended by around

thirty people and was quite low key, while the latter was massively attended and very lively. Both started around midday and lasted until nightfall. Music was provided by sound systems, and, unlike other years, no food was served in any of them, as their respective *mayordomas* alleged not to be able to afford it.

Early days: Saturday to Monday of Carnival

Saturday's celebrations are sponsored and led by the lowest *varayuq* rank of the *albaceres*; although, as they are children, the responsibility really lies with their parents. In fitting with their rank's hierarchy, this is the quietest day of the local Carnival, involving fewer people, resources, and activities. During the morning, the *albaceres* and their parents receive their respective entourages of close relatives and friends in their houses. They are welcomed with food, drinks, music (provided by pairs of harp and violin players), and the talcum powder and paper garlands that are typical of the Carnival. In the afternoon, the *albaceres* visit each other's houses with their respective entourages, coordinating their timing to receive each other. The visits normally last until dark, when the groups return to their headquarters/houses and later disband. Later in the night, there is the beginning of the Carnival "night rounds", which often go on until dawn. In 2007 there were only two *albaceres* and the daytime celebrations were low-key, while the night round brought together around a dozen people and lasted for a few hours.

Sunday's celebrations are mostly sponsored and led by the *varayuq* rank of the *campos*. This is the first day when the whole *sallqa* group gets together, to visit the houses of the *alcalde* and *regidores*, where the *campos* perform with them the first round of ritual exchanges (*hananwaykus*) of products from the areas they respectively represent. Preparations (e.g. cooking) start around 5-6am in the *varayuqs'* -except the

albaceres'- houses, normally while the "night ramblers" conclude their "rounds". The guests and companions gradually gather in each house, having breakfast and helping out. In the houses of the *regidores* and *alcalde*, the hosts and their entourages prepare the fruits and other types of food that will be exchanged later. They wear no special clothes. Meanwhile, in the houses of the *campos*, people dress ponchos with small attached colourful ribbons, and carry wool-made slings (*warakas*), which identify them as members of the *sallqa* group. The guests are given talcum powder, paper garlands, and alcoholic drinks; and some of them attach bank notes to the *campos*' ponchos, as personal contributions. Among other preparations, they sort special herbs and plants that have been previously collected in the *puna* for the ritual exchanges, and that are used for medicinal, cooking, and ritual purposes, and very much appreciated.¹⁵ The "Carnival" video (0-1 min.) shows scenes of these morning preparations in the house of the *campo* Cris.

After the preparations, around 10-11am, the *campos* start the day's hierarchical rounds of visits between *varayuqs*. Their order, and the pairings of the reciprocal exchanges, are previously arranged and coordinated, to avoid overlapping and to balance the related expenses. Firstly, the *campos* and their respective entourages successively visit each others' houses, forming a single *sallqa* group. The lowest rank of *albaceres* is not included in these visits, and they just join the *sallqa* group along the way. Once the *sallqa* group is together in the last *Campo*'s house, they all move to the *alcalde*'s house. When parading the streets from one house to the other, the members of this group play, sing and dance songs about the *puna*, a boy (normally an *albacer*) carries and waves a green flag, and the young members of the group start to run wildly ahead of the group, "hunting" each other with their wool slings, moving back and forth,

¹⁵ Their names are: *tunanca*, *ritipa sisan*, *pachapuputi*, *pacha sencillo*, *huamanripa*, *maraysera*, *angoripa*, and *sallika*.

and creating a ecstatic and flirtingly atmosphere. The “Carnival” film (1-1.29 min.) shows the *campo* Cris’s entourage leaving the house, and parading the streets to start the rounds of visits.

In the house of the *alcalde*, the *sallqa* group enters the courtyard singing and dancing, and the youngsters demonstrate their wild behaviour “hunting” the hosts with their wool slings, before the *varayuqs* greet each other and exchange drinks and toasts in a friendly but formal manner. After a while the exchange of products begins. The *hananwaykus* takes place as follows: a table is placed in the middle of the courtyard. The hosts (in this case the *alcalde* and his wife) and one of the *campos* (normally with his parents) stand at each side of the table and all the other people surround them, following the process with great expectation. Firstly, the host spreads a kind of flag over the table, and the *campo* offers his *sallqa* products (including a painted goat’s head), putting them on top of the flag. The host studies the *puna* herbs with care, showing appreciation and gratitude before accepting them. The products are then wrapped in the flag by the host, and taken into the house by his assistants, who then start taking out abundant dishes of fruits from the local *quichwa* zone -peaches and prickly pears that are then ripe- as well as other products bought for the occasion (e.g. bread, sweets, grapes, watermelons). The flag is taken back and the host extends it again on the table, spreading coca leafs and carefully putting some receptacles and small bottles with alcohol on top, and changing their position several times. Local sources informed that this is a kind of divination to check the success of the exchange, and that the receptacles contain special herbs and substances that are considered as powerful. After performing this divination, the host wraps all the objects with the flag, which is taken again inside the house, and starts to offer his products to the *campo*, in return for the ones he has received. The *campo* and his parents accept them showing appreciation and gratitude

too, and his companions put the goods in rucksacks to transport them. Once the exchange is complete, the members of the *sallqa* group jump over the hosts, putting their slings around their necks and dancing frenetically around them. This is a moment of catharsis that goes on for a while, until the *sallqa* group moves to visit the houses of the *regidores*, where the other *campos* take turns to repeat the whole process with the new hosts.

Although most ritual practices present some theatrical component, I found this component particularly remarkable in these exchanges; for example in the contrast between the solemnity with which they are performed by those involved and the surrounding rowdy behaviour of the *sallqa* group; or in the gestures of appreciation and approbation expressed by the *varayuqs* for the received goods. Interestingly, local sources informed that there is only one local “specialists” left who knows how and where to find the exchanged *puna* plants and herbs,¹⁶ so he is always hired by the *campos* to collect them. Coincidentally, this specialist happened to be the 2008 *alcalde*, Elias. Therefore, that year, during the reciprocal exchanges the *alcalde* was receiving from the *campos* the herbs and plants that he had previously collected for them, showing how his observation and approbation of the herbs was part of a kind of “customary choreography”. The Carnival film (1.30-3.07 min.) shows images of the ritual exchange between the *alcalde* Elias and the *campo* Cris.

There is only one *hananwayku* in each house, and as many visits and exchanges as the number of *regidores* (plus the *alcalde*'s). If the number of *campos* coincides with the number of *regidores* plus the *alcalde*, they pair evenly to each other. If this is not the case, there are different possible arrangements, such as flipping a coin to decide who

¹⁶ These local sources also explained that collecting these herbs and plants is considered a dangerous activity because it implies dealing with powerful mountain spirits and other natural forces. They exemplified these risks explaining how another local specialist had died a few years earlier, after receiving a little cut while collecting these herbs.

performs two exchanges, or to decide it according to family resources. The latter happened in 2008 when the *campo* Cris -whose family was more affluent- performed two exchanges, with the *alcalde* Elias first, and with the *regidor* Martín later, while the *campo* Ronald performed just one with the *regidor* Santiago. Once these hierarchical visits and ritual exchanges are completed, the *sallqa* group disbands and the *campos* go home to rest with their respective closer entourage, although Sunday's celebrations normally continue later with a new "night round".

On **Monday**, both the *sallqa* and –for the first time- the *quichwa* groups are formed to parade the streets and visit their respective *varayuqs'* houses, but without meeting each other. As sponsors of the *quichwa* group, the *alcalde* and particularly the *regidores* have to provide different types of food and abundant drinks to those who join this group. The *regidores* and their respective entourages successively visit each other, and then they go all together to visit the *alcalde's* house. After this last visit, the complete *quichwa* group parades the streets and visits the houses of the lower hierarchies, who are not in the houses but parading and doing their own houses' visits between themselves. These visits are low key. In each house there are a few members of the family (mainly women), who welcome the visiting group and invite members for drinks. The members of the *quichwa* group do not wear special clothes, but they also have their musicians and their own songs about the *quichwa* zone and people, and a flag to wave.¹⁷ Parallel to this, the *sallqa* group does more or less the same, although they do not have as much variety and abundance of food and drinks as the previous day. When visiting the houses of the upper hierarchies, the *sallqa* group members demand and get fruit from the hosts' representatives.

¹⁷ Each group has its own colour code represented in its flag: red for the *quichwa* and green for the *sallqa*. Faces and clothes (e.g. hats) are often partially painted with these colours.

The most important ritual practice of this day is really the street parading, with the two groups going from one house to the other rather than following the customary “corners system”. At some times they may pass by each other, but without interacting. The contrast between the two groups is remarkable. The *sallqa* group is much more colourful and rowdy, with its characteristic clothes, body painting, and the more abundant young people behaving scandalously, running and chasing each other; while the *quichwa* group is much more restrained and quieter, although drunkenness is more widespread among its members (as most teenagers do not drink alcohol and most adult men do). The groups disband before dark and, once again, there are “night rounds” afterwards.

Central day: Tuesday of Carnival

Taulli’s Carnival culminates on Tuesday with the encounter of the *sallqa* and *quichwa* groups in the central square, and the performance there of the final *hananwaykus*. As in previous days, preparations start early in the *varayuqs*’ houses. These preparations include the sorting and packing of the products that will be exchanged later, which this time are even more abundant and varied. In the case of the *campos*, they include eggs painted with colourful dots,¹⁸ and also live animals (e.g. sheep, dogs) that reinforce the identification of the *sallqa* group with herding. The products are left in the square, with some people taking care of them. Around 10 am, the first *varayuqs* leave their houses with their entourages, to visit those of their group. The *campos* successively visit each other forming the *sallqa* group. This time they have maize mush (*mazamorra*) in each house, and they dress all together and paint each others in the last visited house. Meanwhile, the *regidores* also visit each others with their entourages, before going all

¹⁸ Local sources explained that the exchanged products used to include partridge eggs, which are dotted, and that nowadays chicken eggs are painted with dots to resemble that lost custom.

together to visit the *alcalde*'s house, where the *quichwa* group is completed. The Carnival video (3.35-4.10 min.) shows part of these preparations in the house of the *campo* Cris.

Once the two groups are completed, normally around 2-3 pm, they head to the central square, parading the streets as the day before. The group that arrives first in the square takes a complete anti-clockwise turn around it, before situating themselves in the middle, where a table has been placed. They wait there singing and dancing, until the other group arrives and follows the same process, until facing them at the opposite side of the table. Interestingly, this meeting of the two "rival" groups in the central square is called *tinku* (encounter), like the ritual battles and competitions of rival dance groups that are –or used to be- performed as the culmination of Carnival celebrations in many Andean communities. In Taulli this meeting is accompanied by the habitual sling hunting of the *quichwa* group's *varayuqs* by the members of the *sallqa* group. The Carnival video (4.12-5.30 min.) shows scenes of the arrival -and of the meeting- of the two groups in the central square.

After a while, the respective *varayuqs* start the ritual exchanges, which are conducted in a similar way to the ones performed two days earlier. The pairing of lower and higher hierarchies to perform the exchanges, and the way they are performed, are normally the same, although the quantity and variety of the exchanged products is bigger, and the public –composed by members of both groups and onlookers- is much larger. Another difference is that, this time, when each round of exchanges is about to finish, the *varayuqs* involved –and also their wives, or their parents in the case of the *campos*- receive garlands of products from their respective companions (plate 32). The sling "hunting" of the upper hierarchies' couples is even more frenetic, and can become a kind of "cathartic *mêlée*" and get muddy as some people roll about the floor, which is

normally wet at this time due to the rains. The whole ceremony is very colourful and vibrant, and this culmination releases much energy and brings the community together. The party continues in the square until dark, when the groups disband. After a few hours of rest many people join the last “night round” of the Carnival, which is very well attended and bustling. The Carnival video shows images of the ritual exchanges and their aftermath, including parts of the offering of *puna* herbs and plants to the *alcalde* Elias (5.31-6.24), his divinations, and of the arrival of his products, and some parts of the following exchanges with *regidores* (6.25-7.07 min.), and of a mud bath of the *regidor* Santiago after completing the exchanges (7.08-7.27 min.).



Plate 32: The *campo* Cris and his father (*sallqa* group) after the final *hananwayku*.

Ash Wednesday: final *cortamonte* and groups' *avíos*

This is a busy day that starts with the “night ramblers” parading -or staggering- across the streets well into the morning, in a mood of general drunkenness and enthusiasm (see Carnival video: 7.28-7.48 min.). When they finally disband, many of its members join other celebrations that are starting somewhere else. Traditionally, this is the day when

varayuqs have their *avíos*, showing their gratitude to their close entourages. They start around 8-9 am, when people gather in the *varayuqs*' houses to have breakfast and prepare themselves, in the case of the *campos*' entourages getting dressed again as *sallqa* people. Once they are ready, they start a last round of visits. *Campos* consecutively visit each others, and *regidores* do the same visiting the *alcalde* afterwards. They have food and drinks in each house, and once the groups are completed, they spend a few hours separately parading the streets for the last time, following the chapel system, and repeating the visits to their respective *varayuq* houses. Both groups are much smaller and quieter than in the previous days, because they are only formed by the *varayuqs*' closer relatives and friends. As usual during *avíos*, participants often wear garlands of produce. *Avíos* normally last until around midday, but sometimes they can last until dark, in the *vararuqs*' houses. Parallel to this, there is the final *cortamonte*, in the central square, which, as mentioned above, is conducted similarly to the one performed in Taulliwasi the previous Friday, although this one is much more crowded and festive. Preparations start in the morning, around 9-10 am, and the *cortamonte* itself starts after midday, lasting until well beyond dark. While *avíos* have a more private and intimate nature, the *cortamonte* is a communal event open to everybody. The Carnival video (7.08-7.27 min.) shows images of that final *cortamonte*.

Interpretation of Taulli's Carnival

“Long-termist” approaches to the Andean Carnival have pointed out the agropastoral links of this celebration, which are much related to its timing, between February and March. For example, Harris (quoted in Gose 2001 [1994]: 190) affirms that ‘Carnival in the Andes is above all a celebration of the first fruits’, a period of abundance and ‘ritualised license’; while Sallnow (1987: 156) argues that it marks the transition from

the rainy to the dry season, and is a time specially ‘prone to violence’ (ibid: 154), characterised by a ‘libidinal character’ (ibid: 156); and Allen (1988: 155) points to its syncretism with pre-colonial celebrations of the late rainy season. Besides their agricultural links, Carnival celebrations often coincide, and sometimes include, herding-related propitiatory rituals and offerings (e.g. Bolin 1998); and ritual battles (*tinkus*) between communities (e.g. Sallnow 1987: 138-143, Allen 1988: 156-180),¹⁹ which have often been transformed into peaceful competitions of dance groups, where ‘physical conflict has been suspended, but sexual competition and veiled antagonism remain.’ (Sallnow 1987: 139).

Some of these points are clearly relevant to approach Taulli’s Carnival, as it takes place at a time of abundance and first fruits in the community (e.g. milk production in the *puna*, fruits ripe in *quichwa* zone), which has its most clear expression in the exchanges of products (mainly seasonal fruit) between the groups, and celebrations involve flirtation among the young, an encounter (*tinku*) between the groups and so on. Nevertheless, the agropastoral links of Taulli’s Carnival seem even much more obvious in the division between the *sallqa* and the *quichwa* groups, which articulate this local celebration. I have already suggested (in chapter 3) an interpretation of these groups as an expression, and ritual dramatisation, of ancient Andean distinctions between herders from the *puna* (or *sallqa*) and agriculturalists from temperate valleys (or *quichwa*), and the prejudiced and stereotypical identification herding/*puna* as savage and uncivilised, and agriculture/*quichwa*/village life as civilised. Figure 8 shows schematically the characteristics and underlying stereotypes of Taulli’s Carnival groups.

¹⁹ Ritual battles were banned in Peru in the 1950s, but they are still allowed in Bolivia, where participants still get killed occasionally.

| TAULLI'S CARNIVAL GROUPS | |
|---|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>QUICHWA</i> GROUP</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Led and sponsored by the higher – and older- ranks of the local <i>varayuq</i> hierarchy (<i>alcalde</i> and <i>regidores</i>). Superior social status. • Mainly formed by local adults who wear normal clothes and demonstrate a more mature and restrained behaviour. • Exchange fruits from local <i>quichwa</i> zone and products bought in urban centres (very abundant). • Represent agriculturalists from “civilised” lower temperate valleys (<i>quichwa</i> zone). | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>SALLQA</i> GROUP</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Led and sponsored by the lower –and younger- ranks of the local <i>varayuq</i> hierarchy (<i>campos</i> and <i>albaceres</i>). Inferior social status. • Mainly formed by local teenagers who wear special clothes, carry slings, and demonstrate a rowdy behaviour. • Exchange plants and herbs from the <i>puna</i> and some animals (much less abundant). • Represent herders from “uncivilised” higher ecological zones (<i>puna/sallqa</i>). |

Figure 8: Characteristics of the local Carnival's *sallqa* and *quichwa* groups.

These stereotypes –traditionally expressed in terms of dualism- are reflected in the contrast between the mature and restrained behaviour of the *quichwa* group, who wear normal clothes and is led by the higher –and older- *varayuq* hierarchies, denoting a superior status, and the rowdy behaviour and “otherness” of the *sallqa* group,²⁰ who wear different clothes, carry slings, and is led by the lower –and younger- *varayuq* hierarchies. This denotes an inferior status, particularly from the point of view of a

²⁰ With this behaviour the *sallqa* group plays the role of “agents of chaos” in these celebrations, which in this case links with the temporary subversion of the established order, ritualised license, and underlying sensuality that generally characterises the Carnival in the Andes (and beyond).

predominately agricultural *quichwa* community like Taulli. These differences are also represented in the ritual exchanges between the two groups of products from the areas they respectively represent, which can be considered as a case of “asymmetrical reciprocity” according to the hierarchical differences between the *varayuqs* that perform them.²¹ While the higher hierarchies give much more abundant and costly products (e.g. fruits from the local *quichwa* zone, purchased products), the lower hierarchies give much less abundant and costly products (e.g. herbs and plants from the *puna*, some young animals).

I have also suggested (in chapter 4) that these exchanges can be linked to traditional strategies of ecological adaptation in the Andes. From this point of view, they can be seen as a ritual expression and dramatisation of the need to complement and diversify agricultural production, resources, and economic activities across different ecological zones and areas. Beyond these opposed perceptions and stereotypes and contrasting lifestyles, exchanges and levels of integration between predominantly herding and agricultural zones and peoples have been necessary. As usual in Andean ritual practices, location is important. While the *sallqa* and *quichwa* groups are linked to the community’s upper and lower ecological zones, their celebrations and exchanges take place in the main village, which is located in the middle (*suní*) ecological zone, denoting a concentric and centralised concept of religious and ritual space around the village. In this case, this tendency has been recently altered with the introduction of the initial *cortamonte* in settlement of Taulliwasi.

I have explained how *cortamontes* were introduced in Taulli in the 1990s as a result of Taullinos’ emigration experiences in the coast. Isbell (2005 [1978]: 227)

²¹ These celebrations have a very pronounced hierarchical character in relation to the *varayuq* ranks’ participation, which presents an upwards hierarchical order and increasing expenses: Saturday is sponsored by the *albaceres*, Sunday by the *campos*, Monday by *regidores* and *alcalde*, and Tuesday brings the final encounter -and integration- of the two groups and all *varayuqs* ranks. This hierarchical order contrasts with the equalitarian character of the “night rounds”.

affirms that they are ritual practice associated with the Carnival in some highland areas, and that they were introduced by Andean migrants in coastal areas, where they become very popular and could be performed at any time of the year (ibid). Therefore, Taulli's *cortamontes* is a case of a highland community adopting an "alien" Andean ritual practice as a result of emigration experiences in the coast, and incorporating it into a main local communal festivity (altering its previous "internal ritual narrative" as this *cortamonte* has substituted the Carnival's *avios*). This "appropriation" can be seen then as another example of how Taulli's "local Andean tradition" is dynamically reinvented to respond to social change, in this case reflecting the increasing importance of emigration and urban experiences in Taullinos lives; and of how ritual can be a channel for change. The fact that this *cortamonte* is performed in Taulliwasi can be seen as recognition of the growing importance of this settlement, which has had a rapid growth in recent decades. As such, the adoption of this practice in this location, and serving as opening for the local Carnival, is an example of "spatial and ritual decentralisation" that has altered the traditional tendency to a concentric and centralised ritual space around the main village.

