

NEGOTIATING EVANGELICALISM AND NEW AGE TOURISM THROUGH
QUECHUA ONTOLOGIES IN CUZCO, PERU

by

Guillermo Salas Carreño

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Bruce Mannheim, Chair
Professor Judith T. Irvine
Professor Paul C. Johnson
Professor Webb Keane
Professor Marisol de la Cadena, University of California Davis

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To Stéphanie

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

During a visit to my native Cuzco in 2006, I heard in the news reports of a miraculous apparition of Christ in a crag close to the town of Huarcocondo (Anta), located about an hour from the city. This news came as I had been writing about the politics in the origin narratives of the Quyllurit'i shrine, the most important pilgrimage site in the region. While I was sure I would not be able to find out how and when the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage actually started, I suddenly had the opportunity to witness the origins of a new shrine. I went to the town of Huarcocondo as soon as I could. After spending the day locating and talking with people who were related to and concerned with this miraculous apparition, I took a crowded cab from the town of Huarcocondo to the closest bus station. Sitting together with several town dwellers in the forced intimacy of a station wagon's trunk, I asked them about what they had heard about the apparition. One or two of them mentioned short summaries of what I had already learned, but an elderly man, wearing the stereotypical *punchu* and *uhutas* of the highland rural indigenous communities, claimed: *Those are all lies for deceiving ignorant people*. Surprised by the sudden intervention, I asked him why he was so sure about that. *The Bible says clearly. All those are only images. They are not God*.

I was struck by how this man used the authority of the Bible as a source of knowledge to reverse the expected hierarchical order within the crowded station wagon. While claims about ignorance, deeply associated with language and formal education, are typically deployed by town dwellers to discriminate against rural Quechua speakers who live in mountainside communities, in the brimming station wagon trunk this Evangelical convert dressed in stereotypic indigenous clothing was doing exactly the opposite: invoking the authority of the written word of God to state town dwellers' ignorance.

Some years before, a friend and I went to the Quyllurit'i shrine during the main pilgrimage. We found a space for to set up our tent close to the camp of a group of Spanish filmmakers. After resting for a bit, we started chatting with one of the them and a teenager from a surrounding community who had rented his family's horses to the crew. The filmmaker told us that they had gone to the remote Hatun Q'ero community, considered the hallmark of indigenous authenticity in the region, to shoot there for their documentary; now they were going to shoot the pilgrimage and were waiting for the Q'ero to arrive. After a silence I started to talk with the teenager, asking him about the pilgrimage. He was rather disinterested in discussing the pilgrimage, not saying much beyond the fact that people came to the shrine out of custom. In the course of this conversation, the filmmaker interrupted us several times and excitedly explained to us how this was an ancient Inka ritual, how the *ukuku* (bear) dancers would climb the glacier during the night and that some would fall in the crevasses, how nobody would mourn those deaths but actually celebrate them as a propitiatory sacrifice to ensure a good harvest, and how the Q'ero people who lived in isolation from the modern world were preserving Inka wisdom and were coming to perform secret rituals when everybody else had left at the end of the pilgrimage.

The certainty with which the foreign filmmaker spoke about the pilgrimage bothered me. He was disrupting a conversation about which I had more expectations and more interest than in his own views about the pilgrimage. More importantly, his discourse reproduced several common stereotypes that exoticize Quechua-speaking people. Furthermore, he assumed an authoritative role by lecturing a Quechua teenager, and me, a Spanish speaking Cuzqueño, without considering that we may have been knowledgeable – albeit in different ways – about the pilgrimage. While he explicitly celebrated the continuity and resistance of Andean culture, and might have held true admiration for the contemporary indigenous practices, his discourse was problematic on two levels: First, he celebrated these practices exclusively as relics of the past, and second, he reproduced a hierarchy between different ways of knowing in the pragmatics of the interaction.

This dissertation is a product of the conjunction of two sets of interests that have driven my research for several years. On the one hand, the ways in which Quechua

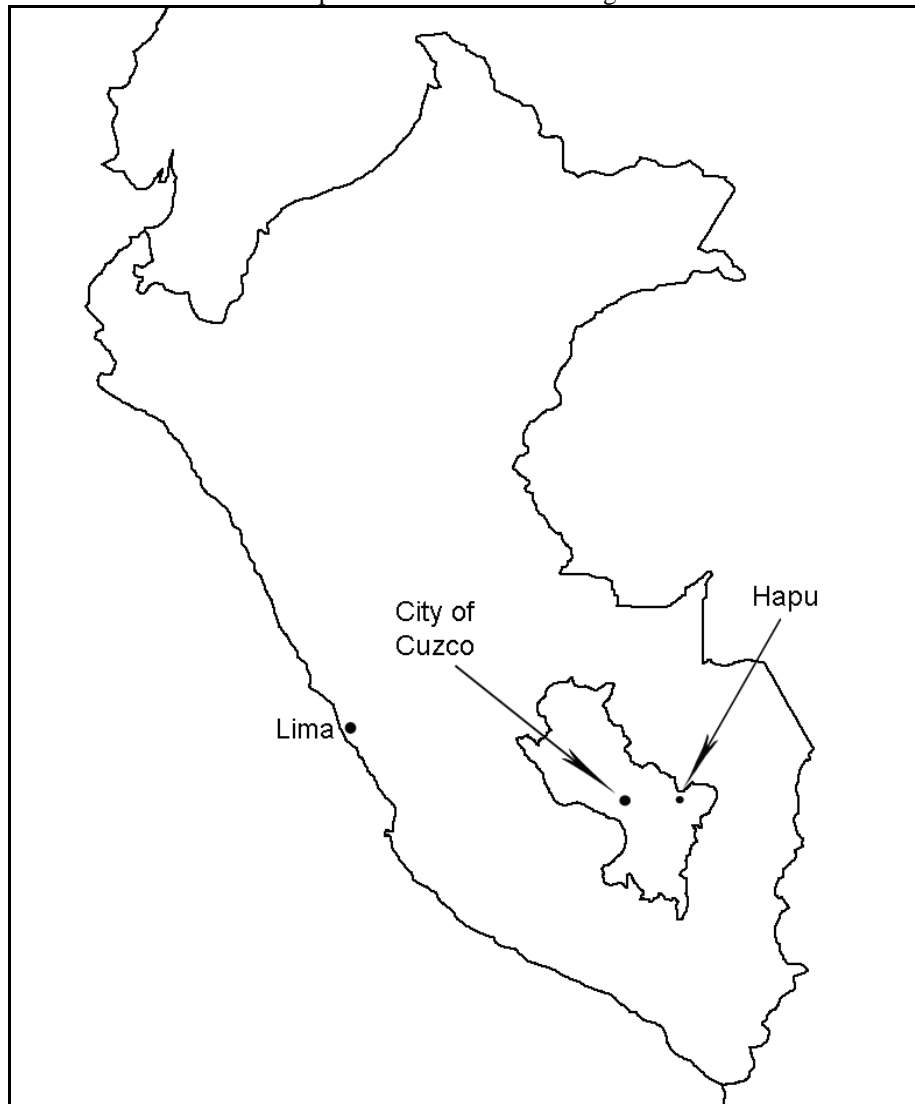
peoples relate to the landscape and the Quechua ontologies embedded in these practices; and on the other hand, the diverse ways in which social hierarchies are understood across ontological differences in the region of Cuzco, Peru.

As evident in those two introductory vignettes, I concerned myself with understanding what the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage is about; why a shrine that is located just off a glacier has become the biggest pilgrimage site of the Southern Peruvian Andes. Yet, this pilgrimage is just one expression of multiple ways in which indigenous peoples in the region honor human relations with the landscape. How do these practices produce and mediate their world? This interest in the practices that mediate Quechua relationship with the landscape ultimately drove me towards trying to understand the workings of Quechua ontologies.

The two opening vignettes tell also about different ways in which social hierarchies are reproduced and negotiated in the regional society of Cuzco; and how social hierarchies are entangled with discourses about Cuzco's indigenous past and present. This dissertation explores how social hierarchies are understood and negotiated from different ontological perspectives within the bilingual society of the Cuzco region in highland Peru, an area characterized by strong material inequalities and where indigeneity is marked and essentially associated with poverty, backwardness, rurality, and low social standing.

These themes are analyzed in two main spaces: the city of Cuzco, and the rural community of Hapu. With close to half a million people, the city of Cuzco is the current political and economic center of the region where many of the discourses about the region, its society and its cultural differences converge and are being constantly reshaped. Cuzco is also the main Peruvian tourist destination and its economy rests heavily on it. Tourism has been growing steadily in Cuzco since the mid 1990s. Associated to this growth there is an increasing notoriety of New Age tourism, that is, tourists and tourism entrepreneurs who are invested in the idea of "Andean spirituality." The latter rely on notions of indigenous practices' authenticity that entail both continuity since Inka times and a strong degree of 'protection' from the supposedly destructive and alienating practices defining modern society.

Figure 1.1
Map of Peru and the Cuzco region



Source: Elaborated by the author in base of INC-Cusco 2006 and IGN 1989.

The second site is the rural Quechua community of Hapu, located in the Paucartambo province on the border of the Quispicanchis province. It usually took me six hours to get from Cuzco to the closest point on the road to Hapu. From there, it took a five hour walk to get to Hatun Hapu, the civic-ritual center of Hapu. Hapu is one of the Q'ero communities that have become famous among New Age tourist circles in Cuzco and practitioners in the United States and Europe. The Q'ero people were framed as the “last Inka *ayllu* (community)” by Cuzqueño scholars in the 1950s, and more recently have been characterized as keepers of ancient Inka wisdom by US New Age writers.

Associated to this growing fame, the Q'ero singing traditions have been recently declared Peruvian National Cultural Heritage and proposed to be included in UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Hapu has a population of less than five hundred dedicated to subsistence agriculture, mainly high altitude tubers. Quechua is spoken in all social contexts in Hapu. While younger males tend to have a higher proficiency in Spanish than older ones, most women are monolingual Quechua speakers. At the time of field work, the only state service present in Hapu was a primary school with one teacher in charge of the first four years of education. There was neither tap water nor electricity. Most male youths traveled periodically to the Eastern Amazonian lowlands to work in the informal economy of hazardous gold mining. Some older males traveled periodically to intermediate towns or to the city of Cuzco to work as construction workers and, for a few of them, to offer their practical knowledge of Q'ero practices either to travel agencies or middle class families.

The dissertation analyses the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy produced in the city of Cuzco and then moves to analyze conflictive processes taking place in Hapu launched by the presence of Evangelical converts and the visits made by New Age practitioners and philanthropists. These conflicts not only allow me to analyze Quechua ontologies and how they mediate Evangelical conversion but also how both the Catholic and Evangelical people of Hapu negotiate various facets of the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy in their own terms. When I arrived in Hapu, as it will become clear through the dissertation, people were entangled in various tensions that articulated their projects, hopes, frustrations, and conflicts: between Catholics and Evangelicals, between locals and different types of outsiders (e.g. New Age philanthropists, NGO and state representatives, and people from other communities), between the hope that they could financially benefit from visitors and outside organizations and the need to negotiate their demands to perform being 'traditional' in order to reap such benefits.

The dissertation is, on the one hand, an analysis of ontological and ideological difference and change that pays attention to how Hapu people practice and talk about these tensions and conflicts; and on the other hand, it is a discussion of the ways in which Hapu people negotiate, reproduce and challenge different aspects of the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy present in the region of Cuzco.

Ontology, ideology and culture

By ontologies I mean particular ways to understand how the world is and what are the things/persons that constitute and exist in it. It is commonplace in philosophy to distinguish ontology — what there is in the world — from epistemology — how it is known. I am interested primarily in ontology, but ontology conceived as a social fact, constituted in social practices, in the case I discuss for Quechua communities through practices of feeding and cohabitation. A marked difference between my approach and prior approaches to Andean ethnography is that most (but not all) earlier scholars approached place-persons — places that are fully considered as persons — as a question of epistemology, arguing that Andean peoples understood the world differently, treating the place-persons as a matter of individual belief, or of cosmology, or of religion, or of figurative language. But what I hope to show is that as matters ontology, the place-persons persist across differences, even ruptures, in belief, in religion, and in language. (If “belief” cannot account for the place-persons, “cosmology” as it normally is understood in anthropology as socially regimented belief cannot do so either.)

Ontologies should not be understood as abstract inventories of principles but as presuppositions embedded in all types of practices. In order to participate in the creation of a world through practice such presuppositions are deeply settled below the level of awareness, embodied in the habitus and ingrained in it, such that are totally taken for granted (Bourdieu 1977, Mannheim 1991, Silverstein 1981). An ontology supposes very basic semiotic principles. Any ontology involves what Keane (2003:419) defines as semiotic ideology: “basic assumptions about what signs are and how they function in the world.” It defines, for example, what or who is an agent and the sources of agency.

I use the expression “Quechua ontologies,” in plural, because I do not mean to suggest that there is a single ontology that goes with the Quechua language (or any other language), nor a single ontology that goes with something we would want to call an “essential Quechua” person regardless of what she or he might speak. Philosophers have observed for more than forty years that a shared language or even a single shared culture practice is not enough to establish a singular ontology among a group of people (Quine 1968). Rather, ontologies are threaded through the full range of social practices that

people participate in and inhabit; the multiplicity of these practices means that ontologies that people take for granted in carrying them out will always be multiple too.

By ideologies I mean sets of ideas about things and persons present in a world constituted by a particular ontology. As it is used here, ideologies should not be understood exclusively as abstract ideas consciously expressed by their holders. Ideologies can be implicit in practice, below or above the threshold of awareness (Mannheim 1991, Silverstein 1981), moving between doxa and orthodoxy (Bourdieu 1977). It should go without saying that I am not using ideology in the sense of *false consciousness* (Engels 1942[1893], Pines 1993).

What differentiates ideologies from ontologies is that the latter are foundational and basic presuppositions that constitute the world while the former are ideas about how things in the world are organized. There could be many ideologies elaborated from a single ontological stand point. For those who are used to thinking of culture in monadic terms — the Zuni are Apollonian, the Quechua are perspectival — this will seem overly complex. But social description and cultural analysis require both ideologies predicated of the world and ontologies of which they are predicated.

The difference between ontology and ideology also points to an analytical distinction between ontology and culture. Ontology is not just another word for culture (see Carrithers et al. 2010). In a culturalist frame, as I define them, both ontology and ideology would belong to the realm of culture. Hence, a first way to differentiate these concepts is that while culture is an all-encompassing notion, ontology – as I use it – only points to fundamental presuppositions about what exists. Hence, ontology corresponds only to a fragment of what culture entails, albeit a fundamental one. A second and much more important difference between culture and ontology is that in a culturalist frame, both ontology and ideology would be two different forms or levels of representation of the world. Hence, culture as a category presupposes that there is already a world out there and that there are different cultures that understand it in different ways. Hence cultural difference is basically a disagreement about a world that already exists (Holbraad 2010). It is clear that the notion of culture already carries strong ontological assumptions about for example the difference between nature and culture. In contrast, the use of ontology does not presuppose that there is a settled reality. It acknowledges that other people's

ontologies actually construct different worlds or realities. While in a culturalist frame, there is only one world or reality and many cultures; the ontological approach is based on the acknowledgement that there are multiple realities or worlds (see Stengers 2005, Viveiros de Castro 2009).

Modernity, nationalism and social hierarchy

The difference between ontologies and ideologies can be exemplified as I introduce my twofold approach to *modernity* in this dissertation: The first way that I use *modernity* is at the level of ontology, in reference to *modern worlds*. These are worlds founded on the conceptual division between nature and culture, or nature and society, and a concomitant permanent effort to police this division, an effort that is ultimately doomed to failure (Latour 1993). Modern worlds are founded on a sharp difference between agentive humans and predictable non-humans. Following Latour, I refer to the nature/culture divide and its implications as the *modern constitution*, and the impossible and unending effort to maintain this divide as the *work of purification*. Hence, while there are modern worlds, worlds constructed on the assumption that it is possible to isolate nature from culture, ultimately there are no modern people.

While this approach might be seen as a simplistic way to reduce modernity to a basic dichotomy, I want to emphasize here that it carries fundamental and far reaching presuppositions about how the world is. Modernity differentiates a realm of mechanistic determinations, predictable by science, from the realm of human freedom and individual agency. These relationships between humanity, individualism, agency, and, ultimately, freedom are at the core of the moral superiority that those who perceive themselves as “modern” claim to have over those who are seen as “pre-modern” (Keane 2007). As it will be illustrated in detail throughout this dissertation, Quechua ontologies cannot be understood within the framework of the modern so constituted. Quechua practices routinely breach the nature/culture divide.

Modern worlds emerged globally, through highly asymmetric power relations that allowed unprecedented capital accumulation in Europe. Their history cannot be detached from the history of European colonialism. Modern worlds are concomitant with

phenomena such as racism and nationalism (Anderson 1983, Coronil 1997, Chakrabarty 2000, Mignolo 2000, Mintz 1985, Quijano 1997, 2000, Silverblatt 2004, Wolf 1982). It should not be surprising then that my approximation of the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy – which include notions of ethnic/racial differentiation – is closely related to an analysis of the narratives of modernity and the strong regionalist nationalism present in Cuzco.

It should be clear then that there are people socialized within these ontological presuppositions that assert the nature/culture divide and deeply hold it to be true in certain social contexts. However, this does not preclude them to breach this divide in many other contexts. This is due to the impossibility to isolate both realms which is inscribed in the very nature of the semiotic mediation. As Alfred Gell (1998) has analyzed, there are multiple instances when people socialized within modern worlds attribute agency and intentionality to artifacts. Gell claims that this is fundamental in the relation with the artifacts considered as art. In a region such as Cuzco, where people socialized in modern ontologies are in quotidian interaction with people who live their lives through other ontologies, the constant breaches of the nature/culture divide are also colored by indigenous ontologies. Hence, in Cuzco – and elsewhere in the Andes – people who see themselves as ‘modern’ do not find much contradiction in acknowledging in discourse or practice – in certain contexts – the agency of mountains and plains. However, this is not only due to the ultimate impossibility of purification but also to the way *modernity*, as a category deployed in social interactions, is used as an ideological tool.

Hence, the second way through which I address the concept of modernity throughout the dissertation corresponds to what I refer as ideology. As Keane (2007) has shown, the work of purification has religious roots. The missionary drive to convert indigenous peoples, both in religious and secular terms, which accompanied the European colonial expansions, was founded on a moral narrative of human liberation. Becoming Christian or becoming modern was understood as a path of liberating humans from their false beliefs and fetishisms. This was a moral mission, to convert the colonized subjects into free individuals, teaching them how wrong they were when attributing personhood (agency, intentionality) to inanimate objects.

While the moral superiority claimed by those who see themselves as *modern* emerged from the modern constitution – that is from an ontological divide –, the rhetorical mechanisms of narratives of modernity rather work at the level of ideology. Narratives of modernity neither define what counts as a person nor how signs are related to their objects. They do not postulate the nature/culture divide. I claim that the category *modernity*, as it is used in the public sphere, is above all an ideological device for creating social hierarchy. This has been the case in the Peruvian public sphere at least since the early 20th century – and blatantly so – but it is hardly unique to Peru.

However, the fact that narratives of modernity produce hierarchies that are perceived as legitimate is not exclusive to debates in the public sphere, Peruvian or otherwise. It also plays out in the academic realm. To a certain extent, it is possible to interpret the drive to conceptualize *alternative modernities* as an implicit recognition of the essential superiority of *modernity* or the modern worlds over other types of sociality and worlds (e.g. Gaonkar 2001, Knauff 2002, Mitchell 2000, Quijano 1999). The essential superiority of modernity is acknowledged when it is stressed that European metropolitan modernity is not the only possible modernity. Following Kelly (2002), it is necessary to move beyond the modernist sublime.

In order to point out to the mechanisms at play when the deployment of modernity produces hierarchy, I explore the rhetorical devices embedded in *narratives of modernity*. Here I rely on the work of Jameson (2002), who starts his analysis by pointing out how there is currently no point in trying to propose or argue for a new and better definition of modernity that might improve our understanding of the phenomena. He is not alone. For example, it is telling that Quijano (2000) has no problem in stating the uncertain referent of modernity, when he wrote “whatever it may be that the term *modernity* names today...” (Quijano 2000:545).

Modernity works as an ideological sublime (Kelly 2002), a nodal point (Laclau and Mouffe 1985), or *point of capiton* (Žižek 1989). Its power of articulating hierarchies emerges precisely because it seems to be a highly complex concept, difficult to grasp, challenging to define, an essentially contested concept (Gallie 1956). This perception is due to a process through which a sign can become voided of any semantic referent (Derrida 1978, Lévi-Strauss 1987[1950]). Modernity – along with words such as

“modern,” “modernization,” “progress,” and “development” as they are thrown around in the Peruvian public sphere – can articulate the ideologies of social hierarchy because it is an empty signifier, and does not carry obvious semantic content but rather constitutes a legitimating index for attributing hierarchy. Narratives of modernity are able to become ideological sublimates that produce social hierarchy because of their distinctive rhetorical structure of rupture, periodization and moral superiority. Narratives of modernity are built stressing a radical rupture which produces two periods – the ‘modern’ and the ‘pre-modern’ – which are hierarchically organized (Jameson 2002).

As many scholars have pointed out for different time periods (e.g., Arguedas 1976[1962]a, Méndez 1995, Thurner 2003) and as is easily experienced in Cuzco, the celebration of the indigenous past is coupled with the discrimination against contemporary indigenous people. There is a considerable scholarship analyzing social hierarchy in the region which indeed touches on the place of the Inka in the Cuzqueño imagination (e.g. De la Cadena 2000, Mendoza 2000, Poole 1997, Van den Berghe and Primov 1977). Building on these insights and focusing in the city of Cuzco, this dissertation shows how the celebratory discourses about the indigenous past are not in contradiction with the discrimination against contemporary indigenous people but rather these celebratory discourses reinforce it. Both the derogatory discourses about contemporary indigenous peoples and the celebratory discourses about the indigenous past and its survival in the present are articulated through narratives of modernity. The derogatory discourses about indigenous people frame them as pre-modern, backward, ignorant, pre-political, irrational, and essentially rooted in the rural areas and speaking Quechua and are opposed to the modern, urban, educated, and rational Spanish speakers. The celebratory discourses about indigenous people is not founded in the idea of progress but rather in romantic nostalgia of the Inka past and its survival in the most remote and authentic Quechua communities. These authentic communities then are celebrated only as relics of the past negating their coevalness (Fabian 1983).

Hence the celebration of the Inka past and their living relics interlocks with the derogatory discourses about contemporary indigenous people. Together, these narratives of modernity have the effect of doubly displacing Quechua speakers: as impoverished and backward peasants, locked out of the “modern” practices and institutions of urban

Cuzco, and as relics of the glorious Inka past that are both represented and controlled by Spanish speaking elites. Framed as relics of ancient customs always endangered by modernization, Quechua cultural diversity is primarily interpreted as involving different degrees of assimilation to the hegemonic elite culture.

The celebration of the past and its relics is at the core of the Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism. These deeply settled and strong regionalist sentiments are fundamental in the hegemonic character of the ideologies of social hierarchy produced in the city. This is even more prevalent now due to the increasing importance of tourism and particularly by the emergence of New Age tourism. While New Age tourism is not as big as mainstream tourism it is very noticeable and has shaped not only the ways in which local agencies shape their tourist offer but also the ways in which the Peruvian state has promoted tourism since the mid 1990s until very recently. The most clear state campaign promoting tourism was organized around the slogan “pack your six senses, come to Peru, land of the Inkas” and was charged of images of contemporary indigenous peoples framed as holders of mystical powers associated to ancient pre Hispanic sites.

Multiple coexisting worlds

But, if these interlocking narratives of modernity are the hegemonic ideologies of social hierarchy produced from Spanish speaking contexts of the city, how are they understood in Quechua terms? Do these ideologies work in the same way within Quechua ontologies and their worlds? If not, how are they modified? This dissertation is concerned in understanding how Quechua speakers of the community of Hapu negotiate these narratives of modernity in their own terms. Few attempts have been carried out to understand how Quechua speakers interpret the places they occupy in the regional society (e.g. Harvey 1991). Questions such as how do they negotiate the stereotypes about them that are produced in the city or how similar or different are their ideologies of social hierarchy, remain to large extent unanswered. In order to be able to answer these questions it is central to try to understand the particular workings of Quechua ontologies and their worlds.

It is symptomatic that there is both emerging public awareness and an increasing academic attention about ontological differences. This can be appreciated through several seemingly unrelated processes: The first one is the visibility and importance that indigenous political movements have gained around the world and particularly in the Andes in recent decades (De la Cadena and Starn 2007, García 2005, Greene 2009, Gustafson 2009, Warren and Jackson 2002); the second, the questioning of the nature/culture divide that has emerged from science and technology studies (e.g. Latour 2004, Latour and Weibel 2005, Stengers 2005) and the new frames for analyzing classic anthropological themes going beyond the nature/culture divide (e.g. Carsten 2004, Strathern 1980, 1988, Viveiros de Castro 1998, 2004).

These other worlds defy the claims of universal validity that are embedded in the voices of intellectual, scientific or political authority within modern worlds. The ontologies that challenge the nature/culture divide implicitly challenge the idea of one nature and multiple cultures (Latour 1993, Viveiros de Castro 2004). These ontologies then are not merely expressions of other cultures that live in the same natural environment. In challenging the nature/culture divide, they challenge most of modern institutions: the authority of science, the legitimacy of formal politics, the uses and relations with the landscape, and what is seen as “natural resources.” Modern worlds coexist with other worlds that interpenetrate into each other in hierarchical fashion. The invisibility that other worlds have within the modern has been disrupted and, gaining visibility, become unacceptable (Blaser 2009, De la Cadena 2010).

Global processes such as the emergence of political indigeneity (De la Cadena and Starn 2007), the growth of Evangelicalism in the Global South (Boudewijnse, Droogers, and Kamsteeg 1998, Martin 1990, Robbins 2007, Smilde 2007) as well as forms of religious tourism make these different worlds more interconnected and visible (Hill 2007, Povinelli 2001, Timothy and Olsen 2005). Happening globally, these processes are also present in the small and relatively difficult to reach Quechua community of Hapu. There I met an Evangelical church launched by European missionaries in the Amazon; New Age environmentalist-tourists and philanthropists eager to know the wisdom preserved by Q'ero people; State bureaucrats of the National Institute of Culture¹ committed to the

¹ The National Institute of Culture became the Ministry of Culture on 2010.

conservation of the remnants of Inka culture. How do these worlds interrelate with each other, which types of frictions occur, what are the consequences? How do multiple Quechua and Spanish speaking worlds coexist in Cuzco? How to analyze these conjunctions in a way that does not essentialize relations between culture, place and race/ethnicity (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, Orlove 1993)? How is the emergence of hegemony possible in societies that include multiple worlds (Gramsci 1971, Williams 1977)?

These questions are complex and need some previous points to be made in order to attempt to answer them. It should be clear that this dissertation does not try to characterize the regional society of Cuzco as composed by two distinct, bounded groups isolated from each other. As I explain in detail in chapter II, the idea that there are two different bounded groups in the regional society is a product of the dominant ideologies of social differentiation. These worlds, which are not only two, rather coexist within the same space and they are not geographically confined.

Any semiotic form emerges within dialogic interactions (Mannheim and Tedlock 1995): hence what I call here worlds are not entities or things that have an existence independent of persons but rather emerge from ongoing interactions between persons mediated by particular semiotic forms. It should also be clear that personhood and agency does not exist out of social interaction but are produced in and through it (Keane 1997). Hence, a world is constituted by a group of people who have sustained social interaction that entails a particular ontology.

The society of Cuzco, and I would say society in the broadest sense, is constituted by multiple coexisting worlds. This can be appreciated, for example, by the heterogeneity and variability of practices present in across different Quechua communities. Each one is a product of a unique history of ongoing dialogs and practices within a broader society. This diversity is noticeable in settlement patterns, textile motives, singing and dancing traditions, etiquettes of coca chewing, ways of carrying out food-offerings, and so on. Furthermore, each has lived and live within different sociopolitical arrangements, different histories of relation with the state, different articulations with the market, and so on. Different areas of highland Cuzco have been shaped by various processes and myths: for example, whereas Q'ero communities are imagined as keeping an untouched ancient

culture, Chumbivilcas is strongly associated with the figure of the *qurilazo* – golden reins – a romantic, hyper-masculine, Andean cattle rustling cowboy (Poole 1988), the Písaq communities are imagined through a stereotypical image of the *warayuq* – the staff bearer – and are influenced by a sustained interaction with tourism (Pérez 2005), while Espinar communities have to negotiate their lives with the presence of a large, open-pit mining operation (Scurrah 2008).

Since their emergence, nation-states have tried, with only relative success at best, to establish not only clear geographic boundaries but also to impose cultural homogeneity within them as part of an effort to convert subjects to an always-elusive *modernity*. However, throughout human history, and currently within and across nation-states, social interactions between people were not and are not adjusted to clear cut geographic boundaries. All forms of community have, at best, porous borders (see Hymes 1967). As Lévi-Strauss (1969) elaborates in the first volume of his *Mythologiques*, it is pointless to try to draw fixed boundaries to contain particular semiotic forms between people who live adjacent to each other and interact regularly. Semiotic forms are reproduced, appropriated, and transformed while travelling across communities participating in ongoing dialogues.

However, while these discourses, images, and texts circulate through social interactions, they are not interpreted through the same semiotic mechanisms or fundamental assumptions about the world, that is, through the same ontological presuppositions. Ontologies are produced and reproduced through mechanisms of regimentation that are present in everyday interaction within the household as well as at broader levels of sociality. Beyond the household, the school system, the communal and national rituals and mass media constitute important mechanisms of regimentation. It is within these continuous and daily practices that ontologies are reproduced and modified, a process that happens to great extent below the threshold of awareness.

As Marisol de la Cadena (2011) elaborates, many worlds coexist in Cuzco in a web of partial connections (Strathern 1991), of different levels of familiarity and knowledge of practices emerging from different ontologies. Due to the long history of their coexistence and sustained interaction, people living in these worlds have a strong familiarity with practices emerging from other ontologies. Furthermore, each of Cuzco's

worlds – those of the minority, who were socialized within the modern constitution, and those of the majority, who were brought up in non-modern worlds – are partially co-present and in tension with their counterparts; they interpenetrate each other not necessarily in coherent ways. Hence, these multiples worlds are deeply interconnected, they cannot be isolated from each other, and the same person can inhabit some of them through different contexts. This is the case for the supposedly most authentic indigenous communities, such as the Q'ero communities, as well as for urban Spanish speaking urbanites who rarely get out of the city or only do so by plane. This is the case across class cleavages, geographical divisions, occupation, subsistence and monetary economy, literacy and illiteracy (see ØDegaard 2011 for the city of Arequipa, and Stensrud 2011 for the city of Cuzco). Hence, the regional society of Cuzco is entangled in these tensions between different worlds. While not in the same conditions and circumstances, in one way or another, all Cuzqueños regardless of class, language, place of living, or other trait of social differentiation, are constituted by and live within these tensions between multiple coexisting worlds. These tensions ultimately are constitutive of the regional society.

Ontological presuppositions are incorporated and embodied by continuous social interaction that shapes the habitus (Bourdieu 1977, Mauss 1973[1935]). The first socialization is then fundamental in shaping enduring practical dispositions of how the world is and how to relate to it. Yet, since the actual circumstances of social interactions in a person's life history undergoes significant changes, one's habitus continuously but slowly transforms. Different worlds have different forms of exposure and familiarity with other ways of life, different embodied (as opposed to abstract) understandings of these other worlds. People live fundamentally through the ontology of their first socialization but often develop a practical understanding of distinct ontologies and can adapt very successfully to navigate these other worlds.

Social interaction across ontological divisions happens continuously and everywhere. Ontological difference does not hinder social interaction in many practical contexts and thus goes unnoticed in many cases. There are some other interactions wherein incompatibilities between worlds become apparent, for example, when

mountains are invoked as political actors disrupting notions of modern politics (De la Cadena 2010).

Quechua worlds are thoroughly present in urban Cuzco and Spanish speaking ones in the rural spaces. For instance, many of the contemporary middle classes are bilinguals who also have relatives living in and deep connections with rural areas. Upper and middle class urban Spanish speakers are familiarized in their own terms with Quechua ontologies. Many of them actually recur to the services of curanderos, thus actively engaging in non-modern worlds. As mentioned before, the inevitable breach of the modern constitution that 'modern' people are subject to tend to be colored by indigenous practices. Hence, even those who were socialized within modern worlds, in certain contexts, participate in practices that attribute agency to mountains for example. Because being modern is only a contextual and ephemeral condition, and due to a different levels of familiarity with indigenous practices, those who see themselves as 'modern' find themselves in multiple negotiations with Quechua ontological presuppositions, in some occasions rejecting and in others reproducing them.

Similarly, people living in relatively remote Quechua communities, such as the famous Q'ero communities, are constantly interacting and negotiating with ideologies, institutions and practices constitutive of modern worlds. They are thoroughly familiarized with modern worlds and are able to navigate them with relative ease. It is not their lack of familiarity with urban institutions and practices that impedes rural Quechua speakers to navigate them successfully, but rather the hegemonic character of the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy. As will be shown through the dissertation, the projects, conflicts and dilemmas present in the community of Hapu cannot be understood in isolation from the institutions, ideologies and practices emerging from modern worlds.

Hence, this is not just a case of spatially-overlapping networks; or, an encounter between people of different cultural backgrounds. The distribution of semiotic resources that construct modern worlds and non-modern worlds is ambiguous and does not follow a clear cut line. People who see themselves as 'modern' construct and live in non-modern worlds as well. People who might be seen as living in essentially non-modern worlds (e.g. monolingual Quechua speakers) are deeply used to the practices and discourses of

modern worlds and manage and negotiate, in their own terms, their ontological presuppositions.

Quechua ontologies and religion

Classic anthropological definitions of kinship rested on ethnocentric assumptions about a fundamental importance of sexual procreation in the construction of human kinship as well as the universal validity of a conceptual opposition between the “biological” and the “social” aspects of kinship, characteristic of European and North American societies (Carsten 1995, Holý 1996). I build my understanding of Quechua ontologies over relatively recent scholarship that focuses on understanding vernacular theories of human relatedness beyond assumptions of the central role of sexual procreation in human kinship. These vernacular theories prioritize substances beyond genes or blood (e.g. semen, milk, earth, food, sap) (Carsten 2000, 2004, Hutchinson 2000, Parkes 2005, Weismantel 1995) and typically show processual understandings of personhood associated with growth, maturation, decay, and death (Fox 1971, Peluso 1996, Renne 2007). Linked to these stances on relatedness, there is also a growing literature that theorizes kinship while also moving into areas previously associated with ecological and environmental studies (Hallowell 1992, Ingold 2000, 2007).

Building on this scholarship, I propose that Quechua social relatedness encompass more than just human beings and is produced in practices privileging notions of provision of food and degrees of cohabitation. The more frequent is the provision of food or commensality among a group of people the closer their social relations are. The higher the degree of cohabitation between some people the closer their relationships. These principles are at play in constituting basic kin relations and hierarchies between parents and children for example. These principles are also present in relation with people who are non considered kin (Leinaweaver 2008, Van Vleet 2008, Weismantel 1995). I show how the same principles at play in the construction of human relatedness and kinship are present in the construction of relations between human beings and named places who are persons. Place-persons provide food to humans through their materiality, giving them the gift of their fertility. Without the generosity of the place-persons, human labor is

unproductive and useless. But place-persons are not only providers of food to humans but also they give them shelter allowing humans to live on and with them. Hence, place-persons are in a structural position of parents of humans, and are actually addressed as such, by constantly providing food, shelter, living with them and overseeing their moral life. It is in acknowledgment of this situation that humans give food-offerings to place-persons in fixed occasions such as carnival or during the celebrations of animals' fertility but also in cases of misfortunes or when an important project is going to be launched.

While the beings that I call place-persons have been registered in almost any ethnography done in the region and in the Andes, the framework that I propose here is original because by stressing the materiality of these beings (as opposed to framing them as spirits) it explains the logic that connects human relatedness with the relations between humans and place-persons. I built this framework inspired in the work of several scholars, particularly Catherine Allen (2000[1988]) and John Earls (1969).

It is important to stress that the personhood of places is at the level of ontological presuppositions. These presuppositions are ingrained in everyday practice as well as in familiar and communal ritual performance. While practices such as the food-offerings given to the place-persons usually have been framed as religious practices by ethnographers, journalists or tourist agents, they should neither be understood in the frame of religion nor treated as beliefs. These are practices that by reproducing ontological presuppositions construct worlds in themselves. To confine them in the frame of religion is to impose over them a compartmentalization of social life that is one of the consequences of the nature/culture divide. They are not beliefs about an already existing world but practices that create worlds.

Religion as a category and social field belongs to modern worlds. It has emerged at the same time of and is concomitant with modern worlds (Asad 1993, Smith 1991). Religion as a social field cannot be understood outside the frame of the nature/culture divide. The supernatural, a concept deeply associated with religion, is itself a product of the work of purification. This is the main reason why it is so challenging to construct a definition of religion that could be applied to all worlds (see Asad 1993:54, Smith 1982:xi). This entanglement is easy to see for example when the notion of religion developed by Durkheim (2001[1912]) in his discussion of totemism turns out to be

almost equivalent to notions of nationalism when he applies it to modern nation-states. Similarly Clifford Geertz's (1973) influential definition of religion can be used rather as a definition of culture.

While science emerged as the ultimate authority regarding predictable nature, and formal politics constituted by state institutions as the legitimate realm for organizing human society, religion was supposed to be secluded to the realm of the immaterial, the spiritual, the supernatural. Consider how this division not only presupposes the nature/culture divide but also the concomitant opposition between materiality and immateriality. These are ontological dichotomies. The obvious influence of religious institutions in the realm of formal politics is another example of the inherent instability of the modern compartmentalization of social life. This compartmentalization permanently has to work against the workings of human sociality and human relations with the environment that rather corresponds to what Mauss (1990[1923]) called the total social fact.

Due to all these reasons, throughout this dissertation, the reader should bear in mind that the Quechua practices that mediate the relationship between humans and the place-persons should not be understood in the frame of religion. These practices neither address supernatural agents nor can be inscribed within the nature/culture divide. When used, the category *religion* should be understood as a vernacular category used by social actors rather than an analytical concept of my theoretical apparatus.

People in Hapu use the category of *religion* in opposition to that of *kustunri*. *Kustunri* refers to the practices that they regard as distinctively theirs, such as their ways to make food-offerings, their many musical and singing genres, or their distinctive textile motives. In contrast, *religion* is marked by coming from outside Hapu. Practices regarded as *religion* are not part of Q'ero *kustunri*. To large extent, being Catholic in Hapu is understood as practicing Q'ero *kustunri* that include honoring the place-persons as well as the saints. Hence, ironically, being a Catholic in Hapu has nothing to do with *religion* insofar as its practices are local and are not mediated by external actors such as priests.

The opposition between *religion* and *kustunri* and the parallel relationship between foreign and local practices is further iterated through the different ways that these practices are organized and regimented. *Religion* is associated with institutional

churches, canonical texts and a bureaucracy of specialists, while *kustunri* belong to the community itself and are neither prescribed by an objectified canon nor controlled by an organized body of specialists. The Evangelical practices present in Hapu are considered *religion* because they come from outside and are part of a wider institution of hierarchically organized local churches. While local Maranata churches have considerable autonomy, they are nevertheless under the authority of zonal churches. In the same vein, when a practice is directed or organized by a Catholic priest – such as a mass, a baptism or a blessing – it is likewise considered within the category of *religion*.

Saints and pilgrimage shrines

As I mentioned in the introductory vignettes, I have been researching pilgrimage sites in the region and particularly the Quyllurit'i shrine, the biggest pilgrimage site in the region (see Salas 2003, 2006, 2010).² These are Catholic shrines under the authority of priests and the control of brotherhoods. As clearly exemplified by the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage, the most important pilgrimage sites in the region have as their core an unmovable rock or crag over which an image of Christ was painted. These rocks could be treated both as places and as emplaced beings. This particular emplacement present in these shrines together with the Catholic Church's recognition of their miraculous qualities make them important contexts for understanding the relationship between Quechua practices in relation to the place-persons and their particular ways of being Catholic (see Sallnow 1987, 1991). Rather than using the notion of syncretism that does not offer actual analytical advantages, I try to understand Quechua practices involved in Catholicism as following the same semiotic principles present in their broader practices. In doing this I just follow and try to be consistent with the fact that Hapu people do not find any contradiction in honoring the place-persons and recognizing themselves as Catholic.

As it will be explained in chapter VII, in the past Hapu people had sculptures of saints in their community's chapel but these disappeared approximately in the late 1980s.

² There are several scholars who have paid attention to the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage. Among them it could be mentioned Allen 1997, Florez Lizana 1997, Flores Ochoa 1990, Gow 1974, 1976, Poole 1988, 1991b, Sallnow 1981, 1987, 1991.

Currently, the main practice that is clearly related to Catholicism is their pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i, which explains why it will be analyzed in the dissertation. Both the ways in which Hapu people talked to me about the past celebrations of saints' images as well as their participation in the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage point to a tension between iconicity and agency regarding saints' images.

It should be noted that the tension between iconicity and agency, or representations of other beings in opposition to beings in themselves, has a long history in Christianity. This tension was at the core of various waves of iconoclasm that took different trajectories in the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches (Belting 1994). The issue of the personhood of saints' images is not exclusive to Quechua worlds but is thoroughly present in European Christianity, among other traditions (see Tambiah 1984 for pertinent discussion in Buddhism). For example, the miracles attributed to images of the Virgin and even the images' origins during the Catholic re-conquest of Spain point to this tension (MacCormack 2001). It is also at the core of Christian pilgrimage due to its focus on a particular place and usually a core object that is the ultimate center of the pilgrimage. Its place and object centered nature has motivated Catholic hierarchy's recurring concerns and efforts, at different moments in history, to discipline and control pilgrimage shrines that easily depart from the Church's dogmas (see Coleman and Elsner 1995, Crumrine and Morinis 1991, Eade and Sallnow 1991). This is the tension present in the reminder of the 12th century influential Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux to his confreres: "Your cell is Jerusalem" (LaBande 1967,IX:372). The issue of artifact's agency, such as saints' images, is deeply in contradiction with the work of purification but it is widespread across many different social contexts. This is so much the case that this phenomenon is at the core of Alfred Gell's (1998) attempts to construct a transcultural theory of art.