III. AUGUST'S FESTIVITIES (*Agosto*), 23rd-28th August

August's festivities -simply called *Agosto*- in Taulli combine different events and celebrations of different types and origins over a period of six days. They include the *yarqa aspiy* of the irrigation channel of Simacuccho (24th-25th), the annual party of the local primary school (26th), and the "day of the bull" (27th). These events form a "ritual cycle" that opens with an *apayku* (23rd), and concludes with an *avio* (28th). One of the most remarkable characteristics of these festivities is the key role that the previous year's *varayuks* play in most events and celebrations, on their own and in combination

with current *varayuqs* and civil authorities, which are all integrated in some key ritual contexts. The most important part of the festivities is the *yarqa aspiy*, which is an agricultural task of ancient origins that precedes the beginning of a new agricultural cycle.²² The following account is based on the August's festivities I participated in 2008 and 2009, in which the *varayuqs* that have been introduced and referred to in the accounts of Christmas and the Carnival played important roles. There is also an accompanying film that shows scenes from both years, with a predominance of 2008 (type "Taulli fiestas agosto" in YouTube box).

***Apaykus* and *yarqa aspiy*'s first day (23rd & 24th August)**

August's celebrations start on the night of the 23rd with the *apaykus* of the previous year's *campos*, but not of any other previous or current *varayuq* rank. Their close entourages get together in their central village houses, where there are welcoming speeches and toasts, food and drinks. These entourages always include a pair of horn players,²³ who have an important role in the following days. Afterwards, the different groups parade the streets for about an hour, following the "corners" system and visiting the church to say some prayers at the door, before returning to the *campos*' houses and having dinner. Drinking and socialising may continue all night, although nowadays groups normally disband after midnight to have a few hours of rest before the beginning of the *yarqa aspiy*. In 2009, there was a marked contrast between the *apaykus* of the two previous year's *campos*, Ronald Arone and Cris Antesana (who had led the *sallqa* group in the 2008 Carnival). While the former's was quite a low key event involving around a

²² In chapter 4 I discussed Taulli's participation in the *yarqa aspiy* of neighbouring Portacruz in July, which is described with more detail in appendix 5. For *yarqa aspiys* in other Andean communities see Gose (2001 [1994]: 101-106), Isbell (1978: 138-145), Arguedas (1956: 25-33).

²³ Their musical instruments are made attaching several pieces of cow horns. Horn music is given much importance and their players have a special status, being exempt from work and getting special meals.

dozen people, the latter's was very well-equipped and lively, being attended by around forty people, and reflecting the higher economic level of the family.

The morning after (24th) starts the **first day of the *yarqa aspiy***, which is mainly sponsored by the current *varayuqs*. They meet in the house of the *alcalde* around 4-5 am with a musical band, which includes five or six people with cymbals, drums and flutes.²⁴ The *alcalde* welcomes everybody, and as part of the formal greetings, the *regidores* take turns to kneel and pray in front of a cross, being hit three times each with a small whip by the *alcalde*, as a gesture of hierarchical submission. Then, they all have breakfast, before starting a round of hierarchical visits to the *regidores*' houses, during which, while companions wait in the courtyards, *varayuqs* get together inside the hosts' house. There, they place their staffs together and take downwards hierarchical turns to "salute" them solemnly (kneeling and praying in front of them). These visits also include street parades following the "corners" system and a stop in the church, where the band respectfully plays and the *varayuqs* pray and light candles at the door. The visits take place until around 8 am, when the whole group starts the ascent to the *puna* area of Samaqucha, within neighbouring Sarhua's limits, where the irrigation channel originates. The journey takes around two hours in which the group stops several times to rest, following the "internal" (within the village) and "external" (in the community's territory) chapels system. The *varayuqs* carry their staffs, and take turns to serve shots of alcohol and distribute coca to those present, and the band plays most of the time either standing or moving. Once in Samaqucha, the group rests while the people that will be participating in the cleaning gradually arrive. Both days of the *yarqa aspiy* count as communal work, so attendance is obligatory for all *comuneros* (or representatives), and there are always abundant guests and visitors such as friends and relatives from

²⁴ The band is put together in advance by one of the *regidores*, who is supposed to visit each of the musicians earlier that morning, symbolically imploring their help. The songs and melodies they play are exclusive to this event.

neighbouring communities, or migrant Taullinos visiting the community. Participants gather between 9-11 am. During this time, the young *albaceres* make crosses with *ichu* grass, which they will carry during those days. At around 11 am, once all or most of the people are on site, there is a brief communal assembly, in which the day's work is organised and some other important or urgent issues may arise. Drinks, coca, and sweets are provided by the civil authorities. The "August" video (00-1.14 min.) shows scenes from 2008 of the *varayusq's* morning visits; of the ascent to the *puna* by participants and of the communal assembly held there, including parts of a speech that a representative of Taulli's association of residents in Lima gave that year.

At some point, during the waiting or the assembly, some Taullinos dressed up as *pishtakos* burst into the scene coming from behind a nearby mountain. *Pishtakos* or *ñakaq* (throat cutters) are phantasmagorical figures that according to the Andean tradition kill people to steal their fat.²⁵ They are between two and four, and dress in long colourful tunics and eccentric hats, wear scary bearded masks, and carry wooden swords. The *pishtakos* show a wild behaviour, relentlessly joking with adults and scaring children throughout the *yarqa aspiy*, playing the role of "agents of chaos" that energise these celebrations. Not everyone can be a *pishtako*, and there are a couple of older local men who have played this role for years, and are in charge of initiating the young men who show a predisposition to play this role. One of them is Juan Quispe, who explained that playing this role implies certain risks, and it requires great stamina and some vocation and ritual knowledge. Juan also explained how *pishtakos* have to get

²⁵ The *pishtakos* are a kind of Andean "bogyman". They are supposed to be tall bearded men who steal human fat to make church bells sound better (among other aims). According to Stern (quoted in Canessa 2000: 706) their roots can be traced to the practice of Spanish soldiers of using 'fat from Indian bodies to salve their wounds after battle'. The belief in them is quite common (see Millones 2007a: 49-50); and I was myself taken by one several times when travelling around Taulli's area, causing much fun among Taullinos, who used to tease me about it.

to this area hours before, around 2-3 am, to make propitiatory offerings (*pagapus*) to the surrounding mountain spirits, to avoid their anger.

Pishtakos are accompanied by a couple of sponsors (*capataces*) in charge of taking care of them, providing food, drinks and company; and by a musician (*maestro*) with a mandolin who is in charge of playing for them. The *capataces* represent their children, boys in their early years. This is the first *cargo* that Taullinos go through in their lives. The related responsibilities, borne by their fathers, include enrolling the *pishtakos* and their musician. Parents volunteer on behalf on their children, or are previously chosen in communal assemblies, to fill this position. They carry small whips to punish the *pishtakos* when they “misbehave” too much. In 2009 the musician was Silverio Antesana, who explained that *pishtakos* must be animated all the time because their work is very hard, and that it is the musician’s duty to express their feelings with his playing (e.g. playing sad music when they feel sad).

After the assembly, around 12 pm, the actual cleaning starts, led by the president and the other members of the irrigation committee of Samaqucha. Small groups of men clean the small ditches that come from different surrounding mountains feeding the main ditch. Attending women (*warmi sapas* and young girls representing their families) go ahead clearing stones and the remaining men go behind with picks and shovels, cleaning and clearing the main ditch. The current *varayuqs*, musicians (the band, and the pairs of horn players sponsored by the previous year’s *campos*), and the *pishtakos* and their *capataces*, are all exempt from work, forming a large lively entourage that advances alongside the workers. Work takes place in a festive atmosphere animated by the never-ending music, the crazy behaviour of the *pishtakos*, and the abundant alcohol that is provided by *varayuqs* and civil authorities, as a result of which many men get intoxicated, with some often collapsing along the way. The cleaning goes on for a few

hours with a couple of breaks in the middle. The “August” video (1.15-2.16 min.) shows scenes of the cleaning, musicians and *pishtakos*.



Plate 33: Horn players follow the plan of Huamanga’s city centre.

Around 3-4 pm work stops to allow for a series of customary ritual activities, which start in a plain (*pampa*) called Wayllakuna, still in the *puna*. Normally, Taullinos manage to clean most of the ditch which stretches up to this area, but, if this is not the case, they still stop working and make their way to this place, leaving the remaining cleaning for another day.²⁶ There, a “street map” of the centre of Huamanga is made on the ground with stones, and current *varayuqs* and musicians take turns to follow the street plan’s streets, while the rest of the people surround them. The *varayuqs* go first hierarchically, followed by the members of the band, the pairs of horn players (plate 33), and the *pishtakos* and their musician. This is basically a playful and comic moment in which *pishtakos* pretend to lose balance, and fool around provoking the audience’s

²⁶ There are always stretches of the channel that are not cleaned during the *yarqa aspiy*, so the irrigation committee organises a communal work day afterwards to complete the work. This shows how the practical purpose of the *yarqa aspiy*, the actual cleaning, is secondary to its ritual and festive dimensions.

laughter.²⁷ The “August” video (2.17-2.57 min.) shows some scenes of this practice from 2009.

After this, *pishtakos* lead the group to a nearby crescent-shaped promontory, which dominates a long downhill terrain that terminates in another plain, some 200 metres away, where members of the authorities’ families and others are waiting. Up at the promontory participants spread along its length harangued by the *pishtakos*, who, at some point start running and shouting downhill, followed by everybody else in a festive atmosphere. They cover the distance to the plain, where those who wait welcome them with fanfare and drinks. Moments of euphoria follow the arrival, with abundant drinking and laughing. The descent can sometimes reach the level of collective enthusiasm, becoming a kind of “cathartic run”, as it was the case in 2008. It was much quieter in 2009, as it can be partially seen in “August” video (2.58-3.20 min.).²⁸ The day culminates with a *suisuna* (a ritual feast as the one described in the context of January’s *Circay* in chapter 3) conducted between the current *varayuqs*, some civil authorities and members of the irrigation committee, where most of their food is shared with those present (the “August” video shows scenes of this feast in 2009: 3.21-3.40 min.). These ritual activities and celebrations last for around an hour (until 4-5 pm). Afterwards, work is resumed for half an hour or so, to continue the cleaning of the channel to the limit of the *puna* zone, although by this time many men are too drunk to help out. Before it gets dark everybody goes back home.

²⁷ As usual in ritual contexts, when asked about this map Taullinos just allege that it is a *costumbre* del pueblo, although the fact that Huamanga already was the colonial capital of the region suggests that this practice could have been in the past a reference/representation of the place power emanated from.

²⁸ Interestingly, Allen (2002: 170) describes a collective downhill “cathartic run”, as part of the annual pilgrimage of Sonqo’s *comuneros* to the Qoyllur Rit’I, which presents remarkable similarities with this.

***Yarqa aspiy*'s second day (25th August)**

The **second day** of the *yarqa aspiy* begins around 6 am, with the meeting of the previous year's *varayuqs*, which takes place similarly to the one performed the day before by the current *varayuqs*. This is also followed by rounds of visits between them, in which the pairs of horn players -instead of the music band- also participate. This day, at the same time, the *pishtakos* have their own rounds of visits, starting in the houses of their *capataces* and following with the houses of the *varayuqs*, both of the previous and current year. According to their nature as "agents of chaos", *pishtakos* do not follow any hierarchical order but visit the houses randomly, demanding drinks and behaving badly to those who are there (e.g. putting out fires, fighting with the dogs), who mostly are women and children, as men are often doing their own rounds of visits, or other activities.

These rounds of visits finished around 9 am, when the whole group moves to the central square; where they meet the current *varayuqs*, the music band, *pishtakos*, and abundant public that gradually gather. There, using white powder some civil authorities draw a rectangle divided into a series of vertical tracks of around ten metres of length on the floor. This is used to play a competitive game called ***tango*** (or *tanguy*). The game starts around 10 am, when there are many people in the square, and consists of pairs of people standing at one end of the tracks, throwing pieces of tile to knock down wood pieces of different sizes that are stuck in the ground at the opposite end. Each player has three tries to hit as many as possible. The loser has to invite the winner to beer, which is provided by the civil authorities, who cash in the profits for the community's coffers. The *pishtakos* also participate in the game, putting back the fallen pieces, gathering the thrown projectiles, and behaving badly as usual to the delight of the public (plate 34).



Plate 34: Playing *tango* in the central square.

The rival players are mainly the members of the previous and the current year *varayuqs* paired hierarchically (e.g. the previous year's *alcalde* with the current one) although anyone can play after them. Interestingly, those who do it also tend to form pairs with people of similar status. For example, when participating in this game I was paired with people from outside the community as myself, such as a nurse or a teacher. This suggests that, although the *tango* basically is an easygoing and fun game, it has an underlying background that reflects local hierarchies and social statuses even if these are today much more flexible than in the past. The game goes on until around 11.30 am, when people gradually start to make their way to the settlement of Urabamba, where the cleaning starts for the day in the big reservoir that is situated there. The previous year's *varayuqs* pay a last visit to their *alcalde*'s house, before heading together to Urabamba themselves. The "August" video (3.43-4.50 min.) shows scenes of the previous *varayuqs*' rounds of visits, participation in the *tango*, and ascent to Urabamba of 2008.

When the previous year *varayuchs* arrive to the reservoir, they get together with the current ones, who usually are already waiting for them there. They all integrate leaving their staffs together, and taking turns to “salute” them with the musicians, before exchanging toasts and inviting those present to alcohol shots and coca. Meanwhile the musicians -the band and the pairs of horn players- play relentlessly, contributing to create the festive atmosphere that dominates the whole day. Music is an inherent and important element of every main local festivity, as in many other ritual contexts and social events, but I found it particularly important during the *yarqa aspiy*, in which participants strongly demand musicians to play all the time, telling them off if they stop or sit, as if the music was fundamental to do the work and carry out the celebration properly.

The work this day is led again by the members of the irrigation committee. It starts with the cleaning of the reservoir (built in the 1990s as a result of a state project as discussed in chapter 2), and continues with the remaining stretch of the channel, from Urabamba until very near the central village. If this day falls during the week, classes are suspended in the secondary school, and students join the work and celebrations accompanied by their teachers. The task takes three to four hours, with a break or two in the middle, and is more relaxed and easier than the previous day, as this part of the channel is fully covered with concrete (as a result of that same 1990s project). People descend to the main village following –and cleaning along- the channel. Once they reach a point where the channel meets the main road, work concludes and people just walk the remaining distance to the village following the road. During these few hundred metres, young people –and some adults too- form groups holding hands and dancing in circle, while singing and moving back and forth. This is the *quichwa* dancing in which

girls and boys sing call-and-response songs with clear flirting overtones.²⁹ When gradually arriving to Taulli, people move to the *cofradía* field of San Francisco, in the upper part of the village where most of the remaining local population is waiting for them with food and drinks, and some people prepare the typical formation of stones for a final ritual feast (*suisuna*). This time the stones are surrounded by a quadrangular structure made by large pieces of wood, joined by cords and decorated by vegetation. The “August” video (4.51-5.51 min.) shows scenes of the cleaning of Urabamba’s reservoir with musicians and *varayuqs* around, of the *quichwa* dance, and of the arrival at the field and the preparations there.

The mood is festive and the atmosphere electrifying as the *yarqa aspiy* participants arrive at the field. The *varayuqs* leave their staffs on the big stone that presides over the quadrangular structure, taking turns once again to salute and pray to them, followed by musicians, *pishtakos* and other participants. After a while, people – particularly the *varayuqs*- engage with relatives and friends in exchanges toasts of maize beer and liquors, with special ceramic recipients called *witkus*. They are zoomorphic-shaped and are only used during this day. Most of them are very old, being passed between generations within families. Taullinos explain that they are used to drink with people you are very close to so this form of ritual drinking can be seen as a celebration and renewal of social bonds between participants. This is also one of the rare occasions when maize beer is made in Taulli nowadays. The drinking increases the vibrant and euphoric atmosphere, which culminates with the final *suisuna*. This time the ritual feast involves some civil authorities (e.g. members of the irrigation and directive committees), and the previous and current *varayuqs*, who are supposed to be paired hierarchically, even though nowadays this is largely overlooked. The food is the same

²⁹ This dance is also performed in the valley of Ñiqueska, during the last day of Portacruz’s *yarqa aspiy* on 25th July (see appendix 5). It is named like the local lower ecological zone and the group that represents that zone during the Carnival.

as in the previous day's *suisuna*, but even more abundant and its final sharing and distribution among those around can reach frenetic levels of collective euphoria. The "August" video (5.52-6.42 min.) shows images from 2009 of *varayuqs*, musicians, and *pishtakos* taking turns to salute and pray to the staffs in the space where the *suisuna* takes place, and of the moment when this ritual feast was about to start. That year the *suisuna* was much quieter than the year before.

The feast is followed by further *quichwa* dancing across the field until dark, when everybody move to the village's central square, where the dancing and partying continues for a couple of hours or so, until the groups gradually disband and most people go to rest. However, this is not the end of the day, as there is still another major ritual event left, the so-called *toropacios*. These are celebrated by each of the previous year's *campos*, who are in charge of getting the bulls for the "bullfighting" that takes place two days later (on the 26th). The *toropacios* are a kind of ritual invocation of protection against the bulls. They start around 9 pm in the house of each of these *campos*, where their respective entourages get together, before parading the streets and making a round of hierarchical ritual visits to the houses of the previous year's *regidores* and *alcalde*. The groups are normally between 15 and 40 people strong. They are headed by a couple of men who carry long ropes and whips, which are used to noisily hit the floor. Coming behind, the *campos* –and some close male companions such as fathers or brothers- wear white, sometimes green or red, scarves over their hats that they tie around their necks, and carry some long staffs with rattles on top (*salsakas*), which they shake all the time producing a characteristic jingle. At least one mature woman carries and plays a little drum,³⁰ while others serve drinks to everyone. The groups move rhythmically following the sound created by whips, rattles and drums,

³⁰ *Salsakas* played by men and drums played by women appear in other local ritual contexts related to livestock, such as *herranzas* and the "day of the bull" itself; so they seem symbolically linked to it.

performing a colourful choreography. They sing the same song all the time, asking for protection to those that will be facing the bull the day after; even though the primary school party is the day after and the “day of the bull” is actually two days later. No local source consulted was able to explain this temporal mismatch, which suggests that the “day of the bull” used to be performed the day after the *yarqa aspiy*; but that the school party was later introduced between them, altering the previous correlation and ritual narrative of the festivities.

The visits normally finish around 12 am, when each group returns to its respective headquarters, where participants can continue drinking and socialising until dawn, or disband after a few hours. This is basically the way August’s *yarqa aspiy* is conducted, although, as usual in ritual contexts and celebrations, the sequence and correlation of events is flexible, and there are often significant differences from one year to the other. For example, in 2008 the ritual toasts in the *cofradía* field took place after the *suisuna*, while in 2009 it was the other way around. The former *yarqa aspiy* was much more crowded and colourful because it fell on a weekend, so many more children and young people joined in the latter, when it fell during the week and most children were at school.

Primary school party, “day of the bull”, and *avíos* (26th-28th August)

The **primary school party** is a relaxing day. The parents of primary school children are in charge of organising and running most events. Activities start around 11 am in the school, and last until dusk. They include a roasted chicken feast (*pollada*), and sports competitions of football (for men) and volleyball (for women), attended by teams from different communities. After dark, participants move to a communal “hall” for a performance of the school’s students, which includes singing, poetry readings, theatre,

and other festive activities. After the performance there is a dance party for the adults that lasts until dawn and gets very animated. Most of the community participates to some degree in the daytime activities and the night party, which is very crowded.

The **“day of the bull”** starts the morning after, around 7-8 am, when the current year’s *regidores* and *alcalde*, with their entourages and the music band, get together in the house of the latter, to start another round of hierarchical visits among themselves, which lasts until around 1 pm. This time they visit each house several times, as they gradually get ready for the afternoon. A couple of men play the role of the *matikus*, who paint their face black and are in charge of making a near real-sized mummy of a man that is called “the Spaniard” (*el español*). They carry it on their shoulders, preparing it during the visits, dressing it with old clothes, painting it a face with big moustache, and putting coca, small bottles with liquor and cigarettes in its pockets, which will later “protect” it against the bull’s charges. It is paradoxical that “the Spaniard” is given these elements of “protection” because later it is put in the middle of the square to attract the bulls’ charges, causing general rejoicing every time that is hit. The fact that the mummy represents a Spaniard and is used for this end has obvious “postcolonial” connotations, and it was a source of many jokes directed at me during these celebrations.

In the last visit to each house, their respective hosts –*alcaldes*, *regidores* and their wives- dress in their ceremonial sashes. In the case of the *alcalde*, he also wears a special red hat and gets a spear (*rejón*), while the *regidores* get Peruvian flags that they will carry for the rest of the day. After midday the whole group moves to the central square, moving rhythmically with the band’s music. Once there, they stop on the north side, in an elevated area that offers some protection against the bulls. The “Spaniard” is placed in the middle of the square and the group waits dancing and drinking, offering a vibrant and colourful spectacle. The “August” video (6.50-7.23 min.) shows images

from 2008 of these street parades and houses visits, where it is possible to see the *alcalde* Elias and the *regidor* Santiago, and the *matikus* preparing “the Spaniard”.

Meanwhile, at some point during the morning the bulls are brought to the *coso*, a walled enclosure to keep animals that is situated near the central square. There are normally around 15 and 20 animals, including bulls, cows and calves, although there is always a bigger and fiercer bull that is the leader of the herd, and the main protagonist of the “bullfighting”. The bulls have to be fierce, and, as there are no such animals in Taulli, they have to be borrowed or rented -which can be expensive- in another community, so bringing and returning them implies walking for days with the animals, and potential expenses.

The previous year’s *campos* bear the main responsibilities of this day, being in charge of bringing the bulls. Their preparations start around midday, when their respective entourages gather in their houses to have lunch and prepare for the street parade. The different *campos* groups leave the houses around 2 pm. The formation and composition of these groups mirror that of the *toropacio* performed two days before. They head to the central square, where at this time the group of the current *regidores* and *alcalde* has been waiting for a while, and which is full of an expectant public. In the square, the *campos*’ groups take a complete anti-clockwise tour, before heading towards the *coso* where the animals are. The group that arrives first waits for the others (plate 35). Once they are all there, the *campos* and closer companions greet and exchange toasts. After a while those with ropes enter the *coso* to get the fiercer bull, which is led to the square. The *campos* and their entourages follow the bull and stop in the south side of the square. The “August” video (7.24-8.24 min.) shows images from 2008 of the previous year’s *campos*, the brothers Walter and Élmér Quispe, with their common

entourage, arriving to the *coso* and waiting outside to the arrival of other *campos* and to the bulls to be sorted.



Plate 35: Previous year's *campos* during the “day of the bull”

The following “bullfighting” consists of the bull wandering around the square while people run ahead, and a few men hold the animal back with the ropes that tie its horns. It is a dangerous activity because the bull can take an unexpected turn at any time, and there are always a few individuals –normally the most inebriated- who tend to demonstrate suicidal bravery facing the animal. In 2009 an elderly *comunero* was actually badly gored by a bull, and had to be taken to the provincial hospital. While this takes place, the group of current *alcalde* and *regidores*, and those of the previous year's *campos*, occupying opposite sides of the square, follow the action. If the bull gets dangerously close, the groups disband and take cover in any nearby safe place. Once a bull manages to get away or is too tired, he is driven back to the *coso*, where the process is repeated to bring a new one. This goes on for a few hours. When the last bull is gone, people occupy the square joining the *varayuqs'* groups, and the lively party continues

until it gets dark. Then the groups return to their headquarters, where they stay for a while before disbanding. The “August” video (8.24-8.53 min.) shows images of the 2008 bullfighting.³¹

The day after, *avíos* are conducted by the previous year’s *varayuqs*, who celebrate the definitive culmination of their offices’ duties, months after the end of their term. *regidores* and *alcalde* celebrate it together in the morning, visiting each others. In each house, the hosts thank and pay tribute to those who have helped them, and give some presents (e.g. drinks) to the band’s musicians, accompany them later to their houses, before disbanding. Each of the *campos* does the same in their own houses (without further rounds of visits) in the evening or in the night, finally accompanying their horn players to their respective houses.

Interpretation of August’s festivities

Accordingly with the rich symbolic and ritual dimensions of agriculture, water and irrigation in the Andes (introduced in chapter 3), the cleaning of irrigation channels is a practical task that has presented rich ritual and festive expressions in Andean communities. However, these expressions have varied greatly as exemplified by the cases studied by Isbell (1978: 138-145, 199-200) in Chuschi, in 1970, and by Gose (2001 [1994]:101-106) in Huaquirca, in 1982. In the former, the cleaning lasts for three days and is followed by another two days of the most elaborate ritual practices and celebrations of the year, which involve processions to the mountains, ritual feasts and drinking, offerings to mountain spirits in the community’s chapels, individuals playing different roles, or a final procession in the village square, among many other activities.³²

³¹ Caverro (2001: 255-260) describes a very similar “day of the bull” in the community of Soras (southern Ayacucho). This shows how these types of celebrations present remarkable regional characteristics.

³² In Chuschi, each of the two local moieties has its own irrigation channel in a different mountain. Their respective members perform their cleaning and related ritual celebrations in parallel, led by their own

As a contrast, in the latter the tasks are performed with very little ritual elaboration, although elderly locals reported related long-time-lost celebrations, such as orgiastic nocturne dances in the *puna* for single youngsters (ibid: 105). As an example of “long-termist” approaches to these cleanings, Isbell (1978) interprets Chuschi’s case as a fertility rite of ‘renewal, conception and gestation’ that celebrates ‘the dual forces of regeneration, fertility and death’ (ibid: 144), and in which villagers ‘drink for their ancestors to initiate the agriculture cycle once more’ (ibid: 199).

In Taulli’s case, the *yarqa aspiy* gives the local August’s festivities a very practical purpose, and the most obvious agricultural links of all main communal festivities. This task precedes the beginning of the new agricultural cycle, playing an important role for the reproduction and continuity of the local cycle of life. Thus, festivities can be also symbolically related to concepts of fertility, renewal, and regeneration. Similarly, on the basis of the key presence of previous year’s *varayuqs*, on their own and in combination with current *varayuqs* and civil authorities, I suggest that these festivities also play an important symbolic role in the reproduction of the local social order, by ritually dramatising the continuity of the *varayuq* system and the annual alternation of its members. Moreover, nowadays these festivities can also be seen as a symbolic expression of the complementarity between local traditional and civil authorities, integrating them all together in some key ritual contexts, such as during the game (*tango*) practised in the central square, in a context of hierarchical competition, or during the final ritual feasts (*suisuna*) that culminates the *jarqa aspiy*, in a context of “cathartic communion”.

The *toropacio*, when people sing asking for protection for those who are going to face the bull the day after, serves as a “bridge” between the *yarqa aspiy* and the “day of

varayuqs; meeting at the very end for the final processions. Arguedas (1956) also studies this cleaning in 1950s Puquio, where individuals play the role of *pishtakos* like in Taulli.

the bull”. This is a recreational day symbolically and ritually charged, which culminates the previous days of work and celebrations, serving as a “coming of age” to the previous year’s *campos*, through their responsibility in the sponsoring and organising of the event, and (theoretically) in facing the bull. Therefore, this day also contributes to the reproduction and continuity of the local social order. In this line, it is significant that these celebrations also include the first *cargo* that Taullinos have to pass (still as babies), the sponsoring of the *pishtakos* conducted by their parents -on their behalf- during the *yarqa aspiy*, thus serving also as a symbolic introduction to the service to the community for the youngsters.

The introduction of the primary school party between the *yarqa aspiy* and the “day of the bull” decades ago has presumably altered the temporal correlation between these days, and the overall “ritual narrative” of these festivities. No local source consulted was able to explain when or why this civil, and much more recent, celebration was incorporated within this traditional festivity, although I suggest that this incorporation symbolically reflects the importance that Taullinos give to this institution and to education. It is another example of how the “local Andean tradition” is dynamically reinvented to respond and accommodate change. Nevertheless, the school has become another fundamental channel for the reproduction and continuity of the local social order, preparing Taulli’s children for adulthood; so the incorporation of its party in the middle of those other celebrations, which are also related to the social reproduction of the community, can be seen as symbolically significant, even if it was not premeditated with this intention.

There are other obvious examples of the influence of social change in these celebrations, such as those brought by Portacruz’s independence (1948) in relation to different aspects of local irrigation (*yarqa aspiys*), altering the previously dual system

and making the participation in July's one so problematic (see chapter 4), or as a result of the impact of state intervention in irrigation since the 1980s (see chapters 2 and 4). For example, local people distinguish between irrigation ditches and channels. The latter are covered by concrete eliminating water leakages, so their cleaning is not as fundamental as with ditches, where cleaning minimises these leakages. Therefore, as the recent cementing of large stretches of the irrigation channels has reduced filtrations, the practical need and purpose of the *yarqa aspiy* has been reduced. The reproduction of the local social system embodied by the *varayuqs* is not the same either, as they have lost most of their old functions and importance. As a result, August's festivities –as the other local main festivities- gradually change acquiring new cultural and social functions and connotations.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The sponsorship and organisation of these main communal festivities are the most burdensome and expensive communal duties Taullinos face. However, these festivities remain ritually elaborated, carefully observed, and very popular among Taullinos, constituting a main social and ritual context in which they celebrate and renew their communal bonds and “local Andean tradition”, and their existence as a community. Therefore, they play a key role in the social cohesion and cultural identity of local people. These festivities involve practically all the community, both as participants and as sponsors, offering them some key times of communal catharsis and communion, and evidencing the system of reciprocal relations and support necessary to perform these festivities –and other aspects of the local life- successfully. It is important to remember the rotational and hierarchical character of the traditional *varayuq* offices that are in charge of sponsoring these festivities, so all local men (and their families) have to go

through these offices at different stages of their lives, and, therefore, participate in this sponsoring as a fundamental part of a personal formation and evolution in the service to the community. Moreover, these festivities also play an important role in the demographic reproduction of Taulli, as a main context where new couples are formed. This is because many activities and ritual practices have flirting overtones and an underlying sensuality that creates the right environment for such liaisons.

This situation contrast with that of ritual practices performed in the context of daily life (e.g. during agricultural work), and of other “secondary” (by comparison) traditional celebrations, which, as commented in previous chapters, have been gradually reduced to a minimum or even abandoned in recent decades. This evolution of local celebrations and ritual life has to be seen in the context of social change in recent decades (e.g. decline of Catholicism, effects of “violence”, influence of emigration). It is important to remember that these main communal festivities have been performed in the community for centuries, although the way in which they are performed has logically changed over time. I have offered many examples of such changes in recent decades and even before (e.g. introduction of *cortamontes* in the Carnival as a result of emigration experiences; pilgrimage to neighbouring community transformed in a procession within the village during Christmas’ Manchirirí). Similarly, the meaning of these main festivities, and the way they are experienced for -and perceived by- Taullinos, also evolve and change across time, acquiring new connotations and dimensions as a result of new circumstances and needs. For example, these festivities have become in recent decades a main context in which Taullinos emigrants return to the community.

These festivities continue to present very important ritual dimensions, which allow different interpretations and perspectives that are not exclusive or categorical. My main

reference to interpret these and other aspects of Taulli's ritual life has been the 1960s-80s "long-termist" approaches to Andean rituals, as fundamental expressions of distinctive forms of syncretic religiosity, socio-spatial organisation, and particular concepts (e.g. reciprocity, dualism) and strategies of ecological adaptation, among other references. For example, many aspects of the main festivities can be seen as expressions of reciprocity (e.g. asymmetrical reciprocal exchanges of products during Carnival), redistribution (e.g. *yarqa aspiy*'s hierarchical ritual feasts, *varayuqs* sponsorship), dualism (e.g. Carnival's *sallqa* and *quichwa* groups representing differences between herding and agriculture), or strategies of ecological adaptation (e.g. symbolical conceptualisation of ecological zones, and ritual expressions of their complementarity). "Long-termist" approaches to Andean rituals have also stressed their agricultural links, which are clear in the case of Taulli's festivities. As commented, symbolic and ritual links can be established according to their timing in the annual agricultural cycle, particularly in relation to its different periods; and sometimes also in relation to more concrete connections. Christmas serves as a culmination of the sowing/planting period (at the time of equinox); Carnival takes place in the middle of the growing period -at the heyday of the rainy season- as a celebration of abundance produced by the maturation of fruits, livestock activities, and first products; and August's *yarqa aspiy* is an agricultural task.

Nevertheless, rejecting tendencies towards idealisations, essentialisations, or the negligence of social change, these "long-termist" approaches can be combined with other interpretations of ritual and of the ritual aspects of these festivities. For example, following the theoretical approaches to ritual presented in chapter 1, these festivities can be seen as channels of integration as much as mechanisms of social control (e.g. Leach), as "processes" (e.g. Turner), as a form of "social memory" (e.g. Abercrombie),

or, particularly, as a “force of change” (e.g. Kelly, Tombiah). From this point of view, the introduction of *cortamontes* (in the 1990s) in the Carnival as a result of emigration experiences, or of the primary school party in the middle of “August”, among other changes, become a reflection of Taullinos’ new concerns and experiences. Therefore, ritual practices and celebrations reflect wider social changes in the community (e.g. increasing incorporation into national life), which in this way are partially integrated into these festivities and into the “local Andean tradition”, contributing to its dynamic reinvention and serving as a channel through which Taullinos experience and accommodate change.

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis I have offered an ethnographic study of Taulli, a Peruvian peasant community located in the Andean region of Ayacucho, in the early Twenty-first Century. As a specific thesis objective, I have assessed the current role that the community (as a PPC) plays for its members (the Taullinos), in terms of the advantages and disadvantages that it has for –and brings to- them. To do this, I have explored the far-reaching social changes Taulli has been going through in recent decades, and how the rich “local Andean tradition” works in –and adapts to- this context of change. Additionally, I have used Taulli’s case to reassess the situation of PPCs in the early Twenty-first Century, and to rethink key theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of Andean cultures and communities. Therefore, the arguments that I have developed in the thesis, and the conclusions that can be extracted from it, can be divided into two main categories. On the one hand, there are those that directly relate to this particular community –and to some extent to its wider region- as a central research focus. On the other hand, there are those with wider implications, in relation to the PPC, as a paradigmatic type of Andean community with distinctive communal features, and to the study of Andean cultures and communities.

I. TAULLI

As the central thesis argument, I have argued that the main role that the community plays for Taullinos in the early Twenty-first Century is that, on the one hand, it continues offering them a fundamental cultural identity and social cohesion, and some key practical advantages, in a context of rapid social change. At the same time it provides them, mainly as a result of state intervention, with new services and

improvements that despite their limitations and mixed results contribute to reinforce the PPC institution. This argument has been developed through a presentation of Taulli in the late-2000s, and through an exploration of local organisation, work, and celebrations. In the following sections I summarise my main findings and conclusions on Taulli's case.

Social change in recent decades

The main motor of change in Taulli in recent decades has been an increasing state intervention. This kind of intervention started in the 1990s, when, in the context of “the violence”, the authoritarian Fujimori regime began unprecedented investments in rural Andean areas, as part of its strategy to undermine popular support to Shining Path. This was particularly in those regions that were more affected by the armed conflict, such as Ayacucho, where the conflict actually started and had its most dramatic consequences. State intervention has increased since then in a national context of political democratisation and economic neoliberalisation, and an international context of globalisation. This increasing state intervention in Taulli has mainly consisted of the introduction of public works and services, such as communications, infrastructure, and development-related initiatives. As a result, in a couple of decades (1990s-2000s), Taulli has passed from having hardly any permanent state presence -except for a primary school and an assistant nurse- and no roads, electricity, or means of communication with the outside; to having several roads, new educational centres, a land telephone and limited mobile phone coverage, a medical post with several nurses, a new irrigation channel, and several development programmes and welfare services among other novelties; while new ones are being continuously introduced, and others are planned for the near future (e.g. new roads, TV reception, Internet cabin). The

effects of this state intervention have been combined with other factors of change that have been affecting the community, sometimes with much longer histories, such as the emergence of Evangelism and, particularly, emigration to urban and coastal areas. The latter can have a temporary or a more or less permanent nature, and has become a fundamental part of life for most Taullinos, contributing to deep interrelationships between the community and those areas.

These factors and processes of change are having some clear positive effects in Taulli and its surrounding area, particularly in comparison with previous decades. Among these positive effects, I have highlighted the improvement of health standards and education opportunities; the appearance of new economic and commercial activities and alternatives; new possibilities to keep in contact with relatives and friends; and the development of increasingly flexible social boundaries. This latter point is exemplified by the disappearance of the internal divisions between *comuneros* and *vecinos* in communities of the area where this paradigmatic social division existed a few decades ago; and by how internal social differences between Taulli's families do not depend as much as in the past on uneven access to land and workforce, but also on the access to cash and waged labour, new economic activities, and migrants' networks among other factors. However, these positive results are hampered by many problems and limitations. For example, poverty remains a dominant feature of local life, educational and health standards remain very low despite improvements, and state intervention is riddled with inefficiency, corruption, lack of planning and resources, or unexpected problems, which generally affect and undermine the new public services and works. I have used the installation of a potable water supply that took place in Taulli –and the whole Carapo district- in 2009 to exemplify some of these problems, explaining how it was the result of a development project under governmental initiative that involved a

large budget, but that ended up provoking much trouble in the community, reactivating old feuds and territorial conflicts with neighbouring Portacruz, without properly fulfilling its original aims.

I have argued that these problems and limitations are linked to the comparative underdevelopment, and the tradition of social exclusion, that Andean regions and peoples have historically experienced within colonial and republican societies (a tradition that I have outlined in chapter 1). Ayacucho remains among the poorest regions of Peru, and most of its rural areas, including Taulli's, are considered as zones of "extreme poverty" according to development indicators. As a result, although social change is overall deepening local integration into national society, this integration continues to be precarious, contributing to maintain Taullinos in a situation of disadvantage and social exclusion. Moreover, in the current historical context, there are new potential challenges and problems, or the recurrence and worsening of older ones, for the community, and for PPCs and Andean regions in general, such as pressures for neoliberal reform and privatisation; or the environmental risks caused by mining interests and, particularly, by climate change, whose effects are increasingly noticeable and especially dangerous for communities -like Taulli- that basically depend on subsistence agriculture.

I have pointed out how a key aspect of the increasing state intervention in Taulli is how it is at least partially adapted to the local PPC status and communal organisation. For example, development programmes are locally managed by committees whose offices are democratically elected in communal assemblies, resembling the offices and institutions of local government; the workforce needed to undertake public works is mobilised through communal channels (e.g. communal assemblies and work); and different governmental institutions coordinate and liaise with local communal

authorities to organise and implement projects and initiatives, among many other examples. This adaptation of state policies and projects towards Andean rural areas to the PPC status is based on practical reasons, as this is the most important and established institution in many of these areas (definitely in Taulli's area and in many others of the Peruvian southern highlands). Regarding this state intervention and its partial adaptation to the local PPC status, I have argued that it shows the potential of the local communal tradition to contribute to the development of the community in its own terms. In this sense, the introduction of development initiatives that gradually incorporate attention to cultural and ethnic diversity, adapting programmes and policies to local circumstances, and targeting key problems (e.g. environmental) and disadvantaged groups (e.g. children, women) is particularly positive. This is for example the case of the programme JUNTOS that was introduced in Taulli in 2007 and includes activities that celebrate local culture and traditions, or the use of communal work. However, such laudable intentions currently tend to be more rhetorical than practical.

I have also argued that state intervention contributes to further legitimise and reinforce the local PPC status among Taullinos, as this status has become a channel to access and get those new services and benefits. Taulli achieved the "indigenous community" status in 1956 (changed to "peasant community" with the 1969 Land Reform), which since then has offered the community a level of state protection, and of official recognition and legitimacy; contributing to the maintenance, reshaping, and reproduction of the local communal system. All these factors contribute to explain why this system –and the PPC status that guarantees its continuity- is unanimously accepted by and unchallenged among Taullinos. In this regard, I actually argue that one of the most remarkable features of Taulli in the context of change of the early Twenty-first

Century is the strength that the local communal system and PPC status keep among Taullinos. Nevertheless, of course, this strength and general acceptance of the local communal system and PPC status by Taullinos is not merely based on these new services and benefits, or in purely practical and material reasons. Above all, the community is the place where family and sentimental roots lie, providing Taullinos with a fundamental cultural identity and social cohesion in which the “local Andean tradition” plays a central role.