Many themes present in European narratives regarding the origins of saints' images or their particularly miraculous power are similar to their Andean counterparts, such as the narratives about images that, while transported were becoming progressively heavier until they could not be further carried (see Morote 1988). It seems obvious that these narrative themes, and many others to be found within Quechua narratives, are a product of the long history of dialogues that started with the European invasion. Beyond

discussing the origins of certain narrative themes, it is important to explore the semiotic workings present in the relationship between these saints and human beings as grounded in broader practices and semiotic mechanisms. This is the approach that I take in analyzing the Hapu pilgrimage to the Quyllurit'i shrine and in so doing I discuss the particular ways in which Hapu people conceive the relations between Catholic saints and pilgrimage sites within the broader practices that mediate their relationships with place-persons. The relationship between saints' images and human beings in Hapu and in the region is deeply influenced by the very existence of place-persons. As it becomes clear in the Evangelical iconoclastic discourse, there is a noticeable difference between sculptures of saints that are emplaced within churches and chapels that are easily framed as idols made by human hands, and pilgrimage sites such as Quyllurit'i that have as a center an unmovable rock over which an image of Christ was painted. The personhood of places cannot be questioned as easily, since they are not artifacts. This is also the case with pilgrimage shrines such as Taytacha Quyllurit'i, the Dear Father Shining Snow.

Evangelical conversion

The rapid spread of Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism in the last decades is truly a global phenomenon. Nevertheless, it does not follow a very clear pattern across the diverse local contexts involved. This process is highly heterogeneous and resists attempts to construct a clear overarching explanation to account for it (see Hunter 1987, Martin 2002, Poewe 1994). Latin American Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism have attracted increasing attention. The first examinations of this phenomena were colored by Marxist analysis characterizing converts as alienated migrants in the city trying to reconstitute highly hierarchical social arrangements modeled on hacienda regimes (e.g. Lalive d'Epinay 1969). Later scholars – following Weber – saw in these converts the agents of a new popular capitalism (e.g. Martin 1990). Further research have been more nuanced portrayals of Latin American Evangelicalism largely focused on urban churches where poor rural migrants rearticulate their social worlds (e.g. Boudewijnse, Droogers, and Kamsteeg 1998, Smilde 2007).

The presence of Evangelical churches in the highland Andes has attracted some scholarly attention for example in the works of Juliana Ströbele (1989, 1992) studying the *Aymara Adventistas del Séptimo Día* in urban La Paz, Bolivia. Andrew Canessa (1998, 2000) has also contributed with his discussion of rural Aymara Evangelicals in Bolivia. The conversion of Kichua communities to Evangelicalism in Chimborazo, Ecuador, have been studied by several scholars, among them Tod Swanson (1994), Sergio Huarcaya (2003) and Susana Andrade (2004).

There is a group of emerging scholarship regarding the role of Evangelical churches during the period of political violence in Peru, showing how evangelical churches and pastors were key actors usually in opposition to Shining Path (see Del Pino 1996, Ferguson 2005). Other authors pay attention to the role of Evangelicalism in the reconstruction process of rural communities after the war (Gamarra 2000, Isbell 2009).

There is a relatively small but growing corpus of articles that discuss Evangelicalism in different rural communities in the Andes (e.g. Kamsteeg 1998, Magny 2009, Pærregaard 1994) as well as book sections that discuss the incursion of evangelical converts in wider social contexts (e.g. Allen 2002[1988], Marzal 2002, Pérez 2005, Spier 1995). Some of these works address directly the relation between evangelical conversion and ideas about development and progress. Some of them subscribe to some extent to the ideas that converts themselves claim to be at the core of their conversion, following the rhetorical structure of narratives of modernity as I will discuss in the dissertation (e.g. Cárdenas 1997, Olson 2006). Most of this literature engages with the Evangelical prohibition of alcohol consumption and the associated cult of saints regarded as idols. These prohibitions are central in negotiations not only of religious and ethnic identity but also on community organization and reproduction as will be discussed in detail for the case of Hapu.

Tensions in Hapu

As I mentioned before, Hapu people are entangled in various tensions and conflicts: between Catholics and Evangelicals, between locals and different types of outsiders (e.g. New Age philanthropists, NGO and state representatives, and people of

other communities), and between different and opposing ways to imagine how to improve their living conditions.

Q'ero fame attracted foreign visitors coming from cities and far away countries, whom I refer to as New Age visitors and philanthropists, for lack of a better term. The same fame was behind the entry of particular types of state representatives in Hapu. All these new visitors were interested in the distinctive Hapu practices, or Q'ero *kustunri*.

Visitors in Hapu were seen as coming from wealthy places and also thought of as being interested in Hapu *kustunri* ultimately in order to obtain monetary benefits by selling Hapu textiles, pictures or recordings. Hence, Hapu people expected to get benefits from the presence of New Age visitors and philanthropists whom they tended to refer to as *turistas*, tourists. Hapu people expected *apuyu*, support, from their visitors. In contrast some New Age philanthropists saw themselves as trying to help Hapu people preserve their ancient practices that honor the Earth. New Age philanthropists considered these practices as crucial in order to find a lost equilibrium between humans and the environment in the contemporary world. Most of them came to Hapu with *apuyu*, support (e.g. food, lanterns, medicines, equipment necessary for the implementation of trout ponds, and so on).

On the one hand, these visitors that started to come in the late 1990s have created economic expectations deeply related with the practice of the *kustunri*, such as the performance of food-offering for the place-persons, singing, and dancing. On the other hand, many Hapu people have expressed their concern about the fairness of these exchanges, with the possible benefits that the visitors might be obtaining abroad with the register of their *kustunri*. Hence, these relations with New Age visitors were in tension between expectations of benefits and suspicion of stinginess and unfairness.

However, there was not a single pattern by which Hapu people related to these visitors as the latter were also diverse and behaved in different ways. The presence of the New Age visitors launched a new revaluing of their own *kustunri* and the appropriation of the discourse of the Q'ero's indigenous authenticity by some sectors within Hapu. These discourses of authenticity were aligned with narratives of modernity produced in the city which celebrate contemporary indigeneity as relics of a glorious but pre-modern past.

While New Age visitors started to arrive in Hapu, some Hapu families started to convert to the Maranata Evangelical Church since the early 1990s. At the time of my fieldwork, almost half of Hapu people had become Maranata. They refused to participate in the practices of the *kustunri*, those that mediate the relationships between humans and place-persons. Maranata people condemned the very same practices that the New Age visitors admired and praised. Maranata discourse not only condemned the consumption of alcohol associated with these practices but also framed them as idolatrous practices. Their refusal to carry out not only family rituals but also to participate in communal celebrations has ended up breaking down the system of posts and prestige that organized the community as a whole. Different factions within the community, which follow a clear geographic distribution, ended up in conflict with each other. Of the three sectors of the community, Quchamarka was completely Maranata, Yanaruma was completely Catholic and Raqch'i was half Maranata and half Catholic.

Yanaruma people were Maranata converts until some years ago but they decided to come back to the practice of the Q'ero *kustunri*. The coming back of Yanaruma people to practice the *kustunri* was also encouraged by New Age foreign visitors and philanthropists who were committed to the preservation of Q'ero customs. This conflict between Maranatas and Catholics escalated at such point that Yanaruma people seriously thought about legally creating a different community.

I analyze this particular conjuncture at different levels. Paying attention to the presuppositions embedded in practice I elaborate on the particular mechanisms of regimentation present in the practices of the *kustunri* as a privileged context to understand the reproduction of particular ontologies. I then compare the practices carried out by the Maranata converts that differ from those of the *kustunri*. I compare the differences between the practices of those who have converted to Evangelicalism and those who remain practicing the *kustunri* or have returned to its practice in order to understand how they differ and what new mechanisms of practice regimentation might be reshaping Maranata ideologies and ontologies.

Hence, part of the analysis of this particular set of tensions present in Hapu is related to examining how the different factions of Hapu are distancing themselves one from another at ontological and ideological levels. It is important to point out that I am

not exactly analyzing changes in Hapu in a diachronic sense. It should not be assumed that because Catholics continued practicing the *kustunri*, these practices were not affected by the ongoing process of conversion taking place within the same community. Both the practices of Catholic and Maranata people in Hapu carry dialogical imprints from each other. This is even more the case for the Yanaruma people who returned to the practice of the *kustunri* after being Maranata for several years.

Besides an attention to daily and ritual practice I also discuss how people talk about these processes both in interviews and in naturally occurring speech. The ways people talked about conversions to Evangelicalism and the reconversions to practice the *kustunri* took in consideration multiple evaluations about the behavior and implicit alliances and differential powers of place-persons and other non-human agents such as God or Satan who were intervening in their lives. Hence the analysis of ontological and ideological divergence also takes into consideration the different discourses through which Hapu people narrate the process taking place in their community and in their personal lives.

Evangelicals, New Age visitors and narratives of modernity

These tensions and conflicts allowed me to analyze also how both the Catholic and Evangelical people of Hapu negotiate various facets of the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy produced in the city.

Maranata converts assume a position of moral superiority, claiming to have left behind a life of sin, drunkenness, domestic violence and disregard for their children. Their conversion marks a radical rupture with an undesired past, as well as the point at which they started improving their lives. As Keane (2007) has shown for a different case, narratives of religious conversion closely follow the logic of moral narratives of modernity. Evangelical conversion also shows a similar rhetorical structure of rupture and periodization characteristic of narratives of modernity as discussed by Jameson (2002).

However the Maranata are not alone in making moral claims. For example, both Maranata and Catholics accuse each other of being selfish and stingy. The first say so

when claiming that Yanaruma people want to monopolize all the support given by the foreign philanthropists just for them. Conversely, Yanaruma people claim that it is due to Maranata stinginess that the communal rituals broke down and, furthermore, that the foreigners come to Hapu in order to appreciate the *kustunri* that is condemned by the Maranata. How then the Maranata dare to participate in the benefits that bring the visitors while condemning the *kustunri*?

Within these mutual accusations and claims of moral superiority all sides of these conflicts are implicitly negotiating the dominant narratives of modernity produced in the city, both those that are derogatory of indigeneity and those that celebrate it.

For instance, Maranata practices purposefully depart from *kustunri*. They do not only condemn the practices of *kustunri* but their practices depart drastically from the *kustunri* even in their poetic forms. Then, to be Maranata in Hapu is, to a large extent, to leave behind the distinctive practices of being Q'ero. For them, a book is the source of ultimate truths and literacy plays a big role in their internal construction of hierarchy. All these elements show how Maranata converts align themselves with the narratives of modernity that stress negative stereotypes of indigeneity. However, this is not the whole story. While they distance themselves from being Q'ero, they continue to be Quechua in a more generic sense. While they claim the essential superiority of literacy as a source of knowledge they do so reading a Bible published in Quechua. While they reproduce derogatory stereotypes about indigeneity, they refuse to conform to the role of keepers of ancient Inka culture imposed over them by urban elites and foreigners.

People who decided to remain Catholic and those who returned to the *kustunri* after having converted to Maranata are also negotiating the dominant narratives of modernity, but in different ways. By assuming and appropriating the discourses produced about Q'ero people in Cuzco and beyond, they embody the stereotype of being keepers of ancient wisdom thus contributing to the reproduction of narratives of modernity that celebrate indigeneity as relics of the past. While this is the consequence of the regional narratives of modernity, those who keep cultivating the *kustunri* also envisioned it as a promising path in order to improve their living conditions by obtaining new sources of monetary income as well as building an emerging sense of ethnic pride. Hence, the

cultivation of the *kustunri* and the celebration of its preservation is a way to imagine new paths for a better life.

Through the examination of these diverging ways through which Hapu people are negotiating the dominant narratives of modernity present in the region, I discuss how ideological forms move across ontological differences, across worlds. This is an entry point to start understanding how hegemonic ideological forms can articulate multiple worlds across ontologies.

Organization of the dissertation

The dissertation is organized into two main sections with an intermission between them. The first section, comprised of chapters II and III, explores the dominant narratives of modernity produced in the city of Cuzco.

In chapter II, I introduce the region of Cuzco and its position within Peru, in particular its ideological opposition to Lima, the capital. This chapter also discusses the growing importance of tourism in Cuzco in the context of a neoliberal regime. I also argue that narratives of modernity operate by creating and reproducing social hierarchies. I discuss how they map over many different social fields beyond the simple dichotomy Lima/Cuzco. In chapter III I show that narratives of modernity articulating derogatory stereotypes about indigenous peoples are coupled with narratives of modernity celebrating the indigenous past, which are at the core of Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism. These celebratory discourses and practices have an important role in reinforcing the derogatory stereotypes about contemporary indigenous people.

The next chapter, chapter IV, is an analysis of Quechua ontologies and serves as a bridge between the two parts of the dissertation. These ontologies conceive society as consisting not only of human beings but also places that are endowed with personhood. The second part of the dissertation (chapters V through X) is focused on the description and analysis of social processes taking place in Hapu, and how they are enmeshed within negotiations of the dominant narratives of modernity.

Chapter V identifies the diverse ways by which the community of Hapu is situated within the broader scenario of the Cuzco region. It introduces a general characterization

of the famous Q'ero communities. Then it moves to the community of Hapu, one of the famous Q'ero communities and characterizes Hapu discourses about social hierarchy. Building over a discussion about how some Hapu people go to the city of Cuzco in order to provide their services as mediators between humans and place-persons and how their urban counterparts talk about them, the chapter ends with a consideration of how diverse ontologies construct multiple worlds that coexist and are copresent in each other.

The dissertation then moves on to discuss the different tensions and conflicts present in Hapu. Chapter VI examines the tensions and misunderstandings present between Hapu people and the foreigners who travel there, particularly New Age practitioners and philanthropists. Chapter VII explains the conflicts present in Hapu due to the presence of the Maranata Evangelical Church. I present a sketch of the system of posts and prestige that was in place before the presence of the Maranata. Then I discuss the relations of the community with Catholic priests to finally elaborate on the tensions and conflicts caused by the process of conversion to Evangelicalism.

The next chapter, chapter VIII, is an analysis of the mechanisms of regimentation present in Quechua practices and how they shape the Catholic practices present in Hapu. Paying attention to the obscure disappearance of saints' images from Hapu chapel as well as the analysis of the journey to the Quyllurit'i shrine, the chapter analyzes what is to be Catholic in Hapu in times of a strong Maranata presence.

I then move to a comparative analysis of Catholic and Maranata practices. Chapter IX compares the differences between Catholic and Maranata practices and the new mechanisms of social regimentation present in Maranata practices. The chapter compares Catholic and Maranata ways of praying and singing as well as the Maranata practice of reading and explaining the Bible during their Sunday services. Finally, chapter X is focused on the different ways that Maranata and Catholic people negotiate the dominant narratives of modernity, constructing different discourses of moral superiority and departing on their visions of better futures.

Additional information on field sites, field work and field data

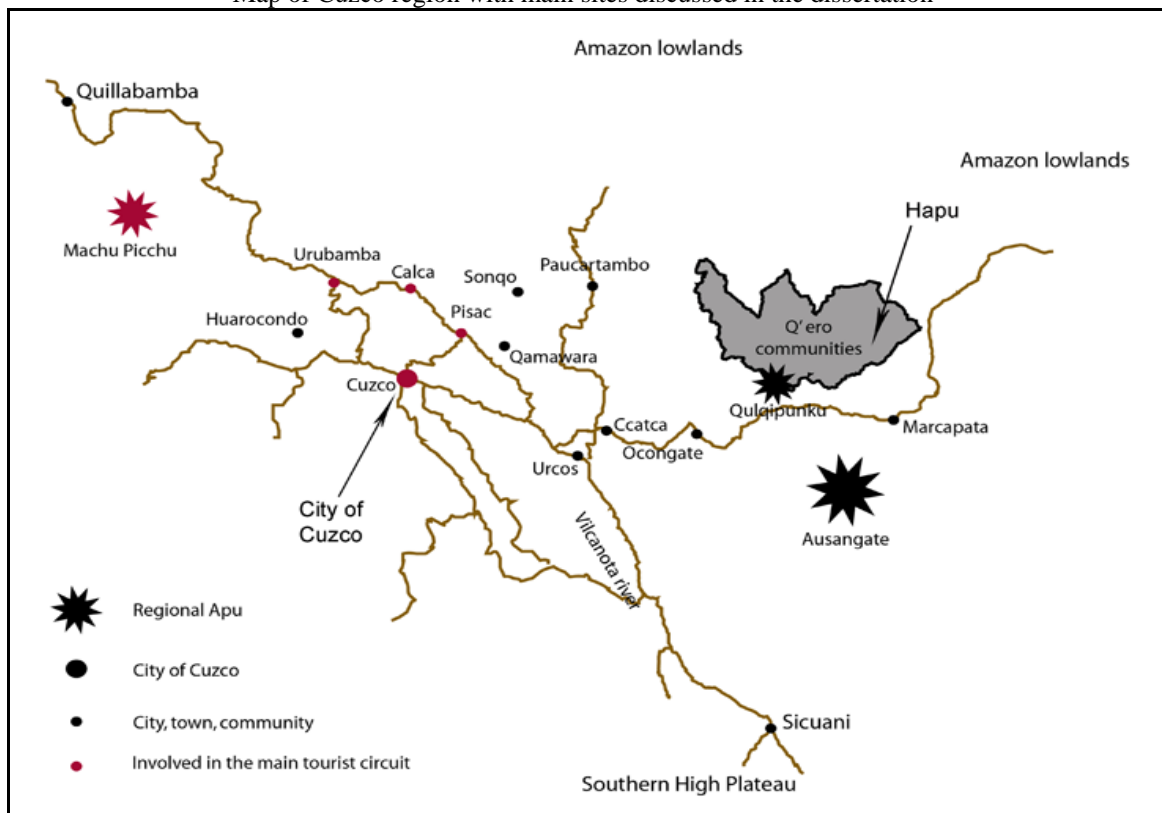
As mentioned before, the fieldwork for this dissertation was grounded in two main sites, the city of Cuzco and the community of Hapu. Cuzco, as in any other city, is a highly complex social phenomenon. Through the dissertation I give attention to two sets of events: First, a series of protests in 2008 reacting to Congress having passed a law allowing areas adjacent to archeological sites to be leased for the construction of elite hotels and restaurants; and second, the series of parades, theatrical representations and festivals that take place during the month of June, when Cuzqueños celebrate their city. I analyze both scenarios to elaborate on how the Inka past is deployed as part of the current reproduction of regionalist nationalism. Both scenarios are marked by the growing importance of tourism and its effect on the ongoing reelaboration of narratives of modernity, which articulate regionalist discourses and sentiments. These ethnographic observations are supplemented by descriptions of events that illustrate particular aspects of modern ideologies as well as interviews with members of the business and intellectual elite and middle class professionals. The analysis also recurs to a historical explanation of how many different ideological elements became articulated in contemporary Cuzco's regionalist nationalism, paying attention to the 20th century.

Between January, 2007, and August, 2009, I spent six months of focused fieldwork each of the sites: the city of Cuzco and in Hapu, though not continuously. Beyond my fieldwork in Hapu, some of the field data also emerged when friends from Hapu traveled to the city and stayed at my place for some days. In that context, I was able to follow their work as *paqu* in the city as well as the necessary bureaucratic paperwork and coordination with several institutions that the Hapu authorities had to carry out.

As a way to give back to Hapu what I was given by its people, I offered to teach Spanish, English and Math to children who had finished the first four years offered at Hapu primary school. This commitment as well as the position of the family I became a member of situated me in a particular way within Hapu. I lived in a Catholic household in the Raqch'i sector. Don Luis, the head of the household criticized the Evangelicals, but he did not have the best relations with the families of Yanaruma, the families that returned to the practice of the *kustunri* and most acquainted with the New Age visitors.

While I was able to get to know and become friends with several Maranata converts who sent their children to study with me, due to the distance to Yanaruma as well as the position of the family with which I lived in Raqch'i, I was seen by the Yanaruma people with some suspicion and framed as an ally of the Evangelicals. Yanaruma people did not see me as an enemy but not as an ally either, which had some consequences on the depth of my knowledge about Yanaruma people's points of view.

Figure 1.2
Map of Cuzco region with main sites discussed in the dissertation



Source: Elaborated by the author in base of INC-Cusco 2006 and IGN 1989.

In addition to these sites, chapter IV builds over some ethnographic observations carried out in Qamawara, a Quechua community relatively close to the city of Cuzco, in the Sacred Valley. A one hour bus ride connects Cuzco to the town of San Salvador, and from there one needs to get onto another hour ride in a truck to Qamawara which is located in the highlands of the San Salvador district. In contrast to Hapu, families living in Qamawara have higher Spanish proficiency, and a wide network of relatives living in the cities of Cuzco and Lima.

I have carried out complementary field work in several areas of the region, particularly in the Quechua communities of the San Salvador district, the towns of San Salvador, Pisac, Calca (Calca), Ocongate, Ccatca and Marcapata (Quispicanchis). I also have reviewed the local libraries for relevant information to the topics discussed here.

Most of the interviews and conversations in the city were carried out in Spanish. During my stays in Hapu and when interacting with Hapu people outside the community, the conversations were mostly in Quechua.

Following the regulations of the Institutional Review Board, all names referred in the dissertation are fictive. Translations from Quechua and from Spanish, either from interviews, newspapers, or from published pieces, are my own unless it is explicitly stated otherwise. The same applies for pictures included in the dissertation. Pictures or images belonging to other authors or institutions are reproduced with their permission.

CHAPTER II

TOURISM, INKA SITES AND NARRATIVES OF MODERNITY

This chapter has two main purposes. First, it is an introduction to the sociopolitical scenario of the city and region of Cuzco in the context of Peru at the end of the new century's first decade. Here I introduce elements such as the neoliberal policies implemented in the country since the early 1990s, the increasing importance of tourism as the main economic activity of the city and the region as well as the importance of Inka sites in the particular Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism. All these elements are important in order to understand the social atmosphere of the region in these years.

Second, I elaborate on how narratives of modernity play a central role in the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy in Peru. In order to do so I propose a framework for analyzing narratives of modernity and how they function as ideological mechanisms producing social hierarchy. While the nature/culture divide might be explicitly invoked in ideological terms, narratives of modernity do not necessarily rest on it. 'Modernity' rather works as an ideological nodal point through a particular rhetorical structure. Being based on an assumption of moral superiority, narratives of modernity are also strongly related to moral missions to convert those who are seen as not yet modern. This drive for conversion is manifest, in the Peruvian case, in the common view of citizenship as achieved by erasing indigeneity, hence framing indigeneity as essentially pre-modern.

I start by analyzing a set of protests that took place mainly in the city of Cuzco in 2008. According to the capital's mass media and analysts these protests were hard to understand. I use a brief explanation of these protests as a way to introduce the main processes and social atmosphere present in the city and the region of Cuzco in order to situate the coming chapters. While these protests are related to the importance of tourism in the region, they also expose and reproduce the Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism that is

deeply related to the tensions and hierarchies between Cuzco and Lima, the Peruvian capital.

After elaborating on the rhetorical mechanisms of narratives of modernity, the chapter moves to show how these narratives construct and negotiate hierarchical relations in many other contexts of social interactions beyond the opposition between Lima and Cuzco. In order to do so I explain how narratives of modernity simplify the complexity of the social world by organizing social difference through a set of basic dichotomies and three semiotic mechanisms. National authorities' and journalists' discourses in the context of the protests provide examples that illustrate the deployment of narratives of modernity and how they articulate social hierarchies. The chapter ends by discussing how the modern drive for conversion and its ultimate impossibility are related to both the work of purification and the reproduction of dominant hierarchies.

Welcome to Cuzco: Tourism, Protests, and Inka sites.

On January 23, 2008 I was able to witness and participate in a massive demonstration in the city of Cuzco that drew in the participation of a large number of both public and private institutions. It had an almost festive character as it is reflected in the way the local media celebrated it in their coverage:

La marcha cívica, realizada ayer en Cusco fue masiva y contundente, fue verdadera fiesta democrática. Creemos que solo una o dos veces se realizó una manifestación igual en nuestra ciudad. Resultó una protesta ejemplar, donde el Gobierno Regional, las municipalidades provinciales y distritales participaron activamente de manera ejemplar rechazando las leyes 29164 y 29167 por atentatorias a nuestro patrimonio. Fue tanta la concurrencia que parecíamos estar en el desfile cívico por las fiestas del Cusco.¹

The civic march that took place yesterday in Cuzco was massive and substantial. It was truly a democratic festivity. We think that only once or twice similar demonstrations were made in our city. It was an exemplary protest, where the regional government, the provincial and district municipalities actively took part in an exemplary way, condemning the laws 29164 and 29167 because they endanger our patrimony. There was so many people that it seemed we were in the civic parade of Cuzco's festivities.

After an ambiguous reaction from the Congress in Lima, the organizations of the city of Cuzco led by the *Federación de Trabajadores del Cusco* (Cuzco's Workers Federation) called for a general strike on February 7th that found widespread support.

Las calles vacías, comercios cerrados y apenas unos cuantos vehículos recorriendo la ciudad

Empty streets, closed businesses, and only a few vehicles traversing the city made evident the

¹ *Editorial*. El Diario del Cusco, January 24, 2008.

evidenciaron la contundencia del paro regional de ayer que luego congregó a más de cien mil personas que marchaban por la Plaza de Armas... Fueron tres horas de interminable movilización de sindicatos de trabajadores, organizaciones juveniles, asentamientos humanos, pueblos jóvenes, asociaciones de comerciantes de mercados y otros que con una sola voz marchaban exigiendo la derogatoria inmediata de las leyes privatistas del patrimonio cultural.²

massive support of the regional strike that yesterday congregated more than one hundred thousand people who protested in the Main Square... For more than three hours an endless number of worker's unions, youth organizations, human settlements and young towns³, merchant and market associations, and many others marched claiming for the immediate derogation of the laws which attempt to privatize the cultural patrimony.

Outside Cuzco, media coverage emphasized, instead, the protests' negative impact on the tourism industry. For example, the BBC reported, on February 8th, that "in the 24-hour protest, main roads were blocked, tours were cancelled and the rail service between Cuzco and Machu Picchu was suspended."⁴ The Peruvian media, based in Lima, criticized the protests. For example, the February 8th *El Comercio* editorial stated:

Esperamos que el Congreso no se deje doblegar por la prepotencia de algunos sectores cusqueños... Esta norma, de modo absurdo, es ahora rechazada por grupos obtusos y radicales, los mismos que antes se opusieron a la inversión en Camisea... Fuera de cualquier motivación chauvinista o politiquera, no se puede perder de vista que el objetivo es la revalorización cultural de innumerables inmuebles y espacios históricos

We expect that Congress won't be swayed by the arrogance of some Cuzqueño sectors... This law, in an absurd way, is rejected by obtuse and radical groups, the very same who before opposed investment in [the exploitation of natural gas of] Camisea... Beyond chauvinism or politicking, it cannot be forgotten that the [law's] goal is the cultural revalorization of countless historic buildings and spaces.⁵

Law 29164 aroused the most indignation in Cuzco, by establishing a mechanism to lease areas adjacent to monuments of national cultural patrimony to private investors for the construction of elite restaurants and hotels. These leases would be approved via authorization by the National Institute of Culture⁶ which would have the responsibility of establishing the "specific location, delimitation, capacity, type and conditions of the tourism service, and other technical conditions supervising the effective and adequate conservation and protection of the cultural patrimony."⁷ The funds obtained through the

² *Pueblo Cusqueño defendió su patrimonio en forma masiva y cívica*. *El Comercio del Cusco*, February 8th, 2008.

³ The latter two terms are euphemisms for shanty towns.

⁴ *Draft law sparks protests in Peru*. BBC News, February 8th, 2008.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7234224.stm> . Last accessed on October 23, 2011.

⁵ *Editorial. Si a la inversión privada en turismo*. *El Comercio*, February 8th, 2008..

⁶ On July 21, 2010 the National Institute of Culture became the Ministry of Culture. See www.mcultura.gob.pe

⁷ "...las condiciones específicas de ubicación, delimitación, capacidad de carga, tipo y condiciones del servicio turístico, y otras condiciones técnicas y exigencias que permitan la efectiva y adecuada conservación y protección del patrimonio cultural."

leases would be used for the “recuperation, restoration, conservation, and sustainable development of the monuments which belong to the Nation’s cultural patrimony.”⁸

In reaction to the protests, five days later the Congress did not repeal the law but rather introduced an amendment which allowed each regional government to decide whether to apply it, assuming that this change would solve the protests in Cuzco. But the organizations behind the protests as well as most of the local media in Cuzco maintained a strong opposition to the law. Union leaders continued to demand for the repeal of the law and called for a two days general strike for February 21 and 22 if the laws were not repealed. The General Secretary of the Federation stressed the opposition of the unions, stating,

Esperemos que el Congreso asuma el costo político de las acciones que provoca. Hay un acuerdo para la toma de Machu Picchu, del aeropuerto Alejandro Velasco Astete y de la línea férrea.⁹

We expect that the Congress will assume the political costs of the actions it provokes. We already have an agreement to take Machu Picchu, the airport and the railroad.

The national authorities and media read these claims as if the threatened events had already taken place. The main figures of the central government began a chain of declarations that infuriated Cuzco’s population. For example, the president of the commission in charge of organizing the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) 2008 meetings in Peru and the Peruvian vice president said on February 15 that the government was reevaluating if Cuzco would be among the cities in which APEC meetings would take place, due to the violent protests:

Los problemas están a la vista. Imagínense que tomen el aeropuerto. Imagínese que a vísperas de una cumbre sucedan hechos de violencia. Nos desgraciamos para siempre.¹⁰

The problems are obvious. Imagine that [the protestors] take the airport. Imagine that the day before of the meetings there is violence. That would be a major disgrace for us.

Mercedes Aráoz, the minister of Foreign Commerce and Tourism said

⁸ “recuperación, restauración, conservación, puesta en valor y desarrollo sostenible de los bienes inmuebles integrantes del patrimonio cultural de la Nación.” Law 29164. *Ley de promoción del desarrollo sostenible de servicios turísticos en los bienes inmuebles, integrantes del patrimonio cultural de la Nación* (Law for Promotion of the Sustainable Development of Touristic Services in the Monuments belonging to the National Cultural Patrimony). November 19, 2007.

<http://www.congreso.gob.pe/ntley/Imagenes/Leyes/29164.pdf> . Last accessed on Feb 21, 2011.

⁹ *Congreso no deroga la Ley 29164 y Cusco define los detalles de su huelga indefinida*. La República; February 14, 2008.

¹⁰ *Giampietri también alerta que el Cusco podría dejar de ser sede del APEC*. Peru21. February 15, 2008.

si no hay garantías, yo no puedo llevar a los ministros de Turismo de la APEC a esa ciudad¹¹

If there are not guarantees, I cannot send the ministers of tourism of APEC [countries] to that city.

A columnist in the Limeño daily *Perú21* denounced extreme violence that had, in fact, never occurred:

Es alucinante la barbaridad que se puede hacer en nombre de la cultura. Bloquear vías y aeropuertos, destruir propiedad privada y pública, paralizar Cusco y hasta amenazar con invadir el mismísimo Machu Picchu para evitar que haya inversión privada en bienes del patrimonio cultural. Incultos defendiendo la cultura (Bullard 2008).

It's amazing the barbarity that can be done in the name of culture. Blocking roads and airports, destroying private and public property, paralyzing Cuzco, and even threatening to invade Machu Picchu in order to impede private investment in cultural heritage monuments. Uncultured [people] defending culture.

A caricature by Alfredo Marcos printed on February 18 in the newspaper *La República* represents an illustrative combination of accusations of violence, ignorance and irrationality, in which the protestors were depicted with bows and arrows trying to hit a plane which was labeled “development” – a visual narrative that framed the protestors as stereotypically irrational pre-modern savages who could neither comprehend the advantages of this law, nor the futility of their opposition.

Figure 2.1
Caricature by Alfredo Marcos



La República, February 18, 2008.
Reproduced with permission.

This association between protest and violence was in part possible because a National Agrarian Strike on February 17 and 18 resulted in the deaths of four protestors,

¹¹ *Cusco perdería su derecho a ser una de las sedes de APEC*. *Peru21*, February 15, 2008.

two of them seemingly as a result of police bullets.¹² The governmental authorities denied the massive nature of the protest in Cuzco in the same way that they had negated the strength of the National Agrarian Strike. Before the start of the two days strike in Cuzco the Prime Minister said:

Afortunadamente el pueblo del Cusco se ha dado cuenta que no pueden seguir a irresponsables que llaman a tomar el aeropuerto y a tomar la línea férrea. Ellos saben que eso es como cortarse la yugular. Entonces obviamente pues los han aislado. Se han separado de ellos en buena hora. Pero fíjese como es absurdo que elementos comunistas, comunistas -- no son radicales, es darles el beneficio a ellos, son comunistas, extremistas, ultras -- que lo único que quieren es crear el caos y la violencia en el país.¹³

Fortunately the people of Cuzco realized that they cannot follow irresponsible [leaders] who call for taking over the airport and the railroads. They know that those actions would be like cutting their own jugular. Then, obviously, they have isolated [the irresponsible leaders]. [The people of Cuzco] are not with them anymore. But, pay attention to how absurd it is that communist, communist elements – they are not radicals, that is to say good things about them — they are communists, extremists, ultra [left wing]. They only want to create chaos and violence in the country.

The President, after congratulating the police in the repression of the National Agrarian Strike, claimed that in case of Cuzco the protests were reduced to

unos extremistas [que] llaman la atención por la vía de la destrucción y la violencia queriendo paralizar la ciudad¹⁴

a bunch of extremists who gain attention by provoking destruction and violence, who want to paralyze the city [of Cuzco].

And he added...

Tenemos información que mucha gente que todavía responde a filiaciones terroristas, no solo senderistas y que se ha visto frustrada por la interrupción de sus designios y deseos de los últimos años, ahora esta impulsando, incitando y moviendo.¹⁵

We have information that many still have terrorist affiliation, not only to Shining Path, and that they are frustrated due to the interruption of their desires and orders in the last years. [Because of that] they are now promoting, encouraging and moving [the protests].

These declarations the day before the strike were received by protestors in Cuzco as further provocations. And although on February 21 and 22 the city woke up overtaken by policemen – extra contingents transported from the cities of Lima and Arequipa – the

¹² During the government of Alan Garcia (2006-2011) 191 people died during social protests most of which were against state policies promoting extractive industries or against mining projects. This number is markedly higher than that corresponding to the previous administration (*Conflictos sociales: 191 muertos durante último gobierno de Alan García*. La República, August 29, 2011. Alan Garcia's government passed a law making police officers who used their firearms during protests immune to judicial prosecution.

¹³ *Cusco se ha dado cuenta que dirigentes que promueven paro son irresponsables*. Interview with Prime Minister Jorge del Castillo. El Comercio February 17, 2008. Transcription from audio recording on web page: <http://elcomercio.pe/ediciononline/html/2008-02-17/cusco-ha-dado-cuenta-que-dirigentes-que-promueven-paro-son-irresponsables.html> . Last accessed on September 20, 2010.

¹⁴ *Las manifestaciones son un chantaje al país, sostuvo el presidente Alan García*. El Comercio, February 21, 2008.

¹⁵ *Para García, senderistas están detrás de recientes protestas*. Peru21, February 21, 2008.

protests remained both massive and peaceful. People marched organized by usual unions that participate in protests but also there were present municipalities, neighborhood and youth organizations, and even mayors and municipal councils chanting slogans such as “Cusco es maravilla y no mercadería” (Cuzco is a wonder and not a merchandise), or “Somos cusqueñistas y no terroristas” (We are Cuzco lovers and not terrorists). A few incidents of violence seemed, in fact, to satisfy some sectors of the government: a small group of university students attempted to tear down one of the airport’s walls but were quickly dispersed by police; two air companies’ windows were smashed; and the main roads and railroads were blocked.

Figure 2.2
A union’s participation in the protests



Sindicato de Construcción Civil y Artes Decorativas del Cusco (Cuzco’s Construction and Decorative Arts Workers Union) marching on February 22, 2008.

Most of Lima’s media magnified these events, the most widespread of which was the road blockade. Historically, however, this measure is one of the few that rural populations can successfully use to force the authorities to pay attention to a protest. Without roadblocks, rural protests are typically ignored. The railroad blockade on the line to Machu Picchu was not a surprise. Any protest in Cuzco includes this blockade due to its importance for the tourism industry and also the antipathy felt for its then monopoly

operator, the British *Orient Express*, by the local population and even by representatives of the Cuzco's Chamber of Commerce.¹⁶

After the two days' strike the government cancelled all planned meetings of APEC in Cuzco. The language used by Antero Flores Aráoz, the Minister of Defense, illustrates the attitude of some Limeño politicians towards people of other regions of the country who do not conform to the designs made in the capital:

Figure 2.3
Upper middle class protestors



Upper middle class protestors holding a banner on which a donkey has the face of President García. It states “We are neither terrorists nor just a few. We want investments that respect our national heritage and our dignity. Listen to us ignorant Limeños!!!” February 22, 2008.

Los violentistas no quieren que los miembros de APEC vayan a Cusco. El resto de cusqueños han estado silentes, han callado en todos los idiomas, o sea, en lugar de expresar su protesta por los hechos de violencia, se han quedado callados, con lo cual han aceptado en alguna medida esa violencia, con ese silencio que llamaríamos cómplice [...]

Muy bien viejito, no se va ha realizar, no quieres que sea en el Cusco, no será en el Cusco, ellos

The violent people do not want the members of APEC to go to Cuzco. The rest of the Cuzqueños have been silent, they have kept silence in all languages. Instead of expressing their protest against the violence, they have remained silent. Hence they have agreed to some extent with the violence, with that silence that we would call complicit [...]

Well, old man, it is not going to happen; if you do not want the meetings to be in Cuzco, they won't be

¹⁶ Interview with the President of the Chamber of Commerce. March 2007.

¹⁷ *Cusco no será sede de APEC*. El Diario del Cusco, February 28, 2008.

mismos lo deciden [...] que se queden con su Machu Picchu.¹⁷

in Cuzco. They have decided it themselves [...]. They can keep their Machu Picchu for themselves.

This statement repeats several ideas common to the government and national media chorus from Lima, despite the lack of factual data: The protests were essentially violent; they were provoked by a few extremists who manipulated the rest of the population; the people of Cuzco were either irresponsible for following a violent minority, or coward for not opposing an extremist minority. It also exhibits superiority, contempt, and exclusion of the people of Cuzco from the nation.

The central government framed the protestors not as citizens of the same country, but as subordinates who do not know their place; as irrational inferiors, or as children having a tantrum. This type of discourse is not, however, exclusive to Cuzco; it tends to be applied to any other region that does not agree with the policies of the central government. The pro-corporate mass media discourses about protestors' irrationality have a geographical pattern associated to distribution of indigenous peoples.¹⁸

Additionally to these discourses of government representatives, the majority of the media in Lima did not investigate the rationale behind the protests while -- with few exceptions (i.e. Arbe 2008, Bruce 2008, Pedraglio 2008) -- most opinion columnists immediately condemned them. This is telling of the consolidation of a neoliberal discourse in the capital's mass media according to which private investment without state regulation is conceived as the only possible path for "development." The few attempts to explain the protests were notably reduced to economic logics. For Fritz Du Bois, a columnist of *El Comercio* and later director of the newspaper *Peru21*, the reason behind the protests was the mediocrity of the Cuzco's entrepreneurs. The protests were done because,

... aparte de ahuyentar a turistas, también correrán ...beyond chasing tourists, they also chase new

¹⁸ For example, Puno, South of Cuzco and next to Bolivia tends to be framed as the space of highly irrational indigenous mobs that lynch mayors and burn out public buildings. The people of the Southern highlands -- that includes both Cuzco and Puno among other region -- is framed as more irrational than the Central or Northern highlands which are not populated by stereotypically indigenous people and where indigenous languages are less predominantly spoken. Similar accusations are made about Amazonian indigenous people in context of social mobilization and protest. These type of accusations were applied to the 2002 Arequipa protests against the privatization of hydroelectricity, and during the Amazonian protests of 2008 and 2009 which ended with the June 2009 Bagua massacre. The Amazonian protestors were demanding the repeal of laws promoting extractive industries in the Amazon. In both cases the government representatives acted in a dismissive and arrogant ways until violence got out of control. See Lombardi 2010 and AgenciaPeru 2002.

a los nuevos inversionistas, cual podría ser el objetivo real de los que están detrás de la protesta, ya que los protege de la competencia” (Du Bois 2008).

investors. That might be the real objective of those who are behind the protests, to protect themselves from competition.

Another journalist, Rosa Maria Palacios, conveyed similar ideas. She noticed that Cuzco was the only region protesting this law and also the only one where heritage sites are actually a source of economic profits. Her explanation:

[Esta] ley reserva para la gran inversión privada (hoteles de cinco estrellas y restaurantes de cuatro tenedores) y, probablemente, extranjera (por los capitales de los que debe disponer) zonas contiguas a monumentos que hoy se encuentran invadidas de pequeños comerciantes que venden artesanías, así como de hoteles de bajo presupuesto. Estos (que son miles) van a tener que competir con la gran inversión o, peor aún, corren el riesgo de ser desalojados en el ánimo de formalizar estas zonas, sujetos al futuro arbitrio (léase coima) del INC o del gobierno regional... Si bien la ley es buena y las medidas violentas tomadas por los cusqueños incorrectas, y en algunos casos delincuenciales, el temor es racional. Nadie quiere quedar fuera del mercado. El bolsillo primero, aunque para afuera estos opositores se presenten como "los defensores del patrimonio". Del patrimonio personal, deberían decir los cusqueños para ser sinceros (Palacios 2008).