Traditional aspects of local life

Far reaching social change coexists in Taulli with very remarkable historical continuities and most traditional aspects of Andean life, whose origins can be traced to colonial period, particularly to the community’s foundation as a 1570s *reducción* (e.g. *varayuc* authorities, *cofradías*) and even to pre-colonial times (e.g. livestock-related rituals, work-exchange systems), and that shape a rich “local Andean tradition”. This “tradition”, which Taullinos largely identify as *costumbres del pueblo*, is fundamental to understand Taulli’s current culture, and also the way the community evolves, being subjected to dynamic processes of reinvention in which its different aspects are changed, privileged, neglected, or even abandoned according to their adaptability –and capacity to respond- to new circumstances and needs. I have argued that through this dynamic reinvention, the “local Andean tradition” serves as a main channel and reference through which Taullinos experience and accommodate change. This can be seen for example in the way civil authorities acquire characteristics and connotations of traditional ones (e.g. formality of manners, the ethos of service to the community); or in how new institutions can be based on the same logic that inspired traditional ones (e.g. work groups following logic of alternation and competition between neighbouring

communities' internal *ayllus*, to maximise the efficiency of communal work). This can also be seen in how even when particular traditional practices or institutions disappear, by ceasing to be practised and reproduced more or less gradually, some of its symbolism, or related social practices, can be at least partially adopted, recreated, or reproduced by/in similar or new institutions or social practices. I have offered several examples of this phenomenon in Taulli and its surrounding area, particularly in the context of “the violence”, when some traditional authorities and institutions disappeared in many communities, and new ones were created afterwards, adopting some of their former functions, properties, and symbolism (e.g. Carapo's internal dual socio-spatial division in sub-*ayllus* partially recreated by a new civil institutions). In the central chapters of the thesis, I have explored how key aspects of this “local Andean tradition” are reinvented in the context of local organisation, work, and celebrations; assessing the current advantages and disadvantages that the community has for Taullinos in these spheres of local life.

In the context of “organisation” I have explained how the local communal system works, and its many demands and limitations. I have also explained some important changes of the “local Andean tradition” related to Taulli's organisation, such as how the duties of the local *varayuq* hierarchy -that every local male is supposed to go through in his life- have been basically reduced to the sponsorship of communal festivities and religious feasts, whose demands are still very burdensome for the holders and their families, but much less than in the past. These and other traditional authorities (e.g. church-related) have often been reduced in numbers and are nowadays complementary with civil ones, despite having different origins and functions, and they are sometimes integrated together into ritual contexts (e.g. *suisunas*). The concept of *ayllu* as a form of socio-spatial organisation is maintained in communities of the area where internal

socio-spatial divisions in sub-*ayllus* exist (e.g. Sarhua). In others like Taulli, where such internal divisions have never existed, it just implies kinship; although part of their symbolism and functions can be reproduced in new institutions (e.g. Taulli's work groups). In relation to the community's spatial configuration, there is a gradual "desacralisation" of the landscape, which leads to a decline of the most directly related ritual practices and celebrations (e.g. Santa Cruz), although there are important surviving remnants (e.g. chapel system, cult to mountain spirits during *herranzas*), and related underlying beliefs that can resurface in times of crisis. For example, in the context of a conflict over water rights with neighbouring Portacruz, caused as a result of a development project (see chapter 2). In this case, Taullinos started excavating a mountain in the *puna*, urgently looking for an alternative source of irrigation water. Then, following orders from the local civil authorities, a delegation travelled to this place during the night to perform a special and elaborate propitiatory sacrifice, which included the burial of a pig alive, asking for permission and protection to this mountain's spirit (*apu*) (see chapter 3).

Regarding the advantages that the community has for Taullinos in the context of local "organisation", I have explained that participation in the communal system and "local Andean tradition" has offered Taullinos some key subjective and emotional advantages, such as social cohesion and a cultural identity in the current context of change. This contributes to explain why the communal system itself –and the PPC status that guarantees its continuity- remains unchallenged by Taullinos, who unanimously accept and identify with it, despite frequent individual resistance to fill and fulfil particular offices and duties, and the many limitations and demands that this system implies, such as the restrictions of movement, the burdensome communal offices and duties, or the inability to deal with certain problems.

In the context of “work” I have explained that although there are new economic activities and alternatives, agriculture and the agricultural cycle remain the main references around which most aspects of local work (and life) are organised. In this context, traditional work-exchange systems between families (*ayni* and *minka*) are practised and important, but not as much as they used to be. This is a result of the coexistence with -and increasing importance of- daily waged labour (*jornal*), which is a logical outcome of the increasing integration into national society and the market economy. *Ayni* and *minka* maintain social connotations that go beyond the simple exchange of works and services, being a form of socialisation, but have lost most of their related ritual dimensions. Similarly, and partially as a result of the decline of Catholicism, the institutions of co-/god-parenthood are not as important as in the past to mobilise workforce, but they still are key to mobilising extended networks, particularly in relation to sponsoring festivities.

Regarding the advantages the community has for Taullinos in the context of local work, I have explained how the community –through its communal system and “local Andean tradition”- has offered, and continues to do it in the current context of change, some key practical advantages to local families to successfully perform this activity. These include the guarantee of a level of access to land in different ecological zones; to water through the communal management of irrigation and maintenance of infrastructure; and to workforce through customary work-exchange systems between families (*ayni* and *minka*) and mechanisms to mobilise wider cooperation (communal work, co- and god-parenthood).

In the context of “celebrations”, I have described and analysed the three main communal festivities (Christmas, the Carnival, and “August”), explaining how they remain carefully observed and ritually elaborated. As a contrast, other traditional

celebrations and ritual practices are gradually reduced to a minimum and are sometimes abandoned in the context of social change. For example, as a result of the decline of Catholicism and the emergence of Evangelism, urban experiences, and expanding education. In this context, these main local festivities continue to express traditional forms of Andean religiosity and ritual life, while being subjected to dynamic reinvention according to new circumstances and needs. For example, by tending to incorporate civil celebrations, symbolically reflecting their increasing importance (e.g. primary school party within August's festivities).

Regarding the advantages the community has for Taullinos in the context of celebrations, I have explained how, although the sponsorship and organisation of the main local festivities are among the most burdensome and expensive communal duties Taullinos face, their ongoing maintenance and elaboration can be explained by the fact that they are a main context where Taullinos renew their social bonds as a community, and celebrate their traditions and culture. This plays a key role in their social cohesion and cultural identity, and, therefore, in the reproduction and continuity of the community and its "local Andean tradition".

The attention to local ritual life has been a unifying thread across these central chapters, acquiring a central role in the context of "celebrations". I have argued that local ritual practices and celebrations have wide multilayered dimensions, being open to different –not mutually exclusive– interpretations and approaches. For example, traditional local celebrations can be seen as mechanisms of social control or integration; or as forms of social memory among other possible interpretations. However, I have assumed as main reference the approaches to Andean rituals of ethnohistorians and related anthropologists who, in the 1960s-80s, tended to interpret them as expressions of –and in relation to – distinctive forms of Andean religiosity, socioeconomic and spatial

organisation, and so on. This can be especially seen in the context of the main communal festivities, which continue to serve as fundamental channels for the reproduction of traditional religious and socio-cultural beliefs and values (e.g. showing multiple symbolic links with agriculture and sacralisation of the landscape).

Nevertheless, I have also rejected tendencies towards idealisation and essentialisation of Andean cultures (and rituals) that often resulted from this academic perspective. Instead, I have considered Taulli's ritual life as a key context for the dynamic reinvention of the "local Andean tradition", as well as a key channel through which Taullinos experience and accommodate social change. This approach to ritual, as "a force for change", is theoretically contextualised by Kelly & Kaplan (1990) and is explained in chapter 1. In Taulli's case, this can be seen for example in the way ritual practices and activities performed in the context of daily life tend to be minimised or disappear, reflecting the decline or change of the religious beliefs and socioeconomic practices that sustain them (e.g. decline of ritual activities practised in the context of agricultural work reflecting socioeconomic changes); or in how some ritual celebrations are created or modified to symbolically respond to new or changing historical circumstances (e.g. *Circay* and July's *yarqa aspiy* respectively created and changed as a result of conflicts with Portacruz after its independence). It is also revelatory how some ritual practices can be adopted as a result of emigration experiences being incorporated into traditional local festivities, and contributing to their transformation (e.g. *cortamontes* opening and closing the local Carnival); or the aforementioned cases of some "recently" introduced civil celebrations (e.g. schools' parties and anniversaries) being integrated into main traditional communal festivities. These reinventions and accommodations can be seen as symbolic expressions of the increasing importance of some elements (schools, emigration) or of the decline of others (e.g. traditional

Catholicism) in the context of social change, and prove the flexible, integrative, and hybrid character of the “local Andean tradition” and ritual life.

Summarising, these central chapters and the analysis of Taulli’s “local Andean tradition” in them demonstrate that another main role that the community –through its communal organisation and “local Andean tradition”- plays for Taullinos in the early Twenty-first Century is to continue offering them a fundamental identity and social cohesion, and some key practical services. Moreover, this contributes (decisively) to explain why Taullinos continue to unanimously accept and identify with this “system” and “tradition” –and with the PPC status that guarantees their continuity- despite their many demands and limitations.

Concluding remarks on Taulli’s case

Taulli’s evolution in recent years is the result of dynamic processes of adaptation to far-reaching social change, whose main motor has been an increasing state intervention, and of reinvention of the “local Andean tradition”, which serves as a main channel through which Taullinos experience and accommodate change. As part of this dynamic reinvention, some aspects of the “tradition” are privileged while others are neglected, or even abandoned, depending on their adaptability and capacity to respond to new circumstances and needs. Among the privileged aspects, I would highlight the community and its communal system, which is reinvented through the PPC status and remains as cornerstone of Taullinos’ life, and the main communal festivities, which remain carefully observed and ritually elaborated, being a fundamental channel through which Taullinos renew their social bonds as a community. Among the neglected aspects, I would highlight traditional Catholicism, which has been declining as a result of the lack of priests and of the emergence of Evangelism, and many aspects of local

ritual life, such as the sacralisation of the landscape, or ritual practices performed in the context of work and daily life, among others. I would also argue that by changing, neglecting, privileging, or even abandoning these and other aspects of their own “local Andean tradition”, in a more or less conscious way, Taullinos become active agents in its reinvention, rather than being passive or neutral actors in such processes.

Finally, it is important to pay attention to local perceptions of -and attitudes towards- these contrasted but interrelated processes and dynamics of change and continuity. On this regard, I must point out that Taullinos generally welcome social change, and are unanimous about the need for “progress”, despite the complaints and lamentations that some -particularly the elderly- often formulate about some perceived negative consequences that social change brings from their point of view. These include an increasing materialism that undermines family and communal values, the exposure to the bad habits and influences of urban life, or the loss of appreciated customs and traditions. Nevertheless, Taullinos generally are wary and suspicious about the current most important motor of change, state intervention, as a result of its problems, disappointing experiences and results, and limitations, even if they welcome and appreciate particular services and initiatives brought by it. It is also important to remember that many of the new public works and services are only available on a daily basis to those who live more permanently in the central village, and that many aspects of local daily life and work (e.g. the demands of agricultural work) have not changed that much, or at all, as a result of them.

At the same time that they welcome many aspects of social change, Taullinos also want to maintain their local traditions and culture. The community remains as the central reference of their lives, as it continues to provide them with a fundamental cultural identity and social cohesion in the current context of change, where they are

increasingly integrated into national society, but in a situation of comparative disadvantage and underdevelopment. As a final assessment of the situation in Taulli in the early Twenty-first Century, it is possible to talk about a mixed landscape and a context of rapid and far-reaching social change, in which Taullinos face ongoing old problems and new challenges; but also of the existence of new opportunities and positive aspects, particularly in comparison with the recent past. The reader can decide if the glass is half-full or half-empty.

II. BESIDES AND BEYOND TAULLI

As explained in the introduction, I do not want to overstate or over-generalise Taulli's case beyond its local and to some extent regional characteristics and circumstances, and I am aware of the limitations of using a case study as a reference, and a community ethnography as a methodology. Nevertheless, taking into consideration these limitations, this ethnographic study of Taulli can be useful to address several key issues surrounding Andean communities (particularly PPCs but also others), and their study, in the early Twenty-first Century. In order to establish or draw some wider implications and conclusions, it is important to remember the distinctive characteristics of Taulli and its area, and the enormous abundance and variety of Andean communities (PPCs and others) in Peru and beyond. Those distinctive local characteristics can be partially assessed by comparison with other Andean communities' studies. In general, Taulli has been comparatively poorer, less socially complex, more marginal and isolated, and more egalitarian than most Andean communities studied in previous decades. This is demonstrated by the lack of internal socio-spatial divisions in sub-*ayllus* or moieties, or of social differentiations between *comueros/vecinos*; or by the almost complete lack of communications and direct state presence until the 1990s.

It is also necessary to remember that the community is located in one of the worst affected areas by the “violence” during the 1980s, that Ayacucho is among the poorest areas of Peru, and that the southern Peruvian highlands present many more PPCs and survivals of indigenous languages and traditional Andean culture than the central and northern Peruvian highlands, where communities generally are much more “acculturated” and integrated into the market economy. At the same time, these distinctive characteristics make this particular study especially interesting in itself, without invalidating the fact that learning of and understanding about what is happening in this particular community and area can help us to understand what is happening in other similar Andean communities and regions. Moreover, it also offers a source of comparison to learn and understand what is happening in others, in Peru and elsewhere in the Andes, and even beyond. In the following sections, I summarise the main wider implications and conclusions that I have extracted from this case study.

PPCs in the early Twenty-first Century

This study of Taulli provides an idea of the ongoing importance that PPCs (among other Andean communities) have in Peruvian society and Andean cultures in the early Twenty-first Century. This is despite their subaltern character and their decreasing demographic weight, which results from massive emigration. This importance is quantitative, on the basis of their number, territorial significance, and predominance in large Andean rural areas and regions, and also qualitative, on the basis of their historical and cultural relevance, and also for their deep interrelation with urban and coastal areas, constituting a basic reference of life for members (and their descendents) within and outside these communities. Moreover, many contemporary expressions and aspects of Andean cultures (e.g. music, religiosity, folklore) largely are a result of the adaptation

of these communities' traditions to urban and coastal environments, which, as seen in Taulli's case, can be bidirectional, influencing and contributing to the reinvention of local Andean traditions back in the community (e.g. *cortamontes* introduced in local Carnival as a result of emigration experiences). Taulli's case also shows how these communities can be increasingly integrated into national society in their own terms, without renouncing their customs and traditions, even though they are transformed by social change. This kind of integration contrasts with the image of Andean communities given by most community studies produced in previous decades, which often tended to present a dichotomy between "traditional" communities, as endogamous and "self-contained", and "progressive" communities, as acculturated and economically integrated, focusing on one or the other.

Another key issue this study raises is the increasingly important role and presence of the state, and of state intervention, in these Andean communities, becoming a major – sometimes the main- motor of change, particularly through the introduction of public works and services, such as those related to education and health, or welfare and development programmes and initiatives. As Taulli's case illustrates, the state has had a fundamental role in the origins and evolution of Andean communities from pre-Hispanic times, mainly through particular legislation and policies (e.g. Inca *mitimaes*, colonial *reducciones*, republican's earlier "legal limbo" and later PPCs legislation). However, it is only in recent decades that the Peruvian state has reached such levels of presence and intervention in these Andean communities. This has been a result of several historical circumstances and processes, such as the key role of the 1980s-90s "violence" in reversing the traditional negligence towards Andean areas towards increasing intervention. The wider international and geopolitical context has also been fundamental in this evolution, creating new emphasis and attitudes towards

development, allowing a period of economic growth that has contributed to the –still insufficient- funding of this intervention and policies, and so on; even though, as aforementioned, this wider context has also produced new –and aggravated old- challenges and problems (e.g. environmental deterioration, increasing social inequalities, the rise of powerful and damaging economic forces and interest). Nevertheless, the scale and importance of state intervention may vary much depending on different communities and regions. In Taulli’s case it is particularly noticeable and fundamental as a result of its previous almost complete lack, and because its location in a particularly poor area that was most affected by “the violence”.

Analysing social change in Taulli, I have explained how state intervention is partially adapted to the local PPC status, contributing to reinforce and further legitimise this institution among members, by providing new and remarkable advantages to them. On the basis of these findings, I suggest that despite neoliberal pressures and attempts from the Peruvian state to liberalisation towards -and of erosion of communal features of- PPCs that have existed since the 1990s (see chapter 1), the state is actually playing a key role in, and contributing to, the maintenance of this institution and its communal features, which, without idealisations or romanisations, is not archaic or anachronistic but current and relevant. This importance of the state, and of state intervention, in Andean communities also contrasts with previous community studies, where the state used to have a very marginal presence and, as a result, very little academic attention.

In direct relation to this intervention, another key issue I have raised in the thesis is the increasing importance and presence of welfare and development-related initiatives and programmes, which are mostly introduced and sponsored by the state, or by NGOs funded by the state, sometimes with international cooperation. These development initiatives involve different administrative layers (from national to municipal) and

institutions. In Taulli's case, I have differentiated between those that only offer some welfare-related assistance and services, and those that involve wider and longer-term objectives, targeting particularly disadvantaged sectors (e.g. women, children); or particularly important issues (e.g. health, education) and problems (e.g. environmental). I have also highlighted the introduction of some programmes that are specifically designed for this kind of community, celebrating local culture and customs (e.g. JUNTOS), and being adapted to and using their communal features, which demonstrate a potential to contribute to the development of these communities according to their own terms and traditions. Taulli's case exemplifies some potential positive effects that these development initiatives can have, but also some of the many problems and challenges that hamper them. Nevertheless, and despite all their problems and limitations, the existence of such initiatives contrasts with their practical inexistence in the past, as community studies produced decades ago show, illustrating the kind of changes these communities are going through.

Wider academic implications

As stated in the introduction, during my research I have tried to combine my ethnographic participant-observation in Taulli, with a kind of academic participant-observation in Andean Anthropology, on the basis of my lack of a formal and more orthodox anthropological background, and of my original unfamiliarity with the contemporary Andean world. Following this aim, I have used Taulli's case to rethink key theoretical and methodological approaches and debates in the study of Andean communities and cultures. To do this, I have theoretically contextualised the thesis in relation to the evolution of Andean Anthropology, focusing on its community studies. I have explained, following Harris (2009), how academic approaches the Andean cultures

and communities can be roughly divided between those who have tended to focus on the study of social change and on development (“short-termism”); and those who have predominately focused on historical continuities and culture (“long-termism”), although there have also existed more flexible and mixed approaches. I have also explained how my main theoretical reference has been the work of leading ethnohistorians and related anthropologists of the 1960s-80s, who were the main “long-termist” of this period, as a result of the origin of my research –as part of the *ushnus* project- that led me to an interest in historical continuities and perspectives, and because these authors tended to focus on distinctive aspects of Andean culture (e.g. syncretic religiosity and culture) that remain fundamental in Taulli’s culture.

Actually, one of the wider academic implications I have drawn from this case study is how many aspects of this 1960s-80s “long-termism” (sometimes identified as “Andeanism” from critical perspectives), which was rejected in the context of 1990s “revisionism”, are still valid and useful to approach and interpret many aspects of local culture and life in communities like Taulli. For example, the particular phenomena identified and developed by these authors to explain and interpret Andean culture (concepts, organising principles, strategies of ecological adaptation). I have argued for the value of community studies conducted from -or influenced by- this theoretical approach, while recognising their problems and shortcomings (e.g. tendencies to idealisation and essentialisation, negligence of social change and overemphasis of historical continuities), using them as a key reference for the study of Taulli. I have also used this case study to review and look for local expressions of key theoretical aspects and references of this 1960s-80s “long-termism”, demonstrating their relevance. I have particularly focused on the concepts of redistribution, dualism, and reciprocity, and on strategies of ecological adaptation developed by this theoretical approach; explaining

how they are useful and sometimes fundamental to understand and interpret key aspects of local life, as well as the underlying logic of some religious beliefs and ritual practices. For example, the sponsoring of festivities (as a form of redistribution); work-exchange systems and social relations of mutual help and support between families and extended social networks (as a form of reciprocal relations and exchanges); local conceptualisations of gender relations, ecological zones, and economic activities ritually dramatised during the Carnival by the *sallqa* and *quichwa* groups (as expressions of Andean dualism); and the need to complement and diversify crops, economic activities, and resources across available ecological zones that are still fundamental for Taullinos' economy and livelihoods (as related to ancient Andean strategies of ecological adaptation), even if these resources and access have been gradually reduced across time as a result of territorial conflicts, and losses with neighbouring communities. In this vein, contemporary migration can be as a modern channel for accessing distant products and resources, as “ecological archipelagos” and other forms of “discontinuous territoriality” were in the past. I have also argued that rejecting the 1960s-80s “long-termist” tendencies towards idealisations and essentialisation, this academic approach is actually compatible with the processual and hybrid vision of Andean culture that –as part of wider academic changes- emerged in the 1990s, and that is consistent with Taulli's case.

This case can be also used to reassess some other key academic issues that were central in Andean community studies conducted decades ago, such as the relation and dynamics between change and continuity, or the role of ritual in these communities, among others. This case study shows a much more fluid and interrelated relation between social change and historical continuities than most past community studies, which, as commented, tended to predominantly focus on the former or the latter. As a

result, I have aimed to combine both “short-” and “long-termism”, considering its differentiation as a false dichotomy to be overcome. Regarding the approach to rituals, as aforementioned, I have followed authors like Kelly & Kaplan (1990), who consider them as ‘a potent force for change, not merely a conservative power’ (ibid: 140). I have demonstrated how local ritual practices continue to reproduce traditional values and beliefs, and to offer social cohesion and cultural identity to local people, at the same time that they are also subjected to dynamic evolution, becoming a key channel for the reinvention of the wider “local Andean tradition”, and for Taullinos’ adaptation to and accommodation of social change.

To conclude, I want to return to the “back to the village?” question of this thesis’ title. I hope that this ethnographic study of Taulli has persuaded the potential reader of the current interest of Andean communities as a research focus; of the need for detailed case studies of these communities based on long-term fieldwork; and of the ongoing validity of “traditional” community ethnographies as a methodology -among many other research foci, approaches, and methodologies- in the Andes, and by extension beyond. This is because I believe that these methodology and focus of study have been unfairly and regrettably neglected and abandoned in recent decades. As stated in the introduction, I have based my vindication of this methodology on the importance that Andean communities (PPCs and others) maintain in Peruvian society and Andean cultures; on the scale and interest of the changes these communities are going through; and on the existence of a rich academic tradition that serves as rich source of knowledge and comparison, deserving continuity. I think that these three arguments have been widely illustrated in this study of Taulli in the early Twenty-first Century; which implicitly suggests some alternatives for the current study of Andean communities and cultures (overcoming differentiation “long-/short-termism” as a false dichotomy;

revalorisation of aspects of 1960s-80s “long-termism”; the attention to wider socio-political contexts; a return to the study of Andean communities combining different methodological approaches, including community ethnographies). Ultimately, I hope that this thesis has demonstrated that it is time for Andean anthropologists, and for other practitioners of ethnographic research, to go “back to the village”.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: GLOSARY OF QUECHUA AND SPANISH WORDS

Abuelos: Grandfathers. Role played during local Christmas celebrations by a few men who wear masks with white beards, and behave outrageously.

ADRA Perú: Peruvian NGO linked to the Adventist church that works on projects related to water sanitation.

Agencia Municipal: Municipal Agency. Institution that manages the government of the community's central village, according to the legislation on PPCs

Agenda: Main issue to be dealt with in communal assemblies

AgroRural (called PRONAMACH until 2009): State development programme of rural development that works on reforestation, soil conservation, and the improvement of agricultural and stock-breeding techniques and infrastructure.

Agua de Socorro: Water of help. Kind of provisional Catholic baptism for babies in cases where priests are not available to perform an "official" one.

Albaceres: Lowest (and youngest) rank of the four that form the local *varayuq* hierarchy of traditional authorities. Filled by male children between eight and fifteen years-old.

Alcalde (mayor or de vara): Highest (and oldest) rank of the four that form the local *varayuq* hierarchy. Filled by adult men over forty years-old.

ALIADOS: Allies. State programme financed by the World Bank that promotes the formation of associations of agricultural and livestock producers in rural communities.

Alto runa: People from high zones. Name given to herders who live in the *puna* in the Huánaco Pampa plateau of southern Ayacucho.

Andeanismo/lo andino: Andeanism/the Andean. Terms sometimes used to define the academic approaches of Andean ethnohistorians and related authors in the 1960-80s

Apaiaku: Kind of "welcoming" organised just before important festivities, in which the sponsors invite their closest relatives and friends, receiving different gifts from them.

APRA, Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana: American Popular Revolutionary Alliance. Oldest political party in Peru.

Apu: Mountain spirit.

Arrieros: Muleteers.

Asamblea comunal: Communal assembly.

Audiencia: Colonial court with political, administrative, and judicial powers.

Avío: Kind of “farewell” performed just after the most important festivities, in which the sponsors thank relatives and friends for their help, inviting them to a feast.

Ayllu: General word for kinship in Quechua. It also refers to ancient and diverse forms of socio-spatial organisation in the Andes.

Ayni: Andean reciprocal work exchange system between families and individuals. The term is also used to define other types of reciprocal relations.

Azucenas: Spanish for lilies. Wood branches adorned with multicoloured papers that female dancers carry during the central days of Taulli’s Christmas celebrations.

Bajo runa: People from low zones. Name given to valley dwellers in the Huánaco Pampa plateau of southern Ayacucho.

Bonito: Nice

Buen vivir/sumak kawsay: Good living. Concept of development for Andean ethnic groups based on their own cultures and traditions, and in the rejection of neoliberalism.

Buñuelos dulces: Kind of *crepe*.

Cabecera: Central *reducción* where priests and *corregidores de indios* used to live during the colonial period, serving as the “capital” to other surrounding *reducciones*.

Cabildo: Municipal council.

Campos (*a.k.a. Alcaldes de Campo*): Second lower and younger rank of local *varayug* hierarchy. Filled by male children between fifteen and twenty odd years-old.

Cantor: Local specialist in leading Catholic prayers and ceremonies.

Capacitadores: Trainers. People in charge of implementing development programmes and providing training courses related to them.

Capataz: Spanish for foreman. Sponsor of certain local celebrations.

Capilla: Chapel.

Caporal: Ritual specialist in charge of leading the communal *herranza* in Taulli.

CARE Perú: Peruvian NGO working on projects related to water sanitation and management.

Cargante: *Comunero* who holds a traditional office that requires sponsoring celebrations.

Cargo: Public office.

CÁRITAS Perú: Church-related NGO that implemented a project for alfalfa production in Taulli in 2007-08.

Casarikuy: Ritual marriage of two young animals (e.g. calves) of opposite sex that takes place during *herranzas*.

Caserío: Hamlet. Term used for settlements within Andean communities others than central villages. In Taulli it is used for the upper settlements of Urabamba and Taulliwasi.

CEDAP, *Centro de Desarrollo Agropecuario*: Centre of Agropastoral Development. NGO working in Taulli in 2009-10 that provides training in agropastoral techniques and encourages the creation of cooperatives of producers.

CEM, *Centro de Emergencia de la Mujer* (Women's Emergency Centre): NGO working on women's rights in Hunacasancos province

Chakitaklla: Andean food plough of pre-Hispanic origin.

Chakra: Agricultural field.

Charki: Sun-dried meat.

Chicha: Maize beer.

Chuñu: Dehydrated potatoes that last for a long time. They are made by exposing the potatoes to night frosts, water, and daily sun, in the *puna* for several days.

Circo (or **Circay**): First activity of Taulli's new *varayuqs* after taking office. It consists of repairing walls in the *puna*, and culminates with a ritual feast.

COFOPRI, *Organismo de la Formalización de la Propiedad Informal*: Agency for the Formalisation of Informal Property. State institution that formalises land property.

Cofradía: Brotherhood in charge of observing a saint or virgin feast, and of managing the agricultural fields that nominally belong to the saint/virgin.

Colegio: Secondary school.

Combi: Van. Name given to minibuses that serve as public transport.

COMISEDH, *Comisión Derechos Humanos*: Human Rights Commission). NGO working with victims of "the violence" in the Huancasancos province.

Comité Directivo: Directive Committee. Institution in charge of the local government of PPCs. It is headed by a president and made up of several offices filled among members.

Compadrazgo: Co-parenthood

Compadres espirituales: "Spiritual co-parents". Co-parents established by baptism and "water of help".

Comunero: Official member of the community. The term refers now to independent heads of local families in PPCs and in other Andean communities.

Comunidad campesina: Peasant community. Official status of legally recognised indigenous communities since the 1969 Peruvian Land Reform

Control vertical de un máximo de pisos ecológicos: “Vertical control of a maximum of ecological zones”. Theoretical model developed by Murra (e.g. 1975) to explain distinctive pre-Hispanic strategies of ecological adaptation in the Andes.

Corregidores de indios: Indians’ protectors. Colonial officials theoretically in charge of protecting members of indigenous communities from external aggressions.

Corregimiento: Colonial administrative entities similar to provinces.

Cortamente/yunsa: Celebration that involves participants dancing in couples around a tree with an axe, and taking turns to hack it until it falls down.

Coso: Pen for animals.

Costumbres del pueblo: The village’s customs. Name Taullinos use to refer to their local traditions, particularly to ritual practices and celebrations.

CRECER: To grow. State institution founded in 2007 by the government of Alán García to coordinate national development programmes and institutions.

Cuadrilla: Work group.

Cuadros costumbristas: Picturesque scenes. Recreations of traditional local festivities performed by the children as part of school parties, as a celebration of local culture.

Desarrollismo: Economic theory popular in the mid-Twentieth Century that argued for a state-led industrialisation of Latin American countries.

Doctrina (or curato): Colonial equivalent to parish.

Ecónomo: Keeper of the church. Head of Taulli’s traditional authorities in charge of the local church.

El español: The Spaniard. Near real-sized mummy of a man used to attract the bull during the bullfighting of Augusts’ festivities.

El Niño: Cyclical climate phenomenon consisting of a change of ocean currents patterns, which affects parts of South America producing extreme weather conditions.

El que dirán: What people would say?

Encomienda/encomendero: Jurisdiction over indigenous groups granted to Spanish individuals and institutions during Colonial times. Holders were called *encomenderos*.

Envarado: member of the *varayuq* hierarchy.

Escuela: Primary school.

Esquinas: “Corners”. Places (not always real corners) inside Taulli’s central village where local people customarily stop during ritual practices and celebrations.

Estancias: Compounds of houses and animal pens that are typical in the *puna*.

Faltante: Absentee. *Comunero* who misses a day of communal work, having to pay a fine or to work a day in *lieu* as a result.

Fiestas Patrias: Peruvian Independence Day (28th July).

FONCODES, *Fondo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo Social*: Cooperation Fund for Social Development. State development institution that organises and funds development programmes and initiatives.

Gamonal: Term coined in the Nineteenth Century to define an emerging class of powerful men who controlled Andean regions through political clientelism.

Gringa: White woman.

Hacienda/hacendado: Estate or plantation/estate owner. Dominant form of rural land exploitation between the late colonial period and the mid Twentieth Century.

Hanan/Hurin: Upper/lower. Andean form of hierarchical dual socio-spatial organisation that was widespread during pre-Colonial times.

Hananwayku: Gorge’s upper part. Reciprocal ritual exchanges of products that take place during the Carnival, between sponsoring *varayuqs*.

Harkas: Ritual practice performed in Taulli by *ayni* work groups, which consists of the selection of the maize seeds to be sowed first by some of the women present.

Hermanidad de la Iglesia: Church’s Sisterhood. Religious institution formed by local devout women, who used to organise prayer sessions and take care of local elderly.

Herranza: Herding-related propitiatory rituals where animals are branded.

Huamanguinos: People from Huamanga. Ritual role played by some local men during Taulli’s Christmas celebrations, behaving wildly and representing muleteers.

Huano: Accumulations of bird droppings in coastal areas that serve as high quality fertilizer. Peru experienced an economic boom in the mid Nineteenth Century commercialising its massive reserves, until they were exhausted.

Huari/llacuaz: Ancient Andean differentiation between agriculturalists from temperate valleys and herders from the *puna*.

Humita: traditional sweet made of corn.

IAC: Indigenous Andean community.

Ichu: Type of grass typical from the *puna*.

Illapa: Pre-Hispanic god of thunder.

Indio: “Indian”.

Inicial: Kindergarten.

JAAS, Junta Administradora de Agua y Saneamiento: board of water and sanitation management. Local committees that manage water for human consumption.

Jornal: Daily waged labour and daily wage.

JUNTOS: Together. State development programme that pays 100 soles (US\$33) per month to beneficiaries, who are mothers of children under fourteen years-old in rural communities of “extreme poverty”. The project was introduced in Taulli in 2006.

Khipu: Andean pre-Hispanic recording device made up of knotted cords.

Kintu (of coca leaves): Group of coca leaves with the dark side up to be used in some ritual practices.

Kuraka/cacique: Indigenous leader who was part of local aristocracies in pre-Hispanic *ayllus* and colonial indigenous communities.

La violencia: The “violence”. Name applied to the armed conflict between the Maoist guerrilla of Shining Path and the Peruvian state (1980-2000).

Limbo de los niños: “Children’s limbo”. Place where children are supposed to go if they die without being baptised.

Llampu: Flour-like powder used in *herranzas*, being dusted to the mountains and over the animals, and finally used to daub peoples’ faces.

Maestro: Teacher, musician.

Marcas: Marks. Ribbons in the ears of cattle and other animals (e.g. equine) whose combinations of colours differentiate the owner.

Masa/yerno: Son-in-law. Terms used for men incorporated to the community by marriage. Role played by some participants in different ritual celebrations.

Masl: metres above the sea level.

Matiku: Role played by the men in charge of preparing a mummy representing “a Spaniard” during the “day of the bull”, as part of August’s festivities.

Mayordomo: Sponsor of a festivity. Temporary holder of a *cofradía* field.

Mazamorra: Maize mush.

Mesa: Table. It also refers to blankets used as “altars” in some ritual celebrations.

Mestizo: Mixed-race.

Minka: Widespread work-exchange system in the Andes. It implies working for someone for food, drinks and coca on a daily basis.

Mishkipa: Coca chewing break made during work or journeys.

Mita: Compulsory work service that was the main form of pre-Hispanic taxation in the Andes. It was later adapted to the Colonial system (e.g. mining).

Mitimae: Pre-Hispanic resettlement of an ethnic group -or of some of its members- that was made for a variety of reasons (e.g. defensive, economic) beyond its core territory.

Navidad: Christmas.

Ñakaq: Throat cutter. Another name used for *pishtako*.

Pachamama: Andean concept of “Mother Earth”.

Padrinazgo: God-parenthood.

Pagapu: Propitiatory ritual offering made often in the context of herding rituals.

Pakarina: Geographical location or landmark that Andean ethnic groups identified as the place where ancestors had originated from (e.g. the Incas with Lake Titicaca).

Pampa: Plain.

Parentesco ceremonial: Ritual kinship. Definition of co- and god-parenthood links.

PARUA: Peruvian NGO working in the Ayacucho region that aims to raise teaching standards providing training to teachers. Present In Taulli in 2009-10

Pastores/pastoras: Male/female shepherds. Role played by dancers during local Christmas celebrations.

PC: Peasant community.

PEAR, *Programa de Educación en Areas Rurales*: Education in Rural Areas Programme. State programme that works on improving education in rural areas.

Perdón de los compadres: The “forgiveness of the co-parents”. Ritual ceremony through which wedding and baptism godparents become co-parents with the parents of their godchildren (either of the child or of the newlyweds).

Personero: Head of a legally recognised indigenous community according to the system of local government established between 1938 and 1969.

Picante de papa: Andean potato stew.

Pishtako: Kind of Andean “bogey man” who kills people to steal their fat. During Taulli’s August *yarqa aspiy* several local men play this role.

Pollada: Roasted chicken feast.

Posta médica: Medical post.

PPC: Peruvian peasant community.

Prebeste: Traditional church authority in charge of keeping the church’s objects.

PRONAA, *Programa Nacional de Alimentos*: National Food Programme. State development programme that provides food.

PRONAMA, *Programa Nacional de Mobilización para la Alfabetización*: National Programme of Mobilisation for Literacy. State programme that works on eradicating illiteracy and improving education among adults.

PRONASAR, *Programa Nacional de Agua y Saneamiento Rural*: National Programme of Water and Rural Sanitation. State development institution that provides water sanitation to rural areas.

Pueblo: Village. Term Taullinos -and other Andean people- normally use to refer to their community. More common setting of community ethnographies.

Pukarumi: Big stone located near Taulli’s central village that is supposed to be enchanted by a spirit, which takes the form of a white woman (*gringa*) to attract men.

Puna/sallqa: Andean ecological zone located above 3800 masl, where herding and non-irrigated agriculture (mainly of tubers) is practised.

Qasa: Frost.

Qasa capilla: Chapel located in Taulli’s *suní* zone, at the top of one of the pathways that descends to the lower *quichwa* zone.

Quichwa: Andean ecological zone that corresponds to temperate valleys where agriculture is dominant. The word is sometimes spelled as Quechua (like the language).

Quichwa group: One of the two groups formed by the local population during Carnival. It represents people from the (*quichwa*) ecological zone.

Quipi: Blanket used as back bag by Andean peoples, particularly by women to carry babies.

Reconquista: Re-conquest. Historical process through which the Catholic kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula expelled the “moors” (from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries).

Reducción: Colonial resettlement of indigenous ethnic groups into Spanish-style villages, to facilitate their control. They were systematised in the Andes in the 1570s .

Regidor: Second upper and older rank of the four that form the local *varayuq* hierarchy of traditional authorities. Filled by men between their late-twenties and early-forties.

Regidor municipal: Municipal alderman. Civil office in district (municipal) governments that represents “annexes”. This is the only paid local office in Taulli.

Rejón: Spear carried by the *alcalde* during the “day of the bull” (August’s festivities).

Repartidores de agua: Water distributors. Traditional authorities in charge of managing local irrigation. Substituted decades ago by a civil Irrigation Committee.

Requinto: Type of guitar typical in Andean music.

Retablo: Altarpiece. There are small portable ones that are used in ritual celebrations.

Runa simi: People’s tongue. Original name for Quechua language.

Sacristán: Sacristan. Traditional office in charge of keeping the church’s keys and ringing the bells when necessary, among other duties.

Salsaka: long staffs with rattles on top that are shaken producing a characteristic jingle. They are used in some local ritual practices related to livestock.

Sallqa group: One of the two groups formed by the local population during Carnival. It represents people from the *puna/sallqa* ecological zone.

Santa Cruz: Holy Cross. Catholic feast that commemorates the cross as an instrument of Jesus’ passion and a symbol of Christianity, on 3rd May.

Santiago Apostol: Saint James.

Sawqa/Qullana: Non-spatially localised sub-*ayllus* in which the members of the community of Sarhua (bordering with Taulli) are divided.

Seguro Integral de Salud, SIS: Integral Health Insurance. Public health insurance that covers some of the most disadvantaged sectors of Peruvian society.

Sendero Luminoso: Shining Path. Maoist gerrilla founded in Ayacucho in the 1970s.

Serrano: Highlander. Term used for Andean people.

Sonaja: Type of rattle use in different ritual contexts and celebrations.

Substantivismo: “Substantivism”. Term used by Golte (2000: 209-211) to define Murra’s –and other authors’- approach to Andean cultures, considering them distinctive and unique (as part of 1960s-80s “long-termism”).

Suisuna: Ritual feasts between local traditional and civil authorities participate, culminating some local celebrations.

Suni: Taulli’s middle ecological zone where population settlements, and most agricultural lands, are located.

Tango (or *tanguy*): Competitive game played between local authorities on the second day of August’s *yarqa aspiy*. It consists in knocking down wood pieces with stones.

Tawantinsuyu: Land of the four quarters. Original Quechua name of the Inca Empire.

Técnico de enfermería: Assistant nurse.

Territorialidad discontinua: “Discontinuous territoriality”. Dispersed and discontinuous patterns of land holding of pre-Hispanic Andean ethnic groups.

Tinku: Encounter. Ritual battle.

Toropacio: Ritual celebration performed in the central village during the second night of August’s *yarqa aspiy* (25th August), in which a previous year *campo* parades the streets with his entourage, as a preparation for the bullfighting.

Tranca capilla: Chapel located inside Taulli’s central village, near the east entrance.

Tuta puriy: “night ramblers”. Groups that parade the streets of the central village during the night (between Christmas and the Carnival), playing and dancing Carnival music.

Ukuku: Role of “bear-dancer” played by some participants in the annual pilgrimage to the sanctuary/mountain of Qoyllur Riti (Cuzco).

Uray: Abajo.

Vaquero communal: Communal cowherd. Traditional office whose holder is in charge of taking care of the communal cattle for a year, having to live in the *puna* most of the time, rotating between pastures.

Vara: Baton, staffs used by *varayuqs* as symbol of authority.

Varayuyq: Member of traditional local authorities in Andean communities, who carries a staff (*vara*) as symbol of power. System introduced in the colonial period mirroring offices of Spanish councils (*cabildos*).

Vaso de Leche: Glass of milk. State development programme that provides milk and food baskets to priority groups such as children, pregnant women, and elderly people.

Vecino: Spanish for neighbour. During Colonial times the term referred to Spaniards (particularly to *encomenderos*). Later it referred to non-*comuneros* living in Andean communities, sometimes identified as mixed-raced (*mestizos*).

Velar: To keep a vigil.

Visita: Census-taking inspection carried out by Colonial officials to assess and establish the tributary capacity of the indigenous population.

Vocal: Spokesman/woman. Office of different local institution and committees.