[This] law reserves for big private investment (hotels of five stars and restaurants of four forks) and, probably, foreign (due to the capital that have to invest) areas contiguous to monuments that currently are invaded by small businessmen who sell handicrafts, and also by low budget hostels. They, who are thousands, will have to compete with the big investment or, even worse, run the risk of being evicted in order to formalize those areas, and then be subject to the future decisions (read bribes) of the National Institute of Culture of the regional government. ... While the law is good and the violent measures taken by the people of Cuzco incorrect, and in some cases criminal, fear is rational. Nobody wants to get out of the market. Their own pocket is first, even though these protestors present themselves as the “defenders of patrimony.” In order to be sincere, Cuzqueños should claim that they are defending their personal patrimony.

These explanations, besides being reductionist, are factually incorrect. The majority of small businesses are not close to archeological sites, their clients are not the same as those of the five star hotels, and these small businessmen are far from having the power to orchestrate such massive protests. On the contrary, small businessmen were the most worried about the protests as they depend on their daily sales to maintain their businesses.

Among the notable exceptions in Lima’s media was a column by Guillermo Arbe, who was in Cuzco during those days and had the opportunity to talk with many locals. He stated:

TODOS los cusqueños con quienes hablé estaban, sin excepción, en contra de la ley... no es cierto que los cusqueños estén siguiendo en forma inocente y engañada a los dirigentes. Es al revés. Los cusqueños con quienes hablé tenían muy en claro las agendas de los dirigentes. No encontré a ninguno que los apoyara.(Arbe 2008, emphasis in the original).

ALL Cuzqueños with whom I talked were against the law... It is not true that the Cuzqueños are following the leaders in an innocent and deceived manner. On the contrary, the Cuzqueños with whom I had talked clearly knew the leaders’ personal agendas. I did not find one who supported them

The law was seen by the protestors as an attempt to privatize Inka sites despite a proliferation of arguments negating this idea. Certainly there was a group of local tourist entrepreneurs who did not object to the law, however they neither had the numbers nor a significant leadership to oppose the protests. The regional authorities attempted to frame the change in the law as a local triumph but they could not convince the unions' leaders who called for further protests.

The Limeño press stressed that it was only a lease, that the lease was not for the site but the area adjacent to it, and that the law intended actually to obtain funding in order to restore and make these places sources of income for local governments. Further, that the implementation of the law was aimed at other regions of the country that did not have the already established tourist industry as Cuzco. These arguments failed to convince those supporting the protests, nor did the modification of the law which allowed the regional governments to decide if the law applied to their region. Hence, aside from the chatter of national media, the question remained: Why did Cuzco's population protest so extensively against this law?

A first and crucial element for understanding these protests is that Inka sites are sacred for Cuzqueños. This was actually explicitly stated by many of the protestors. Here I use sacred to point out the fundamental role these sites occupy in the strong regionalist nationalism present in Cuzco. This regionalist nationalism does not challenge the idea of Peru as a nation and hence it is not secessionist. It is a locally produced vision of Peru as a nation that rests on the conviction that Cuzco, by being the former capital of the Inka Empire, is the true essence and center of the nation, in contrast to Lima, the coastal capital.

As many scholars have elaborated, the construction of a nation involves, among other things, sacred sites, texts, myths and rituals. As myths and rituals, sites such as museums, monuments, or battlefields participate in the construction or disputing over these imagined communities. Nations have been and are imagined through media such as printed press or currently television or other mass media, but the nation does not rest only in the works of the imagination. These communities also rest in a set of sacred texts, rituals and objects through which the nation is not only imagined but provokes deeply felt emotions of belonging - that could be called love or devotion - and which are actively

cultivated through formal education and several ritual practices. This is why many nationalist texts appeal to emotions through performances of songs, poetry, or theater (Anderson 1983, Smith 2003). Sacred places serve as material objects that anchor the narratives about the nation within the landscape. The *Arc de Triomphe* of Paris, with its endless lists of victorious battles and its inextinguishable fire, is one of the shrines of French nationalism. In a different way, by exhibiting objects extracted from all over the world, the British Museum celebrates an imperial era and the emergence of Great Britain as a world power. Ground Zero or the Statue of Liberty, in different but related ways, have become shrines of US nationalism. Their very qualities of places historically charged make them contexts of constant potential contestation. This could be exemplified by the attempts of ultra-nationalist Poles to frame Auschwitz as the place of Polish martyrdom in contrast to the place of Jewish Holocaust (Zubrzycki 2006). This sacredness of national places, objects, and rituals becomes plainly evident in the overt attention that is given to policing and claiming their authenticity. The “authentic” places, rituals, objects, architecture, are necessary because they are portrayed as irreplaceable and fundamental (Smith 2003). They are portrayed like they were evidence of the essence and truthfulness of the national narratives which are deeply related to the ways in which visions of history are elaborated, displayed and performed (Verdery 1991).

It is quite plausible to claim that Inka sites are shrines of Peruvian nationalism. For example, Machu Picchu, beyond being a main tourist attraction, is an important Peruvian national symbol without any clear competitor. While most Peruvians from any region of the country are likely to refer to Machu Picchu as a marvel that they feel proud of (a claim usually followed by expressing the desire of being able to visit it at least once in their life) Inka sites occupy different roles among the diverse forms of Peruvian nationalism one can encounter in the country, as well as in the regionalist nationalism cultivated in the city of Cuzco. Inka sites are crucial in the reproduction of Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism that locates Cuzco’s glorious Inka past at the very heart and essence of the Peruvian nation.

These monuments are undeniable evidence of the accomplishments of the Inka. Their distinctive architecture across vast territories was one of the main ways to demonstrate their overwhelming power as a strategically deployed imperial propaganda.

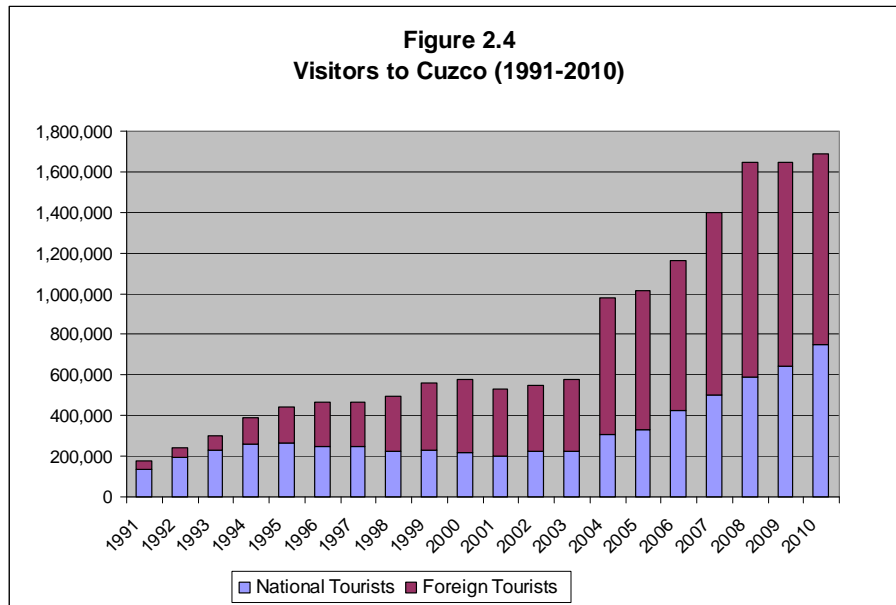
Inka imperial architecture has managed to adapt in a distinctive way to the landscape. It uses the landscape's imposing magnificence to Inka political advantage and at the same time expresses the power of reshaping that landscape (Nair 2009, Van de Guchte 1999). To some extent, it is not surprising that Inka imperial architecture, besides having been damaged by indifference, neglect and looting, keeps seducing and provoking the admiration of contemporary peoples from Cuzco, Peru and abroad. It was developed precisely for having such an impact.

The majority of contemporary Cuzqueños of different social and cultural backgrounds, not necessarily in a homogenous way, consider themselves to be in some way or another, heirs of the Inkas and refer to them as civilizing heroes (see Flores Ochoa 2005, Pacheco 2007). They are usually imagined as the founders and builders of a utopian society absent of hunger, poverty and injustice in sharp contrast with the far from utopian contemporary reality (Flores Galindo 1986).

However, Inka sites are not only shrines of Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism; they are also what have made possible the development of tourism in the region. All the State investments, done after the 1950 earthquake, in order to promote tourism in Cuzco would have been useless without the existence of Inka sites. Currently Cuzco is the main Peruvian tourist destination and tourism is the region's main industry. The region's economy currently depends on the tourist industry. The Inkas were the main builders not only of past grandeur but the key condition of possibility of contemporary tourism industry.

Tourists neither could travel freely during protests nor even take a cab to the airport and hence their travel arrangements were affected and some ended up with their vacations ruined. Most Limeño journalists criticized the protests claiming that Cuzqueños constantly maltreat tourists. This included a government sponsored TV-spot of an angry German tourist claiming that she will never again step foot in Cuzco. While it is obvious that protests are not good for the tourist industry, according to my experience it is an overstatement to claim that the people of Cuzco constantly maltreat tourists. Data from the state agency that promotes tourism rather point to relatively high levels of tourist satisfaction, that have clearly increased from 2006 to 2009 (PromPerú 2010). While there are cases of thefts, extortion or assault on tourists, a predominant pattern is that locals

tend to have sympathy for tourists who come to admire Inka sites, colonial art and architecture, and the beauty of the mountainous landscape. The fact that so many people come to Cuzco from far places gives local people a constant reaffirmation of the unquestioned greatness of the Inka and in doing so reinforces regional pride. The 2007 “election” of Machu Picchu among one of the “Seven Wonders of the Modern World” by “more than 100 million voters” worldwide has not only brought more tourists to Cuzco but also reinforced the already high regard that Cuzqueños have for their homeland.¹⁹



Source: Elaborated by the author with information from the Registers of the Regional Direction of Tourism – Cuzco (DIRCETUR Cusco)

During the 1980s while the country was being devastated by political violence the tourist industry in Cuzco went into a strong crisis. Only after the defeat of Shining Path, symbolically marked by the capture of its leader in 1992, the tourist industry started to recuperate in Cuzco. During the last ten years its growth was not only constant but marked (see figure 2.4). Its growth has been accompanied by the arrival of foreign corporations, the privatization of key infrastructure - like the railroad to Machu Picchu - and the development of elite tourism. This spectacular development has made more

¹⁹ *Lisbon on 07.07.2007* in The World of New 7 Wonders. <http://world.n7w.com/new-7-wonders/lisbon-on-07-07-2007/>. Last accessed on October 15, 2011.

obvious some contradictions that were already present in the 1980s. The double quality of Inka sites, as sacred places of the regionalist nationalism *and* as tourist attractions, makes Cuzqueños particularly sensitive to the implications of their tourist economy.

The increasing number of restaurants, hotels, and services for elite tourism in the center of the city is coupled with a growing sense of exclusion.²⁰ With few exceptions, the city center locales where middle-class Cuzqueños used to eat, or share a coffee have disappeared to become oriented to tourism. Most middle class Cuzqueños whose parents used to populate and frequently circulate in the city center do not use it in comparable way today. This is due in part to the high prices of most of the restaurants and bars of the center, but also because there is a preferential attention given to tourists and hence Cuzqueños feel they are regarded as not so desirable clients. Thus, the most successful restaurants frequented by middle class Cuzqueños are outside the city's historical center – a shift noted particularly by the urban middle classes, people whose parents felt a sense of ownership towards the city's historical center. A clear example of this nostalgia of the old upper middle class who lived in the city center is found in the theme of the novel *Cusco en los Anillos del Tiempo* (Cuzco in the Rings of Time) (Barrionuevo 2007). A more noticeable event which gave wide visibility to this process was the eviction of the *Café Ayllu* on June 2009. *Café Ayllu* was an emblematic coffee shop regularly attended by Cuzqueño middle classes, intellectuals and artists, and considered the last space for Cuzqueños in the Main Square, as recounted by Limeño commentator Nicolas Lynch:

El Ayllu, como suele suceder con los buenos cafés, es mucho más que un local de expendio de comidas y bebidas, se ha constituido a lo largo de 40 años en un centro cultural y social, que ha reivindicado la personalidad del Cusco y los cusqueños en el mismo centro de la ciudad. Quizás sea, además, uno de los últimos reductos cusqueños, frente a la invasión de McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken y otras franquicias extranjeras que infestan el centro histórico [...] Desde allí es que los cusqueños pueden admirar su Plaza de Armas, en un lugar que todavía pueden pagar y donde se sienten cómodos.

The Ayllu, as happens with good cafes, is much more than a place that sells food and drinks. Along forty years it has become a cultural and social center that has vindicated the personality of Cuzco and Cuzqueños in the very center of the city. Additionally, it might be one of the last Cuzqueño spaces in front of the invasion of McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken and other foreign franchises that infest the historical center. [...] From it, Cuzqueños can admire their Main Square, in a place they can still afford and where they are at ease. To close the Ayllu is not only to close a

²⁰ This perspective however is not recent. Already in 1980, when tourism was far from having the current magnitude, there were opinions mentioning this kind of exclusion due to the increasing importance of tourism: "The city has been expropriated to its inhabitants. The housing situation has worsened due to the excessive demand and competitiveness that give to tourists the income in strong monetary denominations. Something similar happens with the prices of all products, included the agricultural ones" (Lovón y Vega 1980: 20 quoted by Nieto 1996: 76).

Terminar con el Ayllu no es solo cerrar un café. Es destruir, físicamente, una parte de la vida del Cusco para cambiarla por algo efímero –como cualquier franquicia internacional– que brinde satisfacción a los turistas (Lynch 2008).

coffee shop. It is to destroy, physically, a part of Cuzco life and replace it by something ephemeral - such as any foreign franchise - to satisfy tourists.

Many neighbors and clients, both Cuzqueños, Limeños and foreign, expressed in different ways their disapproval and protested the way in which the Archbishop Juan Antonio Ugarte decided the fate of the *Café Ayllu* so the property could be rented to a corporate chain. Nothing stopped this Opus Dei priest from going forward with the eviction he could legally order since the building is owned by the Archbishopric. On June 1st, 2009, the *Ayllu* closed its doors:

Pese al pedido de centenares de clientes y simpatizantes del emblemático café Ayllu al Arzobispado del Cusco, propietario del inmueble, para que no ponga fin a sus actividades, el tradicional local cerró hoy sus puertas de manera definitiva después de 40 años [...] Cuando se estaba negociando la renovación del contrato, hace tres años, el arzobispado les hizo saber que ya no quería inquilinos, sino socios. Esta nueva denominación planteaba el aumento del alquiler a más del doble y los obligaba a invertir una suma de US\$200.000 para la refacción del local y entregar 10% de las ganancias mensuales. La situación los llevó a juicio.²¹

Against the requests of hundreds of clients and sympathizers of the emblematic Café Ayllu directed to the Archbishopric of Cuzco, the owner of the property, asking it not to put an end to its activities, today the traditional coffee shop closed its doors definitely after 40 years. [...] When they were negotiating the contract renewal, three years ago, the Archbishopric let them know that they did not want tenants anymore but instead partners. This meant more than double price for the rent, a commitment of US\$ 200.000 investment for the property's improvement as well as 10% of the monthly profits. This situation ended in a trial.

The case of *Café Ayllu* is only the most emblematic one of this ongoing process.

As Luis Nieto Degregori, a Cuzqueño writer, states

...estos cambios en el centro histórico buscan que el Cusco se convierta en una ciudad genérica, moldeada más al gusto de los consumidores, sin respetar la particularidad que hace de esta ciudad histórica un espacio único (Huillca 2008b).

....these changes in the historical center are making Cuzco a generic city, shaped by the taste of foreign consumers without respecting the particularities that make this historic city a unique space

Another perception clearly present across class and cultural differences is that the profits produced by tourism are concentrated mostly in the hands of a minority of enterprises and only a small amount of them actually benefit the broader population.²² In the words of the Regional Tourism Director at the time of the protests:

²¹ *Emblemático café Ayllu de Cusco abandonó local que ocupó por 40 años*. El Comercio. June 1st, 2009.

²² This perception is also an old one. Daniel Estrada, the three times leftist Mayor of Cuzco and leader of the 1990s renewed celebration of the Inka past, claimed around 1980:

Tourism only benefits elites which economically dominate in the country and who are figureheads or servants of transnational [corporations] which devour our richness and possibilities for the benefit of imperialism. Tourism in Cuzco only has served – I repeat – for the benefit of a very

El modelo turístico en la región está siendo entendido de una manera muy diferente. La población tiene una idea y los empresarios del turismo otra. La población nota claramente que un puñado de empresas se lleva la mayor parte de los ingresos del turismo. Tanto así que han reelaborado un slogan oficial: 'Turismo, tarea de todos, beneficio de pocos' (quoted in Huilca 2008a).

The touristic model in the region is being understood in very different ways. The population has one idea and the tourism businessmen another. The population sees clearly that a handful of companies take most of the tourism profits. This perception is so strong that they have re-elaborated an official slogan: 'Tourism. Task of all, benefits of a few.'

Notwithstanding the efforts made by the representatives of Cuzco's chambers of commerce and tourism to stress how important tourism is as the economic motor of the region, the opposite perception endures.

Cada vez que un medio local me entrevista en Cusco, el sonsonete de rigor es "¿el turismo es trabajo de todos y beneficio de pocos?" "¿En qué contribuye su sector con la región?" Una respuesta rápida es: 300 millones de soles anuales, tan solo por el concepto del uso público [...] A esta cifra hay que añadirle la plusvalía que genera el sector con el 19% de Impuesto General a las Ventas [...] La contribución más importante es sin alguna duda que el turismo es el principal empleador urbano dando trabajo directo o indirecto a unas 200,000 personas.²³

Each time the local media in Cuzco interviews me, the same singsong is repeated: "is tourism task of all, benefits of a few?" or "How does tourism contribute to the region?" A quick answer is: annually 300 millions of soles²⁴ just due to the entrance tickets [to the Monuments] [...] Add the value-added generated by the sector with 19% charged in sales taxes, and 30% of taxes on profits [...] The most important contribution is no doubt that tourism is the main urban employer giving direct or indirect employment to about 200,000 people.

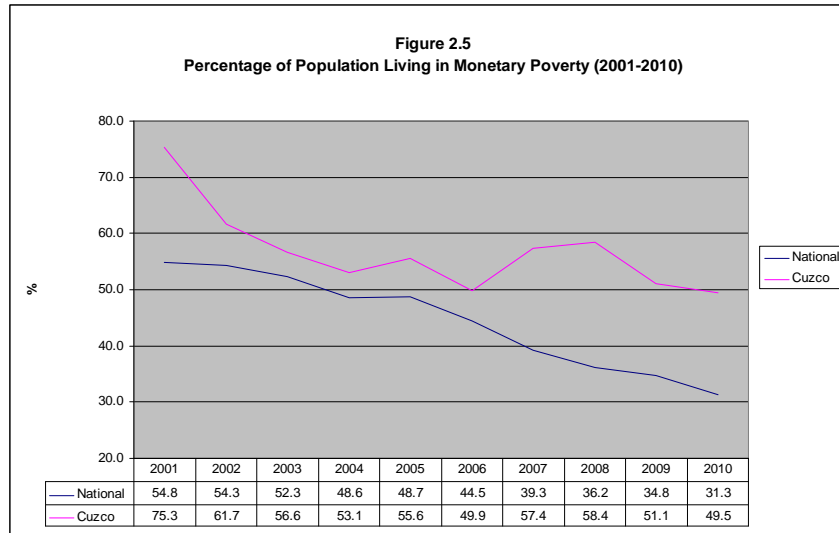
This perception is particularly pervasive partly because a large proportion of Cuzco's regional population lives in poverty. According to Peruvian official information, poverty has decreased in the last decade at the national level as the country has had a steady economic growth of about 6% per year. If in 2001, 54% of the population was living in monetary poverty²⁵, in 2010 this percentage had declined to 31.3. In Cuzco, 75.3% of the population was living in monetary poverty in 2001 and in 2010 this percentage decreased to 49.5. As shown on the following figure, monetary poverty in Cuzco remained above and has not decreased in the same rate as the national average. Furthermore, during 2007 and 2008 it actually increased (INEI 2011).

small elite, while on the other side, the immense popular majority had to suffer its effects (Estrada in Vega and Guillén 1981:15 quoted by Nieto 1996: 75).

²³ Interview with the President of the Cuzco Chamber of Tourism. March 2007.

²⁴ Approximately US\$ 100 million at that time's currency exchange.

²⁵ These percentages refer to monetary poverty which is measured in relation to estimates of the monetary value of basic needs basket (INEI 2011).



Source: Elaboration by the author with information from INEI 2011.

It is important to take into consideration that nationwide the percentage of indigenous people living in rural areas who were in monetary poverty in 2010 was 63.6%.²⁶ In the highlands, the percentage of urban people living in poverty was 27.3% while among rural people it was 61.2 % in 2010 (INEI 2011:36,56). Hence, the corresponding percentages for the rural areas of Cuzco populated by Quechua speakers are likely to show quite higher levels of poverty that those shown by the regional averages.²⁷

While poverty has been decreasing nationwide during the last decade, inequality has increased. According to a study by Javier Escobal, in 2004 the income of the richest 20% people was 4.18 times higher than the income of the poorest 50%, however for 2008 this multiplier increased to 4.46 (Escobal 2009 quoted by Trivelli 2010).

Taking these elements into account allows us to see that the expansion of foreign investment in local tourism in the last decade has been perceived predominantly in

²⁶ The criteria for indigeneity here is mother tongue (INEI 2011).

²⁷ While this text is concerned with some of the highland areas of the region of Cuzco, it is important to remark that approximately half of its territory is constituted by lowland Amazonian plains and the lower altitudes of the Eastern mountains (*ceja de selva*). These Amazonian lands are overtly out of the imagination of the region or are only imagined as empty space to be colonized. The majority of Cuzco's population sees the region as exclusively highland and erases the lowlands from its imagination. Similar process is present in at the national level. Having this in mind, Cuzco population (close to 1.2 million people in 2007) is 55% urban and 45% rural according to the last national census, 30% of the urban population and 79.5% of the rural one are native Quechua speaker INEI. 2008. *Censos Nacionales 2007: XI de Población y VI de Vivienda*. Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática - Perú: www.inei.gob.pe consultada el 15 de diciembre de 2009..

Cuzco, as it is easily seen through the local media, as a dual process in which on one hand, Inka places are increasingly framed as commodities to be sold to foreigners and less as spaces of and for Cuzqueños; on the other hand, the profits generated by tourism associated with Inka sites are perceived to be beneficial for only a small group of local and foreign companies, excluding the majority of poor people in the region.

It should not then be surprising that a law promoting the lease of areas next to Inka sites to corporations provoked the opposition of the majority of Cuzqueños. This law was perceived not only as more of the same inequity via tourist profits, but as the legitimization of a process of alienation of sacred places as well as their profanation by being framed purely as commodities.

Journalists and authorities in the capital were surprised that even though the law was changed to give each region's authorities the choice not to apply the law, the protests continued in Cuzco. From Lima then the protests were seen as unjustified and triggered the multiplication of critical adjectives against the protests. The protests did not lose momentum because the law in itself was perceived as a vertical imposition from the capital, while the changes made to the law were seen as a manipulation and an attempt to camouflage its final purposes. This perception is what gave support to the decision of union leaders to continue the protests. There were no signs from governmental authorities or the Congress to address the claims of the population of Cuzco. This was taken to be more evidence of the Limeño centralism (see, for example, Estrada 2008). Even representatives of the Chamber of Tourism, who are clearly in favor of local and foreign investments, mention this as a problem afflicting the relationships between Cuzco and Lima:

Yo sí creo que el tema de centralismo es real, su poder nocivo, negativo es real. No es que sea una cosa así que se me ocurre, no es un fantasma ¿no? Muchas veces estas en reuniones sociales en Lima o inclusive afuera y te presentas ¿no?, y dices hola que tal, yo soy tal, ah hola que tal por ahí, ah ¿Tú eres cusqueño?, pucha que los cusqueños son súper difíciles, que esto que el otro... Yo digo oye, yo debería estar diciendo eso de ustedes, ustedes los limeños son absolutamente difíciles. Ósea, qué muestras han dado al resto país en términos de manejo del país como tal, su élite académica, empresarial, o inclusive la castrense y tal... No

I do believe that centralism is real, its harmful power, its negative power is real. It is not just something that I made up. It is not a ghost. Sometimes when you are in social gatherings in Lima or even abroad and you introduce yourself and say, hello, I am such and such. Are you from Cuzco? Oh, you Cuzqueños are very difficult!, and this and that... I say, I should be saying so about you. You Limeños are absolutely difficult. What are the signs that you have given to the rest of the country in terms of managing it? What have your academic, business and even military elites done?...What does it mean when they say "you are

entiendo, a que se refieren con “Uds. No están not well prepared”? Right?
preparados”, no?²⁸

Additionally to this sensitiveness towards renewed signs of centralism coming from the capital, there is a deep distrust among the population – that could be extrapolated to the whole Peruvian population - towards the state apparatus, including the national government as well as regional and municipal authorities. Having witnessed the protests firsthand and then watched the national television news and the declarations of national authorities I had the odd perception that they were referring to different events that those that took place in Cuzco. A sense of indignation regarding the opinions expressed in Lima is conveyed, for example, in the banner carried by some upper middle class protestors as shown in the figure 2.3: “We are neither terrorists nor just a few. We want investments that respect our national heritage and our dignity. Listen to us ignorant Limeños!” The protestors and those who supported them pointed out these misrepresentation of the protests in many local radio and TV programs. In a wider sense, the larger distrust can be understood due to a long history of candidates’ offers during electoral campaigns which are not honored when elected. And given the constant corruption scandals²⁹ Peruvians in general have good motives not to trust the Congress, the Government, the judicial system or the mass media.

Another aspect that helps to understand these protests is that before they started, discontent with the national government in Cuzco and the Andean southern regions of Peru, where Alan García had not won the elections, had already been fermenting.³⁰ While the government insistently boasted about the country’s positive macroeconomic figures, the population – particularly outside Lima – did not perceive or acknowledge an improvement in their living standards. While the government was praised by stock exchanges, business chambers and multilateral agencies, the approval of the

²⁸ Interview with the 2008 president of Cuzco Chamber of Tourism. March 2007.

²⁹ For example, those registered by the videos of Vladimiro Montesinos in relation to the Fujimori regime of the 1990s or those more recent “petro-audios” of the government of Alan Garcia (2006-2011).

³⁰ People were disappointed by the obvious betrayal of campaign promises (review of the Free Trade Agreement with the US, imposing more taxes on mining, reduce fees for basic services, and a campaign slogan of “responsible change”) – in addition to a widespread increase in the prices of basic commodities due to the international crisis. Contrary to his campaign promises, Garcia’s administration meant a radicalization of the neoliberal reforms which caused the propagation of conflicts across the country and notoriously with the indigenous populations. This was coupled with an increasing State intolerance and use of violence, both symbolic and physical, towards those who protested these policies.

administration and the president was notably low. In September 2008, for example, the president obtained only 19% of approval in countrywide polls, while only obtained 7% in the South of the country, where Cuzco is located (IOP 2008).

At the end of the day, the law that provoked the protests stayed in its modified version. Since then and until the end of 2010, no area next to a monument of the national patrimony has been granted in concession anywhere in the country. The main consequence of everything surrounding this law has been the reproduction and reinforcement of old stereotypes. In the imagination of many people of Cuzco and building over a long tradition, Lima was again seen as the location of coastal power identified with its Spanish heritage, always looking at foreign interests as better than national and only interested in indigenous cultures when they can take some economic advantage from them. While these stereotypes are far from capturing the cultural diversity and heterogeneity of Lima, a city of eight million people made up mostly of Andean migrants, these episodes refuel them by associating Lima with its media and with the national government. The events also reinforced the stereotypes through which the government and Lima's pro-corporate media frame any protests emerging in Cuzco or in any other of the region beyond Lima. According to them these protests are only due to extreme left-wing radicals, both local and foreign, who easily manipulate irrational and ignorant local populations. Showing a sharp unwillingness to dialogue, any disagreement with the pro-corporate economic policies of the central government tends to be quickly dismissed as endangering the development of the country. This vision can be summarized by referring to a governmental TV spot launched on May 2010. While it showed images of road blockades contrasted with huge mining and port machinery, it stated:

Alerta. Mientras el Perú avanza firme hacia el futuro, se ha iniciado una guerra contra el empleo y el desarrollo. Por razones políticas e ideológicas pequeños grupos radicales vienen realizando una gran ofensiva para detener a nuestro país. Una guerra llena de mentiras que buscan paralizar las inversiones nacionales y extranjeras. Estos operadores antisistema se oponen a los grandes beneficios que se generan con el procesamiento de nuestros recursos y la modernización de la infraestructura para que se mantengan las grandes diferencias que justifican esta guerra contra el empleo y el desarrollo.

Alert. As Peru moves steadily towards the future, a war has started against employment and development. For political and ideological reasons small radical groups have been carrying out a major offensive to stop our country: A war full of lies that seek to paralyze domestic and foreign investment. These anti-system operators are opposed to the great benefits generated by the processing of our resources and the modernization of infrastructure. [They do so] in order to maintain the great differences that justify this war against employment and development.

Alerta, Alerta. Nada ni nadie debe detener al Perú.
Gobierno del Perú.³¹

Alert, alert. Nothing and no one should stop Peru.
Government of Peru.

Narratives of modernity

The ways in which central government authorities, officials and the majority of the Lima press framed and discredited these protests in Cuzco, and in general, all the many protests that have steadily increased in the last years, are good examples of how narratives of modernity work in constructing and legitimizing hierarchical social arrangements. I will devote the following section to elaborating on narratives of modernity and their workings, using as an example the discourses produced during the protests that I have just discussed.

No system of signs can achieve totalization or closure. The possibilities of associations between signs are infinite and their relations do not have an absolute center that might ensure the stability of their meanings (Derrida 1978:289). Furthermore, the materiality of the world offers multiple possibilities for signs to build on and only few of them are privileged by particular symbolic systems (Keane 2003). Yet, there are several ways in which sign systems achieve a partial fixity of meanings (e.g. Mannheim 1991, Putnam 1975). Laclau and Mouffe (1985) proposed the concept of *nodal point* in order to explain how ideologies are held together and articulated. A sign can become a *nodal point*, a center that articulates an ideology, partially because it is perceived as a sign saturated of meaning, indexing very complex realities or social processes which are assumed to be hard to grasp and difficult to understand. This is, for example, the role of the notion of *mana* in the ideologies of Polynesian societies discussed by Lévi-Strauss:

At one and the same time, force and action, quality and state, noun and verb; abstract and concrete, omnipresent and localized – *mana* is in effect all these things. But is it not precisely because it is none of these things that *mana* is a simple form, or more exactly, a symbol in the pure state, and therefore capable of becoming charged with any sort of symbolic content whatever? In the system of symbols constituted by all cosmologies, *mana* would simply be a zero symbolic value, that is to say, a sign marking the necessity of a symbolic content supplementary to that with which the signified is already loaded, but which can take on any value required [...] It could almost be said that the function of notions

³¹ This spot can be seen in the following online video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5GOkWjQli24>. Last accessed on September 26, 2011.

like *mana* is to be opposed to the absence of signification, without entailing by itself any particular signification (Lévi-Strauss 1950 quoted by Derrida 1978:290).³²

Like *mana*, the concept of *modernidad* (*modernity*), along with its variants, such as *moderno* (*modern*) or *modernización* (*modernization*) – as invoked in the political discourses, mass media, academic writings, or educational texts in the official and dominant Spanish-speaking Peruvian public sphere – constitutes a nodal point crucial to the hierarchical organization of Peruvian society and the region of Cuzco. The invocation of *modernidad* is simultaneously vacuous and universalizing – the master trope and organizing principle that, when separated from the narrative that it constitutes, relinquishes any significance. Around such nodal points, ideologies not only are held together but can achieve hegemony: situations in which social domination is maintained in time without direct physical or institutional coercion and usually with the consent of the dominated (Gramsci 1971: 56-60, 80,180-3, Williams 1977: 108-14).

However, Peru is hardly an exceptional case with regard to the weighty *modernity* as a nodal point. It might be said that currently its relevance across national and cultural differences is global, coterminous with the expanded global capitalist system and the hierarchies it imposes and it has become ubiquitous in informing historical consciousness (Keane 2007). As Kelly (2002) elaborates, *modernity*, as it was used in the social sciences after WWII, constituted an ideological sublime which overwhelms our understanding of social phenomena and rather confuses our perception of the grotesque contemporary global scenario. This is consonant with some claims of the former German Minister of Finance written in his 1999's memoirs, “[t]he words 'modernization' and 'modernity' have been degraded to fashionable concepts under which you can think

³² Consider the similar discussion by Žižek regarding the *point of capiton*:
...the 'rigid designator', which totalizes an ideology by bringing to a halt the metonymic sliding of its signified, is not a point of supreme density of Meaning, a kind of Guarantee which, by being itself excepted from the differential interplay of elements, would serve as a stable and fixed point of reference. On the contrary, it is the element which represents the agency of the signifier within the field of the signified. In itself it is nothing but a 'pure difference': its role is purely structural, its nature is purely performative - its signification coincides with its own act of enunciation; in short 'it is a signifier without the signified'. The crucial step in the analysis of an ideological edifice is thus to detect, behind the dazzling splendor of the element which holds it together ('God', 'Country', 'Party', 'Class' ...) this self-referential, tautological, performative operation (Žižek 1989:99).

anything at all.” (Lafontaine 1999 quoted by Jameson 2002:9). For example, consider this discussion about the identification of modernity with neoliberal positions:

What is generally meant in the polemics against socialism and Marxism (if not even against all forms of a left-centre liberalism) is that those positions are old-fashioned because they are still committed to the basic paradigm of modernism. But modernism is here understood as some old-fashioned realm of top-down planning, whether this be in statecraft, economics or aesthetics, a place of centralized power utterly at odds with the values of decentralization and the aleatory that characterize every new postmodern dispensation. So [...] [these positions] are unmodern because they are still modernists; it is modernism itself that is unmodern; 'modernity' however - in the newly approved positive sense - is good because it is postmodern (Jameson 2002: 10).

While *modernity* works as an ideological sublime, insofar as it is perceived as a complex phenomenon to grasp and understand, a sign saturated of meaning, and can be invoked to legitimate disparate and even contradictory projects; it certainly is not a totally empty signifier. It does have consistent association with specific ideas, which are themselves necessary for its successful ideological role. Modernity is a set of ideas that organize particular narratives regarding time, hierarchy and morality, and these narratives of modernity adhere to specific rhetorical tropes.

The initial notion of “modern” – *now, present* – acquired also the connotation of *improvement* during the 18th century. It became associated to point at the most up-to-date technology, which was crucial for acquiring its strong association with the notion of *improvement* and *progress* (Williams 1989).

The first connotation of modern – *present* – makes it a shifter, that is, a particular type of indexical symbol. As a symbol, it refers to the notion of the current time, while its indexicality points to the actual time when the word is uttered within a particular social interaction. Hence, while it has a general meaning (as a symbol), its actual object shifts depending on the context of its iteration, and particularly depending on the time when it is said (Jakobson 1971). This temporal shifting of its object is crucial for deploying new narratives of modernity over old ones without raising concern about coherence. Hence, all narratives of modernity include the present and rewrite the past.

Another crucial aspect of the rhetoric of modernity is that, by focusing on a radical break, it creates periods. Narratives of modernity rest on a particular historical event, portrayed as a crucial break, a radical shift in history, a moment of qualitative

sociocultural change. This rhetorically overdetermined rupture then creates two periods: one before the break, the *premodern*; and one after, the *modern*, which includes the present. Each particular narrative of modernity invokes different breaks (e.g. the Renaissance, Columbus' arrival to what will become America, the Protestant Reformation, Descartes, the French Revolution, Galileo, Adam Smith, or as in the case of the last Peruvian government, even recent neoliberal reforms). Hence there can be as many breaks as narratives of modernity. This does not mean that these events did not happen or that they are not historically significant, but rather that the critical importance attributed to them through modernity's narratives is a necessary condition for creating periodicity and rupture (Jameson 2002:18-40). This rupture can even just be assumed to exist by the very invocation of the word modern or modernity without needing to point explicitly to a particular event. To associate the modern or modernity with a specific phenomena is to then make an operation of rewriting time periods, which is then applied over previous narratives of modernity that have become outdated, too conventional, or politically problematic.³³ This process is carried out without even mentioning it, just by the very use of words such as modern or modernity.

Due to its association with improvement, narratives of modernity do not produce merely periods but a hierarchical relation between them: The modern and its opposite, the *premodern* or *traditional*. No matter when the rupture is located, the modern is qualitatively different from the traditional and is morally buttressed and poised to prevail, no matter what. If the *premodern*, the *traditional*, is valued, this occurs within tropes of loss and nostalgia of what is gone or is going to be gone anyway. A clear example of this latter form are the initiatives to preserve what has been called "intangible heritage" - seeking to preserve "traditional" cultural forms whose survival is endangered (Kirshenblatt-Ginblett 2004).

However, narratives of modernity are never simply about creating hierarchy between distinct time periods, but rather about legitimating hierarchy between coevals (see Fabian 1983 for anthropology's forms of denial of coevalness). Narratives of

³³ For example, during the 20th century in Peru, mining investments were framed as a force that would *modernize* the *backward* rural Andean highlands. However, in the 1990s, the very same mining – which involved harmful environmental effects and dangerous working conditions – was framed as *traditional mining* and opposed to *modern mining*, the new investments which claimed high environmental standards and socially responsible practices (Salas 2008).

modernity are crucial to the construction of the idea of *the West* and its hierarchical relation to the *non-West* (however this hierarchy should not be seen as the only one launched by narratives of modernity) (see Said 1978). Time and geography are arranged in different equations in order to create legitimate hierarchies.³⁴ As Jameson (2000:8) puts it:

What is encouraged is the illusion that the West has something no one else possesses - but which they ought to desire for themselves. That mysterious something can then be baptized 'modernity' and described at great length by those who are called upon to sell the product in question.

Narratives of modernity then are ideological machines that legitimate sociopolitical hierarchy by creating a linear time of progress, in which some countries, peoples, regions are enjoying the benefits of the up-to-date and better present while others are not yet there, are behind in time, projected to the past, a bit or very late in the modern feast of progress.

In recurring to these narratives, it is not necessary to go into a long explanation about the supposed fundamental inferiority of those who are not considered modern, or point that they are living in an outdated, past cultural world that is not as advanced as the 'modern' one. In order to convey all these things it is just necessary to drop the word modern or modernity and hint that there are some who do not qualify as such. For example the last sentence of a column written by a Lima publicist about the Cuzqueño protests claims that:

Mientras que a los niños de Cusco se les siga enseñando la Historia desde el ángulo del resentimiento, esa región tan hermosa jamás tendrá una mentalidad acorde con el mundo

As long as Cuzco's children are still being taught History from the perspective of resentment³⁵, this beautiful region will never have a mentality in synchrony with the modern world.

³⁴ For example, instead of looking at the fluxes of labor, goods, and capital into certain places in the world, creating global metropolises and peripheries, classic European narratives of modernity located the emergence of a radically new period - *modernity* – emerging from a self-contained Europe, as if its metropolitan influence could be understood without taking into consideration an intercontinental network of colonization, exploitation, and extraction. In this view, *modernity* was crafted and developed internally in Europe, and only later did it arrive from Europe to the *traditional, pre-modern* world, which started to be modernized both silencing the colonial relations that allowed it and legitimizing Western superiority (Coronil 1997, Wolf 1982).

³⁵ The word *resentimiento* (resentment) here points to a criticism against Cuzqueño discourse of keep blaming the Spanish conquest for the contemporary problems of the nation when so much time has passed. In this view, this resentment is due to a myopic understanding of history. More broadly *resentido* (resented) is used by Limeño elites and middle classes as a derogatory adjective to discredit voices, typically coming from popular classes and left wing activism that criticize social injustice and inequality, or keep using Marxist concepts such as “class struggle” in their politics.

moderno (Rodríguez 2008).

Figure 2.6
Governmental propaganda in a small town in Cuzco



“Ministry of Education. Literacy is social justice. With President Alan García, Peru moves forward” Governmental propaganda in the town of Coya (Calca, Cuzco), 2008. The governmental logo and slogan commented in the text can be seen in the bottom right of the message.

Furthermore, narratives of modernity do not even need to use the word modern or modernity but can be used also when mentioning related concepts such as progress, development, or advancement. For example, the logo and slogan of Alan García’s government (figure 2.6, bottom right of the message) already carries a clear reference to a narrative of modernity without directly using the word modernity. “El Perú avanza” (Peru moves forward) framed by an arrow pointing from left to right, tells about a narrative of current progress and improvement in contrast with the recent past of massacres, bombs and hyperinflation.

The *defacto* hierarchy between what are seen as *modern* regions or countries vis-a-vis *premodern* ones (or between *developed* and *underdeveloped* ones) stems from the power differential constituted by and constitutive of capitalist accumulation and, at its roots, destructive weapon technology. However, the legitimacy of such hierarchy rests,

above all, in a claim of moral superiority: that between modern individual freedom versus premodern enslaved consciousness (Keane 2007).

If in the past, humans were in thrall to illegitimate rulers, rigid traditions, and unreal fetishes, as they become modern they realize the true character of human agency. Conversely, those who seem to persist in displacing their own agency onto such rulers, traditions, or fetishes are out of step with the times, anachronistic premoderns or antimoderns (Keane 2007:6).³⁶

Coming from a different intellectual tradition, Latour (1993) claims that the project of modernity is untenable and that nobody has ever been modern. Modernity, he explains, is impossible to achieve because it depends on the separation of humans from nonhumans, human society from nature, politics from science, and, ultimately, signs from things. Hence, the nature/culture divide is a foundational ontological presuppositions of modern worlds. However, human experience is full of things and beings that combine these realms, despite that they should be maintained as distinct according to the *modern constitution*. Modern worlds need a constant *work of purification*, separating the world of human freedom from that of predictable nature; a separation that is condemned to be unsuccessful (Latour 1993). The work of purification is impossible because humans and things cannot be isolated from each other. The nature of semiotic mediation involves the very materiality of things and words. Hence, in order to survive and be signifying animals, humans must intermingle with nonhumans. The materiality of things and words mediate not only intersubjective interactions but even inner subjectivity (Keane 2007).