Waka: Sacred place or thing of Andean religiosity (e.g. certain stones).

Waraka: Sling.

Warmi hurquy: Preliminary stage of local weddings that involves the groom's family visiting the bride's parents to ask for permission to marry, and to arrange details.

Warmi sapa: Woman alone. Unmarried mature woman, single mother, or widower who counts as *comuneras*.

Wasi wasi: Ritual inauguration of a new house, which combines work and celebrations.

Wayku: Gorge, precipice.

Wayku capilla: Chapel located in Taulli's *suní* zone.

Wallqa: Garlands decorated with fruits and other products that are used in different ritual contexts, symbolising abundance and fertility.

Witku: Special ceramic vessel used in ritual contexts to exchange toasts.

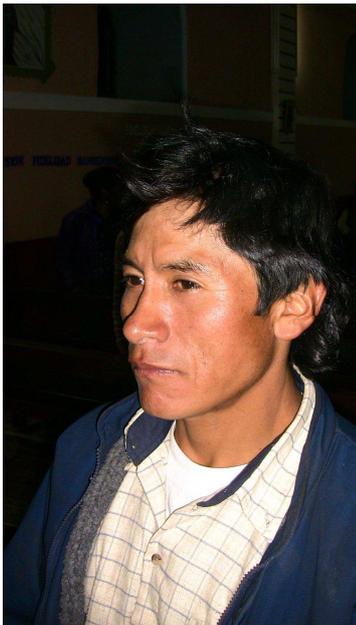
Yarqa aspiy: Cleaning of irrigation channels that precede the beginning of a new agricultural cycle. It normally mixes work with ritual and festive activities.

Yugada: Amount of land that can be ploughed by a pair of oxen in one day. Nowadays it is considered as 2500 square metres in Taulli.

APPENDIX 2: SOME KEY TAULLINOS



Edwin Antesana: *comunero* in his late-forties with a permanent state job as clerk in the local primary school. He spent 13 years in Huancasancos and Lima, studying and working, before returning to Taulli in 1987, after the worst years of the “violence”. Edwin is a much respected person who always occupies positions of responsibility in the community. During fieldwork he was one of the three local trained registrars, and the only trained secretary of the justice of the peace (the two most qualified local offices). He is married and has two daughters and more than a dozen god-children.



Silverio Antesana: *comunero* in his late-thirties who trained as an electrician in Lima, where he lived for 10 years, before returning to Taulli to get married in 2006. Silverio is a very Catholic person and during my fieldwork he was the local *economista* (the highest office of the church’s authorities), a *varayuc regidor*, and a member of a JAAS committee, among other responsibilities. He and his wife Priscila have two young daughters, and they became my co-parents in December 2009, after I god-fathered one of them, the three year-old Ima Sumaq, in the provincial capital of Huancasancos.



Marcial Arone: *comunero* in his early-sixties who lived for 33 years in Lima, working as a chef in a Chinese restaurant before returning to Taulli in 1995, after receiving an inheritance. Despite spending most of his adult life in Lima, Marcial is a staunch “traditionalist” who participated in most religious feasts and customary celebrations, often complaining when they were not performed “properly” and remembering how they used to be in the past.



Víctor Ávalos: *comunero* in his early sixties who was already “retired” as a result of poor health. Víctor lived practically all his life in Taulli, and considered himself as an expert in the “traditional ways” of the community, an authority that was sometimes questioned by other Taullinos. He was particularly religious and used to help out in most Catholic ceremonies, and church-related activities, being a constant presence in most local celebrations. He was an important source of local oral traditions and legends. In 2009 he felt seriously ill, and I learnt that he passed away in 2010.



Alfredo Condori and Dina Jerí: *comunero* couple in their mid-thirties and late-twenties respectively. They own the main local shop, and the largest extension of agricultural lands in the community, thanks to a combination of inheritances and selective purchases and exchanges. Alfredo

has an uncommon business-led mentality, and is the only Taullino able to orientate most of his agricultural production to the market. This causes some resentment towards him, but this is tempered by his good character and his willingness to fulfil –although sometimes reluctantly- communal obligations. Dina abandoned her studies when she got married, but she returned to school to complete her secondary education as an adult, becoming an example for local women. She graduated in 2007 as part of the first promotion of the local secondary school (this picture was taken at the graduation ceremony). In 2010 she became Taulli’s municipal *regidor* (the only paid local office). They have a pre-teen son.



Juan Quispe: *comunero* in his early-fifties who has spent most of his life in Taulli, and lives most of the time in an estancia in the *puna*. Juan is very active in the local communal organisation and also in most celebrations, always playing the role of *pishtako* during the Augusts' *yarqa aspi*. He is married and has several adult children, having lost a couple of them in tragic circumstances and being in charge of bringing up some grandchildren. Juan used to tell me the most intriguing and interesting stories and legends about the community, which, although they were often not confirmed and corroborated by other local sources, were always an interesting reference to take into consideration.



Pedro Quispe: *comunero* in his early-forties with a university degree in history from the University of Huamanga. He works as a secondary school teacher without a fixed position, so he has to shift between communities during school courses according to vacancies. As a result he has spent more than fifteen years outside Taulli, as an “absent” *comunero* most of the time, although he sometimes works in neighbouring communities, or even in Taulli’s secondary school since its opening. He is married and has three pre-teen children.



Vicente Cisneros: assistant nurse in his mid-thirties who worked in Taulli’s medical post between 2007 and 2010, when he returned to his permanent post in neighbouring Manchiri. Vicente is originally from a community of northern Ayacucho but his residence is in Huamanga, where his wife and young son are. As the person mainly responsible for the medical post, Vicente was in charge – along with the rest of the health staff- of coordinating, implementing, and monitoring most welfare and development programmes.

APPENDIX 3: 2009 SURVEY AND MAIN RESULTS

CUESTIONARIO COMUNEROS TAULLI (DEC. 2009 SURVEY)

GENERAL:

Edad: Estado civil: matrimonio civil/católico/evangelista/otros- No.
hijos:
Nivel de estudios:
Religión: C / E Estatus como comunero: activo/pasivo/retirado.
¿Desde cuándo es comunero?

DOMICILIO/S: Lugar de residencia habitual: ¿Por qué?
Otros domicilios:

EMIGRACIÓN:

Años pasados fuera de Taulli: ¿Dónde? ¿Haciendo qué?
¿Cuándo y por qué regresó a Taulli?

Padrinazgo/compadrazgo:

¿Tiene ahijados de agua de socorro/bautizo, cuantos de cada?
¿Tiene ahijados de matrimonio civil/religioso, cuantos de cada?
¿Cuántos compadres tiene? ¿Cuántos son de Taulli y cuantos de fuera?
¿Cuántos viven fuera de Taulli, donde?

Ayni/minka:

¿Con quién hace *ayni* y *minka* y cuándo?

TIERRAS:

¿Cuántas yugadas tiene en total? ¿Cuánto de regadío y de secoano?
¿Cuántas chacras tiene y donde?: *Quichwa-* *Suni-* *Puna-*
Ñiqeska-
¿Cómo ha conseguido esas tierras?

¿Ha vendido, comprado o alquilado tierra: cuando, a quien, por qué?

¿Trabaja tierra de familiares que están fuera: cuanta, de quien, como?

¿Tiene bastante tierra para dejarle a sus hijos si estos se casan?

Dinero: ¿Fuente estable de dinero?

Otras fuentes: actividades comerciales, emigración, trabajo temporal, etc.

SURVEY DATA

Survey's context: the interviews were conducted –following the questionnaire showed above- in Taulli by the author, in the last three weeks of 2009. Most of them took place in the central village during the local Christmas celebrations (19th-27th December), which attract all sectors of the local population.

Informants' representativeness: 60 Taullinos interviewed, of whom 50 (83.33%) were “active” *comuneros* (including two *masas*, those assimilated in the community by marriage). The remaining 10 Taullinos included 3 (5%) “absent” (those who are not living in the community) and 3 (5%) “retired” *comuneros*, as well as 1 (1.66%) *warmi sapa* (in this case a widow), 2 (3.33%) young males who were just married and about to become *comuneros*, and 1 (1.66%) adult man with an “undefined” status because he was single and did not plan to become *comunero* (this was the only case I knew of). Therefore, in relation to the local census of early-2008,* the 2009 survey included 58.82% of all “active” *comuneros* (50 out of 85), which is a very representative percentage. The most important results of the survey that have been presented in the thesis are these:

Land property (amount): all surveyed Taullinos except for one (a young man about to become *comunero*) claimed to own land in the community:

- 12 (20%) owned 2 or less *yugadas* of land.**
- 32 (53.33%) owned between more than 2 and less than 8 *yugadas*.
- 15 (25%) owned 8 or more *yugadas*. Among them, 5 (8.33%) claimed to own 12 or more *yugadas*. The maximum amount of owned land claimed was 24 *yugadas*, although this amount seems highly exaggerated.

Land ownership across local ecological zones and Ñiqeska (the fertile valley within neighbouring Portacruz's territory where many Taullinos still own land):

- Lower *quichwa* zone: 47 (78.33%) owned some land there.

* According to a local census of early-2008, Taulli's population then was 461 people divided in 106 families. Of these families, 90 (84.9%) were headed by *comuneros*, who could be “active” (85) or “retired” (5). The remaining 16 families (5.1%) were headed by widowers or single mothers (*warmi sapas*), or by just married couples who were about to become *comuneros*.

** As explained in the text, a *yugada* is nowadays considered as 2500 square metres.

- Middle *suní* zone: 50 (83.33%) owned some land there.
- Upper *puna* zone: 40 (66.66%) owned some land there.
- Ñiqeska valley: 32 (53.33%) owned some land there.

Access to land in the four local areas (the three ecological zones and Ñiqeska):

- 25 (41.66%) owned land in the 4 local areas.
- 16 (26.66%) owned land in 3 of the four local areas.
- 8 (13.55%) owned land in only 2 of the four local areas.
- 1 (1.69%) owned land in just 1 of the four local areas.
- 10 (16.66%) did not specify where they own land.

Enough land to leave to children?

- **Yes:** 19 (31.66%) alleged to have enough land to leave to their children.
- **No:** 17 (28.33%) alleged not to have enough land to leave to their children.
- **More or less:** 10 (16.66%) alleged to have more or less.
- **Others:** 14 (23.33%) did not answer, had no children, or had already passed their land to them.

Land let by relatives: 25 (41.66%) claimed to work land of relatives who are away on a regular basis.

Rent land: 2 (3.33%) claimed to be renting some land, both to relatives. None said that they rented any.

Purchase and sell of land: 28 (46.66%) have bought some land in the community, mostly from relatives who are outside the community; while 3 (5%) have sold some land, all of them in the valley of Ñiqeska and to Portacruceños.

Housing: 44 (73.33%) have more than one house in the community. 5 (8.33%) owned houses outside Taulli, mainly in neighbouring communities or in the provincial and regional capitals.

- 0 houses: 1 (1.66%)
- 1 house: 15 (25%)

- 2 houses: 20 (33.33%)
- 3 houses: 20 (33.33%)
- 4 houses: 3 (5%)
- 5 houses: 1 (1.66%)

Emigration: 19 (31.66%) have not lived outside Taulli for periods of over a year, while 41 (68.33%) have lived outside between 1 and 50 years.

Religion: 46 (76.66%) defined themselves as Catholic, while 14 (23.33%) did it as Evangelists. This percentage may be misleading in relation to the whole community, as Evangelism tends to have more members among women.

Cattle: 31 (51.66%) owned cattle. 2 (3.33%) people had more than 15 heads (20 and 30 respectively); 9 (15%) between 8 and 5 heads; and the remaining 20 (33.33%) had fewer than 8 heads (most between 3 and 4).

The following tables show most of the collected data in which the previous percentages and information are based. Blank spaces count for questions that were not answered by - or applicable to- the interviewed.

| <i>Informant no.</i> | <i>Age</i> | <i>Children No.</i> | <i>Status</i> | <i>Total land (yugadas)</i> | <i>Irrigated land (y.)</i> | <i>Quichwa zone (plots)</i> | <i>Suni zone (p.)</i> | <i>Puna zone (p.)</i> | <i>Ñiqeska valley (p.)</i> | <i>Let by relatives (p.)</i> | <i>Available plots</i> | <i>Sold (p.)</i> | <i>Bought (p.)</i> | <i>Rent (p.)</i> |
|----------------------|------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1 | 49 | 7 | Active | 5-6 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 16 | | | |
| 2 | 40 | 4 | Active | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | | 9 | | | |
| 3 | 39 | 2 | Active | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | |
| 4 | 35 | 4 | Absent | 2.5 | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | 3 | 8 | | | 2 |
| 5 | 42 | 4 | Active | 3 | 1 | | 2 | 3 | | | 5 | | 2 | |
| 6 | 50 | 5 | <i>Warmisapa</i> | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | | | | 5 | | | |
| 7 | 30 | 2 | Active | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 4 | | 1 | |
| 8 | 42 | 3 | <i>Active-masa</i> | 8 | 1 | 4 | 6 | | | | 10 | | 2 | |
| 9 | 33 | 1 | Absent | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | 2 | (let to) | 9 | | | |
| 10 | 37 | 4 | Active | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 2 | | 9 | | | |
| 11 | 60 | 3 | Active | 12 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | | | 12 | | 9 | |
| 12 | 35 | 2 | Active | 6 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 15 | | 2 | |
| 13 | 33 | 2 | Active | 2 | 0.5 | 1 | 3 | | 2 | 2 | 8 | | | |
| 14 | 33 | 3 | Active | 1.5 | 0.25 | 1 | 4 | 4 | | 2 | 11 | | 4 | |
| 15 | 54 | 5 | Active | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 16 | | 3 | |
| 16 | 65 | 3 | Active | 16 | 4 | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | 58 | 8 | Active | 4 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 18 | 29 | 0 | Active | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 | | | 2 | 5 | | | |
| 19 | 50 | 7 | Active | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | | 8 | | | |
| 20 | 20 | 0 | Soon to be | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | 47 | 4 | Active | 3 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 19 | | | |
| 22 | 64 | 9 | Active | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | 45 | 5 | Active | 6 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | | 10 | | 2 | |
| 24 | 31 | 0 | "Undefined" | 2 | 1 | | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 5 | | | |
| 25 | 38 | 2 | <i>Active-masa</i> | 6 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 13 | | 3 | |
| 26 | 67 | 5 | Active | 4 | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 8 | | 2 | |
| 27 | 33 | 3 | Active | 6 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 11 | | 2 | |
| 28 | 73 | 2 | Retired | 1.5 | 0.5 | | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | 26 | 3 | Active | 8 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 26 | | 3 | |
| 30 | 53 | 4 | Active | 16 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 5 | | 15 | | | |

| <i>Informant no.</i> | <i>Age</i> | <i>Children No.</i> | <i>Status</i> | <i>Total land (yugadas)</i> | <i>Irrigated land (y.)</i> | <i>Quichwa zone (plots)</i> | <i>Suni zone (p.)</i> | <i>Puna zone (p.)</i> | <i>Ñiqeska valley (p.)</i> | <i>Let by relatives (p.)</i> | <i>Available plots</i> | <i>Sold (p.)</i> | <i>Bought (p.)</i> | <i>Rent (p.)</i> |
|----------------------|------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 31 | 39 | 2 | Active | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | | 9 | 2 | 2 | |
| 32 | 49 | 4 | Active | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 8 | | 1 | |
| 33 | 30 | 2 | Active | 3 | 1.5 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 34 | 50 | 4 | Active | 4 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | | 13 | 1 | 2 | |
| 35 | 37 | 3 | Active | 5 | 2.5 | 3 | 3 | 3 | | | 9 | | | |
| 36 | 44 | 1 | Active | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | 6 | | 1 | |
| 37 | 49 | 4 | Active | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | | 1 | 9 | | | |
| 38 | 33 | 0 | Active | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | | | 6 | | 1 | |
| 39 | 46 | 2 | Active | 9 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | | | 7 | | several | |
| 40 | 22 | 1 | Active | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 41 | 37 | 2 | Active | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | 6 | | 2 | |
| 42 | 63 | 5 | Active | 3 | 1.5 | 1 | | | 3 | | 4 | | | |
| 43 | 27 | 3 | Active | 2 | 0.5 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 8 | | | |
| 44 | 64 | 3 | Active | 9 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 18 | 1 | | |
| 45 | 56 | 6 | Active | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | | 10 | | 2 | |
| 46 | 42 | 0 | Active | 8 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 23 | | 4 | |
| 47 | 41 | 4 | Active | 8 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | 7 | | | |
| 48 | 50 | 7 | Active | 12 | 2 | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| 49 | 63 | 7 | Absent | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 13 | | | |
| 50 | 20 | 1 | Soon to be | 4 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 5 | | | |
| 51 | 71 | 3 | Retired | 0.5 | | 2 | 3 | | 1 | some | 6 + ? | | | |
| 52 | 27 | 2 | Active | 5 | 2 | | | | | | | | 3 | |
| 53 | 33 | 3 | Active | 4 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 7 | 22 | | 1 | |
| 54 | 35 | 1 | Active | 24 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 | some | 10 + ? | | | |
| 55 | 45 | 5 | Active | 8 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 5 | | 2 | 12 | | 1 | |
| 56 | 43 | 3 | Active | 4 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 2 | | 17 | | 3 | |
| 57 | 41 | 3 | Active | 3 | 0.25 | 3 | 3 | | | 1 | 7 | | | |
| 58 | 36 | 2 | Active | 8 | 0.5 | 1 | 3 | 1 | | | 5 | | 2 | |
| 59 | 75 | 5 | Retired | 4.5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | | 2 | 10 | | | |
| 60 | 39 | 2 | Active | 5.5 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 4 | | 13 | | 2 | |

| No. | Main house | Other houses | Total houses | Years outside | Where? | Doing what? | Studies | Religion | cattle |
|-----|------------|--|--------------|---------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------|--------|
| 1 | Urabamba | Taulli, <i>estancia (puna)</i> | 3 | 3 | Marcona (Ica) | Studies, work | part of secondary | Catholic | 10 |
| 2 | Urabamba | Taulli, <i>estancia</i> | 3 | 3 | Huancasancos | Studies | secondary (full) | C | |
| 3 | Urabamba | Taulli | 2 | | | | primary (full) | Evangelist | |
| 4 | Lima | | 1 | 5 | Lima, periods in Ica | Farming | part of secondary | C | 4 |
| 5 | Taulli | <i>estancia</i> | 2 | | periods in coast | | part of primary | E | 5 |
| 6 | Taulli | | 1 | | periods in coast | | primary (full) | E | |
| 7 | Taulli | Jechaua (wife's) | 2 | | periods in coast | Farming | primary (full) | E | |
| 8 | Taulli | | 1 | 9 | Cañete (Lima), Huancasancos | Studies, Farming | primary (full) | C | 8 |
| 9 | Taulli | Urabamba | 2 | 14 | Ica, Lima, Huancasancos, Carapo | Farming | secondary (full) | C | |
| 10 | Taulli | | 1 | | periods in coast | | primary (full) | C | |
| 11 | Taulliwasi | Taulli, Putika | 3 | | periods in coast | | primary (full) | E | 1 |
| 12 | Taulliwasi | Taulli, <i>estancia</i> | 3 | 11 | Huancasancos, periods in Ica | Studies, Farming | técnico agropecuario | C | 30 |
| 13 | Taulli | | 1 | 6 | Huancasancos | | técnico agropecuario | C | |
| 14 | Taulli | | 1 | 7 | Huancasancos | | técnico agropecuario | E | |
| 15 | Taulli | | 1 | 6 | Lima & periods in Chincha | Waiter | part of primary | E | |
| 16 | Taulli | another 2 in Taulli | 3 | 10 | Lima | Hotel | primary (full) | C | |
| 17 | Urabamba | Taulli, <i>estancia</i> | 3 | | | | primary (full) | C | |
| 18 | Taulli | | 1 | 4 | Carapo & periods in coast | Studies | part of secondary | C | 2 |
| 19 | Taulli | <i>estancia</i> , Huanca., Ayacu., Ica | 5 | 19 | Ica, Huancasancos, other PPCs | Studies, Teaching | university (teaching) | C | |
| 20 | Taulli | | | | periods in Ica, Lima, Pisco | Whatever | secondary (full) | C | |
| 21 | Taulliwasi | Taulli, <i>estancia</i> | 3 | | | | primary (full) | C | 5 |
| 22 | Taulli | <i>estancia</i> | 2 | | periods in Lima | | part of primary | C | 12 |
| 23 | Urabamba | Taulli, <i>estancia</i> | 3 | | periods in Lima | | primary (full) | C | 5 |
| 24 | Taulli | Taulliwasi, <i>estancia</i> | 3 | 8 | Huancasancos, Huamanga | Studies, Farming | técnico agropecuario | C | 8 |
| 25 | Taulliwasi | Taulli | 2 | | periods coast | | primary (full) | C | 10 |
| 26 | Taulliwasi | Taulli, <i>estancia</i> | 3 | 15 | Pisco | Bricklayer | part of primary | C | 5 |
| 27 | Urabamba | Taulli, <i>estancia</i> | 3 | 8 | Huancasancos, Lima, periods in Ica | Studies, work | técnico agropecuario | C | 6 |
| 28 | Taulli | <i>estancia</i> | 2 | 5 | Carapo | | part of secondary | C | |
| 29 | Taulli | <i>estancia</i> | 2 | 8 | Portacruz, Ica, periods in Lima | Studies, Factory | secondary (full) | C | |
| 30 | Taulli | | 1 | 12 | Lima | Chef | primary (full) | C | 3 |

| No. | Main house | Other houses | Total houses | Years outside | Where? | Doing what? | Studies | Religion | cattle |
|-----|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------|--------|
| 31 | Taulli | Taulliwasi | 2 | 7 | Huancasancos, Ica, Lima | Studies, Farming | secondary (full) | E | |
| 32 | Taulli | estancia | 2 | | | | primary (full) | C | 5 |
| 33 | Taulli | | 1 | 5 | Huancasancos, periods in coast | Studies, work | secondary (full) | C | |
| 34 | Taulli | estancia | 2 | 9 | Lima | Factory | part of secondary | C | 1 |
| 35 | Taulli | another Taulli, estancia | 3 | 3 | Ica | Farming | primary (full) | E | 4 |
| 36 | Taulli | another Taulli | 2 | 7 | Huamanga | Studies | técnico enfermero | C | |
| 37 | Taulli | estancia | 2 | | periods in coast | Farming | primary (full) | E | |
| 38 | Taulli | Urabamba | 2 | | periods in coast | | secondary (full) | C | |
| 39 | Taulli | Taulli, Huancasancos, Huamanga | 4 | 13 | Huancasancos, Lima, Huamanga | Studies, Factory | técnico administración | C | 2 |
| 40 | Taulli | Taulliwasi | 2 | 3 | Ica | Farming | secondary (full) | C | |
| 41 | Taulli | | 1 | | periods in coast | | part of secondary | C | |
| 42 | near Taulli | Taulli, Lima | 3 | 33 | Lima | Chef | part of primary | C | |
| 43 | Taulli | estancia | 2 | 2 | Ica | Farming, mining | primary (full) | C | 3 |
| 44 | Urabamba | Taulli, estancia | 3 | 10 | Lima, periods in Ica | Waiter, farming | primary (full) | C | 4 |
| 45 | Taulli | Taulli | 2 | 6 | 5 Huanca (studies), 1 Ica (work) | Studies, Farming | part of secondary | C | 3 |
| 46 | Taulli | estancias (3) | 4 | 5 | Portacruz, periods in Lima | Studies, work | part of secondary | C | 20 |
| 47 | Taulli | Urabamba, estancia | 3 | | visits to coast | | primary (full) | C | |
| 48 | Taulli | estancia | 2 | 10 | Lima, periods in coast | Studies, Factory | part of secondary | C | 8 |
| 49 | Portacruz | Taulli, estancia | 3 | 50 | Lima, Portacruz | Builder, farming | none | C | 10 |
| 50 | Taulli | | 1 | 1 | Ica | Farming | part of secondary | C | 1 |
| 51 | Taulli | | 1 | 10 | Ica | Farming | part of primary | C | |
| 52 | Taulliwasi | Taulli | 2 | 9 | Portacruz, Huamanga | Studies | secondary (full) | E | 3 |
| 53 | Taulliwasi | Taulli, estancia | 3 | 12 | Huancasancos, Lima, Ica | Farming/wachiman | técnico agropecuario | C | 10 |
| 54 | Taulli | Taulli, Taulliwasi | 3 | 6 | Carapo, Huanca., Portacruz, Ica | Studies, Mining | secondary (full) | E | 1 |
| 55 | Taulli | Jechaua (wife's) | 2 | 15 | Huamanga, Ica, other PPCs | Studies, Teaching | university (teaching) | E | |
| 56 | Taulli | Taulliwasi, estancias (2) | 4 | 16 | Lima, Ica, other PPCs | Studies, Teaching | university (teaching) | C | |
| 57 | Taulli | | 1 | 2 | Lima region | Studies, Farming | secondary (full) | C | |
| 58 | Taulli | | 1 | | | | primary (full) | C | |
| 59 | Taulli | Taulliwasi, estancia | 3 | | | | part of primary | E | 15 |
| 60 | Taulliwasi | Taulli, estancia | 3 | 15 | Portacruz, Lima | Studies, Waiter | técnico electricista | C | 14 |

APPENDIX 4: CONTENTS OF A COMMUNAL ASSEMBLY

These contents correspond to a communal assembly that took place in Taulli on Sunday 17th February 2008, between 10.15 am and 5.00 pm.

A. Initial round of news and requests:

1. The president of the community reports the “tragedy” of the death of one of the communal cows as a result of eating a plastic bag, and explains how the flesh had been sold.
2. One of the local teachers (also a *comunero*) reminds the audience that there are several outstanding issues that have to be dealt with in the near future; such as the approval to set up a technical committee to oversee the construction of the road from river area to the village.
3. The municipal agent explains that the dentist who had been in the village a few days before, treating the community’s children has complained of the state of the road to Huancasancos. As this time is the end of the rainy season the road has not been used for months, and it is decided that it has to be cleaned in a near future (by communal work).
4. The secretary explains how the plan to construct a new building for the secondary school has been stopped for more than one year, and how some of the construction materials are getting damaged. He is going the day after to Huamanga, to talk about it with the departmental authorities, but offers the materials to anyone who is interested, before they get unusable.
5. The secretary also informs the assembly that two *comuneros* have formally presented him with letters requesting permission to leave the community for 30 and 60 days respectively, indicating the requested dates and the alleged motives (family reasons in both cases). The request for 30 days is accepted by popular vote straight away, but the other one provokes opposition because the person who asks for permission has recently returned from Lima, and is not supposed to be entitled to a new long-term absence. On a first vote the request is rejected, but, after some further discussions, it is finally accepted in a second vote, on the

basis that the person is asking for permission, and therefore going through the established procedures.¹

6. The authorities remind those present of the need for a new justice of the peace. It is decided to elect one straight away. After some quick nominations and a vote a new one is duly appointed.
7. One of the assistant nurses joins the assembly and asks for permission to speak. He dramatically explains that there is a pregnant woman from a neighbouring community in the medical centre whose life is at risk. He asks for a volunteer to help him to take her immediately to the hospital of the provincial capital of Huancasancos, a hard six-hour walk away in normal circumstances. As there are no volunteers, the authorities choose a *comunero* to do it.
8. The secretary of the Municipal Agency presents a formal request to usufruct some communal land in a puna area. He is a “son-in-law” (*masa* or *yerno*) of Taulli and -as he reminds the audience- has been living in the community for seven years fulfilling his duties as a *comunero* (as proved by the fact of being an authority at the time of this request). He also reminds the audience that after more than two years as a *comunero*, he has the right to request the allotment of some communal land. He asks to add this issue as another *agenda* of the day to be voted on afterwards. The request provokes obvious discomfort and distrust among the audience, despite the fact that –apparently- it is perfectly legitimate. Nobody really opposes it openly but some people give different vague excuses to avoid discussing it during the assembly (e.g. that there are many *agendas* for the day, or that these kind of matters can not be treated hastily). The request is postponed to an uncertain future to the relief of the audience, and the obvious annoyance of the interested party.
9. The last intervention is made by the representative (*regidor*) of the community in the district (Carapo). He explains that he has been discussing Taulli’s water problems, and that there is a plan to improve the situation through an agreement with the neighbouring community of Sarhua to use some of their water. He says that he will inform the assembly of future developments.

¹ In this case the request was also favoured by the fact that the daughter of this *comunero*, who was living in Lima, had paid her father’s long standing debts (100 soles, some 33US\$) with the community during a visit to attend Christmas celebrations. These debts were result of her father’s absences from communal working days and assemblies during his previous stay in Lima.

B. Main issues (*agendas*):

1. Appointment of two new members for the committee in charge of the maintenance of the primary school. They have to be parents of the school's students. Nobody volunteers, so people propose three candidates and then vote, electing the two with more votes. One of the local primary school teachers takes to remind the audience that the new course will be starting soon and that they must enrol their children.
2. To set a day of communal work to build a new corral and a hut for the community's cattle and the person who is in charge of taking care of it in the *puna*. The authorities propose that this task must be done in several days by those who have pending communal working days. The proposal is approved and it is decided that the first day will be the 1st of March.
3. To discuss the approval of an "Urban Plan" (*Plan Urbanístico*²) for the village. This point is polemic. There are two types of interventions, those who defend the need for this plan in the name of progress, and those who warn about the trouble that fulfilling the plan requirements would bring. Among the former, one *comunero* argued about the "shame" of being the only community in the district -besides Manchiri- without an Urban Plan, despite being an 'ancient village'; while another talked about the need for progress in the community, saying: 'we have to change (...), we can not live as we do forever'.³ Among the latter, a *comunero* explains that many people would need to demolish part -or the whole- of their houses to make the streets wide enough, and that there would be no compensations for them. The debate goes on for a long time. Finally, there is no vote but a quite imprecise agreement to get the plan in an unspecific future.
4. Complaints of the recently appointed new sacristan. The new sacristan is an evangelist who has been elected against his will in December. He spends a long time explaining that the performance of this office's duties conflicts with his beliefs; but he is finally told that the church offices are considered as a service to the community and, as a result, are part of all (including his) *comuneros*' duties at some point.

² "Urban Plan" is an official set of requirements, in terms of infrastructures and planning, that a settlement considered as "urban" has to fulfil to have access to some benefits (property deeds of houses, housing benefits, etc.).

³ 'Hay que cambiar (...) no vamos a vivir toda la vida así'.

5. To fix a date for the construction of public latrines. A *comunero* talks about the 'shame' that he felt during Christmas when there were so many people coming to the community from outside, and there were no such facilities. Some people agree and others look uninterested. There are discussions about possible locations, and a day of communal work is set up to construct the latrines.
6. Discuss problems with the community registrar: the registrar is in charge of issuing certificates (birth, marriage). There are three people trained to be registrars, but just one of them is currently in charge of this office. There are complaints because he charges different rates to different people for the same services depending on his sympathies. It is agreed that prices must be set in the future, but no concrete measure is decided to do this. Curiously, the registrar is present but he is not addressed directly or asked for explanations, and he does not intervene on his own initiative, behaving as if the discussion has nothing to do with him.
7. Transfer of cement to one of the Irrigation Committees. One of the irrigation committees needs cement for some maintenance work of an irrigation channel. It is approved that the Directive Committee will pass some on from its reserves.
8. Discuss the legal register of communal land in a local *puna* area. There are different interventions arguing for different options but no final decision seems to be taken.

APPENDIX 5: TAULLI'S YEARLY CYCLE OF CELEBRATIONS.

Planting-sowing period (late-October-December)

The first local celebration of this period is the Catholic feasts of **All Saints** and the **Day of the Dead** (1st-2nd November), which commemorates ancestors.⁴ Families basically honour particular deceased relatives, especially those who have died more recently, rather than ancestors in general. In 2007, when I participated in these celebrations, on the evening of the 1st, many Taullinos took turns to ring the church's bells, honouring their dead relatives, and those who had recently lost close family members set special tables/altars in their houses. These tables include crosses, candles, and the deceased's favourite meals among other elements, and are cleared the day after. On the 2nd, early in the morning the *cantor* and some assistants (e.g. choir boys) and companions met at the church to pray (type "Taulli, *muerte en la comunidad*" in YouTube box and see video: 0-0.50 min.), and a low-key procession -led by the *cantor*- was performed from there to the cemetery (ibid: 0.50-1.14 min.), where more people joined in to undertake several ritual practices (ibid: 1.14-1.46 min.). Afterwards, participants cleaned and put flowers on their relatives' graves, paying the *cantor* for praying for them individually. By midday all activities were finished and participants returned to their daily duties. Only around thirty people participated in these celebrations, which were very low key and quite informal. As in the case of other declining ritual practices commented in previous chapters, elderly informants explained how these celebrations used to be attended by many more people, providing further evidence of the general decline of most local Catholic feasts.

⁴ Other important local death-related ceremonies and rituals practices are vigils, funerals (e.g. "Muerte" video: 2.00-5.06 min.), washing of the deceased's clothes a day or two after funerals (e.g. ibid: 5.06-5.28 min.), family feasts five days after funerals, and yearly anniversaries. For All Saints' celebrations and other death-related rituals in other Andean communities see: Stobart (2006: 199-204), Gose (2001 [1994]: 122-132 & 156-9), Bastien (1978: 174-177 & 178-9), and Isbell (1978: 128-132).

Several authors have established links between Andean beliefs about death and agriculture. For example, Gose (2001 [1994]: 159) explains that dead humans are considered to release energy to the earth that helps to fuel agricultural production, and how humans recover part of that energy consuming agricultural products. In Taulli nobody explicitly makes such links, however, significantly, local sources explained that All Saints has been traditionally used as referential date to start maize sowing; while **Christmas**, the other most important local celebration of this period (studied in detail in chapter 5), serves as reference to complete this sowing. Therefore, All Saints and Christmas symbolically mark the beginning and the culmination of the most important task of the planting/sowing period in Taulli; showing the agricultural links that Catholic feasts can present as a result of their timing and syncretic nature.⁵

Growing period (January-mid-May)

January is the time of the *Circay* (the first ritual activity of the new *varayuqs* described in chapter 3), which is followed between February and April by the movable Catholic feasts of the Carnival (discussed in chapter 5), Lent, and Easter. Lent and Easter commemorate the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus through a seven week period. During the six weeks of **Lent**, *varayuqs* are supposed to meet in the church to say the rosary three times per week, in the early hours of Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. These days they normally get together in the *alcalde*'s house around 3 am, to have breakfast and perform some ritual practices with the *cantor*. For example, the *alcalde* whips each of the other *varayuqs* three times, before been whipped by the *cantor*, as a commemoration of Jesus' suffering, and he also gives them advice and criticises potential faults. Afterwards, they all go to the church, where they pray for around an

⁵ Stobart (2006: 59) explains that All Saints was syncretised with the Incas' "Feast of the Dead" in the Andes.

hour, led by the *cantor*. After finishing, they go back to the *alcalde*'s house to start a round of downwards hierarchical visits between them, which include eating, drinking, and performing further rituals, before they disband (around 8 am) to attend to their daily business. Elderly local informants explained how many people used to join these night prayers in the past, while nowadays they are performed irregularly and only attended by a very few. For example, in 2008 fewer than half of these night prayers were performed as *varayuqs* often claimed other engagements to attend. Those performed were very low key, being attended by an average of seven or eight people, basically by the upper *varayuq* ranks (*alcalde* and *regidores*) or their representatives, as the lower ranks (*campos* and *albaceres*) normally had to attend school the following days.

Taulli's Easter celebrations last for three days (Thursday to Saturday),⁶ in which there are daily prayer sessions in the church, which are led by the *cantor* and attended, almost exclusively, by *varayuqs*, who perform hierarchical rounds of visits between themselves afterwards. During the first religious service, on Thursday morning, *varayuqs* dress in mourning clothes, which they have to keep for the following days commemorating the death of Jesus, and their staffs are taken from them by one of the *albaceres*, who move them to the jail, where *varayuqs* are supposed to take turns to keep a vigil (*velar*) watching them over. On Friday evening there is a short procession around the central square, in which the *varayuqs*, with the help of some children and companions, parade an image of Christ. Finally, on Saturday night there is a final religious service in the church, in which *varayuqs* are given back their staffs, and get rid of the mourning clothes, commemorating the resurrection of Jesus.

Nowadays these Easter celebrations are very low key, being reduced to a minimum and only half-heartedly observed by *varayuqs*. This situation contrasts with

⁶ I was unable to attend Taulli's Easter celebrations. This description is based on an account made by Delfin Huarancay of the 2008 celebrations, in which around a dozen people participated.

that explained by older Taullinos, who affirm that when Taulli had a priest, this was one of the most important celebrations of the year. Back then, delegations of neighbouring communities used to visit and stay in the community for a whole week, performing very elaborate Catholic ritual practices and ceremonies.

February, like August, is a month when the earth is considered as “open” and prone to sacrifices in many places of the Andes, and when families perform herding-related propitiatory rituals in many rural communities, to guarantee the wellbeing of animals. This was also the case in Taulli decades ago, although nowadays these rituals, called *herranzas* there, are just performed in August (see below), and only by the families that have more cattle. This is due to several reasons, such as the decline of local herding caused by historical territorial losses, and the wider and more recent social changes.

Harvest period (mid-May-July)

The first celebration of this period is the Catholic feasts of **Holy Cross** (*Santa Cruz*) (**2nd-3rd May**),⁷ which I partially described in chapter 3 (type “Taulli, *Santa Cruz*” in YouTube box and see video). As mentioned there, this celebration presents very important links with agriculture and with the local sacralised landscape (chapels and crosses system), as it can be partially seen as a symbolical commemoration of the culmination of the growing period and of the beginning of the harvest. This too used to be a very important and ritually elaborate celebration in Taulli, but it has also been reduced to a minimum; as a result of local processes of declining Catholicism, increasing reduction and concentration of ritual life, and of gradual “de-sacralisation” of the local landscape.

⁷ *Santa Cruz* in other Andean communities in: Stobart (2006: 164), Allen (1988: 151-4), Sallnow (1987: 168), Isbell (1978: 145-151), Quispe (1968: 150-1).

This period is also the time of the annual **pilgrimage to Lucanamarca**, on the first weekend after the movable Catholic feast of *Corpus Christi* (60 days after Easter, around May-June), which celebrates the sacrament of communion.⁸ During this pilgrimage, a representation of Taullinos takes the local image of the virgin of Encarnación to this neighbouring community (a nine-hour walk away), where there is another image of this same virgin, which is considered as the elder sister of Taulli's. Another representation from Huancasancos (the provincial capital) also participates in the pilgrimage, taking their own image of this virgin, which is considered as the younger sister of Lucanamarca's and Taulli's; so the three "sisters" are considered to get together when the two younger ones "visit" the eldest.⁹ Taulli's representation used to be sponsored by and composed of the members of the local *cofradía* of this virgin. However, its corresponding *cofradía* field has been recently awarded to the local kindergarten, so its teacher is now in charge of sponsoring and leading the pilgrimage, which is now basically attended by the students' parents, and some musicians. The local delegation leaves Taulli on Saturday morning and arrives at Lucanamarca in the afternoon, where they exchange salutes and ritually interact with hosts and Huancasancos. Sunday is the central day, when the different delegations participate in several ritual practices and social events, in the church and in the house of the local

⁸ Significantly, there is an important tradition of Andean pilgrimages during this Catholic feasts (see Sallnow 1987, Allen 1988), which also presents remarkable agricultural links and a syncretic character. For example, Zuidema (quoted in Sallnow 1987: 91) argues that Easter and Corpus are 'the Christianized fixture of two key paired dates in the Pre-Hispanic Andean calendar, the heliacal set of the Pleiades (24th April) and their heliacal rise (8th June)', which respectively marked 'the death of the earth and its revival', and 'heralded the rebirth of the sun at the June solstice'.

⁹ This consideration of images of the same virgin or saint in different communities as siblings, and the establishment of hierarchical relations between them, is widespread in the area. This is also the case of Taulli's patron saint, San Jerónimo, who is considered the eldest brother of others in Auquilla (the middle brother) and Andahuailas (the youngest brother). This belief can be linked to the Andean tradition of establishing hierarchical kinship relations between sacred objects and places (e.g. mountains).

sponsors, who are in charge of providing accommodation and food. The day after (Monday), the group returns to Taulli.¹⁰

Another important celebration during this period is the **anniversary of the secondary school** foundation, which lasts for three days (21st-23rd June) and also involves students of the primary school. Celebrations include, among other activities, street parades, performances, sports, night dances attended by teachers, students, and their relatives, and the election of a “queen” and her “ladies” among the female students. In 2008 I found interesting that these celebrations combined military-style patriotic acts and speeches (type “Taulli, *la comunidad*” in YouTube box and see video: 3.40-5.32 min.), with some activities that mirrored traditional local ritual practices. For example, the street parades included at some points visits to the queen and her ladies’ houses where their families have to provide food to visitors, mirroring the rounds of hierarchical visits between *varayuqs* that take place in many traditional celebrations. Moreover, in 2008 students also performed “picturesque scenes” (*cuadros costumbristas*), which were recreations of the most important traditional local festivities (e.g. Carnival, Christmas), including particular dances, clothing, and other customs; as a “celebration” of local culture (ibid: 3.28-3.40 min.).