The work of purification, of constantly attempting to separate nature from society, also constantly reinscribes the hierarchical difference between those who claim to be *modern*, or assume themselves as such, and those who are labeled as *pre-modern* or *traditional*, who are seen to be still living trapped by their false beliefs and fetishisms. Hence the work of purification does not only imply an ontological separation of nature from human society or culture, but has as a consequence the constant imposition of the relational labels *modern* and *premodern* classifying hierarchically peoples and practices of a given social context. The illusory yet powerful construction of social hierarchies follows. Given the moral superiority that the moderns attribute themselves, they also see themselves as having a moral duty of deep religious roots: to convert premodern people

³⁶ See also Latour 1993:35, Jameson 2002:53

into modern one, redeem them from their false fetishisms as they accept the freedom of the modern constitution. Notice that *premodern* already carries teleological assumptions: they are not yet modern. It follows that they inevitably will become such.

The declarations of former president Alan García criticizing mobilizations against new mining projects in the department of Puno in June 2010 are a good example of this type of attitude that cannot accept ontological claims that do not conform to the modern constitution. Protesters demanded, among other things, that Apu³⁷ Khapia not be included in a mining concession.³⁸ To attribute personhood to mountains is to violate the modern constitution that constantly separates humans from non-humans and only attributes personhood to the former. Then President Alan García said:

... derrotar las ideologías absurdas panteístas que creen que las paredes son dioses y el aire es Dios. En fin, volver a esas formas primitivas de religiosidad donde se dice no toques ese cerro porque es un Apu. Está lleno del espíritu milenario no se qué cosa, ¿no? Bueno, si llegamos a eso, entonces no hagamos nada, ni minería. [...] Volvemos a, digamos, a este animismo primitivo ¿no? Yo pienso que necesitamos más educación. Pero eso es un trabajo de largo plazo. Eso no se arregla así [...] Que estemos avanzando no significa que todas nuestras formas un poco antiguas de pensamiento hayan sido superadas³⁹

... [we have to] defeat the absurd pantheistic ideologies that believe that walls are gods and that air is god. To go back to those primitive forms of religiosity where people say do not touch that mountain because it is an apu, is full of the millenarian spirit of I do not know what, right? Well, if we accept that then we should not do anything, no mining [...] To go back to that primitive animism, no? I think that we need more education but that is a long term work, it is not easily fixable [...] That we are advancing does not mean that all our slightly older forms of thought have been superseded.

All that violates the modern constitution is regarded as outdated primitive ideas that are useless and must be forgotten. They are previous forms of thought already superseded by the modern one but which are still hindering a full Peruvian modernity. Formal education is invoked as the main tool that will make possible this crusade against pre-modern fetishisms. This claim resembles the discourse of the colonial *extirpation of idolatry* in a striking fashion. Consider the often quoted paragraph from the manual *La extirpación de la idolatría en el Perú* written by a Jesuit priest in the 17th century in which he comments on how indigenous people addressed the features of the landscape as persons: “[T]hey worship [them] as gods, and since they cannot be removed from their

³⁷ *Apu* (Qu) Title of respect meaning *lord* with which mountains are greeted as persons in the Southern Peruvian Andes.

³⁸ *Puno exige respuesta a sus demandas*. Noticias SER. May 24, 2011. <http://www.noticiasser.pe/24/05/2011/puno/puno-exige-respuesta-sus-demandas> . Last accessed on September 13, 2011.

³⁹ Declaration of the then president Alan García to the journalist Cecilia Valenzuela. June 17, 2011.. <http://youtu.be/2Vf4WfS5t08> . Last accessed on September 13, 2011.

sight because they are fixed and immobile, we must try to root them out of their hearts, showing them truth and disabusing them of error” (Arriaga 1968[1621]).

This process of conversion, however, is no longer referred to in religious terms. In a rather secularized way, it is conveyed by the concept of acculturation. When it is used as a verb in its active form (*to acculturate*), it supposes to convert somebody, to impose a culture over other. Its wider use, however, is to point to a passive process in which the premodern *becomes acculturated*, a passive actor in whom acculturation occurs, making her lose her previous culture and acquiring a new one. While acculturation as a concept is not widely use in the Peruvian public sphere, it is conveyed by the strong acknowledgement that *education* - conceived exclusively as formal education in Spanish – is a crucial way to become modern (Ansión 1986, Degregori 1991) and in a more active way by the vernacular concept of *superarse* (to improve oneself) as explored by Leinaweaver (2008b).

The derogatory stereotypes reproduced by narratives of modernity

Narratives of modernity can be deployed by people of very diverse social positions and with many different intentions and purposes. As I showed, the ways in which the central government representatives and a good proportion of the Lima press tried to discredit the Cuzqueño protests rested heavily on the deployment of narratives of modernity which in many cases were bluntly racist. Adjectives like ignorant, violent, manipulable, foolish, or resentful are deployed again and again by the national authorities and most of the Lima mass media to discredit protests carried out by people from the highlands or the Amazon.

These types of adjectives and ideas about the inferiority of other people, organized through narratives of modernity, are however not exclusively deployed by certain sectors of Limeños in relation to non-Limeño Peruvians. They are rather used in many different contexts of social interaction in different locations and involving a wide diversity of social actors. Narratives of modernity are used in similar ways in order to establish hierarchies between different Limeños for example. Similar narratives of

modernity are also deployed in Cuzco in order to mark, construct or negotiate hierarchical relations among Cuzqueños.

The dominant ideologies of social hierarchy in the city of Cuzco are constituted by narratives of modernity, which have multiple variants and arrangements that could even contradict themselves from one instantiation to the other. These narratives of modernity, as in any other context, are organized by a basic dichotomy - modern/premodern – aligning with and organizing a broad set of dichotomies:

Figure 2.7
Oppositions arranged by narratives of modernity

PREMODERN	→	MODERN
Quechua	Quechua/Spanish	Spanish / (English)
<i>Campesino</i> (Peasant)	Not peasant	Non manual work
Rural	Becoming urban	Urban
Trapped in a frozen culture	Acquiring agency	Modern agency
Pre-modern	In process of acculturation	Modern
Ignorant/Illiterate	Acquiring some education	Educated
Rooted in the landscape	In process	Detached from the land
Quasi-part of nature	In process	Controlling nature
Poverty / subsistence economy	Involved in monetary exchange	Fully within monetary economy
Irrational	Ambivalent	Fully rational
Childlike / Manipulable	Irresponsible / lazy	Responsible adult
Animal.like sexuality	Uncontrollable sexuality	Properly controlled sexuality
<i>Indio/a</i>	<i>Cholo/a</i>	Mestizo/a
<i>Campesino/a</i>	<i>Mestizo/a</i>	Unmarked

In this section, I will pay attention to the narratives of modernity that constitute and reproduce derogatory discourses about indigenous people in Cuzco. As the above table shows, derogatory stereotypes about Quechua speakers articulated through narratives of modernity involve characteristics such as: poverty, ignorance, irrationality, and backwardness. The discriminatory practices that use and reinforce these stereotypes have been analyzed by scholars with different perspectives, such as Marisol de la Cadena (1995, 2000) or, more recently, the work of Margarita Huayhua (2010). Here I want to briefly discuss some aspects of the stereotypes around Quechua speakers in Cuzco and how they are articulated by narratives of modernity. I consider how they, in order to work, simplify the complex sociocultural diversity given in any social context.

All racial/ethnic tags organized within these narratives of modernity – such as *mestizo/a*, *cholo/a*, *campesino/a*, *indio/a* – do not index actual social groups (Brubaker 2004, 2009). It is important to get beyond the fetishism of the lexicon of ethnic/racial difference (Howard 2009, Huayhua 2010). Rather, they are relational labels. Hence, the dichotomist racial/ethnic labels (e.g. *mestizo/indio*) – and their alignment to dichotomies of values, languages, eras, spaces and so forth – are above all principles of social differentiation (Bourdieu 1984, Irvine 2001:23, Laclau and Mouffe 1985:111).

In the stereotypes mobilized by the dominant ideology of social hierarchy, Quechua speakers are imagined exclusively as *premodern* rural peasants locked out of the *modern* practices and institutions of urban Cuzco. The tag associated with this racialized stereotype is *Indio* (Indian), which currently has essentially derogatory connotations. During the 1960s and 1970s, in part due to the increasing importance of Marxist rhetoric, the tag *indio* as well as the tag *indígena* were replaced by *campesino* (peasant), to refer to contemporary rural Quechua speakers. *Indígena* (indigenous) disappeared from state legislation in the late 1960s as well as until relatively recently from the public sphere. It was reintroduced in Peruvian legislation and in public debate due to the 1994 subscription of the Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization and more broadly due to indigenous political mobilization in Peru and in neighboring countries (Lucero and García 2007). The history of *indio* is different. Currently, nobody in the regional society self-identifies as *indio* and it is almost exclusively understood and used as an insult, most of the times to refer to people who are not part of the conversation .

Contemporary rural Quechua speakers tend to recognize themselves and are called by non-rural Quechua speakers as *campesinos* (peasants), a tag that does not have the extreme derogatory tones of *indio*, but that essentializes them as belonging to rural areas. While the word *indio* or *india* as a racial/ethnic tag is not invoked, the derogatory portrayal of Quechua speakers is clearly widespread and used in everyday social interactions wherein social hierarchies are negotiated (Orlove 1998). Furthermore, as Huayhua (2010) has pointed out, people in Cuzco tend not to use racial/ethnic tags in actual social interaction to refer to each other. Racial/ethnic tags serve rather to anchor and align different types of dichotomies within narratives of modernity.

Judith Irvine and Susan Gal (2000) have developed a framework for explaining how ideologies of linguistic differentiation work in the construction of social difference and hierarchy. Their model is particularly useful here in explaining how a complex and culturally heterogeneous society – such as the region of Cuzco or more broadly, Peru – can be interpreted and simplified vis-à-vis the set of basic dichotomies arranged by narratives of modernity. This simplification is possible through three semiotic mechanisms that work together: iconization, erasure and fractal recursivity. While Irvine and Gal developed their analysis for linguistic differentiation, the semiotic mechanisms that they have identified work in similar ways for assigning value to non-linguistic semiotic forms used as markers of difference. The privileged markers for negotiating hierarchical differentiation are language and accent, clothing, hairstyle (particularly for females), phenotype, and additional cues given by what Bourdieu (1977) calls the body hexis. When these aspects do not give enough cues for establishing the hierarchy, which would be a rather rare case, markers such as place of work, place of residence, or level of formal education are added to the evaluation. While in many situations, languages and accents become crucial for negotiating or imposing hierarchy (see Huayhua 2010), in other instances it could be phenotype, or clothing, and, most often, combinations of all these traits.

The first mechanism of simplification is iconization, which...

...transforms the sign relationship between linguistic features and the social images to which they are linked. Linguistic differences appear to be iconic representations of the social contrast they index – as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence. (Irvine 2001: 33)

Here, for example, from the dominant ideologies of urban Spanish speakers in Cuzco, Quechua language is seen as sharing some of its speakers' qualities or inner essences loaded with traits and moral values (i.e. ignorance, poverty, poor intelligence, and so on) that seems to preexist. The historical and contingent situations of, for example, rural Quechua poverty, or lack of access to formal education of good quality in their own language, are obscured by turning language and these values or traits into essential

qualities.⁴⁰ Quechua then seem to express ignorance as if Quechua speakers actually would lack any knowledge or as if it were impossible for there to exist Quechua speakers who can manage what could be called Western *high knowledge*.⁴¹

Iconization is not only about language. Other observable markers inscribed in the materiality of social life also become icons of this set of characteristics associated to *indianness*: For example, just like Quechua language, indigenous clothing (i.e. black *pullira* skirts, *punchus*, *chullu* and *ojota* sandals) is seen as expressing the characteristics and values associated to *indianness*. As Quechua is opposed to Spanish that becomes iconic of mestizo-ness or of an unmarked social position, indigenous clothes are constructed in opposition to clothes associated to mestizo-ness. For example, *ojotas* (*husut'a*), inexpensive sandals made of used rubber tires, are interpreted as icons of *indianness* in opposition to *shoes* or *boots* that are icons of *mestizo-ness*. Wearing *ojotas* is interpreted as expressing an inner essence rather than only indexing things such as poverty and rurality. *Ojotas* are not only inexpensive but also are better suited for the agricultural work because they dry more easily than shoes. Being indexes of poverty and rural agricultural work, *ojotas*, as icons of *indianness*, essentialize their users not only with these traits but with a host of moral qualities associated to being Indian. Weaved clothing or certain hairstyle in the case of women, among other signs inscribed in the body hexis, also go through processes of iconization (Bourdieu 1977). Phenotype is a complex marker. An urban white looking person dressed in highly decorated indigenous clothes, commonly seen during festive parades in the city, can be seen as not conforming to the stereotypes and most people would not perceived her as Indian. Indigenous looking persons who dress in, for example, elegant suits are not perceived as Indian. Hence, phenotype is a marker of social difference but it is read in association with several other signs and can be more salient depending on particular contexts. Phenotype is a rather flexible marker because, in Cuzco and to some extent in most of the country, people having indigenous phenotypes belong to all social classes across cultural differences, and

⁴⁰ For example, low prices of agricultural products in cities such as Cuzco are only possible due to remarkably underpaid peasant labor. The poor peasant subsistence economy hence is fundamental in subsidizing the agricultural products sold in the city (Gonzales de Olarte 1994). Conversely, the peasant subsistence economy makes it possible for urban workers to survive with meager salaries. The lack of access and widespread poverty of rural Quechua speakers makes it attractive for them to work as porters for tourism agencies on the Inka trail as well as other trekking routes that have very harsh conditions.

⁴¹ The indigenous aristocracy in colonial Cuzco is a clear contradiction to the latter ideas. See Garret 2005.

hence it does not constitute an effective marker of social difference just by itself (De la Cadena 2000).

Mestizo-ness is constructed in opposition to Indianness: Spanish opposed to Quechua, industrially produced clothing opposed to hand made indigenous clothing, jeans opposed to certain types of skirts (*pullira*) in case of women, shoes opposed to sandals, and so on. However, in actual social practice there is a wide variety in, for example, types of *pullira* or in qualities of shoes that do not necessarily conform neatly with a simple dichotomy such as jean/*pullira*, shoes/sandals and *mestizo/indio*. These basic oppositions articulating social difference provide the illusion that there exist two discrete groups that are hierarchically organized within a narrative of modernity.

The second process of this simplification is erasure: “Attending to one dimension of distinctiveness, it ignores another, thereby rendering some sociolinguistic phenomena (or persons or activities) invisible” (Irvine 2001:33-4). While some markers become iconic, other traits that do not conform to the hierarchical narrative become systematically invisible. This is a crucial mechanism for simplifying an always excessive material world, in which only some aspects and qualities are socially significant. For example, regional or class variations in Quechua go unnoticed and are not socially relevant in Cuzco both for Spanish and Quechua speakers. In contrast phonological markers for stereotyped dialects of Spanish are widely recognized and socially significant (Mannheim 2005). In most social contexts in which Quechua speakers interact with Spanish speakers different levels of Quechua proficiency do not imply more or less status, while someone proficient in Spanish whose pronunciation carries traces of Quechua phonological systems is likely to be attributed less status than someone with native Spanish accent (Huayhua 2010).

As iconization reduces Quechua to supposedly pre-modern rural practices, erasure makes invisible the urban use of Quechua, the demand for the use of Quechua in formal institutions of the state as well as any other practices that challenge their association with pre-modern rurality. For example, in a TV report aired in 2003 about access to the judicial system in Cuzco, Quechua speakers state that they would prefer to have their cases reviewed in Quechua rather than exclusively in Spanish. In contrast, judges claim that people feel comfortable having their processes carried out exclusively in Spanish

(Melzi 2003).⁴² In 2006 the official entry of two female indigenous representatives from Cuzco, Hilaria Supa and Maria Sumire, at the Congress, was carried out in Quechua and received with criticism and scorn by fellow representatives and journalists (Supa 2010).⁴³ The wide use of cell phones by Quechua speakers in cities and the countryside largely stayed unnoticed and it became publicly discussed only when in 2008 *Movistar*, one of the two mobile phone companies operating in Peru, launched a customer service in Quechua and advertised it in Quechua on a nationwide TV spot.⁴⁴ Similarly when protestors in Cuzco reduce Lima to the place of centralist national authorities and foreign oriented elites, there is an erasure of the fact that the majority of Limeño people are of Andean origin and the extent in which they have Andeanized Lima.

Groups of aligned dichotomies constructing ideal types cannot explain the wide diversity of practice in actual social life – not only with regard to language (competence, registers, accents, styles) but also in clothing, place of residence, level of income, economic activity, and so forth that do not conform to a simple dichotomy. Fractal recursivity is the mechanism that makes a dichotomy of ideal types useful for establishing hierarchy across highly diverse social situations. Fractal recursivity is...

...the process by which meaningful distinctions (between groups, or between linguistic varieties, etc) are reproduced within each side of a dichotomy or partition, creating subcategories or subvarieties; or conversely, by which intra-group oppositions may be projected outward onto inter-group relations, creating supercategories that include both sides but oppose them to something else. This is the process that links subtle forms of distinctiveness with broader contrasts and oppositions (Irvine 2001:33).

The opposition between *Indio* and *Mestizo*, and/or, between the set of qualities assigned to each side of the premodern/modern dichotomy, is projected onto distinct social arenas in order to establish hierarchy at different social contexts. In linguistic terms, the dichotomy of premodern/modern is projected not only between Quechua and Spanish. It could be used among Spanish speakers who speak with different registers or

⁴² This TV report can be seen here: <http://youtu.be/iJpuoHmZSZ0>. Last accessed on Oct 6, 2011.

⁴³ See, for example, the section *Plaza de Armas* in the daily Peru 21. August 08, 2006: “The fujimorista congressman [Martha Hildebrandt] claimed, with all reason, that in the Congress’ sessions only Spanish should be used, and otherwise a translator should be hired. Aurelio Pastor, congressman from APRA, stated that Supa talks a very good Spanish.”

⁴⁴ This TV spot can be seen here: <http://youtu.be/UtCie4VHNdY>. Last accessed on Oct 6, 2011. See also: *La gente está habituándose a hablar quechua por teléfono*. Interview with Jorge Aragonés by Jose Gabriel Chueca. Perú21. May 6, 2008.

between Quechua native speakers with different levels of command of Spanish as a second language. Here, phonological markers for stereotyped dialects of Spanish are widely recognized and socially significant.

Figure 2.8
Geographic oppositions and fractal recursivity

US Europe	Peru				
	Lima	Cuzco			
		The city of Cuzco	Out of the city of Cuzco		
			Provincial or district capital	Rural areas	
				Valley	Highlands

The basic opposition is then used in any social context to refer to, impose or negotiate hierarchy. This is easy to see in the hierarchical imagination of geography. While in many cases, the basic dichotomy is projected over the opposition between the city of Cuzco and the rural highlands, the modern/premodern dichotomy can be projected onto an infinite number of geographical oppositions that can encompass a small ravine, the region, the whole country, or the world. The projection can encompass the whole region of Cuzco as opposed to Lima or it can be used for claiming the higher status of a small town located in the valley as opposed to its neighboring highland *punas*⁴⁵. This geographical scale depends heavily on the particular context of social interaction as illustrated in figure 2.8.

As the protests showed, claims about irrationality and ignorance were applied by some Limeño newspapers to a generalized sweeping category of Cuzqueños. Similar sweeping claims could be made in Lima when referring to the people of the highlands, associated to the tag *serranos* (those who are from the *sierra*, the highlands). At other scale of these geographical oppositions, similar claims about irrationality and ignorance

⁴⁵ *Puna* (Qu): High pasture lands

can be also made by urban Spanish speaking people in from the city of Cuzco when applied to a generalized sweeping category of *Indios* who are essentially rooted in the rural areas.

Fractal recursivity helps understand a widespread phenomenon regarding the use of racial/ethnic labels, a practice that was noticed long ago by ethnographers: The same person can be classified as *Indio* in some contexts and can assume the label *Mestizo* in others (e.g. De la Cadena 2000, Mishkin 1946). This same phenomenon relates to be derogatory use of the word *cholo*: almost everybody can impose this tag over others as well as be the object of such imposition as it is explained in studies carried out in the city of Lima (Bruce 2007, Callirgos 1993, Twanama 1992). This phenomenon happens because in each social interaction it is quickly evaluated who displays markers of more indianness even though none of those who interact might carry the markers of an ideal Indian. This evaluation hence is used to establish who is more *cholo* than the other, who is displaying more, or in a higher intensity, markers of indianness.

During my fieldwork in the city of Cuzco and in rural communities, I did not hear people using the tag *indio* except when referring to people who were not present in the conversation. The use of *indio* was entangled with recursivity as most of the times I heard it in the city, it was applied to other urban people while commenting on their inappropriate behavior and lack of intelligence. For example, I was with a friend at her accountant's office. My friend was worried about the slow pace of the accountant work's progress. The accountant, excusing herself about her performance, started to talk about the difficulties she experienced in a particular bureaucratic procedure and complained how some state bureaucrats were not cooperative with her, refused her requests, and treated her with disdain. In doing so she qualified them as "indios." I remember almost literally what she said: "I do not know who they think they are! Because they are government employees they believe they are *lo máximo* (the best [people]). But you can see they are all just a bunch of Indians!"

A Spanish-speaking professional used this label to refer to other Spanish-speaking bureaucrats to indicate their inferiority in relation to her own status, their ineptitude, and also implied that these bureaucrats behaved in an improper way, without recognizing their actual place within the social ladder. While I do not know which other

markers might have displayed these bureaucrats in contrast to the accountant, it could be assumed that there was a difference of economic standing – inscribed, for example, in clothing and in the very jobs they had – between a relatively successful accountant and government employees of low rank. The use of the label Indians in this interaction was not referring to rural Quechua speakers *per se* but rather to the set of attributes associated with this label: ignorance, lack of proper judgment, irrationality. With the use of this label she was also tacitly claiming moral superiority and rationality. This was also a comment on contemporary social mobility and the relative democratization of regional society. By claiming that these bureaucrats were “indios,” she was saying also that they did not belong to the urban realm of state bureaucracy but rather to the rural countryside which was their true place. Hence she was also stating that they were improperly intruding into the established social order of the city.

Fractal recursivity is entangled with the ambivalences borne of the use of racial/ethnic labels. There are at least two ways to use the word *mestizo/a* in Cuzco. The first one is a very general notion that most Peruvians will identify with. Everybody is *mestizo* because, on one hand, only a very small sector descendant of relatively recent immigrants could claim pure European descent. Even within this group, people might claim being culturally *mestizo* or *criollo*, that is, actually Peruvian and not foreign. On the other hand, because indigenous authenticity implies extreme premodernity most people would not claim being purely indigenous. Faced with the impossibility of claiming one of these two ideal types, most Peruvians claim they are *mestizo*. This use is widespread held throughout in Peru, well beyond Cuzco.

But *mestizo* and, more clearly, its female version, *mestiza*, has an additional different meaning in Cuzco, one which is clearly embodied by female market vendors portrayed by the elites as indecent, dirty, and disrespectful women (Seligmann 2004). This second use – which corresponds also with the label *cholo* or *chola* – tacitly constructs a higher social position within which the speaker frames herself. This is the unmarked social position, self-perceived as occupying the modern extreme of the social ladder, associated with high levels of education and moral superiority, qualities captured by the word *decencia* (decency) (De la Cadena 2000). On some occasions, though rarely, elites are identified with the racial category *blancos* (white), for instance as Zamalloa

(1996[1944]) deployed the term to refer to the landed aristocracy of the 1940s. It can also be used in a dismissive way as *blanquitos* (little whites), as one of my interviewees referred to the economic elites. However, this label is not widely used because, while elites do tend to have lighter skin color, there was and still is an absence of an unequivocal correlation between light skin color and elite position.

Hence, the elite social space does not have a label to refer to itself. To some extent, this position is performed by the elaboration of discourses about *indios*, *campesinos* and *mestizos* in terms of inferiority, and from a position of a ‘zero-degree culture,’ as if the narrator had a vantage point on the regional society and culture altogether. The authority of the unmarked self-proclaimed ‘modern’ positions is based on assuming this position as the zero-level against which all other cultural forms are to be compared (Mannheim 2005, Rosaldo 1988). The unmarked social position of decency is the closest to that of whiteness in Euroamerican racial formations and, as previously stated, sometimes it is associated to it. This is achieved by associating it with a normative notion of ‘the normal’ (Dyer 1997). This type of discourse is most obviously associated with academic production, intellectual work, and journalism. However, the authority of the unmarked category, as all other social positions, is always open to contestation. It can be attributed or negated to particular individuals, depending on the given contexts and struggles around claims to be a member of the elite or the intelligentsia of the city.

Fractal recursivity and conversion

Fractal recursivity is at work in the emergence of intermediate labels between the extremes of the basic dichotomy. Consider the following text by a Cuzqueño intellectual in the 1940s, discussing...

... del elemento que colocamos en la division etnico social de clases como a la intermedia entre la blanca y la india, entre la que todavía sueña con los días de antaño y con la ahora minoría de la ciudad cusqueña, que al igual que el indigena de cualquier putno de nuestra sierra, discierne sin reparar en el paso decisivo de la civilización (Zamalloa 1996[1944]:56).

...the element that we locate between the ethnic and class divide of *blanca* (white) and *india* (Indian), between those that still dream with the past and with the now minority in the city of Cuzco, who in a similar way that the indigene from any point of the highlands, discerns without hesitation taking a decisive step towards civilization.

He proposed the following intermediate types that could be understood as subtypes according to different levels of *indianness*:

1, La clase mestiza propiamente dicha, la componen aquellos que en su ascendencia próxima no cuentan sino con mestizos y blancos. Se colige su situación por el apellido, generalmente de origen español.

2, La *mozada*, así se le denomina corrientemente con el lenguaje popular. Su acepción posiblemente se debe al hecho de llamar Mozo o Moza a los citados, puesto que los de esta clase salían los integrantes de la servidumbre [...] La característica principal de esta subclase radica en que sus antecesores próximos al Mozo son indígenas. El mismo ha nacido no en la ciudad, en la mayoría de los casos el apellido ya tiene influencia indígena.

3, La tercera capa inferior de la clase mestiza reside en la *cholada*. Es el *Indio mestizo*. La transición de la forma autóctona a la occidentalizada. Del *indio* parece que poco se diferencia, pero su psicología ha sufrido una notable metamorfosis. [...] The *cholo* es el *Indio* que ha saboreado las bondades y ventajas de la vida urbana y ya gusta de las oportunidades provechosas que les brinda la ciudad (Zamalloa 1996[1944]:56).

1, The *mestizo* class proper is composed by those who in their near ancestry only have *mestizos* and *blancos* (whites). This is generally inferred by the last name of Spanish origin.

2, The *mozada*, as is usually denominated in popular language. This tag is possibly due because they are called *mozo*⁴⁶ or *moza*, given that domestic servants came from this class [...] The main characteristic of this subclass is that their near ancestry are indigenous. He has not been born in the city. In most of the cases the last name already has indigenous influence.

3, The third inferior layer of the *mestizo* class is the *cholada*. [He] is the *indio mestizo*. The transition between the autochthonous [person] to the westernized [one]. It seems that very little differentiate him from the *indio*, but his psychology has suffered a notable metamorphosis. [...] The *cholo* is the *indio* who has tasted the benefits and advantages of urban life and likes the advantageous opportunities offered by the city

Fractal recursivity then is crucial in the dominant perception that there is a continuum of ideal types, from premodern to modern, organizing different stages in the approximation to “modernity.” Fractal recursivity thus creates the appearance of a continuum and reinforces the teleological aspects of the narratives of modernity. The different labels pointed out by Zamalloa are products of the application of the same dichotomy to different social contexts, in a recursive way, and the author’s attempt to construct a settled typology to render understandable a highly complex sociocultural reality. Similar portrait of different levels of becoming modern for the city of Cuzco can be found in the work of Calvo (1995) .

Being narratives about human emancipation and freedom, narratives of modernity are, in general as well as in the Peruvian case, deeply related to ideas of conversion. Given the moral superiority of what is seen as modern from the Spanish speaking dominant ideologies, it is also regarded as inevitable that the premodern will move in that teleological direction. As the author stated above, one should not be surprised that “those

⁴⁶ *Mozo* (Sp) literally means young man or woman. However in this case is used in a marked form meaning “Man who serves in houses or to the public in humble tasks.” (RAE 2001).

indigenous people ... discern without hesitation taking a decisive step towards civilization.” The problem is seen as involving the speed of the conversion but not its inevitability.

Given its inevitability, it becomes a moral duty of those who see themselves as modern to speed up this process of conversion. Due to the essential association of *indio* with poverty, irrationality, ignorance, and backwardness, most Peruvian and Cuzqueño elites, and through recursivity, also most of those who do not regard themselves as indios, conceive as a moral duty to convert *indios* into rational beings, teach them, and take them out of poverty and backwardness. All the debates surrounding the “problem of the Indian” during the first half of the 20th century were conceptualized in dialog with these oppositions. Hence, within these narratives of modernity, there is an implicit teleology of acculturation: rural monolingual Quechua speakers’ only possible redemption entails the disappearance of their indigenous culture in order to become modern citizens. Their redemption is conceived as a one-way assimilation to the dominant, official culture, which frames itself as *modern*, as the term acculturation so clearly entails. As was evident in the previous quote, the only possible redemption for *indios* in order to become modern was to stop being *indigenous* and thus to become *mestizos*. This teleological conversion to modernity is clearly present in work of several Peruvian social scientists. For example, while Fernando Fuenzalida (1970) explained how ethnic labels did not point to bounded social groups, he nevertheless framed his analysis on power, race and ethnicity in Peru within a teleological understanding of modernization. The hegemony of the teleological aspects of narratives of modernity is expressed to some extent in the academic production about Andean migration to Lima: For example, the study of Degregori, Blondet and Lynch (1986) focused their attention in the development of new identities and forms of organization of Andean migrants in Lima without discussing what happened with the previous identities and cultural forms. As Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (1993) pointed out in the early 1990s about the anthropological production in Peru and Bolivia, it is telling that while Peruvian anthropology had a longer tradition than its Bolivian counterpart and hence outnumbered the latter in published research in almost any topic, Bolivian studies about ethnicity and race in urban contexts outnumbered its then almost inexistent Peruvian counterpart.

Together with migration to the cities and growing involvement in capitalist exchange, formalized education has been recognized as the main mechanism for conversion. As De la Cadena (2000) has pointed out, formal education is a crucial element in the construction of hierarchies that are seen as legitimate. The army's conscription of rural Quechua speakers was usually also regarded as a de facto mechanism of conversion, through which the conscripts would learn or improve their Spanish, become literate, learn how to wear shoes, and become involved in urban life (e.g. Zamalloa 1996[1944]).

Migration to urban areas and literacy are imagined mechanisms of conversion that inevitably function to construct modern individuals. This teleological vision was at the core of the famous 1960s Round Table, wherein social scientists and literary critics met in Lima in order to discuss *Todas las Sangres* (1964), the novel by writer and anthropologist José María Arguedas. Arguedas himself claimed that this novel was his attempt to synthesize his vision of Peruvian society. One of the protagonists is Rendón Willka, an Andean migrant in Lima who has become literate there. When he returns to his highland community, he leads his peers in a crusade to defend community lands. However, he does so acknowledging the agency of mountains and rivers. Hence, Rendón Willka does not follow the logic of inevitable conversion. This possibility was plainly unthinkable for most of the Limeño social scientists that commented the book in the Round Table. Most of them were leftists proponents of dependency theory who harshly criticized the novel (De la Cadena 2006). Regarding the character of Rendón Willka, Anibal Quijano said...

This character is extremely equivocal. I had the impression that he returned from Lima totally *cholificado*, and that he was going to proceed, in a supremely astute and Machiavellian way... But the next impression, particularly at the end of the novel, suggests that Rendón reintegrates – not totally, not in fully conscious way, but in some sense he reintegrates – back into the indigenous traditional [world] (Quijano in Rochabrun 2000:59).

This vision is widely held among elite Peruvians. The recent Nobel Prize laureate writer Mario Vargas Llosa masterfully summarized this teleological vision:

Indian peasants live in such a primitive way that communication is practically impossible. It is only when they move to the cities that they have the opportunity to mingle with the other Peru. The price they must pay for integration is high –

renunciation of their culture, their language, their beliefs, their traditions, and customs, and the adoption of the culture of their ancient masters. After one generation they become mestizos. They are no longer Indians (Vargas Llosa 1990:52).

The processes that Vargas Llosa summarizes are highly more complex than what this quote suggests. As Marisol de la Cadena (2000) has shown for the city of Cuzco, urban migrants deny being *Indians* in the sense that they have stopped living a miserable life in the rural highlands. However becoming urban does not prevent them to carry out their indigenous practices for which they claim legitimate authenticity. However, Vargas Llosa do not only claim that this process inevitable. He, in the same text, shifts towards advocating for the conversion of indigenous people, who are portrayed without agency and whose destiny has to be decided by a self-ascribed Western “we.” This process of conversion entails the destruction of indigenous cultures:

It is tragic to destroy what is still living, still a driving cultural possibility, even if it is archaic; but I am afraid we shall have to make a choice. For I know of no case in which it has been possible to have both things at the same time, except in those countries in which two different cultures have evolved more or less simultaneously. But where there is such an economic and social gap, modernization is possible only with the sacrifice of the Indian cultures (Vargas Llosa 1990: 52).

Vargas Llosa puts it very clearly: modern indigenous cultures are impossible, an oxymoron contradicting the work of purification and the moral imperative of conversion. Even in 2006, after the widespread influence of indigenous political movements in many Latin American republics and beyond, Vargas Llosa still repeated these ideas claiming that Evo Morales, the first self-identified indigenous person to be a democratic president of Bolivia, was not *indio* but *criollo*. From his argumentation, it becomes clear that an *indio* cannot speak “good Castilian,” cannot be a modern politician, not even astute or manipulator – characteristics that Vargas Llosa attributes to Morales – because those are traits of *criollos* or *mestizos* but not of *indios*.

Tampoco el señor Evo Morales es un indio, propiamente hablando, aunque naciera en una familia indígena muy pobre y fuera de niño pastor de llamas. Basta oírlo hablar su buen castellano de erres rotundas y sibilantes eses serranas, su astuta modestia [...], sus estudiadas y sabias ambigüedades [...], para saber que don Evo es el emblemático criollo latinoamericano, vivo como

Properly speaking neither mister Evo Morales is an *Indio*, even if he was born in a very poor indigenous family and he was a llama shepherd child. It is enough to listen his good Castilian with emphatic Rs and sibilant highland Ss, his sly modesty [...], his studied and wise ambiguities [...] to know that Don Evo is the emblematic Latin American *Criollo*, astute as a squirrel, flattering and

una ardilla, trepador y latero, y con una vasta experiencia de manipulador de hombres y mujeres, adquirida en su larga trayectoria de dirigente cocalero y miembro de la aristocracia sindical (Vargas Llosa 2006).

deceitful, and with a vast experience as manipulator of men and women, acquired in his long history of coca farmers' leader and member of the union aristocracy.

This is however not exclusive to intellectual elites or politicians, as expressed in the faith that former president Alan García had in formal education in order to eradicate “primitive animisms” that, according to him, articulated anti-mining protests. This attitude can also be found in, for example, judges of first instance in Cuzco. In a filmed report about the fact that it is impossible for Quechua speakers to carry out their judicial cases in Quechua, one can hear the following exchange between the reporter and a judge:

Reporter: Sería posible que el proceso se haga íntegramente en Quechua?

Judge: Yo creo que no, porque la gente del campo ahora van más... los niños van a la escuela y aprenden castellano. Entonces ya la gente más bien por contrario esta olvidándose del Quechua [...] No hay una comunidad que sea Quechua hablante pura. (footage in Melzi 2003).

Reporter: Would it be possible that a [judicial] process be carried out integrally in Quechua?

Judge: I do not believe so. The people from the countryside, now, their children go more to school and learn Spanish. To the contrary, people are now forgetting Quechua [...] There is not a single community whose members only speak Quechua

In another fragment, another judge from the Court of Sicuani (Cuzco) claims that due to the current globalization process people are more and more integrated and comfortable having their cases being processed in Spanish. These judges see and regard Quechua speaking people as a residue that is destined to soon disappear. Why train judges and judicial officials in Quechua if it is vanishing anyway?

Just as the modern work of purification is impossible to achieve, so too is the process of conversion. There is always a way to locate a marker, a sign, a trace that indexes the incompleteness of the conversion process. As hybrids proliferate, the sincerity of conversion is always dubious (Keane 2007). This impossibility relates to the nature of symbolic mediation, but also has deep ideological motivations: The impossibility of total conversion is a core element in the reproduction of social hierarchies. If all were totally modern, then the rationale legitimizing the hierarchies would be lost (Bhabha 1994). This impossibility of total conversion fuels the modern-missionary desire, which is so well exemplified in Vargas Llosa's quotes. The impossibility of total conversion, then, is foundational to the perpetuation of these narratives of modernity.

CHAPTER III
REGIONALIST NATIONALISM AND INTERLOCKING
NARRATIVES OF MODERNITY

Almost half a century ago, the Peruvian writer and anthropologist José María Arguedas called a “monstrous contradiction” the fact that in Peru “what is Inka has high prestige [while] what is Indian still carries the weight of contempt from all other castes” (Arguedas 1976[1962]-a:218). In this chapter I explain why it is not accurate to qualify this type of contrast as a contradiction. The celebrations of the Inka past or of other expressions of indigenous culture, particularly as practiced in Cuzco, do not contradict the contempt for contemporary indigenous peoples. To the contrary, the ways these celebrations are framed constitute fundamental elements in legitimating and naturalizing the dominant racial/cultural hierarchies, particularly but not only in the region of Cuzco. Both derogatory and celebratory portraits of indigeneity are arranged according to interlocking narratives of modernity that mutually reinforce each other. Their interlocking reinforcement is fundamental to the hegemonic character of the ideologies that organize the racial/cultural hierarchies in Cuzco.

These ideologies are deeply related to the long history of Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism. Both constitute the same ideological cluster. However, contemporary Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism cannot be understood as homogeneous or as a clear-cut set of claims, but rather must be approached as a multilayered and not necessarily coherent set of ideological elements. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this regionalist nationalism does not challenge the idea of Peru as a nation and hence it is not secessionist. It is a locally produced vision of Peru as a nation that rests on the conviction that Cuzco, by being the former capital of the Inka Empire, is the true essence and center of the nation, in contrast to Lima, the coastal capital.

The first part of this chapter is devoted to sketching a history of Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism in the 20th century, a century that produced different elements of its present characteristics. The second part of the chapter will focus on the contemporary practices that reproduce the regionalist nationalism and how their embedded celebratory discourses about indigenous peoples, articulated within narratives of modernity, work by reinforcing the dominant ideologies of racial/cultural hierarchy.

The long history of Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism

*Es aquí en el Qosqo de los Inkas y de los peruanos
que se inicia el patriotismo y la nacionalidad,
y lo que atañe al Qosqo, incumbe al Perú entero.*

Daniel Estrada Pérez
Mayor of Cuzco, 1991.¹

The salient place of the Inkas in the contemporary regionalist nationalism of Cuzco has a very long history that I will briefly sketch here. While closer attention will be given to the different projects that took place throughout the 20th century, this history started in the colonial times (Tamayo 1980).

While the scope of the Inka polity and its many achievements astonished most of the 16th century Spanish chroniclers, its ideological importance is much related to the specific ways in which it was imagined almost from the beginning of the European invasion. From very early accounts written during the 16th century, the imagination of the Roman Empire as it was framed in the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula was used as a referent to describe the Inka polity (MacCormack 2007). Additionally, the image of the Inka started to acquire the aura of a utopian society. A key and outstanding work associated with this process is the *Royal Commentaries of the Inkas* written in the early 17th century by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, the son of a Spanish captain and a noble Inka woman from Cuzco. Using tropes of the European Renaissance, this chronicle portrayed the Inka empire as a just, wise polity that only needed to know the name of God in order to become fully Christian (Garcilaso de la Vega 1985[1609], MacCormack 1991). Its

¹ “It is here, in the Qosqo of the Inkas and the Peruvians, that patriotism and nationality are born. Whatever involves Qosqo, involves the entire Peru.” Quoted in Calvo 1995:96.

many reprints circulated widely both in Europe and Peru until it was prohibited after the 1780 *Great Rebellion* in the Viceroyalty of Peru. This rebellion started in Cuzco and was led by José Gabriel Condorcanqui, a *kuraka* - indigenous lord –who took the name of Thupa Amaru, the last Inka who resisted Spanish rule and was executed in 1570. What had sparked the Great Rebellion was the refusal of other members of the Inka noble class to recognize Thupa Amaru as a member of the noble 24 electors. It is an irony of history that the defeat of the Great Rebellion meant the destruction of the indigenous nobility. The latter was mostly impoverished and disempowered at the time of the wars of independence of the 1820s (Flores Galindo 1986, Walker 1999).

Claims over the Inka past were far from being used only to subvert colonial domination. For example, the landed *criollo*² colonial elites of the early 18th century Cuzco, also avid readers of the Inca Garcilaso, identified themselves as heirs of past Inka grandeur in opposition to the elites of Lima, the capital of the viceroyalty. Accusing the Limeño bureaucracy of being *peninsulares* (from the Iberian Peninsula) they questioned their administrative capacity and legitimacy. This position also allowed them to strengthen their legitimacy over their appropriation of the lands and labor of indigenous communities (Lavallé 1988, Mannheim 1991, Tamayo 1980, Walker 1999). These attempts to subvert and contest Lima's superiority can be seen clearly but in different fashions during the first decades of the early Republic, as for example, in the emergence and the later dismantling of the *Confederación Perú Boliviana* (Fisher 2000, Méndez 1995, Walker 1999).