The last celebration of this period is the customary participation in the *yarqa aspiy* of neighbouring **Portacruz** (24th-26th July), which I already mentioned and partially described in chapter 4, explaining that Taullinos have continued participating in this activity after Portacruz’s independence, despite the hostilities between the two communities, to secure irrigation rights over the fertile valley of Ñiqeska (within Portacruz’s territory), where many Taullinos still own land. The actual cleaning of the main irrigation channel culminates on the afternoon of the 25th with the arrival at

¹⁰ I was unable to attend this pilgrimage. This information is based on several accounts made by local informants, and by Delfín Huarancay’s description of the 2008 pilgrimage. Taulli’s representation that year was attended by a dozen people, being another low key event.

Portacruz's central village, where diverse ritual practices and festive activities are performed. Taulli's delegation uneasily participates in these activities for a couple of hours, before continuing on their own down to the village, towards Ñiqeska, which is a couple of hours away; while Portacruzeños continue celebrations until nightfall, when they move to an agricultural field that is close to the village, taking with them an image of Saint James (Santiago Apostol) from their church.¹¹ They spend the night in this field, performing further ritual and festive activities, presided over by the image of the saint (information provided by several Portacruzeños).

When Taulli's delegation arrives in Ñiqeska, they are met by the wives and children of the *varayuqs*, who are waiting for them in a *cofradía* field, cooking and making preparations. The group spends the night in this field, performing their own festive and ritual activities. In 2008, when I participated in this celebration, included a ritual feast for the men; the selection of some of them to play different roles, such as a priest and sacristan, and their jokingly perform of mock ceremonies, such as baptisms and weddings among those males present; and the performance of a dance -called *quichwa*- between men and women until dawn, in a vibrant festive atmosphere. The day after (26th), early in the morning, men finish the cleaning of the last stretches of the irrigation ditch around Ñiqeska, before the whole group returns to Taulli in a festive mood, while musicians play along the way.

As I mentioned in chapter 4, Taulli's participation in this *yarqa aspiy* has been declining for years, as a result of the conflicts with Portacruz and the gradual change in land ownership in Ñiqeska, which nowadays mostly belongs to Portacruceños. For example, in 2008 around thirty Taullinos spent the night there, while older Taullinos

¹¹ The ritual cleaning of irrigation ditches in the Andes are normally performed in August-September. In this case, its early performance in late-July is related to the Catholic feast of Saint James (25th July). The cult to this saint has been very important in the Andes because, as Bolin (1998: 156-160) explains, it was syncretised during colonial times with the cult to Illapa, the pre-Hispanic god of thunder.

explained that practically the whole community used to participate in it decades ago. As a result of this situation, it is very likely that this participation will be abandoned in a near future.

The last celebration of this period is **Independence Day** (*Fiestas Patrias*) (28th July),¹² which obviously has a civil character and a republican origin. This is considered an important and solemn patriotic event in which many Taullinos participate, and many others attend. It is often performed on the closest Sunday to the official date. For example, in 2008 it was celebrated on Sunday 27th, just after the July's *yarqa aspiy*, so these different traditional and civil celebrations were somehow integrated over a period of few days. Celebrations included military-style parades in the central village's square by civil authorities, schools students and teachers, and many other local committees and groups; the raising of the national flag and the singing of the national anthem; speeches by the authorities; and performances by the children. The highlight that year was the participation of the mothers of JUNTOS, who had previously woven colourful uniforms and rehearsed intensely, performing a carefully choreographed parade.

Rest period (August-late-October)

August is the time of the **August's festivities** (23rd-28th August), which I discussed in chapter 5. This is also the time of **family *herranzas***, which are propitiatory rituals aim to secure livestock's abundance and fertility, although they also involve the practical tasks of giving to the animals new ear "marks" (*marcas*), which are ribbons whose combinations of colours differentiate the owner, and of branding young ones. These rituals are widespread across the Andes; although their timing, importance, and ritual elaboration vary greatly. They are also the Andean rituals that have more clear pre-

¹² Independence Day's celebrations in other Peruvian Andean communities in: Bolin (1998: 178-198), Gose (2001 [1994]: 78).

Hispanic roots, as they generally present few Christian elements, and are related with the world of natural spirits, being normally dedicated to particular mountain spirits that are considered as “owners” of the herds.¹³

Taulli’s *herranzas* are the most obvious ritual contexts in which the local cult to mountains/*apus* is exteriorised, although they are much simpler than in other communities where herding is more important. They are nowadays performed by around a dozen local households, and mainly involve cattle (as there are no Andean camelids), even though they can also include donkeys and horses. These *herranzas* last for a day and take place mainly on Sundays, involving the extended families and social networks. For example, one I was invited to on 20th August 2009 was attended by around twenty people, involving six cows and five donkeys. *Herranzas* are mostly performed in the *puna*, in a corral or closed field where animals are kept most of the time and that is normally attached to the owners’ *estancia*, and are directed by a ritual specialist called *caporal*, who normally is the head of the family. These *herranzas* normally include the performance of a propitiatory ritual offering (*pagapu*) the night before, which is made to the tutelary mountain spirit/*apu* the *herranza* is dedicated to by the *caporal*. Each family has its own preferred *apu*, and a customary place to perform and bury the *pagapu* nearby. These offerings include products such as coca, fruits, candles, alcohol, and cigarettes.

The central days of family *herranzas* are very similar to those of the communal one, which takes place every 8th of September (instead of in August) and are dedicated to the communal cattle, involving more people and animals. I prefer to describe Taulli’s *herranzas* using as an example the **communal *herranza*** of 2009, because there is a video that illustrates it (type “Taulli, *herranza comunal*” in YouTube box). Local

¹³ For family *herranzas* and other herding rituals in Andean communities see: Bolin (1998), Gose (2001 [1994]: 211-45), Isbell (1978: 151-63), Flores-Ochoa (1975), and Quispe-Mejía (1968), who also studies communal *herranzas* in Choque Huarcaya (ibid: 76-83) and Huancasancos (ibid: 139-155).

communal *herranzas* are performed in an agricultural field that is situated close to the central village (instead of in the upper family *estancias*), and are sponsored by the local Directive Committee,¹⁴ being directed by an “official” communal *caporal* (rather than by the corresponding head of family). In 2009 this *herranza* involved around 70 people and 45 cattle. The *caporal* was Faustino Aronés, a *comunero* in his late-forties, who explained that his is a ‘for-life’ role in which he had been trained as a boy by the previous *caporal*, in the same way that he was then training a young boy as assistant and potential successor. He also explained that, differently from family *herranzas*, this one is dedicated to the local and regional hierarchy of mountains/*apus*, rather than to a particular one, and that there is no *pagapu* at the start, but a final one culminating it.

This communal *herranza* started early in the morning. While the cattle were taken down from the *puna*, the *caporal* and some companions started preparations in the customary field, setting up an “altar” -called *mesa* (table)- in a corner, over a blanket. *Herranzas*’ “altars” are composed of the diverse ritual objects that used during the day. These objects are kept in “ceremonial bundles” that belong to the *caporales*, and are passed from fathers to sons, and only used for these rituals, being kept hidden the rest of the year. Faustino’s bundle -and “altar”- contained sea shells, old coins, cups, knives, and a small altarpiece (*retablo*) with a nativity scene and figures of animals and saints, among other elements (see *herranza* video: 0-0.32 min.). Afterwards, Faustino asked those present to make groups of coca leaf with the dark side up (*coca kintus*) to be used later and to prepare marks, among other activities, while he started rounds of offerings to the surrounding mountains with alcohol and coca (*ibid*: 0.32-1.12 min.). Mediating substances and music are extremely important in *herranzas*, which are carried out in a festive atmosphere. Libations with liquor are made constantly, and drinking is copious.

¹⁴ The teachers of the local primary school and kindergarten co-sponsor, and also participate in, this *herranza*, as part of the communal cattle is allocated to these institutions.

A special flour-like powder called *llampu* is used all the time in combination with the coca *kintus*, being dusted to the mountains and over the animals, and finally used to daub peoples' faces. Music is played continuously, with the rhythmical sound of shaking staffs with bells (*salsakas*) and drums, which are respectively played by some men and women, and are sometimes accompanied by the singing of special *herranza* songs, and by horn players.

Once the animals arrived, the *herranza* started with the *casarikuy*, the symbolic ritual marriage of two young calves of opposite sex. The selected calves were forced to lay down facing each other with their legs crossed. A series of ritual practices were performed on top of them, and they received the first ear marks (ibid: 1.35-3.00 min.). The ritual celebrations continued with the branding and marking of the other animals, which were made by a small group of men who lassoed and immobilised them one by one; so the *caporal* –with the help of others- could cut the tips of ears and tails, brand and make ear holes when necessary, and put in or replace marks; while women prepared garlands (*wallqas*), which were given to the men once they finished (ibid: 3.01-4.30 min.). The *herranza* culminated in a cathartic mood with the final *pagapu*, which was made by the *caporal* just outside the field. It basically consisted of burying a series of objects (e.g. fruits, coca, liquor) in a place the animals had to pass when taken from the site (ibid: 4.30-4.55 min.).

A few days before the communal *herranza*, the annual **party of the local Evangelist temple** (3rd-4th September) takes place. It commemorates its construction in the early-2000s, so this is a very recently introduced celebration. The Evangelist authorities of the area, and many fellow believers from neighbouring communities, spend two days in Taulli, performing diverse religious services, feasts, and other social events; including baptisms and weddings of locals when requested, although none were

celebrated when I attended this party in 2009. Around 80 people participated that year, and I found that its “multitudinous” character, and the active engagement of its participants, contrasted sharply with the very poor attendance of most local Catholic celebrations, demonstrating the comparative decline of Catholicism and the emergence of Evangelism in the community.

Finally, the “rest period” is also the time of the local patron-saint celebration of **San Jerónimo** (30th September).¹⁵ Nowadays, this is another very low key celebration, in which the *mayordomo* of the saint’s *cofradía* is supposed to organise in his house, on the feast’s eve, a night vigil presided over by the image of the saint; providing music, food and drinks, to whoever wants to join in, although these night vigils are often neglected nowadays. This was the case in 2009, when the *mayordomo* was my friend Alfredo Condori, the main shop owner, who did not organise the vigil or any other celebration/event, alleging that he had been unable to work the correspondent *cofradía* field, as it was in poor condition and needed too much attention. There was some criticism towards him as a result, as he is comparatively wealthier and, therefore, able to afford this sponsorship without even exploiting the *cofradía* field; although the truth is that this feast -as other virgin and saints’ feasts- has been practically abandoned in recent years.

Celebrations that year were reduced to a couple of very poorly attended religious services led by the *cantor* in the church, which was maintained open the whole day. As a contrast, Elderly Taullinos told how this was a very important local religious feast in the past, sponsored by the members of the saint’s *cofradía*, with its hierarchical parallel male and female hierarchies, who used to build temporary chapels in the corners of the

¹⁵ Several authors have pointed out the importance of patron saints and virgins’ celebrations in Andean communities. For example, Urton (1981: 27) argues that they ‘are part of the community’s definition of itself as a distinct group of people’; and Sallnow (1987: 147) argues that they are ‘vehicles through which local power structures were legitimated’.

central square, inviting the whole community to food and drinks, organising all-night dances and “bullfights”, and performing different ritual activities and religious ceremonies for two days (29th and 30th).

Other celebrations

Besides this fixed local annual cycle of celebrations, there are also others that are mainly family-based and more flexible in temporal terms. For example, the ritual inauguration of new houses, which are known as *wasi wasi* (house-house) and performed between July and November. They last for a day and are performed once the house’s walls are complete, mixing work with rituals and festive practices. Work consists of building the structure of the house’s roof, which is formed by beams, reeds and branches, and is covered by tiles during the day/s after this celebration. The sponsors (the house’s owners) start work and preparations early in the morning with the help of relatives and friends. Men work on the roof and women deal with the food and drinks. Around midday, the co-parents of the sponsors arrive with their companions, parading the streets, singing and dancing. They bring a special beam that has been specially painted with colourful geometric motifs and that has a painting representing the *wasi wasi* itself attached.¹⁶ Their companions include musicians playing guitars and mandolins; women singing special songs about the new house; and men carrying branches that will be put over the roof’s beams. The group salutes the hosts and companions exchange toasts, singing and dancing. Then, work continues for a while until the roof is ready. This is followed by a ritual feast inside the house that is mainly attended by men. Lunch consists of several special dishes, which are accompanied by abundant black beans and boiled maize, which are put over a blanket in the middle of

¹⁶ The drawing is made on a paper, which is glued to a rectangular board. It represents women cooking and serving drinks, men working on the roof, musicians paying, and so on, and contains a dedication to the owners, with the date and their names.

the house. Harp and violin music accompanies this part of the celebration. A few men play the role of the sponsors' sons-in-law (*masas*), who distribute pieces of lamb with a spicy sauce, while shouting and animating those present. Drinking, music playing, singing and dancing goes on until dark or beyond. *Wasi-wasis* are distinctive celebrations in the Qaracha area, where similar inaugurations are performed in most communities. For example in neighbouring Sarhua, where the central beam of the new house is painted with scenes of life in the community, and represent family members (the community is well known for these crafts). In Taulli they are some of the most colourful, crowded, and frequent family-based celebrations.

There are of course other -mainly family-based- celebrations and ritual ceremonies that can be performed at any time of the year, such as those related to **birth, marriage, and death** (the latter are mentioned above). As Catholic baptism -as any other ceremony performed by priests- is hardly ever celebrated in the community nowadays, birth-related rituals are reduced to “water of help” (*agua de Socorro*) ceremonies, which, as explained in chapter 4, are a kind of provisional baptism.¹⁷ They consist in a simple low-key ceremony that is normally performed a few days after a child is born. Parents and godparents (normally a married couple) get together with the child, and the godfather sprinkles holy water onto the child, saying some prayers.

Marriage is nowadays reduced to civil weddings, which are performed in the central village by civil authorities. Local weddings are modest celebrations that tend to be organised with very few days notice, and attended only by closest relatives and friends. These civil weddings are normally followed by two days of traditional

¹⁷ “First hair cut” ceremonies used to be performed as part of local baptism celebrations. During the christening feast, the guests would offer variable amounts of money or goods (e.g. animals) for locks of the child’s hair. His/her godfather would cut the locks, whose size would depend of the amount offered (the higher the bigger), giving them to the donors, who would keep them carefully. The money and goods collected were considered very important, as the child’s first earnings and possessions. These ceremonies have disappeared along with Catholic baptisms and weddings since the 1980s.

celebrations in the house of the groom's parents.¹⁸ I attended several local weddings and found them to be very interesting examples of contemporary Andean syncretism between legal civil procedures, Catholicism, and the local Andean tradition. For example, in September 2009 I attended a wedding performed by Edwin Antesana, as secretary of the justice of the peace with extensive experience in these ceremonies. During the civil ceremony, Edwin combined readings from the Peruvian civil code and the Bible with practical advice to the young couple about their new responsibilities, between them and with the community. A few hours later, in the house of the groom's parents, Edwin also officiated at the “**co-parents forgiveness**” (*perdón de los compadres*) through which wedding godparents and the newlyweds' parents became co-parents. This was the central ritual act of the traditional celebrations and consisted of the parents of the newly-weds and the wedding godparents standing in front of a table set in a corner of the central room; while the newly-weds sat behind the table against the wall. Edwin stood at one side, next to the table, where a cross was placed, and talked to the parents and godfathers in Quechua, explaining to them the importance and implications of the commitment involved in becoming co-parents, before the new co-parents took turns to say some words accepting their responsibilities. The ritual is called “co-parents' forgiveness” because the participants have to apologise to and forgive any possible affront or fault made in the past between them. It concluded with the new co-parents taking turns to embrace each other, before individually embracing the cross placed on the table (holding their arms around it), symbolically sealing their oaths and commitments. Edwin later translated what was said in the ceremony, and explained that

¹⁸ I attended four weddings in 2008-09 and was always invited on the previous, or the same day they were celebrated. There were never more than twenty guests. This contrasts with the very complex and rich wedding-related rituals studied in other Andean communities by authors such as Bolin (1998: chapters 7-8), Isbell (1978: 117-26), or Bastien (1978: 122-6) among others; which often included several stages. In Taulli, the only preliminary stage is the *warmi hurquy*, which consists in the groom's family visiting the bride's parents to ask to permission to marry, and to arrange details.

ideally couples that marry like this must go through Catholic weddings at some point in the future (as in the case of the “water of help” and baptism).¹⁹

“Co-parents forgiveness” ceremonies are also performed between baptism and “water of help” godparents and the parents of their god-children to become “spiritual co-parents” (*compadres espirituales*). I went myself through such ceremony with Silverio Antesana and his wife Priscila, after god-fathering their daughter Ima Sumaq in December 2009. The baptism took place in the provincial capital of Huancasancos, where her parents, the girl and I went during the Virgin of “O” celebrations (18th December). During these days, many Catholic ceremonies including baptism and first communion are held in the local church by the provincial priest. Ima Sumaq got baptised there with some other thirty kids. However, her parents and I did not become co-parents until the following week, when we performed the “forgiveness of the co-parents” rite back in Taulli. This took place in the local church during Christmas celebrations, and was directed by a respected civil authority. It was a simple five minute ceremony that involved lighting candles on an altar, several prayers, advice from the officiant, and exchanges of hugs between parents and godfather (me), asking for forgiveness, and promising to maintain family-like bonds in the future.

Finally, there are other ritual practices that are just performed to deal with special or exceptional circumstances, such as emergencies and crises. For example, in November 2009, when a conflict with neighbouring Portacruz led to a dramatic reduction of irrigation water (see chapter 2). Taullinos urgently started digging in a *puna* mountain, looking for an alternative source of water. As a propitiatory offering to this mountain/*apu*, I accompanied several local men one night to the excavated mountain, where they performed a very elaborate ritual offering, which included (as

¹⁹ Normally, “water of help” and civil wedding godparents are the same as those of Catholic baptisms and weddings respectively, further reinforcing and legitimising god- and co-parenthood bonds. Under exceptional circumstances (e.g. absence, death), they can be different people.

commented in chapter 3) the burial of a pig alive in a nearby place, to its *apu*, to ask for its permission and protection.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Ayacucho's COFOPRI (*Organismo de Formalización de la Propiedad Informal, Ministry of Agriculture*) **archive, Taulli's folder** (six subfolders): It includes copies and transcriptions of legal documents from the colonial period onwards).

Taulli's papers, folder 1: Official (made by a notary) handwritten transcript of 1916 of local colonial documents of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. They are listed here chronologically. The document number refers to the order they appear in the transcription, where they are chronologically mixed. Documents kept in Taulli.

1. Huamanga, 22 Sep. 1569 (doc. no. 7).
2. Tiquihua, 30 Jun. 1574 doc. no. 8).
3. Taulli, 23 Aug. 1650 (no. 9 doc.).
4. Taulli 24 Aug. 1659 (no. 10 doc.).
5. Lima, 11 Feb. 1662 (doc. no. 11).
6. Choque Huarcaya, 15 Ap. 1666 (doc. no. 13).
7. Lucanamarca, 12 Jun. 1666 (doc. no. 14).
8. Huancasancos, 12 Jul. 1666 (doc. no. 15).
9. Taulli, 7 Aug. 1666 (i) (doc. no. 16).
10. Taulli, 7 Aug. 1666 (ii) (doc. no. 18).
11. Taulli, 7 Aug. 1666 (iii) (doc. no. 19).
12. Taulli, 8 Aug. 1666 (doc. no. 20).
13. Cangallo, 20 Mar. 1676 (doc. no. 12).
14. Taulli, 6 Aug. 1676 (doc. no. 17).
15. Lima, 3 Aug. 1680 (doc. no. 2).
15. Cangallo, 11 Jun. 1689 (doc. no. 5).
16. Cangallo, 31 May 1699 (doc. no. 20).
17. Taulli 6 Jul. 1699 (doc. no. 1).
18. Lima, 29 Oct. 1699 (doc. no. 6).
19. Lucanamarca, 3 Nov. 1699 (doc. no. 4).
20. Cangallo, 11 Nov. 1699 (doc. no. 3).

Taulli's papers, folder 2: documents of the 1929 territorial demarcation with Sarhua.

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* I have sometimes used different editions of a same book, sometimes in different languages. In these cases I include the different editions; as I may quote from them all.

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