During the 19th century, the Inka past was used to claim the ancient origins of Peru as a "nation." The criollo elites of the capital created a narrative of continuity between the Inka emperors, the Colonial viceroys and the *criollo* dominated Republican presidents. This use of the Inka followed European national narratives that claimed their origins in classical Greek and Roman pasts. This celebration was coupled with the blunt affirmation of the miserable, degenerate and backward condition of highland indigenous peoples. From the beginning the contrast between the glorious indigenous past and its contemporary misery was omnipresent in these narratives This rhetoric of degeneracy is

² *Criollo* (Sp) During the colonial times it was used to refer to descendants of Spaniards who were born in Peru.

inseparable from the Romantic celebration of a superior classical past, which in Perú articulated the discourses of the ‘miserable Indian race’ (Méndez 1995, Thurner 2003).

Throughout the 19th century, the colonial body of laws that differentiated two categories of people, *Españoles* (Spanish) and *Indios* (Indian), was dismantled under a new discourse of liberal universal citizenship coupled with the racialization of geography articulated by a narrative of modernity. While in colonial times *Españoles*, *Criollos*, *Mestizos* and *Indios* were imagined as distinct groups but inhabiting the whole territory of the viceroyalty, 19th century explorers and scientists contributed to a new and enduring imagination of the Peruvian landscape. The Andes were conceived as an insurmountable barrier, a massive obstacle, which divided the Peruvian territory in three “natural” regions: the coast, the highland mountains, and the Amazonian jungle. The coast was imagined as devoid of indigenous peoples, even though a considerable coastal population spoke indigenous languages. The Amazonian lowlands were imagined as populated by *indios salvajes* (savage Indians), who were radically different from the highland *indios*, and hence were termed totally uncivilized. The highlands were then associated with *Indios* and through geographical determinism both the landscape and its inhabitants shared common traits: isolation, silence, sadness and impenetrability. *Indios* were imagined essentially attached to the highlands in a racialized geography. The geography was articulated in a narrative of modernity: the modern was located on the Coast, the radically premodern in the Amazonian lowlands, and the Andes and the highland *indios* were imagined as insurmountable obstacles for the eastward advance of progress and modernity (Orlove 1993).³

It was in the early 20th century *indigenismo* that the long history of constructing Cuzco in opposition to Lima took form, as reiterated in the protests discussed in the previous chapter. This opposition, articulated as an alternative Peruvian nationalist discourse, claimed Cuzco was the true heart and soul of Peru while Lima was its illegitimate center. Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism did not challenge the idea of Peru as

³ For example, in 1925 Valcárcel, an important Cuzqueño *indigenista* wrote, “few men on the planet are in such intimate bond with their land as the Peruvians of the highlands. [He] cannot imagine leaving his fatherland. The [Inka] colonizer of other countries had to be uprooted from the land, as one does with a tree or a plant” (Valcárcel 1925:100). He described *indios* as “covered by a bronze armor, indifferent, hieratic,” and claimed that the mountains and the Inka shared majesty so far that the latter were the “cosmic expression of the surrounding greatness” (Valcárcel 1925: 80, 105).

a nation but rather the legitimacy of its Republican center. In the imagination of Cuzco's elites, Lima became the antithesis of their city: essentially associated with and proud of its Spanish culture, dismissive of Inka heritage, constantly looking for the new and foreign, heir of a culture of pillage rather than hard work, frivolous and effeminate. Cuzco, in contrast, was framed as the authentic heart and essence of the nation, proud of its indigenous heritage, with a hardworking culture that was resilient and virile (Valcárcel 1927).

Weakening elites and Regionalist Nationalism in the 20th century

As Zoila Mendoza (2008) has shown in her book about the place of folklore in the creation of a strong Cuzqueño pride during the 20th century, the contemporary regionalist nationalism of Cuzco cannot just be explained as the elaboration of urban intellectual and artistic elites. Non-elite grassroots artists, intellectuals and activists also played a significant role.

Early the 20th century Cuzco was a small bilingual city in which landholding families with formal education interacted permanently with the local artisans (tailors, carpenters, shoemakers, etc), and with their Quechua speaking servants who worked for them not only in their rural *haciendas* but also in their urban houses. Interactions across class, culture, rural and urban spaces were permanent and fluid. Quechua was spoken by all social classes while Spanish was an elite and urban language only (Tamayo 1981, Valcárcel 1981).

Usually elites leave behind copious archival material, in contrast with the popular classes. As a consequence, the analysis of nationalism generally tends to be focused on intellectuals, on how they foster it and then hand it down to the popular masses who appropriate it (Smith 2003). While it is important to keep this in mind and be aware that these ideologies are creations of multiple actors across class and culture, this does not mean that these multiple and heterogeneous actors have the same power and influence in shaping nationalism.

During the 20th century, Cuzco's regional elites went through a sustained decrease in power and influence. While historians can easily point to a small group of landlord

families who were the early 20th century elites, currently it is not possible to do so. Throughout the 20th century the regional society -- and Peruvian society in general -- went through a process of increasing democratization and social mobility. At the same time, economic and political regional elites have changed in distinct ways but have also have been consistently weakened. The following sketch of the 20th century pays attention to different intellectual and artistic movements, economic shifts and key events that shaped the current complexity of the regionalist nationalism articulated by narratives of modernity.

Indigenistas and the proto bourgeois elite

When reading the books of the young Luis E. Valcárcel - the most famous representative of *indigenismo Cuzqueño* - published in the late 1920s, one is surprised to recognize very similar rhetorical forms found in contemporary Cuzco. One of them is a baroque poetic prose which is heavily charged with adjectives, that is cultivated by intellectuals, politicians and journalists in their speech or writings. Another is the praise and exaltation of Cuzco's glorious Inka past coupled with the announcement of the arrival of better times for the city and the people of Cuzco (Nieto 1995). Consider a fragment of this "Salute to Qosqo"⁴ by the then Mayor, included in the official program of activities for the city's celebrations in 2007:

Qosqo querido, a ti van nuestros cantos, a ti van nuestros esfuerzos. Por ti queremos ser mejores, hermanos en la lucha diaria por mejorar nuestra calidad de vida. Que tu pasado glorioso no sea solo para nuestro recuerdo; que sea la inspiración para forjar cada día un nuevo logro, un nuevo triunfo en conjunción de los esfuerzos de tus hijos que se unen para forjar tu grandeza [...] Que el sol de nuestros padres los inkas ilumine nuestro camino y que la fuerza de los Apus y los Andes nos impulsen a seguir forjando tu grandeza para que el Qosqo sea la inspiración de la patria y la identidad nacional (Sequeiros 2007).

Beloved Qosqo, our chants and our efforts go to you. We want to be better because of you, brothers in the daily battle for improving our quality of life. Your glorious past should not be only for remembrance, but an inspiration for forging each day a new achievement, a new triumph of the collective efforts of your sons that are united in order to build your greatness [...] Shall the sun of our parents, the Inka, illuminate our path, and the force of the Apus⁵ and the Andes push us to keep forging your greatness hence Qosqo be the inspiration of the fatherland and the national identity.

Or the message of the Municipal Council on a similar occasion in 1991:

⁴ *Qosqo*. It is a widely known spelling of Cuzco in its Quechua pronunciation.

⁵ *Apu* (Qu) Honorific term meaning lord that is used almost exclusively next to the name of mountains when stressing their agentive quality as well as when addressing them directly.

Levantemos el 24 de Junio la bandera victoriosa del futuro de la patria a conquistarse bebiendo la inagotable y pura fuente del Ande, bastión de resistencia y de gloria para América y para el Perú bajo el influjo de su centro. Su capital natural, la ciudad sagrada que sigue albergando la inmensa humanidad de hombres y mujeres llamados a un porvenir digno [...] Como siempre, tus hijos prometemos forjar tu destino sin olvidar tu historia; declaramos que inspirados en tu milenaria y soberbia presencia, consecuentes con el perfil duro y pétreo de su tiempo, resistiremos los embates de todo tipo y cantaremos cobijados en tu grandeza hermanándonos como dueños del común y feliz destino al que tenemos derecho.⁶

This June 24, let's raise the victorious flag of the homeland's future to be conquered drinking the inexhaustible and pure spring of the Andes, bastion of resistance and glory of America and Peru under the influx of its center. Its natural capital, the sacred city that keeps harboring the immense humanity of men and women called for a dignified future [...]. As always, [we] your sons promise to forge your destiny without forgetting your history. We declare that inspired in your millenarian and superb presence, loyal with the hard and stony profile of your time, [we] will resist all type of onslaught and, covered in your greatness, will sing in a fraternity of owners of the common and joyful fate to which we are entitled.

And compare them with the following fragment of Valcárcel's book "De la Vida Inkaica" (On Inka Life) published in 1925:

Oh noble, grande y fidelísima ciudad del Cuzco, cabeza de un gran reino, águila del blasón, que unes los esplendores del Sol que adoraron los viejos incas a la aterna luz del Sol que no se pone en Flandes; arca santa de las tradiciones gloriosas de la raza, que guardas solicita el tesoro espiritual de cien pueblos que marcaron cien épocas en el proceso de los siglos; ciudad milenaria, que encierras en tu seno desde el hacha de sílex del primer hombre americano hasta el cetro de oro purísimo del rey Inka (Valcárcel 1925:7).

Oh noble, great and highly loyal city of Cuzco, head of a great kingdom, blazon's eagle, [you] unite the splendor of the Sun adored by the old Inkas to the eternal light of the Sun that never sets in Flanders. Saint coffer of the glorious traditions of the race that willfully keeps the spiritual treasure of a hundred peoples who marked a hundred ages in a process of centuries. Millennial city that holds in your womb from the sílex ax of the first American man to the pure gold scepter of the Inka king

Among his peers of the Cuzco's *Generation of 1909* – who were responsible for the rebirth of Cuzco's National University – Valcárcel has proven to be the most influential in shaping the regionalist nationalism. *Indigenistas* succeeded, for the only time in republican history, in launching an intellectual movement which has had deep influences beyond the intellectual and artistic circles. It managed to be incorporated into educational texts, as well as to shape governmental policies (Basadre 1978, Poole 1988b, Rénique 1991, Valcárcel 1981). Moreover, it constituted an alternative Peruvian nationalism which was...

... a political, academic, and daily life discourse through which the Cuzqueño leading class formed a series of internal agreements that enabled them, as a heterogeneous group, to dispute Limeño supremacy and acquire nationwide academic status and political influence (De la Cadena 2000: 84).

⁶ Diario El Sol 24 de Junio de 1991; quoted by Nieto 1995:144-145.

These intellectuals had close ties, some as kin and some as protégés, with the small economic and political elite of Cuzco in the first decades of the 20th century (Nieto 1996b).⁷ The latter was a landholding elite, whose source of wealth and power rested not only in their haciendas but in the labor of indigenous peoples who lived there and worked for them through non-monetary asymmetrical reciprocal arrangements. These arrangements were enforced through judges, police or soldiers who were at the service of landlords. Landlords were also at times congressmen or deputies, and some of them held important positions in the central government (Anrup 1990, Poole 1988b). At the beginning of the 20th century some families attempted to transform themselves into a *bourgeoisie* elite: they not only had huge landholdings but were investing in textile factories, mills, tea and chocolate processing plants, and commercialized rubber, cacao, and coffee. After the long economic crisis of the 19th century, these landlords were in a good position to invest due to the relative growth in the mercantile economy associated with British demand for wool mainly articulated to the city of Arequipa. Crucial for this articulation was the construction of railways in 1911 (Manrique 1988, Nieto 1996b, Rénique 1991). The case of Benjamín La Torre is helpful to convey the scale of these elites' economic influence. In 1911, the estimated value of La Torre's haciendas in La Convención and textile factory was almost 500,000 soles, while the annual public budget of the whole Cuzco region was 110,000 soles (Mörner 1990:150).

Coupled with these attempts at an incipient process of industrialization, these landlords saw themselves not only as leading Cuzco but actively intervening in the national political scene. A successful reform of the National University provoked by the first student strike in 1909 led to an enhanced interest in research and developing the region. The "discovery" of Machu Picchu in 1911 revealed the mostly neglected Inka sites. All these elements created a context in which young elite Cuzqueño intellectuals started to proclaim that the time had arrived for Cuzco as the true heart of the nation to recuperate its importance within the country and beyond it. Consider this text published in the very active official journal of the National University in 1914:

⁷ Both the intellectual elites and the most influential landlords were members of the *Centro Científico del Cuzco* (Scientific Center of Cuzco) at the beginning of the 20th century. This arrangement was repeated to some extent in the *Instituto Histórico del Cuzco* (Historic Institute of Cuzco) created in 1914 (Nieto 1996).

The contemporary Cuzco resurges currently, as the phoenix of the fables, from its own ashes, becoming today the most important section of the Republic. It keeps inside its heart the most precious historical jewels that are studied with remarkable enthusiasm both by great wise men of the world and by its own intellectuals who, rivaling those of the capital, ensure the future of this classic land that constitutes the legitimate pride of the entire country of Peru (Casanova 1914:11, quoted by Rénique 1991:59-60).

The old rivalry with Lima was renewed by criticizing the latter as the illegitimate center of the country, as is well exemplified in the following quote from Valcárcel's now classic manifesto *Tempestad en los Andes* (Storm in the Andes):

Lima y la costa representan el aduar convertido en urbe, frente a la soledad parámica de sus arenales. El Cuzco y la sierra son la naturaleza, el ruralismo, lo perenne, lo indesarraigable. Nada exxtrano que Lima sea extranjerista - ¡hispanófila! -, imitadora de los exotismos, europeizada, y el Cuzco, vernáculo, nacionalista, castizo, con un rancio orgullo de legítima prosapía americana (Valcárcel 1927:119).

Lima, and the coast, represents the hamlet turned into metropolis in front of the loneliness of its sand deserts. Cuzco and the highlands are nature, rurality, what is perennial, what cannot be uprooted. It is not strange that Lima is foreign oriented –hispanophilic!– imitator of exoticisms, Europeanized; and Cuzco, vernacular, nationalist, pure, with an ancient pride of legitimate American ancestry

These elites' focus on the Inka past influenced their vision of their indigenous contemporaries. Notwithstanding their claims about the 'degeneration' of *Indians*, *indigenistas* tended to view the indigenous present as a remnant of the Inka past. "The one who investigates the *ayllu*⁸ gets to the astonishing resurrection of the Inka life. The study of the aboriginal clan sheds light over the obscure prehistoric era" (Valcárcel 1925: 92-93). Indigenous backwardness was explained as resulting from the exploitation and abuses by the colonial regime and contemporary *gamonales* - small and abusive landlords -, corrupt priests and state officials (Valcárcel 1927).⁹

Indigenista intellectuals as well as the economic elites whose haciendas could not have profited without the free labor of *indios* saw themselves as protectors of children against the abuses of evil *gamonales*, small *mestizo*¹⁰ landlords, merchants or town dwellers. Denouncing the abuses by *mestizos* and *gamonales*, *indigenistas* defended the idea that *indios* should remain racially pure and dedicated to agriculture in the

⁸ *Ayllu* (Qu) – Quechua notion to refer to a community. It will be discussed in chapter 3.

⁹ Consider this quote: "All those characteristic virtues were being lost by the aborigine, under the tyranny of his different masters. [He] appropriately could call them demons, because the only hell he suffered was called Potosi, Huancavelica⁹, the coca field and the textile workshop" (Valcárcel 1925:99).

¹⁰ Culturally and/or biologically mixed; of indigenous and Spanish cultural forms and/or ancestry.

countryside. Agricultural labor was associated with mutual cooperation and the notion of *ayni*.¹¹

La primordial ocupación agraria de los Inkas se traduce en colectivismo como forma característica de asociación; no hay hombre que se baste a sí propio; todos buscan el auxilio de los demás [...] Ni el sembrío ni la recolección se hicieron sin el concurso de los dos factores colectivistas: cooperación y solidaridad (Valcárcel 1925:93).

The primordial agricultural occupation of the Inka translates in collectivism as their characteristic form of association: There is no man that can self sustain, all look for others' help [...] Neither the seed, nor the harvest was done without the intervention of two collectivist factors: cooperation and solidarity.

Valcárcel, as well as most indigenistas of his generation, claimed that agriculture and indigenous cultural heritage were crucial to society's redemption.

Volvamos a la tierra, cultivándola con el mismo fervor que nuestros abuelos los inkas. [...] Rieguen nuestro huerto espiritual las tónicas linfas andinas, no las aguas pútridas de la moribunda civilización europea (Valcárcel 1925: 111).

Lets return to the earth and cultivate it with the same fervor of our old grandfathers, the Inka [...] Our spiritual garden should be watered by the toning Andean sap, not the rotten waters of the moribund European civilization.

Hence *Indios* (Indians) should not become *mestizos* (culturally and/or biologically mixed). Early *indigenistas*, well represented by Valcárcel, clearly rejected *mestizaje*: “Cultures have mixed. From America's womb a new hybrid being was born, [who] does not inherit any of the ancestral virtues but only the vices and defects. The *mestizaje* of cultures only produces deformities” (Valcárcel 1927:11).

This rejection of *mestizaje* was an important element of a gendered ideology of social hierarchy developed by the Cuzco elites in the early 20th century and analyzed by Marisol de la Cadena (2000): The female Indian was imagined as sexually frigid and shy and the male Indian as having an animal-like and brutish sexuality. Notwithstanding their continuous presence in the city transporting products from the countryside and serving as *pongos*¹² in the urban houses, *indios* were inscribed as belonging essentially to the countryside. In contrast, *mestizos* – mixed ones – were town dwellers, small merchants and *gamonales*, or low status inhabitants of the city. *Mestizas* were depicted stereotypically as market vendors, imagined as essentially immoral women having an uncontrollable sexuality and irresponsibly having too many children from different men. *Mestizos* were portrayed as irresponsible, lazy, and prone to alcoholism.

¹¹ *Ayni* (Qu) Return the same. Later, I will analyze in detail the history of this notion that occupies a privileged place in the imagination of Andean society.

¹² *Pongo* – Lowest servant status in the hacienda system. This category will be discussed in chapter IV.

Elites made these classifications from an unmarked social position. There was not a clear ethnic or racial tag with which to refer to these elites beyond those of *señores* (gentlemen) and *damas* (ladies). The unmarked position from which they talked and wrote about the regional society is best captured by the notion of decency. To be *decente* (decent) was crucial in their understandings of the source of their superiority: Decency was a patrimony of some families and hence it was to some extent hereditary. However, high levels of education could make someone decent. Decency gave them moral superiority over all other groups as well as the duty of leading society. In contrast to *mestizas* who worked as market vendors, decent women belonged to the domestic realm of their houses. Decent men did not engage in manual jobs as mestizo men did.

The main dichotomies embedded in the discourses of the *indigenista* movement of Cuzco can be summarized in the following table, where it can be clearly seen that while the elite celebrated the Inka it did not have in high regard either the contemporary indigenous peoples or what it called the *mestizo* people.

Figure 3.1
Oppositions arranged by the *Indigenista* discourse

PREMODERN	—————→	MODERN
Glorious Inka past		Peruvian present
Pure	Contaminated	Decent/Unmarked
Collectivism		Individualism
<i>Indio(a)</i>	<i>Cholo(a) / Mestizo(a)</i>	Unmarked
Rural	Becoming urban / town dweller	Urban
Quechua	Quechua/Spanish	Spanish (Quechua)
Quasi-part of nature	In process	Controlling nature
Ignorant / Illiterate / Irrational	Treacherous / astute	Educated / Fully rational
Poverty / subsistence economy	Exploiters of Indians	Unmarked
Animal like sexuality	Uncontrollable sexuality	Properly controlled sexuality

From *Neoindianismo* to the Agrarian Reform

During the 1930s, faced with the crisis of the wool market and the broader international crisis, the leading landlord elite was not able to consolidate itself as regional bourgeoisie and thus was losing its power (Rénique 1991, Nieto 1996b). From the 1930s to the early 1960s landlords still constituted the economic elite of the city and controlled the state institutions of the region. However, already in the 1920s and more visibly during

the 1950s and 1960s rural indigenous communities were actively mobilizing in order to recuperate the lands that were being increasingly encroached by *haciendas* as well as claim better labor conditions (Burga and Flores Galindo 1980, Flores Galindo 1986, Kápsoli 1977).

As the power of the *hacendados* was declining so was the local influence of the *indigenistas*, some of whom had moved to Lima and occupied positions in the capital's state bureaucracy. A new intellectual generation associated with the increasing importance of the Communist party and the populist Partido Aprista Peruano (APRA) emerged in Cuzco and constructed itself in opposition to the old *indigenista* elite by criticizing their conservative liberalism. They embraced the different ideology of *mestizaje* coming from the influential Mexican *indigenismo*. Mexican *mestizaje* celebrated the mixing of races and its champion, José Vasconcelos, claimed that this mixture characterizing Latin America would constitute a new race, superior to all those races that contributed to its formation (Vasconcelos 1966[1925]). The most important Peruvian thinker associated with these intellectuals was Uriel García. His main work, *El Nuevo Indio* (The New Indian), challenged in important ways the ideas of Valcárcel. It celebrated *mestizaje* and popular culture as expressions of the *mestizo* people (García 1930). García openly challenged dominant *indigenismo Cuzqueño* affirmations that reduced indigenous culture to a remnant of Inka culture.¹³

The members of this movement called themselves *neindianistas*. The *new Indian* was not the biologically indigenous person. Rather he – ostensibly male - was “[any person] who grows internally upon contact with the incentives that this great American nature offers him, and who feels that his soul is rooted in the land” (García 1937:6 quoted

¹³ Consider the following fragment:

Los pueblos indios de hoy [...] han asimilado y mezclado con las suyas las costumbres posteriores a la hecatombe incaica; han adquirido o van adquiriendo cada vez más otra conciencia diversa a la que regulaba su acción en el ‘inkario.’ Nada del vigor indígena es supervivencia clara de la conciencia incaica pues si así fuera el pueblo indio demostraría su falta de poder juvenil asimilativo y su ineptitud de crecimiento espiritual y merecería desaparecer de sobre el haz de la tierra o ir a confinarse en una ‘Arcadia incaica’ (García 1930:78 quoted by Nieto 1995:130).

The Indio peoples of today [...] have assimilated, and mixed with theirs, the customs posterior to the Inka hecatomb. They have acquired or are acquiring a different consciousness to that which regulated their actions in Inka times. Nothing from the indigenous strength is a clear remnant of Inka consciousness. If this was the case, the Indio people would show its lack of youth assimilative power and its ineptitude in spiritual growth and would deserve to disappear from the surface of earth or confine itself in an ‘Inka Arcadia.’

by De la Cadena 2000:143). The New Indian was a *mestizo* whose character, following ideas of geographic determinism, was totally naturalized and uniquely shaped by the rugged Andean landscape.¹⁴ Hence the authenticity of indigenous culture was not fixed in racial purity – as *indigenistas* claimed - but derived from geographic determinism (De la Cadena 2000, Poole 1991). A celebration of many expressions of popular art such as music and dance, previously dismissed by the *indigenistas* who emphasized their lack of sophistication and ruggedness, was carried out by the *neoindianista* movement. The columnist of a local newspaper eloquently echoed this movement in a piece published in 1937:

We have exalted the *charango*¹⁵ as a musical symbol of nationalism; we have dignified the popular plastic [art], and we will work on the Indian choreography and theater in this labor of sincere nationalism [...] There was a need to vindicate the despised *mestizo* people, give it the consciousness of its weight in the social balance, to stop the mocking smile and the dismissive pout such that in previous years we talked about these same issues.¹⁶

While some *neoindianista* intellectuals belonged to the landed elites, others were middle class professionals. They, in opposition to the *indigenistas*, boasted about including in their circles artists that belonged to lower social strata. Institutions such as the Cuzco branch of the *Instituto Americano de Arte* (IAA), founded in 1937, congregated them. The launching of the academic study of folklore in the local university gave an official venue to this encounter between intellectuals and popular artists (Mendoza 2008). However, while *neoindianistas* promoted the inclusion of contemporary popular music and dance within the official practices of the regionalist nationalism, they appropriated for themselves the unmarked position and did not challenge the hierarchies based on decency (De la Cadena 2000).

Neoindianista intellectuals not only celebrated what was considered popular *mestizo* art but also what was seen as *indios* art even though they considered it primitive.

¹⁴ Uriel García's prototype of the *mestizo*, *cholo* New Indians were the *qorilazos* (golden lace) of Chumbivilcas: cattle-rustlers who worked for and under the protection of landlords and who embodied the ideals of indomitable, brave and artistically endowed maleness shaped by the rugged landscape (Poole 1987, 1991). Pancho Gomez Negrón was the singer who embodied this Andean *cowboy* and whose performances were praised not only in Cuzco but in Lima and abroad (De la Cadena 2000, Mendoza 2008).

¹⁵ *Charango*: Stringed musical instrument, used especially in the Andean region, similar to a small guitar with five double strings.

¹⁶ Pancho Fierro (pseudonym). *El Comercio del Cuzco*, December 23, 1937 reprinted in Calvo 1996:13.

This somewhat changed in the 1940s when together with the city authorities, they decided to create an official day to celebrate the city of Cuzco. Paradoxically, one of the *neoindianista*'s most enduring legacies was built into the *indigenista*'s celebration of the Inka past. Indeed, *Neoindianistas* launched a new celebration of the Inka with the reenactment of the *Inti Raymi* -- the Inka Festivity of the Sun in which pilgrims of all regions of the empire arrived in Cuzco -- staged in the Inka site of Saqsaywaman. True to neoindianista's aesthetic ownership of the celebration, it included contests of *indio* and *mestizo* dances, most of which came from outside the city. Due to their reliance on the past Inka grandeur for shaping the celebration of the city, *neoindianistas* could never cancel the ideologies produced by *indigenistas*. Instead, both have worked to reinforce themselves in the formation of contemporary representations of Cuzco and are not usually perceived as distinct currents.

This celebration of the city was also thought of as a way to attract tourism and to develop livestock and locally produced food fairs. While it did not succeed immediately in its economic objectives, it quickly became the main regional nationalist ritual (Nieto 1995). The successful and continuous reenactment of the Inti Raymi from 1944 up to the present tells about a slow process of appropriation of regionalist nationalism across class and cultural differences in the Cuzqueño society. The mostly elite intellectual and artistic celebration of the Inka glorious past of the 1920s became progressively incorporated into performative arts such as theater, music and dance. Regionalist nationalism incorporated into theater, dance and music involved a broader spectrum of practitioners and reached broader publics, appealing to aesthetic emotions rather than academic discourses and becoming inscribed in the bodily practices of their increasing number of practitioners. As De la Cadena (2000) elaborates, the aura of being an intellectual working on themes related to the greatness of the Inka past, in its artistic representation or in the cultivation of mestizo popular art, became a source of prestige and hence social mobility.

The discourse of the *neoindianista* movement added new dichotomies to the narratives about the regional society, as summarized in the following table.

Figure 3.2
Oppositions produced by *Neoindianismo*

PREMODERN	→	MODERN
Pure	Praised cultural mixture	Unmarked
<i>Indio(a)</i>	<i>Cholo / Mestizo / Nuevo Indio</i>	<i>New Indio / Unmarked</i>
Rural	Becoming urban / town dweller	Urban
Quechua	Quechua/Spanish	Quechua/Spanish
Natural artist	Natural artist	Artist-intellectual
Attached to nature	Shaped by nature	Shaped by nature

The devastating 1950 earthquake is usually thought as a drama that nevertheless impulsed “modernization” (Tamayo 1981). The reconstruction of Cuzco meant state investments in the region intended to construct infrastructure, and to promote industry and agricultural activities in rural areas.¹⁷ The urban elites, who controlled the reconstruction, were no longer constituted only by landlords, but also by urban merchants and businessmen (Nieto 1996b). The already weakened *landlords* lost all their power in the Agrarian Reform (1969-1975) which granted most of the haciendas to the indigenous peoples who worked in them and imposed a cooperative model. Years later their members would dismantle the cooperatives, distribute the land among themselves and become *comunidades campesinas*, peasant communities (Mayer 2009). The reformist military government of Juan Velasco adopted some ideas developed by the Limeño Marxist intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui, who had known highland social conflicts through his close relationship with Valcárcel. Mariátegui’s ideas had become widespread among the Peruvian left of the 1960s: the “Indian problem” was a problem of land ownership; *indios* were above all *campesinos* (peasants). This vision further associated highland indigenous peoples with the rural areas (Orlove 1993, De la Cadena 2000). The military regime changed the legal term *comunidad indígena* (indigenous community) -- recognized by the Peruvian state only since the 1920s -- for *comunidad campesina* (peasant community). This change in official legislation indexed the slow process

¹⁷ Controlled by the Cuzco Chamber of Commerce, the Agricultural Society and the Municipality, the local organization in charge of the reconstruction (CRIF) devoted 38% of its funds to infrastructure, 60% to industry and only 2% to the development of rural areas. In spite of the fact that rural areas were mobilizing increasingly against weakened haciendas, the urban elites decided to ignore them (Nieto 1996b:69, Tamayo 1992:556). Furthermore, most of the budget for infrastructure (65% between 1951 and 1956) was destined to mortgage credits with very low interest rates to benefit only 341 owners among the city’s elites who were administering the funds (Nieto 1996b).

through which *indio* got reduced to derogatory meanings and associated with negative stereotypes, while the economic label *campesino* replaced a more clearly ethnic one.

With the Agrarian Reform the majority of landlord families lost what had remained of their political influence in the city and the region as a whole. Some of their descendants emigrated from Cuzco; others stayed and became liberal professionals. During the late 1960s and 1970s commerce was the Cuzco leading economic sector. These merchants had low political influence during the military dictatorships of the 1970s. The struggles for the land since the 1950s as well as their active opposition to the military government gave strong political weight to the federations of peasants and workers carrying Marxist discourses.

The Last Inka Ayllu and the Andean World

While there were some ethnographic accounts about *indigenous peoples* written around 1900s (Flores Ochoa 2005[1983]) the *indigenista* movement did not develop a tradition of ethnographic research. The study of folklore started to be taught in the San Antonio Abad National University in Cuzco in 1943 during the *neoindianista* phase and was regarded as the most important academic discipline during the 1940s and 1950s. Associated with the study of folklore and with the participation of visiting scholars from the US this was the first Peruvian university to establish a department of anthropology and archeology in 1941. During the mid-1950s, folklore became a subfield within this department while the first cohort of anthropologists gained a presence in the public sphere (Pacheco 2007:121).

The year 1955 has become a landmark in the history of anthropology in Cuzco. In this year, a multidisciplinary team from the San Antonio Abad National University carried out a “scientific expedition” to the then *hacienda Q’ero* (Paucartambo). This hacienda was located four-day trip from Cuzco (one day by truck and three days by mules). They carried out this research against the strong opposition of landlords who lobbied it not only with state authorities but also the university’s. The team was led by Oscar Núñez del Prado, who was part of the first cohort of anthropologists of the National University. The other team members included scholars who were (or were going

to become) important Cuzqueño intellectuals in their fields: two archeologists, two folklorists, one ethnomusicologist, and one geographer. A photographer and a journalist from the Limeño newspaper *La Prensa* completed the team. The owner of the newspaper, Pedro Beltrán, an influential liberal businessmen and politician from Lima's elite, funded the expedition (Flores Ochoa 2005[1983]). Ironically and in contrast with the early 20th century, it was a member of the Limeño elite who funded the study that became foundational for Cuzqueño anthropology.

After the first reports from the researchers, the newspaper *La Prensa* announced the discovery of the *Last Inka Ayllu*¹⁸ (Flores Ochoa and Fries 1989). Living as serfs in this hacienda which was very hard to reach from the city of Cuzco, the Q'ero people were portrayed by the scholars as an indigenous community that remarkably maintained many traits that the scholars framed as "Inka". Males wore "Inka" tunics (*unkus*) and until recently they used to wear braids "a distinctive sign of their Inka ancestry," which the landlord had ordered to be cut (Morote 2005[1958]:301). They found a working "*Inka tambo*" (Barreda 2005[1983]:47-49), the first evidence of bilateral kinship systems in contemporary communities in the Andes (Núñez del Prado 2005[1957]) as well as what was regarded as the first version of *the myth of Inkarri*¹⁹, a cultural hero founder of the Inka capital (Morote 2005[1958]). Jorge Flores Ochoa (2005[1983]:34), a notable Cuzqueño anthropologist, put it quite clearly: Q'ero was "a community that until then seemed to be frozen (*detenida*) in time. [Their practices] were found to belong to a 16th century chronicle."

These scholars criticized the landlord system, denounced the exploitation that Q'ero people were subjected to, helped the people of Hatun Q'ero to buy their lands from the landlord, as well as made important contributions to the scholarship on different aspects of Andean societies in their broader work (Flores Ochoa and Núñez del Prado 2005). But the way they framed the Q'ero people ended up making a strong reenactment of a romantic stereotype about imaginary highland Quechua communities already present in the early writings of Valcárcel. That is, once again the authenticity of Quechua

¹⁸ *Ayllu* (Qu) A minimal translation would correspond to *community*. This notion will be discussed in depth in chapter IV.

¹⁹ Other versions of this mythical theme became key in developing what among cultural anthropologists and ethnohistorians became a trendy topic in the 1970s and 1980s: Andean messianic myths as expressed by the "return of Inkarri" (e.g. Ossio 1973).

communities was made dependant on being living relics of Inka culture. The production of knowledge that came out of the “expedition to Q’ero” constitutes an outstanding example of what Fabian (1983) has called the negation of coevalness. This creation of a rural imaginary, framed within the authority of empirical science, was crucial in a process through which these communities come to be imagined in the city: as people living far away, isolated from the broader society, and who kept the authentic Inka traditions intact.

This however was not achieved only through the work of Cuzqueño anthropologists, but also in conversation with broader anthropological scholarship being produced about the Andes. After WWII US anthropology became increasingly interested in the past and present societies of the Andes. While some pre-WWII foreign ethnographers reproduced some of the prevalent stereotypes about the *indios* as backward and ignorant, the post WWII foreign anthropologists, both from the US and from Europe, questioned these negative stereotypes and rather celebrated the complexity and endurance of rural indigenous communities in the face of an overtly exploitative hacienda system (Orlove 1993, 1994).

The notion of *the Andean* emerged in the work of scholars at the crossroads of archeology, (ethno) history and sociocultural anthropology. As Harris (1994) remarked, archeological and ethno historical research, particularly the work of John Rowe, influenced the implicit definition of the geographical boundaries of the *Andean World*: the area once under Inka rule rather than the actual geographical scope of the chain of mountains called the Andes. Having primarily a geographical referent, *the Andean* was associated with multiple types of research dealing with diverse time periods, different societies and heterogeneous cultural landscapes. It corresponded to efforts to find cultural principles or patterns shared by different social groups across long time periods, inspired by the work of John Murra (1975) and the related scholarship of Nathan Watchel (1973). Murra formulated the notion that the core of pre Hispanic and particularly Inka social organization was articulated through reciprocity, redistribution and vertical control of the ecological diversity. The claim of an Andean ideal of autarky derived from this latter strategy: Andean communities aimed to be economically self-sufficient.

These notions emerging in the study of pre-Hispanic contexts were projected onto the ethnographic work contributing to reproduce the idea of contemporary rural

indigenous communities as isolated from the rest of the society and reluctant towards foreigners. Functionalist and structuralist approaches gave a portrait of strong internal coherence within these communities and projected an ideal of a bounded Andean community trying to isolate itself from external forces.

During the 1970s and 1980s there was a proliferation of scholarly work from different theoretical backgrounds and working in different time frames that invoked the notion of the Andean.²⁰ *Lo Andino* (the Andean) in Cuzco entered into the public sphere through the local anthropological discourse produced in the local university as well as the strong notoriety in the 1980s of the *Centro de Estudios Rurales*²¹ *Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas* (Center of Rural Andean Studies Bartolomé de Las Casas). The latter was a research NGO that launched an important editorial activity publishing many titles related to Andean history, linguistics, and anthropology.

The appropriation of *lo andino* beyond academia was accompanied by its simplification and the strengthening of its potential for essentialist assessments: the Andean world became associated with certain essences shared by societies that inhabited the highlands across time and space. The Andean became opposed to the Western, thus forming a novel narrative of modernity. While the Andean as a concept started to be criticized, in different ways, in the late 1980s and early 1990s (e.g. Poole 1988a, 1988b, Starn 1991, 1994) and there is currently some agreement within academia as to its problematic essentialist connotations, local journalists, politicians, authorities, and tourism promoters have enthusiastically embraced it.

This introduction of *Q'ero* and *lo Andino* in the public sphere has led to the concept of reciprocity proposed by Murra, particularly under the Quechua notion of *ayni*, to become strongly loaded and aligned within narratives of modernity. In the 1920s Valcárcel (1925: 93, 94, 110) had already pointed out cooperation and solidarity as key aspects of *Inka* and *Indio* essential collectivism. Murra's proposed notion of reciprocity

²⁰ Consider, for example, the following titles: *Estructuras Andinas del Poder* (Andean Power Structures) (Rostworowski 1983) devoted to pre Hispanic political structures; *Cultura Andina y Represión* (Andean Culture and Repression) (Duviols 1986) dealing with colonial "extirpation of idolatries" in the 17th century; *Ideología Mesianica en el Mundo Andino* (Messianic Ideology in the Andean World) (Ossio 1973) a collection of articles about messianism from early colonial to contemporary times; or *La Racionalidad de la Organización Andina* (The Rationality of Andean Organization) (Golte 1980) which proposed a model for labor allocation within contemporary rural communities.

²¹ *Rurales* (rural) was replaced in the 1990s by *Regionales* (regional).

built on Valcárcel’s as well as the tradition initiated by Mauss (1990[1923]), filtered through the work of the influential economist Karl Polanyi (1968; see Murra 1975).

Contrary to common claims about *ayni*, closer ethnographic work depicts it as a Quechua morally neutral notion of exchange but not necessarily points to the enduring relationship that reciprocity implies. The latter meaning is carried by the suffix *-naku* as in *maqanakuy*, a fight in which both sides beat each other mutually; or in *rimanakuy*, a dialogue in which the agents talk mutually to each other. Hence reciprocity as understood in anthropological scholarship is referred to by *ayninakuy* in Quechua: a relationship in which actors mutually return things or services to each other thus constructing an enduring social relationship (Mannheim 2006).

The scholarship on the Andes shows how *ayni* in the Southern Peruvian Andes or equivalent notions such as *tumay* in Ancash or *waje-waje* in Huánuco are used for invoking relations of balanced reciprocity (Sahlins 1972). There are many other ways to articulate exchanges beyond *ayni*, including monetary exchange (Kervin 1989, Mayer 2002). However, within Cuzco’s public sphere the notion of *ayni* slowly came to be considered the cornerstone or the ethos of Andean society with a strong emphasis on its positive sides, thus reinforcing essential notions of egalitarian communalism. The exaltation of *ayni* as the ethos of Andean culture is coterminous to the essentialization of “Andean Culture” as a pre-capitalist rural culture of agriculturalists and herders.

Figure 3.3
Oppositions articulated by the notion of *lo andino*

PREMODERN	→	MODERN
<i>Andino</i> (Inka and pre Inka past)		<i>Español</i> (16 th -18 th century Spanish)
<i>Andino</i> (colonial indigeneity)		<i>Español</i> (16 th -18 th century Spanish)
<i>Andino</i> (contemporary indigeneity)	Mestizo	<i>Occidental</i> (Western)
Communalism (<i>Ayni</i>)		Individualism
Rural	Becoming urban	Urban
Subsistence agriculture	Town dwellers / Merchants	Capitalist economy
Isolated from the broader society	Usually exploitative brokers	Connected
Keepers of Inka past		<i>Occidental</i> (Western)
Living in the past		Living in the present
Messianic		Secular / Unmarked
Quechua	Quechua/Spanish	Spanish

The development and popularization of Andeanist scholarship as well as the increasing fame of the Q’ero people portrayed as the Last Inka Ayllu, introduced

additional dichotomies to the already complex set of dichotomies that organized the imaginary of the regional society through narratives of modernity.

Fifth centenary, tourism and the celebration of indigenous “spirituality”

While tourism has been seen as an important possibility for the economic development of the region of Cuzco since the 1930s, and started to acquire more prominence after the 1950 earthquake,²² it was not until the early 1970s that the state invested seriously in promoting it. During the military regime that carried out the Agrarian Reform in the 1970s, the government formed a special commission to implement the Peru-UNESCO Touristic-Cultural Plan (COPESCO). Between 1973 and 1983 70 million dollars were invested in Cuzco through a loan by the Inter-American Development Bank for the construction of key infrastructure and the restoration of monuments that would become the main touristic attractions (Nieto 1996b). This proved to be an effective investment as tourism started to occupy an increasingly important place in Cuzco’s economy.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Cuzco’s political leaders were no longer landlords or merchants but liberal professionals. Massive national strikes forced the military regime to convoke a constituent assembly in 1979. The new Constitution recognized the right to vote to illiterates, which meant giving the right to vote to indigenous peoples.²³ The constitution also established the democratic election of provincial and district municipal councils. Under the democratic regime, Daniel Estrada Pérez was elected in 1982 as the first leftwing mayor of the city. In the 1990s while reelected, this lawyer would become the most important city and regional leader. The 1980s and beginning of the 1990s were marked by a strong economic crisis and the internal war between the Shining Path, the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement and state forces, which led to close to 70 000 casualties (CVR 2003). The southern provinces of Cuzco were among those regions of the country swept by the violence. However, in contrast with cities such as Huamanga, Huancayo or Lima, the city of Cuzco did not suffer the violence of car bombs, “armed

²² Local newspapers reported that, during 1959, 35,000 tourists had arrived to Cuzco which at that moment was a city of 150,000 inhabitants (De la Cadena 2000).

²³ Women had gained the right to vote in 1955. See Rousseau 2009: 130-131.

strikes,” massacres, kidnappings or disappearances (Poole and Rénique 1992).

Nevertheless, the emerging tourism industry collapsed and most economic activities were in severe crisis. Additionally, in 1986, an earthquake damaged most of the old colonial houses and churches of the historical center.

During the 1980s then, the already weak economic elites of businessmen and entrepreneurs from the city were further crushed. The city’s economic and political elites became diffuse, harder to pinpoint. The landscape of the city also had been changing in the previous decades due to the growing presence of rural migrants who populated the city’s outskirts and the slopes of the surrounding mountains.

By the end of the 1980s the country was devastated, the economy suffered from rampant hyperinflation, the international financial system had determined that Peru was ineligible for credits and Shining Path seemed to be growing and the war expanding. In 1990 Daniel Estrada Pérez started a new mandate as Mayor of Cuzco in a new historical conjuncture. Along with the growing internal war, in 1989 the Berlin Wall had fallen and 1992 was marking the 500 years of Columbus’ arrival to America. This configuration influenced his discourse that moved away from Marxist rhetoric toward a renewed and vigorous celebration of the Inka and the 500 years of *Andean Resistance* (Nieto 1995). While during his tenure of office in the 1980s Estrada Pérez had shown a clear regionalist discourse that rested on the celebration of the Inka, during the 1990s the latter displaced the centrality of his leftist rhetoric. The increasing discredit of left-wing discourse was not only due to the fall of the Berlin Wall but also, closer to home, to the bloody methods used by Shining Path in the name of “the revolution” (see Degregori 2010).

While the country was in crisis, the new administration managed to increase the municipal budget mainly through new taxes on alcoholic beverages, cigarettes and the local brewing company (Nieto 1996a, Pino 2004).²⁴ Hence this new municipal administration was able to launch major renovations of the city center that were clearly associated to a new official wave of celebrating the Inka past in the wake of the fifth

²⁴ The mayor obtained the approval of a law that put a 15% taxes over soft drinks and alcoholic beverages in order to repair the damages done by the 1986 earthquake (Nieto 1996a). The budget was also incremented through imposing a tax over the use of public infrastructure by the local brewery, a 2% taxes over cigarettes, a municipal tax per traveler for the use of the airport, and the creation of a single Tourist ticket that gives access to museums, churches and archeological sites, from which the municipality receives a percentage of the total profits (Pino 2004: 38-39).

centenary of the European invasion. Noticeably, all monuments celebrating republican heroes of the Wars of Independence or the War of the Pacific were removed from the city center and relocated to its outskirts. A monument to the mythical couple that founded the Inka polity—Manku Qhapaq and Mama Uqllu -- replaced a statue of *criollo* liberator Simón Bolívar. All the other republican heroes were replaced by water fountains of different sizes adorned with Inka iconography and motives. As part of this urban remodeling, the municipality bought and demolished the colonial houses neighboring the main Inka temple and now Catholic Dominican church and convent, the Qurikancha (the golden enclosure). Now the Qurikancha is surrounded by a park where a play representing the initial part of the Inti Raymi is shown every June 24. These renovations also included the addition of various murals whose themes revolve around the Inka as ancestors of the contemporary Cuzqueños. Around these works that celebrated the 500 years of Andean resistance, the Mayor managed to obtain another honorific title for the city in addition to the multiple ones it already had.²⁵ The 1993 constitution recognized Cuzco as *historical capital of Peru* (see Molinié 2004, Silverman 2002).

The municipality changed the old colonial coat of arms of the city for a pre-Hispanic representation of the sun. It also tried – and finally failed – to change the Spanish writing and pronunciation of the name of the city for its Quechua rendering: *Qosqo* instead of *Cusco* (Nieto 1995). Another major project that the Mayor could not carry out was the remodeling of the city's Main Square. He planned to eliminate its late nineteenth century European-style fountain and replace it with an imitation of an Inka solar observatory such as the one found in Machu Picchu (Silverman 2008). This new celebration also included a strong editorial activity including publishing titles ranging from Cuzqueño folklore and music to the importance of the Inka, a comprehensive history of Cuzco, a history of its literature as well as new editions of classic *indigenista* and *neoindianista* monographs (Nieto 1995).²⁶

²⁵ Among other titles the city has the following: Archaeological Capital of South America and Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

²⁶ Some of the titles published by the municipality between 1990 to 1996: *La Importancia de la Música Cuzqueña* (The importance of Cuzqueño music), *Qosqo: Hacia el Rescate de la Memoria Colectiva* (Qosqo: Towards the rescue of the collective memory), *El Toponimo Qosqo* (The Qosqo toponym), *Qosqo, Center of the World* (Qosqo, Center of the World), *Pachakuteq Inka Yupanqui. Anales del Monumento* (Pachakuteq Inka Yupanqui. Annals of the monument), *Cincuenta años de Inti Raymi* (Fifty

The major symbol of these new times of celebrating Cuzco is the monument to Pachakuteq, the ruler who launched the Inka imperial expansion, at the entrance of the city: A bronze sculpture of 11 meters of height placed over a 22 meter high base (Silverman 2002). The following words of Mayor Estrada Perez are illustrative of the discourse behind the monument:

El monumento al inka Pachakuteq, inaugurado a los 500 años de la invasión de nuestro suelo, debe tenerse como un símbolo del nuevo Perú que inspire la búsqueda de la justicia social y su conquista. Pachakuteq gobernó una sociedad con justicia, la hizo grande y digna de su tiempo. Que su obra y su testimonio de admiración que le ofrecemos los qosqorunas del sinal del siglo XX, sirvan también para meditar por qué se hizo esta obra; en los peores tiempos de la tragedia del Perú y, sin embargo, en los mejores tiempos de la esperanza y el renacer del Pachakuti (Estrada 1993:9).

The monument to *Pachakuteq Inka*, inaugurated 500 years after the invasion of our soil, should be regarded as a symbol of the new Peru that inspires the search for social justice and its achievement. *Pachakuteq* ruled a society with justice, he made it become great and worthy of its time. Should his achievements and this testimony of admiration that we, the *qosqorunas*²⁷ of the end of the 20th century, offer him, be useful also for meditating why it was done during the worse times of the Peruvian tragedy and, nevertheless, the best times of hope and rebirth of *Pachakuti*²⁸

As Luis Nieto (1995) has pointed out, while this celebration continued a long tradition in the city of celebrating the Inka as ancestors of all Cuzqueños, its particularity was marked by the inclusion of what can be seen as “Quechua spirituality” framed as esoteric knowledge close to New Age discourses. Nieto traced the origins of this discourse to two anthropologists, father and son: Óscar Núñez del Prado and Juan V. Núñez del Prado. The father was the leader of the 1955 multidisciplinary team of local university scholars that traveled to the then hacienda Q’ero, the same that baptized Q’ero people as “the last Inka ayllu”. Acting as regional director of the National Institute of Culture in the early 1990s, he wrote a letter to the mayor where he claimed that “the spiritual and magnetic forces that were located before in the Himalayas”²⁹ have been concentrated in Machu Picchu, to then tell him that the medal attached to the letter was consecrated by a *kuraq akulliq*³⁰ a title that he claimed referred to the highest hierarchy of Quechua religious specialists. He claimed that the medal

years of Inti Raymi), *Folklore Urbano del Qosqo* (Qosqo’s Urban Folklore), *Pitumarca. La Reencarnación del Escogido* (Pitumarca, The Reincarnation of the Chosen One) among others.

²⁷ *Qosqoruna* (Qu) People of Cuzco.

²⁸ *Pachakuti* (Qu) Turn of the universe, radical change of times.

²⁹ “...las fuerzas espirituales y magnéticas que antes estaban en el Himalaya.” (Núñez del Prado 1990:70 quoted in Nieto 1996b:153).

³⁰ *Kuraq Akulliq* (Qu) elder who possesses the practice of chewing coca leaves

... se ha apoderado de la suficiente energía de Pachamama para hacer que la persona que [la] posea [...] goce de la protección de la Madre Cósmica y tenga para sí toda la buena suerte, fortuna y bienestar que ella suele ofrecer a quienes la veneran (Núñez del Prado 1990:70 quoted in Nieto 1996b:153-4).

... has concentrated enough energy from Pachamama³¹ so the person who possess it [...] enjoys the protection of the Cosmic Mother and has all the good luck, fortune and wellbeing that she uses to give to those who venerate her.

The figure of Pachakuti Inka was fundamental in this new twist of Cuzco's celebration of the Inka past as the large monument erected in his honor attested. The following fragment, written by a touristic entrepreneur and then municipal councilor, discusses the concept of *ayni*, which he defined as "to share beyond what one owns, to share what one is"³²:

Se dice que para cumplir el Ayni, Pachakuteq enseñó a todos los pueblos que hacía falta desarrollar los dones divinos que el hombre posee en su espíritu y que son inherentes y consustanciales a su naturaleza humana: *Munay*, el poder del amor; *Llankay*, el poder creativo del trabajo; y *Yachay*, el poder del conocimiento y de la sabiduría (Milla 1993:25).

It is said that in order to accomplish *ayni*, Pachakuteq taught everybody that it was necessary to develop the divine gifts that men have in their spirits, inherent and consubstantial to their human nature: *Munay*, the power of love; *Llankay*, the creative power of work; and *Yachay*, the power of knowledge and wisdom.

Pachakuti is a Quechua notion that can be translated as 'a radical turn of times'. *Pachakuti Inka Yupanki*, the Inka hero also referred to as *Pachakuteq*, reorganized the Inka polity and launched its imperial expansion. The same notion was used by indigenous chroniclers to refer to the social changes produced by the 16th century Spanish invasion. The intellectuals of the new municipal administration associated it with a messianic radical change that would mark the arrival of a mystical utopian society. In the words of anthropologist Juan Victor Núñez del Prado:

De acuerdo a la cosmovisión andina contemporánea, la vida humana alcanzará su madurez y plenitud a través de tres eras: La era de Dios Padre, que duró desde la creación del hombre hasta la Conquista; la era de Dios Hijo, que se inicia en la Conquista y dura hasta nuestros días; y la era de Dios Espíritu Santo, que también se conoce como el *Taripay Pacha Timpu* o era del Reencuentro, que está por empezar. Cada una de estas eras tiene un orden social y espiritual distinto; por lo que para transitar de una a otra es necesario que se produzca un *Pachakuti*... (Núñez del Prado 1993:103-4).

According to contemporary Andean cosmovision, human life will achieve maturity and plenitude through three ages: The age of God the Father, that covers since the creation of man until the [Spanish] conquest; the age of God the Son, that starts in the conquest and remains until our days; and the age of God the Holy Spirit, that is also known as *Taripay Pacha Timpu*, or the age of the reencounter, that is just to begin. Each age has its distinctive social and spiritual order. Hence for transiting from one to the other a *Pachakuti* is necessary...

³¹ Pachamama (Qu) Mother universe.

³² "compartir más allá de lo que se tiene, compartir lo que se es" (Milla 1993:25).

The insertion of mysticism into Cuzco's regionalist nationalism also included the presence of ostensibly rural and traditionally dressed Quechua *paqu*³³ who performed offerings to the place-persons³⁴ during the inauguration ceremonies of several public works carried out by the municipal administration. It is important to take into consideration that the presence of *paqus* or *curanderos*³⁵ in the city was nothing new for the local population who, beyond class and cultural differences, used to recur to them in certain circumstances (Tomoeda 1992:224). However, before "Andean spirituality" became included into the practices of regionalist pride, Spanish speaking middle classes resorted to these specialists as part of their family's private affairs, kept hidden and unspoken beyond the domestic sphere. The new Inkanism of the municipal administration inaugurated the use of these practices in public and official ceremonies.

The inclusion of practices such as food-offerings in the public sphere, as well as the incorporation of "Andean spirituality" into the regionalist discourses, were associated with the emergence, in the late eighties and more clearly during the early nineties, of a new type of tourism deeply interested in "Andean spirituality" (Flores Ochoa 1996, Hill 2007, Molinié 2004, Salas 2003). In spite of the crisis, the trend was already clear in the early 1990s. In 1991 the state agency in charge of tourism promotion produced a brochure entitled *Mystical Cuzco* that included sections such as *Andean Religious Cosmology, Andean Priesthood and its Hierarchy; Andean Mysticism opens to the World*, and *Shrines, Religious Centers and Altars of Andean Mysticism*. The brochure also publicized different 'tours' including *Qarpay* or initiation (4 to 6 days) and *Inka Qarpay* or Inka Initiation (10 days) (Flores Ochoa 1996).

During the nineties, after the Fujimori regime had defeated Shining Path and applied drastic neoliberal reforms, tourists started to come back to Cuzco. Tourism has been growing steadily since the 1990s to become the main economic activity in the city and the areas articulated by the touristic circuit to Machu Picchu. Since its emergence,

³³ *Paqu* (Qu) Name referring to those who know how to read coca leaves and make complex food offerings for the place-persons. See chapter IV.

³⁴ *Place-persons*: Quechua ontologies ascribe personhood to all named features of the landscape. See chapter IV that is focused in the relationships between humans and place-persons in Quechua ontologies.

³⁵ *Curanderos* (Sp. Healer) The Spanish term to refer to *paqu*. *Curandero* can also be used to refer to people who are knowledgeable in medicinal plant uses and who cure illnesses.

New Age tourism has only increased, so that there are travel agencies specialized in ‘mystic tourism’ that contract the services of rural *paqu* who perform rituals directly for tourists or who work for travel agencies. This type of tourism also includes visits to and ceremonies in Inka sites that are said to emanate a particular energy. Among them Machu Picchu is one of the most important. As one of the ways in which current global capitalism is characterized by ‘millennialism’ (Comaroff and Comaroff 2001), these mostly foreign tourists look for a pristine religious connection with ‘nature’ unmediated by ‘modernity’ through the consumption and appropriation of indigenous religiosity (see Povinelli 2001a).

Building on their fame as the *Last Inka Ayllu* and being already well known as good *paqus*, the Q’ero communities came to be portrayed also as the keepers of authentic “Inka shamanic tradition” for New Age tourism. Juan V. Núñez del Prado, anthropologist, mystic and son of the leader of the 1955 “scientific expedition to Q’ero,” played a key role in inserting Q’ero people in New Age touristic circuits. Having performed field research in Hatun Q’ero in the late 1970s and early 1980s, he started to guide New Age practitioners to Q’ero in the 1990s. A similar role was played by Américo Yábar, a mystic and descendant of the family that owned the former hacienda Q’ero (De la Cadena 2011). Both have published about Quechua and Q’ero practices framed as mystical and spiritual (see Núñez del Prado 2005, Nuñez del Prado and Murillo 1991, Yábar, Vásquez, and Vásquez 1994).

Since the nineties, many Q’ero *paqus* as well as specialists of other communities have become enmeshed in the New Age tourism that flourishes in the city, offering their services as specialists to travel agencies, institutions, NGOs and middle class families. Some Q’ero people are contracted to travel to Europe and the U.S. to offer their services. Hatun Q’ero, the community considered the center of all Q’ero communities, is more connected than the others to these circuits, and some travel agencies and tourism operators organize groups that go directly to this community. The prestige of Q’ero has attracted many interested in “Andean shamanism”: New Age practitioners, filmmakers, photographers, musicologists, and journalists. English-language books published about the Q’ero have telling titles: “*Keepers of the Ancient Knowledge: The Mystical World of the Q’ero Indians of Peru*” (Wilcox 2001, see also Wilcox 2004), “*Journey to Q’eros:*

Golden Cradle of the Inka” (Jenkins 1998). Websites abound on the “prophecies of Q’ero Inka shamans”³⁶ or claims about “The Q’ero Nation ... is the oldest in the Inca Tradition.”³⁷ Most of them have claims such as...

...the Q’ero are the direct descendants of the Inca, who, 500 years ago, fled to the safety of the sacred mountains to escape the Spanish Conquistadors... The Inca Master Shamans were the "Wisdom Keepers" of the Inca. Throughout the generations, their oral tradition preserved the ancient healing methods, rituals and the prophecies for the future of man and the planet. This knowledge has remained uncontaminated for thousands of years.³⁸

As Hill (2008) has shown, by reshaping old stereotypes, the local and foreign mystical tourism entrepreneurs have developed a dual set of claims in order to legitimize their appropriation of Quechua practices. On the one hand, for example, Joan Wilcox, author of *Keepers of the Ancient Knowledge: The Mystical World of the Q’ero Indians of Peru,...*

... makes a highly racialized, genetic argument about the natural spirituality of the Quechua, remarking that the “Andean tradition” is “part of every fiber of their being” and that ancient spiritual knowledge “is carried in their genes, entwined in the spiral of their DNA” (Hill 2008:258).

On the other, these entrepreneurs claim that there are disembodied and spiritual ways to actually be initiated or participate in and understand “Andean spirituality” so they and their clients can consume and appropriate indigenous practices. The same author, Wilcox, asserts that “You don’t have to travel to Peru to be an ‘Andean’ mystic, you have only to believe, as Andeans do, that you are in energetic interchange with the world of living energy” (Wilcox 2001:xv quoted by Hill 2008:258).

The notion of *ayni*, already proposed as the ethos of Andean culture, was appropriated by New Age tourism as well as New Age philanthropists interested in Andean cultures. This was carried with the initial mediation of local anthropologists that located *ayni* as articulating all types of social interactions in Quechua communities. As

³⁶ Prophecies of the Q’ero Inca shamans.

http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/profecias/esp_profecias_inca.htm . Last accessed on May 14, 2011.

³⁷ Cecilia Montero. Life & Professional Coaching. http://www.ceciliamontero.com/qero_program . Last accessed on May 14, 2011.

³⁸ The Q’ero and the Knowledge of the Incas

http://www.psychicsahar.com/artman/publish/article_628.shtml . Last accessed on May 14, 2011.

Jorge Flores Ochoa, a Cuzqueño anthropologist, states in a documentary about the communities that live around the Ausangate glacier:

Ayni is the spirit of social relations. Ayni is the same feeling as life itself. Ayni is to give something and receive the same in return, some other time. The most accurate way to translate it is as reciprocity. Reciprocity is something fundamental to Andean relations. It is the tool for survival in the Andes so that one can have access to products, to riches, to people and in the end achieve everything through ayni (Flores Ochoa in Heckman and Fettig 2006).

Or as Juan V. Núñez del Prado claims in the same documentary, *ayni* would mediate not only social relations between human beings but also between them and the powerful place-persons, such as the mountains addressed with the title of *apu*:

Coca is the base of our ritual; no ritual exists without coca. Coca is the favorite food of the Apus. With coca we establish our relations of ayni with the Apus, and we also establish our relations of ayni between us. It is fundamental to our relationship with the sacred (Núñez del Prado in Heckman and Fettig 2006).

The notion that ayni mediates every type of social interaction has become popularized and appropriated in the regional society, particularly by those involved in some way or another with the tourism industry. For example, a professional guide and musician who lived in Europe and the US for 12 years now owns a hostel, restaurant and cultural center in Cuzco's Sacred Valley. The latter has as its mission statement to "reinforce, promote and protect the values and knowledge of Andean culture and empower the endangered traditional way of life".³⁹ This guide states in the same documentary:

I need to work my cornfield so I ask for ayni with all my brothers and sisters or the community and they come help me. And I will do the same thing for them. Today for me, tomorrow for you, it's the golden rule. But it's more than that because you are doing actually ayni with everything and constantly. When we do ayni, we have achieved the balance. We are unrivaled in the eyes of everything (Vizcarra in Heckman and Fettig 2006).

³⁹ Pachamama's Path Foundation. Sustaining Traditional Culture. <http://www.pisacinn.com/sustaining-traditions.htm> . Last accessed May 16, 2011.

The mentions and explanations of *ayni* have proliferated beyond Cuzco and are easily found on New Age web sites. For example, the Ayni Projects⁴⁰ – a US nonprofit organization – defines *ayni* in their website as:

A Quechua word meaning reciprocity whose underlying premise is: *so as I give, so shall I be provided for*. A principle which when operant in any relationship, group or system creates a field of intention that allows for the possibility of positive change, synchronicity and miracles.⁴¹

This view of *ayni* is also to be found on the web page *Salka Wind*, where Oakley E. Gordon, a member of *Kenosis Spirit Keepers*⁴² provides his own definition:

Ayni is the Andean concept of 'reciprocity', which provides the foundation for how the Andean people relate to each other as well as how they relate to Nature [...] *Ayni* is relevant at all levels of relationship. In the Andean villages the people work on projects on each other's land, helping each other and benefiting from each other's help. During the Inca Empire the villages would send people to work on government projects and in return the government would store enough food to see the people through up to five years of drought. People wishing to be healed by a *paq'o* give the *paq'o* a gift and receive healing in return. *Paq'os* give gifts to the *Apus* and the *Apus* tell them what a person needs to be healed. In all of these exchanges, what is given is not a payment, it is a balancing of the relationship, which keeps energy flowing in a circular fashion between the participants [...] The Andean culture, the Andean people, have given us a wonderful gift. They have opened their hearts to Westerners who have come to learn their ancient ways of relating with love and respect to Nature.⁴³

These elaborations around the notion of *ayni* reinforce a certain idea of an authentic Andean culture essentially located in the rural spaces, outside the capitalist economy and framed in bucolic communities who live in outstanding harmony and cooperation. These views are associated to growing demands in the tourism industry that have had impacts in the local production of objects for sale. It appears in the plethora of new souvenirs, mostly carved in stone, which are said to represent mountains, lakes,

⁴⁰ "Ayni Projects is a 501(c)3 non-profit organization situated in Northern California, in the United States of America. We fund projects aimed at aiding minority communities who have developed their own systems for addressing their needs in Peru and India... At Ayni Projects, we believe that one of the keys to keeping the traditional Quechua culture of the Andes intact is the honoring of ancient ways, and the respectful introduction of modern possibilities in the areas of health, education, and cottage industry." http://www.ayniprojects.com/frontend/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=44&Itemid=53 . Last accessed on June 6, 2011.

⁴¹ Ayni Projects. <http://www.ayniprojects.com/frontend/> . Last accessed on June 6, 2011.

⁴² *Kenosis Spirit Keepers*. <http://www.kenosispiritkeepers.org/> Last accessed on June 6, 2011.

⁴³ Salka Wind. <http://www.salkawind.com/ayni.html> "This web site is a product of my studies with the Andean *paq'o* Américo Yábar and other *paq'os* of the Andes." Last accessed on June 6, 2011.

calendars and so on; it is noticeable as well in the music produced in the city mainly for tourist consumption (Salas 2003), in the production of texts (e.g. Núñez del Prado 2005, Núñez del Prado and Murillo 1991, Yábar, Vásquez, and Vásquez 1994), or in new services for tourists that include offerings to the places, and also the ingestion of hallucinogenic such as ayawaska⁴⁴ used in Amazonian indigenous practices.

Since the mid nineties, the celebration of the Inka past has been promoted also by the national government under the broad influence of a neoliberal platform where fostering tourism occupies a prominent place. As will be shown later, the national institution in charge of promoting tourism, Prom Peru, actively uses the celebration of “indigenous religiosity” associated with Inka sites in official spots, posters and other forms of propaganda for tourists (Hill 2007). Paradoxically, neoliberal celebrations of multiculturalism aligned themselves with the left leaning regionalist nationalism launched in the 1990s by the administration of Mayor Estrada.

The new celebration of the Inka associated to the 1990s municipal administration, the emergence of New Age tourism and the neoliberal promotion of heavily stereotyped multiculturalism have introduced new twists in the narratives that shape the imagination of the regional society, introducing strong romantic notions by which present modern capitalist societies are seen as decadent and having lost their connection with nature while the authentic Andean people such as the Q’ero has kept the ancient wisdom of connection with nature and a balanced relation with the universe:

Figure 3.4
Oppositions associated to the celebration of Andean spirituality

PREMODERN	→	MODERN
+		-
<i>Andino</i> (Andean)		<i>Español</i> (16 th -18 th century Spanish)
<i>Andino</i> (Andean)		<i>Occidental</i> (Western)
Glorious Inka past		Peruvian present / First world
Pristine		Contaminated / Decadent
Mystical relation with nature		Alienated from nature
Keepers of ancient sacred knowledge		Mundane / Decadent
Communalism		Individualism
Mystical Ayni		Capitalist exchange
Quechua		Spanish / English

⁴⁴ *Banisteriopsis caapi*

Almost a century after Valcárcel's contributions to regionalist nationalism, the latter has gone through many changes, shifts and additions that I have tried to summarize here. While at the beginning of the century it was developed by a small group of intellectuals and artists who celebrated the Inka past, with *neindianismo* it transformed itself to become inscribed in performative forms that celebrated the mestizo and indigenous art, a move that allowed much more people to participate and spread these ideological forms in the broader society. These forms even became part of new mechanisms for social mobility. As the intellectual and economic elites have progressively lost their leading role in the city and the region, these discourses have been appropriated by wide sectors of the regional society. Since the 1990s, with the return of tourists in Cuzco, a new chapter of Inkanism was launched by the municipal administration together with the increasing celebration of contemporary "Andean religiosity" associated with the emergence of New Age tourism and mediated by local anthropologists.

As the 2008 protest⁴⁵ showed, the economic elites of the region are not a clear group and include nonlocal actors. The stronger economic actors are increasingly transnational tourism corporations investing in elite tourism. With tourism flourishing local entrepreneurs in tourism and related economic activities have also relative success. These new economic elites, however, do neither wield equivalent power nor authority in comparison with the economic elites of the beginning of the 20th century. Similarly, the intellectual elites have seen their influence decrease. Just like other national universities in the country, the current academic production of the San Antonio Abad National University cannot be compared with its golden times in the first half of the 20th century.⁴⁶

Faced with a reality in which Cuzco neither has an influential position in Peru's economy or politics nor elites with a project to increase its relevance at the national level, these exalted tropes of the Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism tend to acquire chauvinistic tones. It is telling that some of the Cuzqueño intellectuals who analyze this regionalist nationalism feel the need to elaborate on why it is not chauvinistic (e.g. Calvo 1996).

⁴⁵ See chapter II.

⁴⁶ For a discussion on the evolution of academic work in the Peruvian National Universities, with a focus on the teaching of anthropology, see Degregori and Saldoval 2009.

While the celebration of the glorious Inka past is an omnipresent theme in the region and across social classes, to be found from the touristic posters to the main civic rituals of the city and most of the surrounding towns, there is however an emerging but small group of local tourism entrepreneurs, intellectuals and artists who openly criticize the celebration of the Inka past. This group sees the omnipresence of the Inka as one of the reasons for a lack of a serious political and economic project for the region:

Esta es la cultura de la congeladora, donde lo que la sociedad hace es abrir de cuando en cuando su congeladora y vanagloriarse ahí de todo lo que tiene congelado y eso es lo que le pasa al Cusco, [...] tengo Machu Picchu, tengo Saqsaywaman, tengo Chuqikiraw, [...] tengo todo esto y yo me dedico a conservarlo. Entonces la satisfacción colectiva del Cusco y de su clase dirigente, cuya expresión más excelsa, y a mi juicio, más negativa es Daniel Estrada, es que yo soy un cusqueño maravilloso, cuando lo que hago es conservar lo que mis ancestros han hecho” [...] Lo que esta generando este complejo de ombligo, esta cultura de la refrigeradora, este pasadismo, es que no hay inventiva en el Cusco, no haya ambición por grandes obras, no haya ambición por transformar, por que haya nuevas condiciones de vida, nuevos paradigmas de desarrollo y solamente nos centramos en ser una sociedad tremendamente conservadora de lo que nuestros antepasados pudieron hacer [...] No hay en el Cusco una gran obra de que los cusqueños del siglo XX podamos estar orgullosos o pregunto ¿Podríamos estar orgullosos del cóndor, del Pachacutec? [...] Al mismo tiempo que se gastaba medio millón de dólares para hacer el Pachacutec, no teníamos agua en nuestros caños ni retretes en nuestras casas, entonces eso no es desarrollo.⁴⁷

This is the culture of the refrigerator. What society does is to open, now and then, its refrigerator and boasts itself about all that is frozen there. That is what happens in Cuzco [...] I have Machu Picchu, I have Saqsaywaman, I have Chuqikiraw.[...] I have all this and I commit to preserving it. Then, the collective satisfaction of Cuzco and its leading class --whose most sublime and, in my opinion, most negative expression was Daniel Estrada-- is I am a marvelous Cuzqueño when what I do is to preserve what my ancestors have done. [...] What generates this belly button syndrome⁴⁸, this culture of the refrigerator, this obsession with the past, is that there is no creativity in Cuzco, there is no ambition for great works, no ambition for transforming, for building new living conditions, new paradigms of development. We are only focused on being a tremendously conservative society living off what our ancestors were able to do [...] There is not one great work that [we] the 20th century Cuzqueños could be proud of. Or, I ask, can we be proud of the [monument to the] condor, [of the monument to] Pachakutec? [...] At the time when half a million dollars got spent on the Pachakutec, we did not even have water in our pipes nor toilets in our houses. That is not development.

This critical attitude towards the dominant celebratory discourses of the Inka past seems to be relatively important in some well-off sectors. According to two different studies carried out in the 1990s and 2000s (Fernández and Nieto 1997, Pacheco 2007), while the regionalist celebration of the Inka past is strong among most of the urban population, it is rather weak among more privileged social sectors. After almost a century of the founding texts of the young Varcárcel, the vast majority of the regional society has

⁴⁷ Interview with a former representative of the Cuzco Chamber of Commerce. March 2007.

⁴⁸ It is widely stated, without much evidence, that the original meaning of the name of the city is “belly button of the world”. Hence, here belly button syndrome is commenting on the complex of being –the past– center of the world.

enthusiastically embraced, in many different and modified versions, his exalted celebrations of the Inka past. Paradoxically, a fraction of the contemporary diffuse economic, intellectual and artistic elite sees it rather as one of the main hindrances for the development of the region. An artist and good friend summarized this perspective quite neatly for me: “These stones weigh too much on us, Cuzqueños.”

Narratives of modernity celebrating indigeneity

The dominant ideology of social hierarchy in the city of Cuzco is not only constituted by the narratives of modernity that reproduce explicit derogatory stereotypes of indigenous peoples. Those narratives of modernity that celebrate the Inka past are a fundamental part of these ideologies and are crucial in their naturalization and hegemonic character.

The dominant ideology of social hierarchy is constituted by a series of narratives of modernity which have multiple variants and arrangements that could be contradictory within their particular instantiations. Each instantiation is shaped by the particular micro-politics of an actual social interaction. While in the previous chapter, I paid attention to those that portray overtly negative stereotypes of indigenous peoples; here I will pay attention to those that seem to celebrate indigenous culture.

These narratives of modernity, though transformed and reshaped, align a broad set of dichotomies inherited from the movements and processes that were involved in the development of the regionalist nationalism in the 20th century. These multiple dichotomies constitute a rich repertoire. People arrange and deploy them in different ways depending on the particular social interaction and the interests in play,

The radical rupture shaping the majority of these narratives is the Spanish invasion of the Inka polity (1532-1570). This event heralded a major social change in the Andes and produced two periods: the modern contemporary period versus the premodern, pre-Hispanic one. The gap between them – the Colonial times and most of the Republic – is hidden by a notable case of erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000). It is at times ignored and at times collapsed into the present, depending on the context. The European invasion is the privileged rupture because it opposes indigenous cultures to western cultures. This binary

articulates a majority of the cultural debates associated with the development of Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism throughout the 20th century. However, while this is the most important rupture invoked, it should not be assumed to be the only one. Other historical events that could be listed as ruptures include: the Thupa Amaru rebellion (1780), the independence (1821-1825), the War of the Pacific (1879), the University Students strike (1909), the “discovery” of Machu Picchu (1911), the earthquake of 1950, and the Agrarian Reform (1969).

The repertoire of dichotomies stemming from those debates can be summarized in the following table:

Figure 3.5
Oppositions organized by the contemporary narratives of modernity

PREMODERN	→	MODERN
+	+/-	-
<i>Andino</i> (Andean)	Mestizo	<i>Español</i> (16 th -18 th century Spanish)
<i>Andino</i> (Andean)		<i>Occidental</i> (Western)
Glorious Inka past	Peruvian present	Peruvian present / Unmarked
Pristine	Contaminated	Decadent / Unmarked
Mystical relation with nature	In between	Alienated from nature
Communalism	In between	Individualism
(Mystical) Ayni	In between	Capitalist exchange
Keepers of ancient sacred knowledge	Westernized	Mundane / Decadent Western
Messianic	Syncretism	Secular / Unmarked
Cult of Nature	Syncretism	Christianity
Quechua	Quechua/Spanish	Spanish / English
Pure	Praised racial-cultural mixture	Unmarked
Living in the past		Living in the present
Isolated	Usually exploitative brokers	Connected
<i>Campesino</i> (Peasant)	Not peasant	Non manual work
Rural	Becoming urban	Urban
Trapped in a frozen culture	Acquiring agency	Modern agency
Traditional	In process of acculturation	Modern
Ignorant/Illiterate	Acquiring some education	Educated
Rooted in the landscape	In process	Detached from the land
Quasi-part of nature	In process	Controlling nature
Poverty / subsistence economy	Involved in monetary exchange	Wealthy / Unmarked
Subsistence agriculture	Town dwellers / Merchants	Capitalist economy
Irrational	Treacherous / astute	Fully rational
Childlike / Innocent	Irresponsible / lazy	Responsible adult
Animal like sexuality	Uncontrollable sexuality	Properly controlled sexuality
<i>Indio</i>	<i>Cholo / Mestizo</i>	Unmarked
-	-/+	+

of the regionalist nationalism. Claiming to be at the heart of the nation and heirs of the Inka, the intellectual and artistic elites of the city -- while decreasing in power and becoming more culturally and socially diverse during the 20th century -- appropriated and controlled the discourse about the Inka. Associated with these claims about the Inka, there is in Cuzco, and among the majority of Peruvians, a rejection of considering the Spanish as ancestors. One of the first times that I was faced with this particularity of the Cuzqueño, and Peruvian national formation, was during my high school education. A Spanish Jesuit priest who was a proficient Quechua speaker and was one of my teachers in a Cuzco elite high school in the 1980s challenged my class to reflect about the usual deprecations of the Spanish that were and are easily heard in Cuzco: “The Spanish invade us, the Spanish this, the Spanish that! Look at your last names that tell me if they are not Spanish.”

While the early 20th century economic and intellectual elites could have been framed as the cultural and political heirs of the Spanish settlers and those who benefited from the colonial social order, they distanced themselves from the historic conquerors. This was possible due to two factors: First, they spoke from an unmarked social position, which implied decency and intellectual authority. Second, they constructed their image championing Cuzco in opposition to Lima and the Limeño elites, whom they associated with Spanish heritage. During the 20th century, broader social groups appropriated such claims by reproducing – through different strategies – an elitist intellectual right to control the representation of the Inka past.

The contemporary celebration of indigeneity connects the Inka past and the rural Quechua present, overstating its cultural continuity and linking the notion with a trope of resistance. The narratives of modernity align time and space in a recursive structure in which the truly “authentic Indian, the true rebel, the ‘real’ Andean culture is always a bit further away, in the next province, along the frontier” (Poole 1988b:368). This imaginary authentic Andean people belong and live in the remote past, just as the chroniclers described Andean societies of the 16th century (Fabian 1983).

These tropes naturalize socioeconomic inequalities inscribing them as radical cultural differences. A high school memory of the mid 1980s with the same Jesuit teacher can illustrate it. We were going on a school trip to the Sacred Valley to visit Inka sites in

a comfortable tourist bus. As we were leaving the city the priest announced by the loudspeaker that we would pray so everything would go well during the trip. He added “as we will traverse these rural areas we will see many people who live in poverty and endure very hard lives. Hence, let’s pray for them as well.” While it was not the first time I went into the countryside and I had already read some *indigenista* literature, it struck me that he referred to people who lived in the countryside as poor. I realized that until then I just thought they actually lived in a very different way.

These celebratory discourses of indigeneity tend to be coupled with negative characterizations of the modern. Rather than portraying modernity as the individual’s liberation from deceiving ideologies, this negative portrait shows modernity as a process in which people have become alienated from themselves and from nature, objectified as mere sources of labor or isolated in the selfish, consumerist and crowded metropolitan cities (see Comaroff and Comaroff 2001).

This celebration, then, naturalize indigenous culture in an imaginary state in which all institutions understood as modern are non-existent: from political mobilization and citizenship, to basic rights such as access to health services, proper education, or tap water. In this way, the Quechua language is simultaneously celebrated as normal and legitimate in the rural highlands where the authentic Andeans live, while an index of ignorance in the more familiar world in which actual people live, in rural or urban spaces. Quechua cannot be imagined in “modern” interactions, such as those happening in a bank, or in judicial trials. When Quechua is accepted in such contexts, it is due to a paternalistic attitude towards overtly monolingual individuals who are framed as ignorant infants needing guidance.

A final element to be stressed about these celebratory discourses is their notable strength. They constitute the core of the regionalist nationalistic sentiment. Framed as celebration and appealing to pride, this romanticism successfully resists criticism and hence is a very powerful mechanism of naturalization and reproduction of social hierarchies.

The reproduction of celebratory discourses

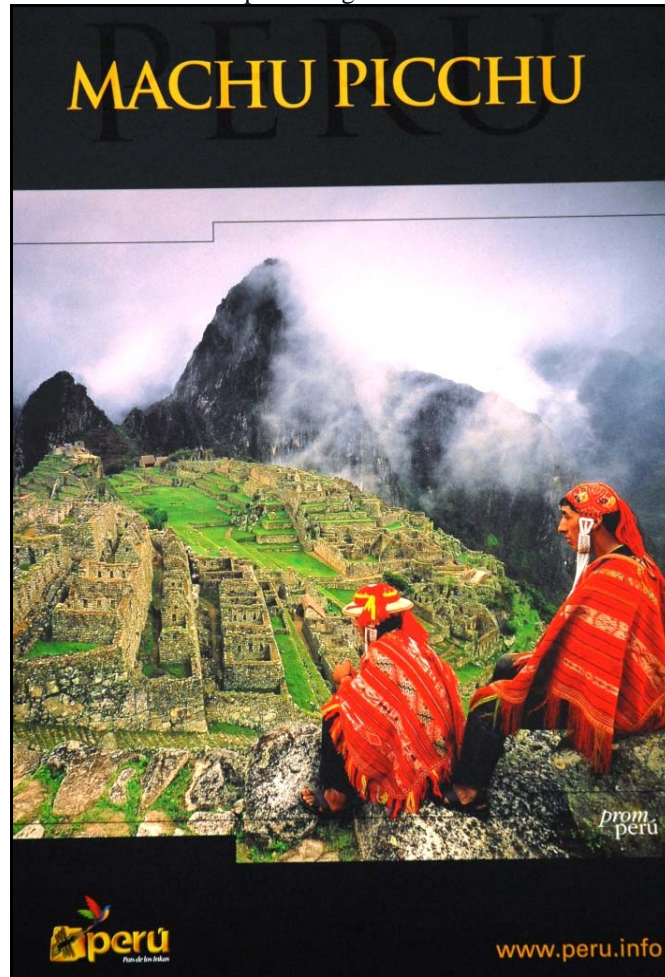
The reproduction of these celebratory discourses of indigeneity is to be found in several ways. The practices around New Age tourism are one of the privileged spaces through which this kind of association is reproduced. Consider the mystical aspect inscribed in the publicity that the PromPerú – the official agency of tourism promotion – launched in 2003. One promotional video clip starts with an image of a misty glacier. Then a father and his young son, fully dressed in hand-woven indigenous attire (which is used only in carnival or civic occasions by contemporary rural Quechua speakers), are sitting together on the grass nearby a group of llamas with the misty mountainous landscape behind. The child asks in Quechua: *Kaychu kay rimawasqaykita* (Is it here what you told me?). The father simply replies: *Qhaway* (see) and then blows a wooden cup from which steam arises. A soft Quechua song starts, and the dense fog quickly vanishes leaving the viewer to admire the iconic image of Machu Picchu. Then the camera zooms out, and we see the son standing up and hurrying to see the Inka site. A voice then says: *Pack your six senses, come to Peru, land of the Inkas*.

This type of visual association between Inka sites and “authentic” Quechua people is widespread in the tourist related materials, as is also exemplified by a poster, also by the Peruvian agency for promoting tourism (PromPerú), that won an international prize in 2007 (see figure 3.6).⁴⁹ Indigenous people, wearing traditional clothes, are integrated within the landscape of Machu Picchu, constructing an association across time between the pre-Hispanic architecture and the “traditional” indigenous people. Their gaze, away from the viewers, reinforces the distance between these subjects and those who are addressed by the poster. The indigenous persons, observing Machu Picchu, become, for the viewer of the poster, part of the monument to visit and part of the tourist attraction. This image excludes as much as possible the “modern” elements that could endanger the romantic illusion it tries to portray.

⁴⁹ The poster won the *Prize for the Best Poster of Tourism Promotion of the Americas* during the IV Ministers Meeting of the General Assembly of the World Tourism Organization that took place in Colombia in November 2007. *Perú recibió Premio al Mejor Póster de Promoción Turística*. Terra, November 29, 2007. <http://www.terra.com.pe/turismo/noticias/tur8905/peru-recibio-premio-al-mejor-poster-promocion-turistica.html> . Last accessed on November 23, 2011.

The absence of tourists, for example, in this picture of Machu Picchu is striking. This is so because the picture was taken early in the morning, when tourists had not yet arrived; while the indigenous people who work as porters for tourism agencies in the *Inka trail* were already in its outskirts.⁵⁰

Figure 3.6
Poster promoting Machu Picchu



Poster of PromPerú promoting tourism. Reproduced with permission.

These porters – who are poorly paid, do not enjoy formal employment, and carry what would be considered an unhealthy and excessive load by any experienced hiker – cannot afford to pay the entrance fee to Machu Picchu. At most, they arrive at its outskirts, or more frequently, they do not reach it at all because they have to leave the

⁵⁰ While such was the situation before 2007 – when the poster was launched -, currently many tourists try to arrive to Machu Picchu as early as six in the morning in order to avoid the crowds that arrive after eleven. As a consequence, the early hours of the morning are now also crowded in Machu Picchu.

trail after the last campsite.⁵¹ Thus, while this photograph celebrates them as living relics of Inka culture, at the same time it hides the fact that those who could be considered the cultural heirs of these monuments cannot visit them even when they are very close.

This type of touristic image is abundant in the center of the city and around all the tourist sites in Cuzco. Beyond this omnipresent publicity, many televised events also reproduce these kinds of associations. For example, such was the case in the unusual presidential inauguration of Alejandro Toledo in 2001. With the presence of presidents of several nations, diplomats, and other illustrious guests, this ceremony was performed in Machu Picchu and was televised nationally and reported internationally.

‘I have come to give thanks for the force and the courage that the ‘Apus’ (mountain gods) and the earth gave me,’ said Toledo, 55, according to news reports from Reuters. Two barefoot priests, wearing decorated red ponchos and white ‘chullos’ -- caps made of llama wool with ear flaps and pompoms -- asked Toledo's permission to burn coca leaves, llama fat, sugar, the grain quinoa and flowers. The priests, who earlier prepared by spitting a traditional fermented corn brew, offered the gifts to the Apus and the ‘Pachamama,’ or mother Earth in the native Quechua language. ‘I have come ... to bring Toledo his power, his message, to put in his mouth what Peruvians are saying so that he guides us,’ said one of the priests, Nazario Turpo, 63. While the priests were raising two bundles of offerings to the heavens and burning them out of sight of around 250 assembled guests, Toledo was presented with a golden necklace bearing the Inka cross, or ‘chakana,’ and handed a golden ax (Vasquez 2001).

With some reservations, the media commented positively on this ceremony. They praised the new president’s ability to capitalize on the inauguration as a mass-mediated opportunity to present a country proud of its past and with hope for its future. It was seen as a public statement of a country overcoming the disastrous previous decade of

⁵¹ While there were some efforts to improve the working conditions - particularly consolidated in the Law 27607 (Law of the Porter) of 2001 - porters receive a very low salary (the law prescribes a minimum salary of approximately US\$ 15 per day, this figure do not always in followed by the tourism operators), do not work with proper equipment, are not always given food or appropriate tents for sleeping, do not have life insurance and usually are demanded to carry loads way beyond the 25 kg limited by law. While there have been efforts to unionize themselves, the demand of these jobs is so high that there are always people who will accept the work no matter how bad conditions are. See: <http://web.iespana.es/actu/americalatina/209546#> accessed February 26, 2011. <http://guillermosalas.blogspot.com/2008/05/algunos-recuerdos-del-camino-inca.html> accessed February 26, 2011. <http://www.livinginperu.com/blogs/travel/196> accessed February 26, 2011.

Fujimori's regime and the internal war that affected most of the country and claiming close to 70 thousand victims (CVR 2003).

Another example of this type of event was the visit of the Dalai Lama to Cuzco in 2006. The National Institute of Culture organized an official reception and ceremony for him in the Qurikancha, the main Inka temple, with the presence of two members of the community of Hatun Q'ero. The organizers did not tell the Q'ero representatives who the Dalai Lama was and the explanation the organizers gave about the songs the Q'ero sang were misrepresentations of what the songs were about.⁵² Hence, the role of the Q'ero in this event was basically to perform a radical otherness rather than to participate in a dialogue. During his presentation the Dalai Lama emphasized the role of "modern education" in preserving and affirming indigenous cultures, a claim at odds with the dominant narratives of modernity.⁵³

Figure 3.7
Q'ero people and the Dalai Lama in the Qurikancha



Francisco Quispe Machacca and the late Isaac Flores Machacca from Hatun Q'ero in festive attire with the Dalai Lama in the Inka temple of Qurikancha, now a Dominican convent. Behind them one can appreciate some of the fine Inka masonry. Cuzco 2006. Photo and information about it by Holly Wissler. Reproduced with permission.

⁵² Holly Wissler, personal communication.

⁵³ *Encuentro con los qeros*. La República. May 6, 2006.

This same type of relationship between the Q'ero and the Inka can be found extensively in the permanent exhibit of the Inka Museum of the National University of Cuzco, where pictures of contemporary Q'ero people and dioramas representing their activities are used to illustrate Inka technology, social organization, and ideology. Beyond all these examples, the most important way in which these regionalist nationalist celebrations are enacted is the set of events during each June, during the official celebrations of the city. The central day, June 24th, takes place the representation of the Inti Raymi, the Inka winter solstice festivity of the Sun, father of the emperor.

Figure 3.8
The Inka and the PISAQ staff bearers



The Inka and a high ranking Inka priest are standing up over a platform. The *warayuy* (staff bearers) of a PISAQ community, distinguishable by their festive *ponchos* and *chullos*, are standing up relatively close to the Inka and blow their seashell trumpets when the Inka arrives, stops or leaves. While the Inka and the other participants are actors, the staff bearers perform their own indigeneity. Cuzco Main Square. June 24, 2008.

The ceremony starts in the main Inka temple, the Qurikancha – the Inka’s *Golden Enclosure* and today part of the Santo Domingo convent – where the first rays of the sun are received. Next, the Inka and his entourage move to the Hawkaypata, the contemporary Main Square, where the Inka meets the mayor of the city and instructs him or her to govern wisely in what is called the “encounter of times.” Finally, the llama

sacrifice for the Sun and the predictions read from its entrails are performed in Saqsaywaman, the Inka temple located in the northern outskirts of the city. The comfortable paid seats from which this third part of the representation can best be seen (paying a cost ranging from 70 to 110 dollars for the 2011 performance) can hold 3856 people who are mostly foreign tourists.⁵⁴ However, a much larger multitude of Cuzqueños attend it seated in the fully crowded surrounding hills of the site. Foreign tourists paying fees that most Cuzqueños would not be able to afford constitute the privileged audience of the central event of the celebration of Cuzco. The free spaces from which Cuzqueños can see it are each year further and further away in order to preserve the Inka remains.⁵⁵

Figure 3.9
The Inka and the Ayarachi of Paratía



The Inka, carried on his litter, leaving the Cuzco Main Square. Behind him follows the Ayarachi of Paratía, a Quechua community of the southern department of Puno. The Ayarachi of Paratia are contracted each year to participate in the Inti Raymi. The women dance and sing, the males play the panpipes and drums. In contrast to the rest of the performers, the Ayarachi are not representing somebody else but performing their own art forms. Cuzco Main Square. June 24, 2008.

During the last two decades many provincial and district municipalities as well as high schools have launched their own reenactments of Inka ceremonies well beyond the

⁵⁴ EMUFEC Empresa Municipal de Festejos del Cusco. <http://www.emufec.gob.pe/espanol/reservas.html> . Last accessed on February 23, 2011.

⁵⁵ This paradox present in the Inti Raymi summarizes well the feeling prevailing in Cuzco regarding the booming tourist industry as discussed in the previous chapter.

city and even in other Peruvian regions. They are usually performed in archeological sites. Only within the region Jorge Flores Ochoa (2005) reports more than thirty festivities that have Inka themes. Most of their scripts are done by anthropologists who authenticate the accuracy of the Inka portrayal. This proliferation of celebrations is mockingly called *raymitis*, a neologism that suggest a infectious disease propagating *raymis* (festivities).

During its initial decades, the Inti Raymi included delegations of rural dance troupes which participated in a contest after the sacrifices and predictions. Currently this dance contest does not take place in the Inti Raymi but there are other ways to include contemporary rural Quechua communities in it. This is done for example with the inclusion of the *warayuq* (staff bearers) authorities of the Písaq communities blowing their sea shell trumpets close to the Inka (see figure 3.7) or the *Ayarachi* (a particular style of panpipe collective performance) of the Paratía (Puno) playing behind the Inka (see figure 3.8).

While dance contests are not included in the Inti Raymi they have proliferated in the days prior to it.⁵⁶ While Inti Raymi is the central event, the city nearly grinds to a halt to celebrate itself via countless parades and dance contests throughout June. The dance contests consist of representations of “traditional dances” of the region. These contests are elaborated and practiced at several levels; each takes a day and happens in the city’s Main Square. One day is the kindergarten’s contest. The next day that of primary schools, the next, high schools’, and finally, on June 20, the technical schools and universities (Pacheco 2007). Prior to these public performances, each of these institutions had previously held internal competitions in order to choose the dance and dancers that could best represent them in the public eye. Thus, the contests work to engage most of the region’s youth in performing these dance performances (see also Flores Ochoa 2005)

In the *Concursos Departamentales* (Regional Contests) that took place since 1967 until the late 1980s many communities across the region came to the city and represented themselves through adjusting their own practices to the criteria of urban experts, however during the 1990s and in the first decade of the new century, this region wide contests no longer took place. As Mendoza (2000:75-82) explains, some of the most popular dances

⁵⁶ For a detailed history of these contests see Mendoza 2000:69-77.

styles performed in honor of Catholic saints that now are widespread in the region, particularly those associated with the province of Paucartambo, were popularized by these past region wide contests.

Currently, the majority of dances performed in the several contests that precede the Inti Raymi are not dances that actual communities perform in honor of Catholic saints' images. The dances performed in contemporary contests rather represent "authentic" customs of Quechua rural communities of the provinces of Cuzco. These dances are not, however, those that people of the city or the rural communities dance on festive occasions; they are stylized choreographies that attempt to represent how, for example, festivity X is celebrated in community Y of province Z.

These representations of indigenous culture were developed from the 1940s through what was called "*captaciones*," recollections or captures of traditional festivities through ethnographic observation. These observations were then reinterpreted and transformed into choreographies that represented the different moments of the actual festivity, including particular clothing and music. The jury of the contests, composed by recognized authorities in these types of dances, evaluates the authenticity of the costumes, music, steps, choreography, and the mastery of the participants' performances.⁵⁷

The dance performances are framed with a short description of the custom the dance represents, where it happens, its meaning, the costumes and so forth, read over loudspeakers. Thus, the dance is framed as an ethnographic representation of a festivity that takes place somewhere in an existing rural Quechua community. Consider the following announcement of a high school's performance in the Main Square during the 2008 festivities of the city:

⁵⁷ This process was pointed out by the writer and anthropologist Jose Maria Arguedas. Having worked as a school teacher in Sicuani (Cuzco) and watched firsthand the festivities represented by the Centro Qosqo in a theater performance done in 1962 in Lima, he wrote:

The dances of carnival do not have, in any Andean region, such a stereotyped choreography. Young males and female Indians dance with great freedom of movement. They are not dances which need a specialized training. [...] Here we have a typical mistake of the gentleman who attempts to learn and repeat and alien dance, without enough humility but rather most frequently with his insurmountable vanity and ends up composing a falsification [...] The information that was offered about them was almost always mistaken and in some cases, as the dance presented with the name "*Paras*" (rain), was consciously adulterated [...] The "Centro Qosqo" puts in its program that "the most beautiful indigenous girls of the haciendas received their landlords with dances and chants when they visited their properties" (Arguedas 1976[1962]: 229-230).

Figure 3.10
Suq'a Machu Chullpa



Students of a high school of the mostly rural district of Saylla after their performance of a dance that the announcer presented as a community dance from the farther province of Canchis where supposedly people worship mummies. As it will be discussed in chapter IV, there is no ethnographic evidence that contemporary communities engage in such worship. Cuzco Main Square. June 19, 2008.

Recibamos a los alumnos y docentes del colegio Vargas Llosa y la danza Machu Llakinin Tusuy. Vamos a recibirlos con un fuerte aplauso. El colegio Vargas Llosa saluda al Cuzco. Vargas Llosa y la danza Machu Llakinin Tusuy desde la comunidad de Pampachiri. Ubicados en la región occidental del Apu Ausangate.

Esta danza es disputada por estas dos comunidades, con el propósito de recordar a sus guerreros en los conflictos de guerra y las tierras étnicas. Machu Llakinin Tusuy quiere decir el baile del viejo triste. Este baile expresa fuerza, dolor, cólera y tristeza por generaciones que murieron en defensa de sus propias tierras

Aquí esta la educación educativa Vargas Llosa, en homenaje a nuestra ciudad imperial del Cuzco [...] Las mujeres llevan monteras planas a los lados, con flores, una banda de color negro, una chaqueta de color negra, una pollera negra y unas ojotas de cuero y maraca. Los varones la casaca de color

Let's receive the students and teachers of Vargas Llosa high school and the dance Machu Llakinin Tusuy. Let's receive them with a strong applause. Vargas Llosa high school salutes Cuzco. Vargas Llosa and the dance Machu Llakinin Tusuy from the community of Pampachiri, located in the western region of the Apu Ausangate.

This dance is disputed between these two communities, remembering their warriors involved in their ethnic wars for land. Machu Llakinin Tusuy means dance of the sad old [man]. This dance expresses strength, pain, rage and sadness for the generations who died defending their lands.

Here, is the educative institution Vargas Llosa, in homage to our imperial city of Cuzco [...] Women carry flat hats at their sides, adorned with flowers, a black ribbon, a black jacket, a black *pullira* skirt, leather sandals and a rattle. Males have a black jacket, black chullos, a human skull and a femur, a

⁵⁸ Recorded in Cuzco's Main Square. June 2008. The name of the high school is fictive.

negro, chullos negros, un cráneo y un fémur humano, de igual manera una huallpa negra, montera con trigo como adorno...⁵⁸

black wallpa as well as a hat adorned with wheat ears...

Yet these dances do not represent the practices of contemporary Quechua communities in terms of clothing, music, dance and choreography in a one-to-one way. The steps, dance and choreography are an *interpretation* of what supposedly happened and happens in a given rural community's festivities, while the music and clothes are used to stress a notion of authenticity absent of any recognizably mass-produced or non-handcrafted elements.⁵⁹ Most of these dances stress that "authentic" Quechua communities live in a radical otherness, a primordial world of myth and magic.

Until the late 1980s and early 1990s, these dances referred to carnivals and agricultural activities in rural communities, stressing an implicit discourse about the sexual behavior of Quechua peasants that continued a tradition already present in the 1960s: *Indian* sex was violent. The claim that "kicking and pinching are included in the mute language of Indians' love" was not infrequent.⁶⁰ For example, *Danzas del Tahuantinsuyo* included this fragment as a description of the Carnival of Combapata in the 1960s:

Single cholos and cholas invade plazas and streets, dancing for eight days. Among their choreographies, the insistent punishment the cholas meet out to their suitors with their slingshots stands out. A bloody punishment that the cholo receives gladly and with manly aplomb: certainly a strange way of showing love.⁶¹

While these sexual stereotypes are still present, a new trend emerged in the late 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century. Many dances now create discourses about mountains, sacrifices, offerings, ritual battles, all related to the particular and new celebration of Quechua religious tradition, which emerged with the growing economic influence of tourism. Some of these dances, as the one described in the quote above, include the use of human skulls and bones as dance paraphernalia or representations of mummy worship as ways to stress a radical otherness (see figure 3.10).

If this portrait of the contemporary Quechua communities was started by a relatively small group of artists and intellectuals in the middle of the 20th century then

⁵⁹ See Mendoza 2000 for a study focused on the politics of dance representation in Cuzco.

⁶⁰ Quoted from a university student term paper dating to 1956, from De la Cadena 2000:282.

⁶¹ Quoted from a *Danzas del Tahuantinsuyo* program, from De la Cadena 2000:282

currently, this genre has been widely appropriated (Mendoza 2008). These types of ethnographic dance are elaborated upon, not only by urban people representing rural communities; such contests are not only present in the central celebrations of the city but are widespread in the region in every celebration of a given province or district's capital. Furthermore, the rural communities themselves perform this type of dances in contests and civic ceremonies, which are clearly different from the devotional dances that communities enact to honor saints and pilgrimage sites.

Figure 3.11
Dance performed during the Civic Salute to Cuzco



Tupay Dance performed by the Peruvian National Police. This dance was elaborated from captions of festivities associated to the rainy season in the province of Canas. Cuzco Main Square. June 23, 2008.

Because the official presentation of these dances in the Main Square is preceded by intra-institutional competitions, the quantity of youth engaged in practicing these ethnographic dances is very large. During the evenings of May, many squares and parks of the city are occupied by groups of dancers practicing for their upcoming performances and contests. As I can testify from my own experience in high school, most of the participants in the dances put a lot of effort into learning the steps, the choreography, the transitions between one figure to the next, but are not very interested in knowing anything in detail about the dance itself, when it was done, where and on which occasion. Usually the dancers only get to know the brief presentation of the dance such as the one I

quoted above. The contest format associates the competitiveness for winning the different levels of these contests with the cultivation of regionalist pride through dance, hence inscribing narratives of modernity on youth's bodies without addressing directly an intellectual engagement with these omnipresent tropes.

The day before the Inti Raymi there is no dance contest. The whole day until the early hours of the next day an endless parade salutes the city. All imaginable institutions pass by the Main Square: regional and municipal authorities from all over the region, universities, primary and secondary schools, ministries, armed forces, police, unions, merchants' organizations, and a long etc. The jubilant delegations pass dressed in ponchos and many of the institutions perform dances (see figure 3.10). It is a whole day statement of the centrality of the discourses about indigenous peoples, past and present, that is at the core of Cuzco's imagined community.

These dances and parades are thus not only a means for representations of the celebratory discourses of cultural heritage and premodernity, but also a platform for Cuzqueños' active participation in their reproduction. Through the direct or indirect participation in these practices, most Cuzqueños actively incorporate these ideologies in their habitus.

Interlocking reinforcement

Within narratives of modernity, the impossibility of total conversion is coupled with an anxiety about the loss of tradition and its authenticity. In Cuzco, and in many other places, "[m]any of the people most committed to what they see as modernity are also the most vocal about the loss of tradition" (Keane 1997:235). Because the authentic tradition is imagined as radical pre-modern otherness, it is always in danger, in a permanent process of vanishing, of losing its authenticity by the irruption of the modern. The nostalgia for vanishing traditions and the efforts to maintain and register them are produced by the very narrative of modernity. This anxiety is created in a circular fashion, trapped in the logic of progress and progressive conversion. That is why "despite its labors to... deny the losses of 'tradition,' modernist nostalgia must preserve, in many senses, the sense of absence that motivates its desires" (Ivy 1995:10).

Hence, on the one hand, the premodern, the traditional, has to be dissolved by the work of conversion; yet it cannot be totally converted: the socioeconomic and cultural hierarchy inscribed in the materiality of social life bluntly denies this utopian and homogenizing equality. Any hierarchy is translated into the rhetoric of modernity's narratives, making the process of conversion unending. Conversion is always in process, to be achieved totally only sometime in the future, but never now. On the other hand, the celebration of the traditional aims for preservation of the premodern. Being the source of pride and central piece of regionalist nationalist sentiments, the authentic tradition has to be preserved from the contamination of modernity. This combination makes the premodern – the traditional, and more importantly, anything that can be framed as an element, a residue, a fragment, a trace of the premodern – something that always has to be, but never can be, erased, while, at the same time, it is something that is quickly vanishing but that crucially has to be preserved, kept, registered, and protected.

The contexts, frames, and media through which celebratory and derogatory discourses are deployed in social practice vary from each other in important ways. Consider the following anecdote narrated to me by an anthropologist, who recalls his years when he was one of the organizers of public events celebrating the Andean Cultural Resistance in 1992, at the time of the commemorations of Columbus's voyages. An important city intellectual had delivered a discourse in the University's auditorium in the city center. "[He] made a brilliant discourse! Why we do not celebrate the arrival of the Spaniards but rather the continuity and the resistance of Andean culture." After the lecture, the organizers took the speaker to a restaurant for lunch. Faced with the difficulty of finding a cab to transport him, the organizers decided to take a small van - *combi* – which, in those years, was in the process of becoming a widespread public transportation option. *Combis* are small, forcing passengers to enter into close contact with each other and also make it difficult to move around with ease in their interior. The intellectual did not like having to take a *combi*, which soon became crowded:

... había una señora que venía con su pasto, con sus cosas ¿no? Y que creo que traía huevito. Y el famoso intelectual ósea se apoya casi encima de la señora

[She claimed] *Mozo sachari. Imata chayta*

...there was a lady who was carrying some grass and her things, right? It seems that she had some eggs. The intellectual enters and he almost rests over this lady.

[She claimed] *Stand up youngster! What are you*

⁶² Interview with a local anthropologist. City of Cuzco December 2007.

ruwashayki

[The intellectual angrily answered] ; *Upallay* carajo!
Estas hablando con un doctor carajo⁶²

doing? (Quechua).

[The intellectual angrily answered] *Shut up*
(*Quechua*) *damn it! You are talking with a doctor,*
damn it! (Spanish).

For this anthropologist, the point of this anecdote is the same point that I am stressing here: The same person can, in certain contexts – e.g. in the public deliverance of an academic discourse – engage sincerely in the celebration of the Andean culture, while later, in a quotidian interaction, claim hierarchy and demand respect through the invocation of the undisputable superiority that a male with a university degree has over a working class Quechua-speaking woman. The discourses celebrating the Inka past or the Andean present happen in frames such as public presentations, interactions with tourists and visitors, and in the presence of people of higher social status (Goffman 1986). The claims of social superiority over those who are regarded as carrying stronger markers of *Indianess* are done out of the frame of formal speeches and presentations, in quotidian social interactions when people are not self conscious and for the most part without using racial/ethnic tags.

These kinds of shifts between tropes can be present even in the same conversation. For example, consider the following fragments of a conversation with a pastor of an important evangelical church in the city of Cuzco. When referring to the Inka, he portrayed them as holders of high moral values correlated with those of the evangelical churches:

G: ¿Ósea tú crees que hay una cultura inca que existe actualmente?

P: Si, necesariamente, y que se debe mantener por los valores que nos dejaron nuestros propios incas: *Ama suwa, ama qilla, ama llulla*, que es fundamental. Ahora como vivieron, como compartieron lo que ellos tenían, como se apoyaban el ayni, eso es un ejemplo único que creo que son partes que comparten los principios. No tenían la Biblia pero son elementos cristianos.⁶³

G: Hence, do you think that currently there exists an Inka culture?

P: Yes, necessarily and it should be maintained because of the values that were given to us by our own Inkas: *Do not steal; do not be lazy; do not lie*⁶⁴ which are fundamental. Now, how they lived, how they shared what they had, how they helped each other with the *ayni*, all that is a unique example of what I think are parts which have the same principles. They did not have the Bible but those are Christian elements.

Later in the conversation, when I asked him about the opposition that I had seen the members of his church have regarding the Quechua practice of chewing coca leaves,

⁶³ Interview with a pastor of an evangelical church of the region. City of Cuzco January 2009.

⁶⁴ *Ama suwa, ama qilla, ama llulla: Do not steal, do not be lazy, do not lie.* This moral code is widely attributed to the Inka.

he replied that those practices were basically “a highlanders’ thing” and that there was not a doctrinal argument against these practices. The pastor framed coca-chewing as a placebo for not getting hungry and claimed that it was better to buy fruit for the children rather than spend money on coca leaves. Better judgment was then the reason for evangelical rejection of this practice. He elaborated:

... te digo como es esto, con otro ejemplo. Nosotros creemos que lo que uno es por dentro lo refleja hacia afuera, si uno es desordenado por dentro, por fuera va a ser un despeinado uno que no se baña, cosas como esas ¿no? La mamá va a estar persiguiendo siempre a ese joven. Entonces lo que uno es por dentro tiene que reflejarlo afuera [...] Pienso que también en la medida que uno va entendiendo, va tomando sus propias decisiones respecto a... vamos a hablar de la coca. Eso va originando ciertos cambios, pero eso es más que todo natural, no es un asunto de imposición o normatividad, es más natural.⁶⁵

... I will give you another example. We believe that how one is inside is reflected outside. If one is disorganized inside, it will be apparent in the outside: one will be uncombed; one that does not takes baths, things like that, right? The mother of this young person has to be always pushing him. Then, what one is inside has to be reflected outside; it is a process of maturation [...] Hence so far one starts to understand, one starts taking his own decisions towards - in this case - the coca leaves. And that originates some changes. But that is a natural process it is not an imposition or a norm, it is natural.

Here, to quit chewing coca leaves is portrayed as an external sign of internal progress, a sign of better judgment based on the knowledge acquired through reading the Bible. Disavowing practices linked to rural backwardness, like coca-chewing, and acquiring new practices, such as taking care of personal hygiene and appearance, are external signs of the moral improvement. According to this view, the Evangelical refusal to chew coca leaves in highland communities is merely a natural consequence of a process of both moral improvement and acquisition of a sharper rationality, also referred to as a process of achieving adulthood or maturation, which allows the convert to make better pragmatic decisions, optimizing scarce resources.

The pastor celebrates the Inka associating them with the values that he sees as Christian invoking the notion of *ayni*. Then, when discussing the Church’s opposition to chewing coca leaves, the pastor moves towards a portrait of contemporary Quechua highlanders, who are in dire need of liberation and redemption, not only from the coca leaves but, as he made clear in the rest of the interview, from alcohol consumption, festivities of patron saints’ images, and rituals in honor to the mountains. With some differences in the language and rhetorical style, his discourse resembles remarkably those

⁶⁵ Interview with a pastor of an evangelical church of the region. City of Cuzco January 2009.

developed by the 1920s indigenistas, who celebrated the Inka past but listed the degenerations of the “Indian race” after centuries of colonization.

CHAPTER IV

PLACES ARE KIN. ON QUECHUA ONTOLOGIES

In August 2002, as I arranged to depart for graduate school in the United States, I traveled from Lima to Cuzco, my natal city in the highlands, to visit and say goodbye to my parents. My mother, who knows my interests well, told me she just met a *curandero*.¹ Juan de Dios, the *curandero*, lived in the same town as my parents, San Jerónimo. During the 1980s, when my parents decided to move away the Cuzco city center, San Jerónimo was a small town relatively far from the city. By 2002, it had been annexed as part of the city and the old 16th century *reducción* of noble Inka families became surrounded by new urban neighborhoods. San Jerónimo also houses the biggest market of the city and the region and it is now fully integrated in the urban dynamics of Cuzco. As Mendoza (2000) describes, many of the families that four decades ago were mainly dedicated to agriculture now are dedicated to the transport business, and others are liberal professionals. The two story adobe houses of the old town are being replaced by three or four story brick and concrete houses. Frequently the first floor is decorated with imitations of Inka stone masonry. This latter trait is related to a reclaiming of some San Jerónimo's families' noble Inka ancestry, something that has been noticed by the national news (e.g. Elward 2009, 2011).

Juan de Dios, the *curandero* that my mother met, was not part of these new San Jerónimo middle classes. At that time he was in his mid forties and worked full time as a *curandero*. He had been born in San Jerónimo but since early age he lived in some places that were more rural as well as in the city. He is a native speaker of Quechua and fluent in Spanish. According to our conversations, while he had experience as *curandero* and was able to learn from older *curanderos* since his teenage he did not work as such for a long

¹ *Curandero* (Sp. healer). Locally this word is used for talking about people like Juan de Dios who are specialists in mediating the relations with places and, through that process, healing. *Paqu* is the corresponding word in Quechua.

time. Rather he tried to earn a living working as helper in mechanical workshops as well as carrying out jobs as painter, carpenter, and plumber. He did not have too much success in these activities, got separated from his first wife and felt helpless until he received a strong reprimand from powerful mountains for not taking seriously his role as a mediator between them and human beings. Since then he became a full time curandero and he claims to have found fulfillment in his life as well as a new wife. Together they started a family and she is his assistant.

One afternoon, my mother and I walked to Juan de Dios' house where he consults with his patients. We went to meet him in part because of my research interests and in part because my mother was somewhat worried for one of her grandsons: he was refusing to eat properly and seemed lethargic. After a brief introduction, the curandero held a brief session involving the interpretation of coca leaves. My mother asked about my nephew's health. Juan de Dios, through the coca leaves, learned the cause of his problems: the child had been scared in a powerful place, a place that happened to be hungry. The hungry place was taking the vitality of the defenseless, scared child. He said it was not a complex problem, and that it could be solved by making a relatively simple offering to the place. Some days later, Juan de Dios came to my parents' house to do so. After he finished with the preparation, we went to the yard, where Juan de Dios started a fire with wood. When it was ready, he put the offering in the fire.

JD: A ver vamos más allá.

G: ¿Tenemos que irnos un poquito más lejitos?

JD: Para que entren a consumir pues.

G: O sea, ¿los parajes vienen desde allá a consumir?

JD: Ya entran inmediatamente

G: Ya.

JD: Entran, beben, consumen pues.

G: O sea es como si estuvieran comiendo.

JD: Claro.²

JD: Let's go further away.

G: Do we have to go a bit further?

JD: Yes, for them to consume it.

G: Are the places coming from all over to consume it?

JD: They enter immediately.

G: Sure.

JD: They enter, drink, and consume.

G: Then, it is like they are eating.

JD: Of course.

My nephew's lack of appetite, Juan de Dios knew, was caused by a place's hunger; the problem's remedy was to offer a banquet to the places. This event provides a glimpse into how ideas about circulation of food are deeply connected to the conceptualization of social relations, not only among humans but also among humans and "other-than-human persons" (Hallowell 1992), the places. If humans and places can occupy the same social

² Conversation with Juan de Dios, San Jerónimo, 2002.

plane, “we can no longer think of the former as inhabiting a social world of their own, over and above the world of nature in which the lives of all other living things are contained” (Ingold (1997:244). In Quechua terms, humans cannot be understood but as consequence of a sustained relationship with places. Humans emerge as persons – in a material as well as in a moral sense, aspects that cannot be disentangled – through social relations between other humans but also within this web of social interactions with places.

While chapters II and III discussed the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy produced in the city of Cuzco, this chapter takes a different path. Here I analyze how Quechua ontologies are constructed and reproduced in practice. Here, I propose that notions of food circulation and cohabitation are at the foundations of Quechua understanding of the most basic social relations. I demonstrate how the relationships among humans and the places where they live and work are built upon the same principles through which human social relations are understood. Such principles exist at the level that Bourdieu (1977) identifies as *doxa*: they are self evident and go without saying and thus are only to be found fragmentarily in explicit discourse.

The text first addresses how ideas about provision of food and cohabitation are at play in the construction and conceptualization of all Quechua social relations, from the closest kin relations to those between strangers. Then, it discusses how these principles are at play in relations with the dead. The text then moves to demonstrate how circulation of food and cohabitation are at play in practices constructing a social world that exists beyond humans: a society that encompasses humans and places. This society is in a constant state of creation and re-creation. Through the process of *uyway* – to care, to nourish – a human being emerges through the relations of other human beings as well as by relations between humans and places. The society of humans and places are the person’s most fundamental condition of possibility, including the most basic materiality.

I will then move to further develop the connections between the circulation of food, kinship, and place through a characterization of the social relations among places, their hierarchies and gender relations, and how their world and the human world differ while are inevitably in constant interaction. Social hierarchies exist, then, both internally within the human world and between the human world and the world of places, all of which

hinge on the provision of food and are expressed through relations of nourishment and care, or lack thereof.

While the general characterizations of Quechua kinship that inform the first section of the chapter are derived from ethnographies conducted in Cuzco and Ayacucho, Peru, Zumbagua, Ecuador, and Sullk'ata, Bolivia, the following sections utilize primary field data and prioritizes ethnographic publications that focuses the region of Cuzco.³ A wider area would imply problematic assumptions of cultural homogeneity across vast geographies, which have their own particular and diverging historical processes. Even within the restricted area that I am here considering, there is significant ontological heterogeneity across the different Quechua communities, and more obviously, across language and class differences.

In addition to interviews and observations made in the city with practitioners such as Juan de Dios and other urbanites, as well as data coming from the community of Hapu (Paucartambo), this chapter also builds on my ethnographic observations carried out in the community of Qamawara. Qamawara is a Quechua community located relatively close to the city of Cuzco, in the Sacred Valley. It takes about one hour by bus from Cuzco to the town of San Salvador, and from there another hour in a truck to arrive at Qamawara, located in the highlands of the San Salvador district, in the province of Calca.⁴

An ambiguous distribution

Before starting to elaborate on Quechua ontologies, it is of central importance to take into consideration that the mechanisms and principles outlined in this chapter do not have to be understood as secluded in or bounded to the rural areas. The practices described in this chapter as well as the worlds emerging from them are present in both urban and rural areas. Moreover, there is not a single Quechua ontology but a multiplicity

³ In some sections I cite field information coming from the neighboring province of Antabamba (Aurimac) (Gose 1986, 1994) and, further away, the province of Vilcashuamán (Ayacucho) (Earls 1969). I take the risk of citing this information outside Cuzco due to its exceptional relevance for the topics discussed here. All these communities speak Quechua Cuzco-Collao except for people of Vilcashuamán who talk Quechua Ayacucho-Wanka. Both dialects of Quechua are mutually intelligible (Mannheim 1991: 12-6).

⁴ Earlier ethnographic work in Qamawara was carried out by the late Michael Sallnow. See Sallnow 1987, chapters 6 and 7.

of them to be found across the region, both in urban and rural areas. They might have higher or lower resemblance among them in relation to the particular practices dealing with consumption of food and cohabitation.

Hence, it should be clear that the distribution of semiotic resources at play in the construction of these different worlds is not arranged following the organizational dichotomies established by the narratives of modernity. The very idea of urban and rural spaces is deeply related to and organized by narratives of modernity in Cuzco and beyond (Rama 1996, Williams 1973). Cities and their rural hinterlands are deeply interrelated and mutually dependent (e.g. Plattner 1989). As previous research has shown in the particular case of Cuzco, for different purposes and in different capacity, the region's inhabitants moved and move constantly between what could be characterized as rural and urban areas. The city had and still has a constant presence of rural dwellers that, in the past, were *hacendados'* servants, transporting harvests or other goods from the countryside to the markets and the landlords' houses (De la Cadena 2000, Mendoza 2000). Urban inhabitants frequently visited the countryside to oversee their properties, visit clients or relatives, as well as to give services in the manorial houses of the haciendas. Currently many urban migrants of rural origins move constantly in order to take care of their crops that they cultivate in their communities of origin, to participate in communal assemblies and festivities, as well as in order to visit relatives and friends. Urban dwellers who do not have rural origins, a clear minority, also travel to the countryside for work, to visit friends or for recreational purposes.

Additionally we should note the historically high levels of Spanish-Quechua bilingualism in the city. Quechua has never stopped being an important language in the city and there are distinctive urban registers, some of which were cultivated in the elite literature produced in Quechua since the 18th century (see Coronel 2007, Itier 1995, Mannheim 1991b).

As I elaborated in the previous chapters, racial/ethnic tags do not conform to actual social groups but are rather relational labels. Hence, it is important to stress that ontological practices that produce worlds are neither neatly distributed according to a clear-cut ethnic difference nor along spatial criteria such as rural/urban. They neither should be expected to follow necessarily different language use.

Precisely due to the history of quotidian social interaction in the region the distribution of semiotic forms that emerged from indigenous practices, those that emerged from Colonial and Republican Spanish speaking practices, as well as those that were imported through time, do not follow a clear distribution. Rather, there are different levels of ambiguity.

This means that the ideologies of social hierarchy articulated by narratives of modernity – analyzed in the previous chapters – do not have to be understood as being held exclusively by urban Spanish speaking people. If these ideologies actually articulate the hierarchies in the region they must be used also – not necessarily in the same ways – by Quechua speakers both urban and rural. This is the problem that will be analyzed in chapter X for the Q'ero community of Hapu (Paucartambo).

I must stress that the narratives of modernity analyzed in chapter II and III work at the level of ideology. They can be but are not necessarily enacted in practice from ontologies that recognize the nature/culture divide. While narratives of modernity were produced within ontologies that rest on a nature/culture divide, this does not mean that these ideologies necessarily reproduce the nature/culture divide in each and all of their instantiations. As will be discussed in chapters X and XI, this is crucial for explaining why they can become hegemonic ideologies across worlds.

People inhabit and produce modern worlds while they engage in the work of purification, when they invoke and restate the nature/culture divide and through the workings of several institutions invested in the work of purification (e.g. the formal school, the university, the institutions of the state). However, people who inhabit and produce modern worlds do not do so all the time. In different contexts the same people can and do produce worlds that do not necessarily conform with the nature/culture divide. Consider, for example, the multiple and massive Catholic processions or the multitude of crosses that are celebrated in May in urban Cuzco. Most of these practices imply and reproduce the personhood of saints' images or crosses in such a way that these objects are treated not as icons but as agents in themselves (this type of practices will be discussed in chapter VIII for the case of Hapu). Hence, people that see themselves as modern and that produce and inhabit modern worlds in the sense they are defined here can also inhabit and produce non-modern worlds. This ambiguity is present not only for the urban

Spanish speaking elite – those who stereotypically would be associated with the tag *modern* – but for all people in the region across language, class, geographic and cultural differences.

A final point to clarify is that while the practices that produce Quechua worlds have emerged primarily from agriculturalist and pastoralist contexts this does not preclude people to deploy them in urban contexts. Migration to cities and growing up in urban contexts do not impede people to reproduce Quechua ontologies (see Leinaweaver 2008, ØDegaard 2011, Stensrud 2011).

Having these clarifications in mind, I will now proceed to elaborate on a characterization of the practices that produce Quechua worlds.

Food, cohabitation and social relations

Classic anthropological definitions of kinship rested on ethnocentric assumptions about a fundamental importance of sexual procreation in the construction of human kinship as well as the universal validity of a conceptual opposition between the “biological” and the “social” aspects of kinship, characteristic of European and North American societies (Carsten 1995, Holý 1996). This chapter is built over relatively recent scholarship that focuses on understanding vernacular theories of human relatedness beyond assumptions of the central role of sexual procreation in human kinship. These vernacular theories prioritize substances beyond genes or blood (e.g. semen, milk, earth, food, sap) (Carsten 2000, 2004, Hutchinson 2000, Parkes 2005, Weismantel 1995) and typically show processual understandings of personhood associated with growth, maturation, decay, and death (Fox 1971, Peluso 1996, Renne 2007). Linked to these stances on relatedness, there is also a growing literature that theorizes kinship while also moving into areas previously associated with ecological and environmental studies (Hallowell 1992, Ingold 2000, 2007). This chapter also builds over scholarship that challenges the inherent categories of nature and culture (e.g. Strathern 1980, 1988) and their crucial role in the constitution of the modern world (Latour 1993).

Becoming a human being, rather than a fixed status, is a permanent process of becoming, wherein kinship roles are constantly being constructed in practice. “[T]he role

of parents is... – by their presence, their activities and the nurturance they provide – to establish the necessary conditions in the environment for their children’s growth and development” (Ingold 2000:141). Quechua social ontology is best understood in this frame. Relatively recent research in Quechua communities shows that relations between parents and their sons and daughters do not rest primarily on reproductive ties. As Van Vleet puts it in her ethnography of a Bolivian Quechua community, “who gives birth to whom is in itself insufficient for understanding Sullk’ata relatedness. Silveria claims to be Javier’s mother because she *raised* him: fed him and cared for him, carried him on her back, laughed with him, and comforted his cries” (Van Vleet 2008:58, emphasis in the original). Or as Weismantel explains for the case of Zumbaga (Ecuador):

The physical acts of intercourse, pregnancy, and birth can establish a strong bond between two adults and a child. But other adults, by taking a child into their family and nurturing its physical needs through the same substances as those eaten by the rest of the social group, can make of that child a son or a daughter who is physically as well as jurally their own (Weismantel 1995:695).

Food is a very important substance that constitutes and relates Quechua bodies.⁵ As in other cultural traditions, levels of commensality, as well as the quality and quantity of food, are used to construct social distances (Feeley-Harnik 1994, Weismantel 1988). This is exhibited even in the basic expression of the most elemental courtesy and hospitality toward strangers: to offer food to any stranger received within the house (Oxa 2005:240).

The regular practices of sharing food are crucial for the definition of the family and relatives. “Flesh is made from food... Those who eat together in the same household share the same flesh in a quite literal sense: they are made of the same stuff” (Weismantel 1995: 695).⁶ Van Vleet shows how even the process of child conception and growth before birth in Sullk’ata, Bolivia follows similar ideas. Sexual procreation and agriculture are modeled by each other: “A child is born nine or ten months after a man plants seed in a woman. A child ripens during pregnancy through the *actions* of the woman who

⁵ The use of food as a way to define social boundaries is not exclusive to the Andes. There is a very long and rich anthropological tradition that shows the many ways in which food and eating are involved in constituting social relations. See Messer (1984), Mintz and Du Bois (2002), and Holtzman (2006) for extensive reviews on the anthropology of food and eating.

⁶ Harvey (1998:74-75) has stated the importance of food provision in Andean notions of relatedness but she does not claim that food provision constitute kin relations, it only facilitates the relations.

nourishes her child, just as Pacha Mama⁷ nourishes the seed of corn or potatoes, allowing those seeds to ripen” (Van Vleet 2008: 59, emphasis in the original). Even before birth, the notion of feeding is already important in the construction of relatedness. The new person is in the semen as a potentiality, just as plants are potentially in their seeds. The mother’s body gives a caring environment to the seed and her blood is food for the baby. Hence, pregnancy is a crucial stage that initiates the process of caring and feeding. After birth, breastfeeding is the continuation of it. If the seed is central for the existence of the new person, his or her development is impossible without the provision of food and care. This process of caring and feeding, which allows a new person to grow and exist, is the same that relates her to a group of other humans, her relatives. While I emphasize caring and feeding, it should be clear that bonds of procreation are not irrelevant. This is clear in the discussion about the process of conception and intrauterine growth as well as, for example, in the scholarship on child circulation in the Andes – when a child is raised by adults who are not his progenitors. As Leinaweaver (2008: 137) puts it “*cariño* [affection] may be forged through co-residence, sharing meals or beds, but it takes root and thrives in the fertile, if bloody, ground of genealogy.”

Continuous caring and provision of food is not an isolated practice by which kin ties can be created. It is part of a wider process of cohabitation: living together means not only to eat the same food together everyday but also to acquire similar habits, etiquettes, values, tastes, and accents (Leinaweaver 2008, Van Vleet 2008). Thus, the development of a new child’s habitus (Bourdieu 1977, Mauss 1973[1935]) is the same process of forging paternity and maternity as well as becoming a sibling, an uncle, or a grandmother. This broader process entails that continuous cohabitation, which implies the consumption and provision of food, is at the heart of Andean notions of the family (Weismantel 1995). “The Ayacuchanos I knew inevitably presented having lived together, over time, as a justification for the emotional connections they experienced.

⁷ *Pachamama* or *Pacha Mama*: (Qu) Mother earth. This term will be discussed in the section titled “The World of Places and the World of Humans.”

Present day *cariño*, affection, is a direct result of past cohabitation” (Leinaweaver 2008: 135).⁸

These processes are also at play in affine relationships. In contrast with, for example, siblings who have grown up in the same household eating the same food, affines are non-relatives who become so by the constitution of a new household, a new realm of cohabitation and provision of food. Affine relations are based on difference, while those with siblings or parents are based on similarity (Viveiros de Castro 2009:224). Both types of relatives emerge relationally and are indispensable for the constitution of a new household.

Due to the relative preference of virilocal residence in Quechua communities within the region of Cuzco, it is usually the new wife who has to move to her husband’s parents’ house, and “get accustomed”⁹ there. This is not an easy process for the *qachun*,¹⁰ who typically starts her new life under the critical surveillance of her husband’s mother. Conversely, the “*qatay*”¹¹ intrudes himself into the intimacy of the family group, stealing their kinswoman’s loyalty” (Allen 2011:66).¹² Because affines are strangers who have become relatives, being a responsible affine has to be demonstrated and publically performed. This is why affines are in charge of labor-demanding tasks, which typically involve preparation and distribution of food and alcohol when the household sponsors a communal cargo or has to carry out a funeral.¹³ During most of these rituals, the household feeds and provides alcohol to the broader community through its affines. By assuming these roles, the affine honors and strengthens the bonds with his or her partner’s family, bonds created by the constitution of his or her own household.

The household, the space of the strongest commensality and co-residence, is the realm of the closest kin relations and of *generalized reciprocity* (Sahlins 1972). As shared

⁸ For similar ways to construct relatedness through cohabitation and provision of food see Carsten’s (2004:40) discussion about Malay kinship, or Taylor’s (2000) discussion of Jivaro conceptualization of kinship (as discussed by Sahlins 2011:4-5).

⁹ For a discussion on the process of “getting accustomed” (*acostumbrarse*) see Leinaweaver 2008.

¹⁰ *Qachun* (Qu) Brother’s or son’s wife.

¹¹ *Qatay* (Qu) Sister’s or daughter’s husband.

¹² These tensions around outsiders who become relatives are expressed in many *kuwintus* (stories) about an animal who seduces a young woman, deceives and takes her to his house (Allen 2011:66-7). Those who are taking a relative or who are coming to live within the household have to demonstrate a satisfactory social behavior before they are accepted. See also Harris 1984.

¹³ This is the case in communities of Cuzco such as Hapu but it is also present in other areas of the Andes. See Gose 1994, Harris 1982, Isbell 1978 for ethnographic examples outside Cuzco.

food and companionship decreases outside the household, generalized reciprocity declines ceding to different forms of *balanced reciprocity* (ibid.). Most of these relations of reciprocity involve labor exchanges that are crucial for food production. Reciprocal exchanges of labor are an essential part of the wide process of circulation of food. The different arrangements of reciprocity are mechanisms that organize not only agricultural production but are also themselves mediated by particular patterns of distribution of food, coca, and alcohol among those who work. Provision of food is indispensable in order to organize any agricultural work. This is one of the main reasons why a man alone cannot organize labor exchanges without a woman who cooks for the workers.

Beyond the household, having close kin is the product of cultivating ongoing relationships of close cooperation, which involve the regular exchange of food as well as the time shared in collaborative work through the continuous exchange of labor. In contrast, a distant, or very hierarchical, relation is marked by wage labor and the provision of food by the patron to the workers. Here, only very weak social bonds, or a vertical patron-client relations, are present (Mayer 1977, 2002). These exchanges of labor within agricultural production provide the model through which other practices are carried out (Gose 1994, Mayer 2002).

As Isbell (1977) shows in her paper about the cleaning of canals in pre-war Chuschi (Ayacucho), at the end of the cleaning rituals, the sponsors gave a banquet to all those who expressed affection by helping them out in the fulfillment of their responsibilities. The attendees were relatives by descent or affinity. The sizes and type of food offered in this occasion varied in relation to how much each relative had helped. Giving help for passing a cargo, as well as recognizing those who might have helped through calculated performance of food provision, are practices that are at the core of the continuous constitution of these bonds. While those who actually show affection for someone are typically among his or her relatives by either descent or affinity, not all people who share these bonds actually demonstrate affection.¹⁴ These relations have to be cultivated through on going reciprocal exchanges of labor, work, and food.

¹⁴ At this point it should be clear that *cariño* [affection] is not an abstract feeling but something that is materially expressed, mainly through physical work and provision of food (Oxa 2005:240).

Communal rituals are marked in many cases by an excessive provision of food to dancers, attendees, and outside visitors (Allen 2002[1988]). During celebrations of carnival in Qamawara, I was faced with the overt impossibility to eat all what I was offered. Soon I realized, with some relief, that I was not the only one facing this problem. Especially those who had ritual roles (such as dancers), but also the rest of community members, received a big dish in each of the seven houses of the staff bearers in charge of the celebrations. Children performed a key role by collecting part of the food and carrying it home for being consumed later. While this excessive communal commensality can be seen as part of the politics of prestige at play in any cargo system, it also constitutes a powerful embodied experience of celebrating the community as a group of related people who feed and care for each other, and who collectively are able to satisfy all their members in plentitude and even excess. Such events of communal commensality are overstatements of what happens both regularly and in more fragmented ways in everyday life through the various networks of cooperation at work within a local community.

Death and ancestors

The role of food and cohabitation figures large in relations with the dead. When someone dies in Qamawara, it is important to ensure that the *animu* of the person, his or her particular vital force now disembodied, leaves the community of the living.¹⁵ If not, the animu will cause illnesses and pollute the community. The dead cannot cohabit with the living; if this happens, human society is in danger.

Stories about *condenados* (the damned) abound in the region of Cuzco. Alleged cases about *condenados* are far from being secluded to the rural areas. In the mid nineties, for example, the word spread in the city about an allegedly incestuous person who became a *condenado* and was said to be prisoner inside Cuzco's cathedral. During two or three days a noticeable group of curious people congregated in front of the door of the cathedral trying to know more about him while reporters interviewed several people who claimed to have heard the *condenado*'s screams. During my field research, in 2007,

¹⁵ For discussions about the animu see La Riva 2004 and Ricard 2007.

another notable case happened in San Jerónimo and was also widely covered by the local media. This was the case of a teenage girl that committed suicide and was said to have become a *condenada*. Viviana, my family's *casera*¹⁶ from the San Jerónimo market, told me what she had heard

- V: Dicen que el caballero dice ha podido aprovecharse, en varias oportunidades dice de la hija [...] La chica se había conocido con un taxista que es casado, tuvo su bebe con el taxista, tuvo su bebe, [...] La guaguüita había nacido y la había entregado a su papá, le había dicho “tienes que terminar de estudiar”, [...] y donde el curandero había ido a decirle “señor...quiero que me mires en coca, mi papá ha dicho, lo ha entrega mi bebe” ¿Qué le diría en curandero no? A la semana se había, ella misma se había ahorcado, la chica
- G: ¡Que pena!
- V: Después eso dicen lo han enterrado, y ahora dice en su tumba no hay, ta cajón vacío. Han dicho que en la chacra había una chica vestida de blanco, con la cara negra y agarrando un libro negro y varios chicos la han molestando, les había dicho “estoy buscando a mi papá, dile que le estoy buscando.”¹⁷

- V: They say that this man might have [sexually] abused his daughter in several opportunities [...] The girl met a taxi driver that was married and had a baby with him. She had her baby. [...] The baby was born and she gave [the baby] to his father. He had told her “you have to finish your studies” [...] She went to the curandero, asked him “mister, I want you to see in the coca leaves, my father said that he has given my baby away” Who knows what did the curandero say, right? In one week she hanged herself, the girl.
- G: How sad!
- V: After that, they say, she was buried, and now it is said that her tomb is empty, the coffin is empty. They say that in the fields there was a girl dressed in white with her face black and holding a black book, and several kids bothered her. She had told them “I am looking for my father; tell him I am looking for him.”

Viviana mentioned that high school students, people going to work early, and taxi drivers had met her. In these encounters the *condenada* made similar statements about her father and then disappeared leaving people unconscious and throwing foam out of their mouths. In these two cases, as well as, within the extant literature that touches on the topic for the region of Cuzco,¹⁸ while a normal human can become a *condenado* as a result of any number of serious moral transgressions, incest stands out as a very marked and recurrent offense. Incest, as Lévi-Strauss (1969) theorized, is the negation of human sociality because it is the negation of exogamy and reciprocity. Incestuous humans are said to become *condenado*, living-dead who wander endlessly from dusk to dawn suffering terrible pains. There are several ways to recognize *condenados*, but one of them is their inability to eat normal human food. Many stories start with a traveler arriving in the dark and humbly asking for shelter. After letting the stranger come into the house, food is given to him. In some stories the *condenado* makes ridiculous excuses and refuses

¹⁶ *Casero/a* (Sp) Term with which a vendor address a regular client, and viceversa.

¹⁷ Interview with Viviana, a vendor at San Jerónimo market. San Jerónimo 2007.

¹⁸ See Allen 2011, Casaverde 1970, Itier 2007, Lira 1990, Morote 1988, Payne 1984. Ricard 2007 among others

to eat, while in others he has a hole in the throat by which all food exits his body, and still other stories claim that the condenado seems to be eating however the food in the dish does not diminish. This inability to relate to humans via the consumption of food presages a horrible social disjuncture, for when the family is sleeping, the condenado attacks his hosts and devours them. Viviana mentioned this as well when she elaborated on other stories she heard in order to sketch what might happen with the condenada's father.

V: Una señora así también nos ha contado pero de otra cosa, [...] el condenado había venido y quería llevarle [...] ¿Dónde esta?, habían buscado y ya pues se habían ido y estaba amontonado su ropa, se lo habrá comido el condenado

G: ¿Qué, el condenado come, sabe comer a la gente?

V: Claro, supongo. Así varias dicen así va a ocurrir, se lo va a comer a su papá dicen.¹⁹

V: A lady also has told us, about another case, very similar, [...] the condenado had come and wanted to take [a man] [...] Where was he? [People] looked for him [the man] but he was gone, his clothes were there. The damned had eaten him.

G: What? The condenado eats? [Is he] used to eating people?

V: Of course, I suppose. Several people say that this will happen. They say that [the condenada] will eat her father.

By eating his hosts or the person responsible for becoming a condenado, converting them into food, the condenado demonstrates his capacity to destroy the same sociality that the incestuous acts as a living human transgressed.

In contrast with the condenado, a normal human *animu* becomes detached from one's corpse, and both the corpse and its detached *animu* – in different ways – become separated from human society. When a normal person dies, the corpse is interred in the bounded realm of the cemetery, an unsafe place for living humans. The *animu* remains in the community for some days after the death, until the last ritual of farewell is done. In order to ensure its departure, food has to be given to the *animu* such that it has enough strength to endure the journey far from the world of the living. Both the burial in the cemetery and the rituals of farewell are integral for preventing the cohabitation of the living and the dead. The dead visit the living only on the Day of the Dead. On this day, the cemetery of Qamawara is full of living humans who clean and adorn the tombs of their relatives. In the evening, after the cleaning of the cemetery, each household offers a

¹⁹ Interview with Viviana, a vendor at San Jerónimo market. San Jerónimo 2007.

banquet for the animu of the dead that visit. When the day is over, the deceased's animu again leaves the community of the living.²⁰

Figure 4.1
Banquet for the dead



Banquet for a *musuq alma*, a recently deceased person. Qamawara. November 1st, 2008.

Yet this relationship with the dead vanishes with time. At some point, longer in some cases and shorter in others, people forget their dead relatives. While *musuq alma*, the recently dead, are dangerous, the old remains unattended by relatives do not do any harm. If a corpse needs to be buried, old unattended remains are removed without too much care and the space reused. People in Qamawara did not care about old bones on the surface of the cemetery. When people do not give more food to a particular deceased, they do not take care of the tomb and the deceased does not appear anymore in dreams; all relatedness with the dead person vanishes. Some claim that they do not know what happens to them; others say that the soul is with God; and yet others would say that the soul is in a far away volcano with all other deceased people. What I want to stress here is that there is an absence of long term relations with human ancestors. In contrast with other societies that put strong attention in ancestry,²¹ people in Qamawara usually

²⁰ For similar descriptions and attitudes in other communities in Cuzco, see Ricard (2007, ch. 4) for Phinaya (Quispicanchis) and Robin (2005) for Chumbivilcas. Outside Cuzco, see Gose (1994:123-5) for Antabamba (Aurimac) and Harris (1982) for the Aymara community of Laymi in Bolivia.

²¹ See, for example, Fortes (1953) for African societies or Freedman (1965) for Southeast China.

remember two generations of ascendants. After that, all the dead come to be integrated within an undifferentiated community of ‘our grandparents.’

The cemeteries where contemporary people are buried are not the only type of cemetery in the landscape of Cuzco. Many, if not most, Quechua communities have within their lands sites that are, from a Western perspective, pre-Hispanic cemeteries. However, most communities of contemporary rural Quechua people, including those with which I worked, regard these cemeteries as towns of people who belong to a previous humanity than ours. The *ñawpa machu* (ancient old [people])²² are survivors of an earlier humanity that lived under the moonlight and which was destroyed by the appearance of the sun. In an attempt to escape from the sunlight they hide in caves and small stone houses where their bodies dried out. They are still alive, and terribly hungry.

As all other-than-human people with whom humans interact, the *ñawpa machu* are ambivalent beings. Humans get some benefits from their presence, but they also present a constant danger. For example, the people of Kuyo Grande (Pisac) told Casaverde (1970) in the late 1960s how in the remote past a *ñawpa machu* of Kuyo had stolen, in a bag, the fertile lands of another community; since then, that community has had poor lands and Kuyo has had fertile ones.²³ Humans reap the benefits of the *ñawpa machu* behaviors (Allen 2002[1988]). On the other hand, researchers²⁴ consistently report that humans frame these beings as evil and envious, capable of seriously endangering human life. During my own fieldwork, I did not come across any instances in which the people of Qamawara or Hapu framed these beings positively.

While the *ñawpa machu* unintended behavior can benefit humans, these beings cannot establish positive and direct social relations with the latter. Firstly, although they are hungry, they cannot eat human food, especially food with salt, garlic, and onions. Furthermore, they devour humans who disrespectfully wander by their old houses without humbly greeting them and inviting them coca leaves, alcohol, or cigarettes. The

²² Other names for these beings are *soq'a machu*, *chullpa*, *machula*, *machula awlanchis* when they are male. The females are called *ñawpa paya*, *soq'a paya*, *awlay*. In other areas of the Andes they are called *gentiles*.

²³ This association between the *ñawpa machu* and lands' fertility is clearly stated by Allen (2002[1988]:38-40) in her ethnography of Sonqo (Paucartambo) done in the seventies: “The wind coming from their houses is a fertilizer for the fields; and during the full moon they come out and work their fields, which is beneficial for the humans' fields.”

²⁴ For example: Flores Ochoa 1973, Gow and Condori 1976:27-28, Ricard 2007, Sallnow 1987.

victim slowly dries out, while the *ñawpa machu* consumes his vitality and ultimately kills him. There is only one cure for this consumption, which radically reverses this relation through the burning of the *ñawpa machu* (typically the bones) and then ingesting the ashes. Furthermore, just as these beings are hungry, so they are sexually starved. They deceive and have intercourse with humans, usually when the latter are drunk or in dreams, taking the physical appearance of the victim's partner. A woman can become impregnated and give birth to a monstrous dead fetus and die in the delivery. A man slowly dries out over months until he dies. Their attempts to interbreed with humans end up damaging the latter.

Some ethnographers refer to *ñawpa machu* as *mythical ancestors* of contemporary Quechua communities (see, for example, Gow and Condori 1976, Ricard 2007, Sallnow 1987); yet, this explanation falls short since they belong to a different humanity.²⁵ Why have contemporary Quechua communities severed their ties with what many ethnographers tend to see as their pre-Hispanic ancestors? This relation between the contemporary Quechua and the *ñawpa machu* is striking only when descent is assumed to be the primary way to construct relatedness. The relationship between contemporary humans and *ñawpa machu* becomes clearer through the frame of cohabitation and circulation of food, rather than using one of descent. The *ñawpa machu* are not related to humans by these bonds. Rather, humans try to not associate with them, for to do so entails the dangers of disease or death. When the meeting is inevitable or accidental, or when people need to work in a field close to the *ñawpa machu*'s towns, coca, alcohol or cigarettes are offered to them as elemental acts of respect in order to appease their hunger and avoid victimization.²⁶

Contemporary Quechua speaking persons, as well as Spanish speaking people, do not pay strong attention to their particular ascendants beyond two generations. Beyond

²⁵ The only way in which *ñawpa machu* can be ancestors of contemporary humans is in the original sense of the latin *antecessor*, one who precedes. The *ñawpa machu* certainly preceded the current humanity in time, but these humanities are not related by descent.

²⁶ According to Gose (2008), this relation with the *ñawpa machu* is a consequence of the indigenous appropriation of Catholicism, particularly in relation with burial patterns along the 17th century as well as the slow decline and erosion of the legitimacy of indigenous nobility along the 18th century. This explains why the emergence of the sun tends to be associated with already-Christian Inkas, who inaugurate the contemporary humanity; *ñawpa machu* would be non-Christian humanity previous to the Inka. That is why, in other areas of the Andes, the *ñawpa machu* are called *gentiles* (*heathens*).

this, all ascendants are referred to collectively as *our grandparents*. Certainly, in some contexts, the Inka are mentioned in association with one's grandparents in the remote past or are framed as civilizatory heroes (see Flores Galindo 1986, Ortiz 2001). While bonds of procreation, and hence descent and affinity, cannot be regarded as irrelevant, there has been some tendency to overestimate the importance of ancestry in Andean ethnography because of assuming bonds of procreation as the primary way to construct human relatedness.

With some differences these aspects are present also in urban Cuzco. This is not only the case of the stories of *condenados* but *ñawpa machus* are also said to inhabit in the old colonial houses of the city center which were built over Inka remains. They too have stories about abusive sexual behavior and stealing or absorbing the vitality of those humans who they dislike for a particular reason. Similarly, the tombs of urban Cuzco are not only adorned with flowers on the Day of the dead but miniatures of alcoholic beverages and food are left on them following similar patterns than those found in the rural communities.

Humans and places

People cultivate their relationships with the places where they live, work, and travel. The places where someone was born and lived most of her life tend to be benevolent and take care of her – that is, if she has been careful of paying due respect to those places on a daily basis. In contrast, places are not necessarily benevolent with strangers.²⁷ Such a scenario was at the root of my nephew's ordeal and the offering prepared by Juan de Dios: With the help of my mother, Juan de Dios carefully dedicated the offering to all the places where my nephew used to pass by: the house where he lives, my parents' house, his mother's parents' house, the streets and avenues where he usually transited, the location of his kindergarten, the place where he had his medical checks, and so on. One of those places was hungry, not given appropriate or adequate food, that is, not treated with respect and affection. Hence, this place caused my nephew's illness. Humans necessarily cohabit with places; there is no way not to do so. One always has

²⁷ For a further elaboration on this point see Allen 2002[1988], and Núñez del Prado 1970.

to be somewhere (Casey 1996). As the offering made by Juan de Dios shows, food is the privileged substance which allows humans can communicate with places. Every request, cure, or plea to the places requires the offering of food (see also Fernández 1997, Gose 1994, Tomoeda 1992 among others).

As humans cohabit with places and give food to them on a regular basis, it should not be surprising that Quechua people use kin terms to refer to places. The very same principles that are at play in the construction of kin relations between humans are present in the relationship between humans and places. This is profusely registered in almost any ethnography made in the region, and other regions of the Andes. For example, the *apu*,²⁸ the usually male mountains,²⁹ are called *taytakuna* (fathers) in Sonqo (Paucartambo) (Allen 2002[1998]) or grandparents in Ocongate (Quispicanchis) (Harvey 1991:6). In a similar way, when we were talking in Spanish about particular mountains, Juan de Dios used consistently *papacito*³⁰ (dear father) before the name of any of them.

This is also expressed through the various uses of the word *pachamama*, which has a kin term embedded within it. *Pacha* is usually translated as earth, universe, living space and also time, period, epoch, while *mama* means mother. The usual translation is *Mother Earth*. As a Quechua woman of Sonqo explained to Allen in the 1970s, this kin relation is established through food: “We owe our lives to her... She nurses the potatoes lying on her breast, and the potatoes nourish us... She nourishes us. She nurses us” (Allen 2002[1988]: 29).³¹

Humans give food to places as a limited retribution for sustenance and the resources that they enjoy from places. Places are the owners of their fertility and, thus, the owners of all types of life sustained by them. Places give all types of food to humans – food that constitutes the substance of their bodies and their social relations. Without the generous

²⁸ *Apu* (Qu) is an honorific that can be translated as *lord* and that is used consistently before the name of a mountain. Juan de Dios usually refers to the *apu* also with the title of “ángeles celestiales” (celestial angels) and doña Alejandrina, a urban *curandera* who attends her patients in a new urbanization of the San Sebastián district, calls them “ángeles cordilleranos” (mountainous angels).

²⁹ The gender of the places will be discussed in the section titled “The World of Places and the World of Humans.”

³⁰ *Papacito* (Sp) Literally means *little father*, but the diminutive here works as an index of affection rather than one of size.

³¹ While ethnographers have mainly reported that *Pachamama* refers to the Earth as a total unity, this word is also used as an honorific, in a way similar to *apu*, to refer to the female agricultural lands or places where people inhabit. This point will be further developed in the section titled “The World of Places and the World of Humans.”

gift of the fertility of places, human labor is absolutely useless and life impossible. Additionally, human community and places cohabitate: Humans necessarily live and work in a limited set of places (Casey 1996).

As in the case of humans, the kinship between humans and places has a processual character and it needs to be cultivated and honored in order to thrive. This relation begins upon a baby's birth. My *compadre*,³² don Luis, told me during one of our conversations in Hapu how, when a baby is born, the surrounding mountains, *apu*, discuss among them whom the baby will belong to.³³ This *apu* is the baby's *istrilla*³⁴ and tends to be benevolent and caring of her; she always can plea for help to her *istrilla*. While one can build strong relationships with other *apu* as one travels or ends up living elsewhere, it is important to always include the *istrilla* among the recipients of food-offerings. To forget one's own *istrilla* can cause misfortunes. People can figure out who her *istrilla* is by consulting a good *paqu*, but doubts about who the *istrilla* actually is might arise in cases of misfortune.

Just as human kinship and social distances are constructed and maintained by different patterns of cohabitation and provision of food, so too are these same elements at play in the construction of social relationships between humans and places. As Allen (2002[1988]:26) claims about the places – and this could also be applied to human parents – “they are nurturers in a moral as well as a biological sense, in the sense of bringing up a child into adulthood.”

This web of relatedness that involves humans and places is inscribed in the evidence of the very existence of life; it is honored and cultivated not only through complex food-offerings, but inscribed in the routine of everyday etiquette. During my fieldwork, I participated in these practices on a daily basis. The exchange of coca leaves (*hallpay*) is done during the breaks of agricultural work or after meals in the community

³² *Compadre* (Sp) Co-father. The father of a child becomes the *compadre* of somebody else when the latter accepts to be the godfather of the child. This is a kin relation constructed through the request and acceptance of becoming a godfather. Beyond the actual ceremony of baptism or the first haircut, the *compadre* relationship has to be nurtured through visits, gifts, request for help, or invitations to eat. Without these interactions this kin relation vanishes. *Comadre* (co-mother) is the equivalent word for women.

³³ See also Ricard 2007 for similar conceptions among the alpaca herders of the Ausangate.

³⁴ *Istrilla* comes from Spanish *estrella*, star. In other communities in the region, this word is used instead as the particular capacity for being a *paqu* (e.g. Ricard 2007).

of Hapu. After receiving a *k'intu*³⁵ and before chewing it, it is dedicated to the main mountains and plains of the locality and then is blown towards them so they will consume some of its essence (*sami*) beforehand. Likewise, spilling a few drops on the soil before drinking any alcoholic beverage is a way to honor such relations. While these daily life etiquettes are not homogeneous within the region of Cuzco, they are clearly widespread across rural and urban spaces.³⁶

This frame for understanding the web of relatedness involving humans and places has larger implications:

- *Kinship relations between of humans and places are not metaphors of relations of descent.*

In many cases, kinship of humans and places has been portrayed as metaphors of relations of descent or procreation. Marzal (1971: 251, my translation), for example, claims that “the apu must care for the villagers as his children.” If procreation is given primacy in the construction of kinship relations, then the absurdity of claiming that mountains procreate humans is evident. Hence, there is no option but to frame these relations as metaphors of human relations of descent. This perspective might be seen as plausible in light of the classificatory use of Quechua kinship terms. For example, the father, the father of the father, the father of the mother, or the brother of the father could be all called *papa* or *tayta* (e.g. Mayer and Bolton 1980, Ossio 1992). These same terms are also used for establishing or recognizing hierarchies among people who are not closely related. This is easily seen in any market in Cuzco where the seller might refer to the female buyer as *mamá*, *mamita* or *mantay*.³⁷ In this way, the titles of father and mother given to places would be only another application of this classificatory logic, which index a recognition of authority and hierarchy associated with age, deference, and higher power.

However, when these relations are considered while privileging cohabitation and provision of food as fundamental in the construction of paternity and maternity, which are at play also in the construction of all social distances, it becomes clear that the kinship

³⁵ *K'intu* (Qu) A set of usually three leaves of coca that are carefully arranged and that constitute a unity for the exchanges of coca between humans or those that humans offer to the places.

³⁶ Similar etiquettes are carefully described by Allen (2002[1988]) for the community of Sonqo (Paucartambo) in the seventies.

³⁷ *Mantay*: (Qu) my dear mother. From the abbreviation of *mamitay*.

relations between humans and places are constructed through these same principles. Places who constantly interact with, give shelter to, and feed a group of human beings are their fathers and mothers. As these kin terms are classificatory among humans, many mountains are addressed as father and many plains where one works or lives are addressed as mother. Conversely, there are other places that are not relatives of a particular human being due to the lack of continuous social interaction among them.

- *These are not relations of descent or ancestry.*

Humans and places are neither related through descent – as, for example, Harvey (1991) states – nor are places ancestors of humans – as, for example, Earls (1969) implies.³⁸ The same principle that allows adults who are not the procreators of a child to become her parents through cohabitation and provision of food enables places as the parents of humans without the need for a bond of descent.

While places are not ancestral lineage founders, there is a softer relationship, proposed by some scholars, which associates the places indirectly with the general and undifferentiated collectivity of the dead, the *grandparents*. Allen (2002[1988]) explains that the *grandparents* contribute to the places' fertility as their flesh is absorbed in the earth and the individuality of the bare bones vanishes with time.³⁹ The materiality of dead human bodies becomes reintegrated into the places, coming back to whom they ultimately belonged and in that process enhancing the places' fertility. The places, however, are the ultimate owners of fertility and the integration of the deceased into the places does not transform places into ancestors.

- *Places are places, not spirits who live in places.*

Another common trope has been to understand these beings as spirits: for example, *apus* are usually framed either as mountain spirits or as spirits who live in the

³⁸ Gose (1986), framing food-offerings as sacrifice, proposes that the *apu* would be the 'son-in-law' of the household. The food-offering ultimately would be a structural replacement of a household's daughter. However, this interpretation is possible only assuming bonds of sexual procreation at the core of the definition of kinship.

³⁹ Other ethnographers elaborate about the relationship between the dead and the fertility of the lands, which indirectly relates to the agency of the places. See Harris (1982), Gose (1994, ch 4), and Isbell (1978, ch 6). As Harris (1982:65) explains, these proposed relationships tend to be obscure: "In many respects the crucial place occupied by the dead in the agricultural cycle is concealed by metaphor."

mountains.⁴⁰ But if we maintain the relation in the terms proposed here, it is easy to understand why the *Tirakuna*⁴¹ (the earths) or the *Ruwalkuna*⁴² (the places), as Allen (2002[1988]:41) notes for Sonqo, “are not spirits who inhabit the places but the Places themselves.” This last claim is central in understanding the material foundations of kinship relations between humans and places. Places themselves give actual material food to humans through their very materiality. This materiality, however, cannot be disassociated from the moral character of the places. It is the materiality of the places which is animated in a way similar to how human materiality is alive. This point is rather explicit in the following fragment from my conversations with Juan de Dios:

- | | |
|--|---|
| G: Pero, el apu mismo es el sitio mismo, el cerro mismo, o es un espíritu que vive dentro del cerro. | G: But, is the apu the very same place, the actual mountain, or is it a spirit who lives inside the mountain? |
| JD: Cerro mismo es, en ahí esta pues con ese nombre. | JD: [He] is the very mountain. Of course [he] is there, with that name. |
| G: Ósea es el cerro mismo. | G: Then, [he] is the actual mountain. |
| JD: Cerro mismo es pues. ⁴³ | JD: Of course [he] is the mountain. |

Even though Juan de Dios was speaking in Spanish,⁴⁴ he was pointing out one aspect of Quechua language ideology that is at play in the relationship between the mountains and their names: “For Quechua speakers, language is part and parcel of the natural world. Words are consubstantial with their objects... Language is both in and of the natural world” (Mannheim 1991:184). That is, the name of the mountain is inseparable from the mountain, which is the apu himself.⁴⁵ The same axiom applies for all places.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Earls 1969; Harris 2000; Gose 1994; Harvey 1991, 2001; Marzal 1971; Núñez del Prado 1970; Sallnow 1987.

⁴¹ *Tirakuna* (Qu) From Spanish *tierra*, earth, and *-kuna* (plural), earths or lands.

⁴² *Ruwalkuna* (Qu) *Ruwal* seems to derive from the Spanish *lugar* (place). The suffix *-kuna* pluralizes the root. This word however seems to be only applied to mountains, and according to Nuñez del Prado (1970) only to the most powerful mountains.

⁴³ Conversation with Juan de Dios, San Jerónimo 2003.

⁴⁴ While Juan de Dios expressly told me that it would be better to talk about these themes in Quechua, his mother tongue, at that time my command of the language was too elementary in order to carry out a complex conversation. In contrast, Juan de Dios had a very good command of Spanish.

⁴⁵ Marisol de la Cadena directed me to this insight.

The world of places and the world of humans

While humans and places are constantly interacting, they are quite different types of persons. This is obvious in their respective materiality, and is evident in the types of food they prefer. While humans can consume some ingredients of the food-offerings to the places, there are others – such as lead miniatures, sea stars, seashells, or coca seeds – that humans cannot eat.

Which of the places constitute persons?⁴⁶ Allen (2002[1988]) has pointed out that any feature of the landscape that could be considered a landmark has personhood.⁴⁷ While I agree with this assertion, I would add that the personhood of a place hangs critically on a very specific element, namely, its name. The name, the place, and the person are inseparable. All named places are persons.⁴⁸

Named places have a surprising fractal quality, as it is possible to find more and more names within a given named place. A place may thus contain many places and they themselves can contain more places, all depending on the social and spatial context in which people might refer to places. It is not surprising that such recursivity present of places has also been noted regarding the use of the word *ayllu* which can be applied to a single family, a community or a whole country (e.g. Allen 2002[1988], Earls 1996, Isbell 1978). Each particular place has a sphere of influence which is subsumed into that of a bigger and more encompassing place.

It then follows that, in Quechua terms, there are neither sacred places nor profane ones. The sacred/profane dichotomy is to some extent a product of the work of purification. At stake, rather, are their political power and their spheres of influence.⁴⁹ There are very powerful places, vastly more powerful than humans. As such, they receive privileged attention from the latter. Conversely, there are places that do not have great power and do not receive a great deal of attention as a result. Power and sphere of

⁴⁶ There is not a Quechua word for a concept such as *place*. Precisely because, for Quechua speakers, linguistic signs are consubstantial with their objects, Quechua does not have strong use of superordinates (Mannheim 1991). The closest one might be *ruwal* which is a borrowing from Spanish *lugar* (place), but it is only applied to certain mountains (Nuñez del Prado 1970).

⁴⁷ See also Ricard 2007, ch 1.

⁴⁸ Somewhat similar claims relating the role of the places' names were made by ØDegaard 2011.

⁴⁹ Unless sacredness is equated with high political power, in which case the President of the Republic, for example, should be considered a sacred person as much as the high mountains.

influence are associated with altitude. The higher the mountain, the stronger his power and bigger his sphere of influence. Altitude is also a crucial relational axis of gender differentiation and hierarchy, which is correlated with degrees of human activity and presence. The vast majority of the mountains in and around Cuzco, who are referenced with the title of *apu* (lord), are male.⁵⁰ People usually do not travel to their high peaks; if a traveler does venture to the summit, it is usually only momentarily. Neither agricultural activity nor herding is carried out in their peaks.

The uninhabited high mountains, addressed as *apu*, contrast against the inhabited low plains, which are referred to as *pachamama*, in terms of their physicality and the social activity that each place houses. Pachamama, Mother Earth, is usually understood as a total unity, as a total living space of life. However, *pachamama* is also used as an honorific, similar to *apu*, to refer to the female agricultural lands or places where people inhabit. Consider the following fragment of conversation with my compadre, don Luis, in one of his visits from Hapu to the urban center of Cuzco to work as a *paqu*:

- | | |
|--|---|
| G: Huqlla icha ashka pachamama | G: [Is] Pachamama only one or many? |
| L: Ch'ullalla pachamama | L: Pachamama [is] only one. |
| G: Ch'ullalla | G: Only one. |
| L: Riki, llipin munduntimpi pachamama
llipinchispaqmi huqlla | L: Right. Pachamama is only one for all of us in
the entire world. |
| G: Huqlla... mana ashkachu | G: Only one... not many. |
| L: Mana ashka [...] piru pachatira pachamamapas
kan maypipas, ashkallataqyá kallantaq, riki.
Sutiyuq sutiyuq kashan, riki. Mana
yachanchischu, piru ch'ullalla tira ninchis riki
chullallata | L: Not many [...] but <i>pachatira</i> ⁵² , also
<i>pachamama</i> is everywhere. And there are many,
right? There are named and named, right? We
do not know but we say, only one <i>tira</i> , ⁵³ right,
only one. |
| G: Ch'ullalla | G: Only one. |
| L: Huqlata huqlata, piru kashan ashka, sutiyuq
kashanku paykunapas, riki, klaru. ⁵¹ | L: Only one, only one, but there are many. They
also have names, right? Yes. |

When don Luis emphasizes that *pachamama* is at once one and many, he is not contradicting himself. This is a consequence of the fractal nature of the places discussed above, which is extreme in the case of the *pachamama*. In its wider instantiation, the maternal earth encompasses all other plains and lands where people work on and inhabit,

⁵⁰ Certainly there are exceptions such as *Apu Mama Simona* of the city of Cuzco (both the kin term *mama* and the proper name *Simona* are female), *Apu Ñañantiyuq* of Hapu (*female who has sisters*; if the mountain would be male the name would have been *Pañantiyuq*) or *Apu Ñust'a* (*maiden*) in Qamawara.

⁵¹ Conversation with don Luis, Cuzco 2007.

⁵² *Pachatira* is a composed word from *pacha* (living space) and *tira* (from Spanish *tierra*, earth or land), It could be translated as *living land*.

⁵³ *Tira*: From Spanish *tierra*, earth or land.

and with them all other places, including mountains. Just as Juan de Dios had, don Luis stresses the lands' names in order to point to their personhood.

Figure 4.2
Lluq'i-paña despacho being prepared in the urban style



The left one is for the lands and the right one for the mountains. This *despacho* was also prepared by don Luis and doña Martina. San Jerónimo 2008.

There is always a local pachamama, a named location on which one is present at any given moment, as well as a set of surrounding pachamamas, the names of the inhabited or cultivated places around. This is clearly inscribed in practices such as the preparation of the *lluq'ipaña*⁵⁴ *despacho*⁵⁵ (left-right dispatch) by the senior couple of each household as part of the carnival celebrations during the rainy season in the community of Hapu.

In Hapu, I participated in this ritual with don Luis and his wife doña Martina. Doña Martina sat to the left of her husband, both in front of two small *unkuñas*,⁵⁶ and the rest of the family forming a circle around the *unkuñas*. The offering on the left was arranged by doña Martina and was for the *pachamamas*, the lands that the household cultivates, the

⁵⁴ *Lluq'ipaña* (Qu) literally left-right.

⁵⁵ *Despacho* (Sp) dispatch, in the sense of an urgent communication and/or sending cargo.

⁵⁶ *Unkuña* (Qu) A small square piece of woven cloth that is used either for carrying cold refreshments (such as boiled potatoes) or for preparing food offerings for the places. The latter tend to be smaller but have finer weaving quality.

plains where the herds graze, and the houses were they live. The offering on the right was prepared by don Luis, and was for the *apus*, the surrounding mountains, the high peaks. Both offerings shared fundamental ingredients, such as coca leaves, llama fat, red and white flowers, starfish, and candies. But the offering on the left was arranged over a piece of paper, to be wrapped later, while the right was prepared over a small portion of *vicuña*⁵⁷ fiber. The offering on the left had a strong preponderance of sugar and candies, while the right included many herbs and grains that grow in high altitudes. All participants dedicated *k'intus*⁵⁸ to the mountains and put them in the right-side offering, as well as to the plains on the left side. The places' names were mentioned after the honorific *apu* in the case of the mountains and after the honorific *pachamama* in the case of the plains. When the offerings were wrapped and all dedications finished, the couple went outside the house and put both offerings – on the left, doña Martina with the *lluq'i*, and on the right, don Luis with the *pañã* – into a small bonfire for the places to start eating them.

Local *pachamamas* embrace their human children and directly feed them, just as human mothers do with their children. *Apus* protect and oversee the well being of their children, just as human fathers work in the fields in order to gather the agricultural products necessary to take care of the family, but do not have corporal relations to his children as closely as mothers do. In contrast to females, males neither shelter their children inside their bodies, nor feed them with their blood, nor do they cook for them. While I was asking what might have been very absurd questions to don Alejandro, an elder *paqu* of Hapu, his wife became impatient and settled my question very clearly: *Apu* and *pachamama* are *yanantin*⁵⁹ in the very same way in which a husband and a wife are. That is, they are complements of each other who, together, constitute a unity. Human gender relations and hierarchies form but part of a broader other-than-human gendered social order.

A very similar gendered distinction was at play in the practices of doña Alejandrina, an urban *curandera* who works in San Sebastian, a neighborhood within the city of Cuzco. Her business card mentions *Ángeles Cordilleranos y Pachamamas*, that is,

⁵⁷ *Vicugna vicugna*. Non-domesticated camelid that lives in high pasture lands close to mountain peaks.

⁵⁸ *K'intu*: see note 35.

⁵⁹ For a discussion of the concept of *yanantin*, see Platt 1986.

Mountainous Angels and Pachamamas (in plural). She holds a *mesa de sanación*,⁶⁰ sessions that are carried out in rooms especially conditioned to allow complete darkness.⁶¹ After doña Alejandrina called them, the powerful places started to arrive at the table making the sound and wind of big birds. The mountains arrived from above the room while the lands come from below. Mountains and earth were greeted in a very humble way and addressed as *papacito* (dear father) and *mamacita* (dear mother) by the patients. When they spoke, each one in a distinctive voice, mountains had male voices and lands female. In this urban mesa mountains and lands discussed legal problems as well as health issues of the patients mentioning lawyers' and physicians' technical language.

While this gendered pattern is widespread in, it is not present in the same way throughout the entire Cuzco region. For example, Ricard (2007) reports that among the pastoralist communities close to the Ausangate glacier, *pachamama* does not figure clearly in human practices, while the *apu* has central importance. It seems less surprising, then, that these pastoralist communities would interact more with female mountains than it is usually found in other areas of Cuzco (Valderrama and Escalante 1975).

Beyond their interactions with human beings, the places have their own social world. Humans cannot fully understand or know how that social world works. Humans know about this world through the narratives that are passed from one generation to the other. There are also some humans who are chosen by the places to be their servants (the *paqus* or *curanderos*) and thus get to know them more closely than other humans. Among other narratives that Valderrama and Escalante (1975) recorded in the 1970s among the pastoralist communities close to the Ausangate, some referred to how one of Ausangate's daughters, Tomasa Saq'apuma, chose to live with the *qulla*⁶² Mariano Inkilli. Due to various mistakes, Mariano Inkilli failed to remain a *qatay*⁶³ of Ausangate and Ausangate's sons. They chased Inkilli, who, escaping, turned into a dark rocky mountain

⁶⁰ *Mesa de sanación* (Sp) Healing table.

⁶¹ For descriptions about these sessions in the dark, see Tomoeda (1992:229) for urban Cuzco, Casaverde (1970: 214-16) for Kuyo Grande (Pisac), and Roca (2005) for Anta. For similar sessions among Aymara in Bolivia, see Fernández (1997: 81). Fernández reports that in *Aymara*, the specialist who carries out this type of session is called *ch'amakani*, *the holder of darkness*.

⁶² *Qulla* (Qu) The people who live in the *Qullaw* (Collao), the high plateau that surrounds the Titicaca lake between Peru and Bolivia.

⁶³ *Qatay* (Qu) Daughter's husband or sister's husband.

near Surimana. Inkilli failed to become Ausangate's affine and was unable to access Ausangate's agricultural products (such as corn); however, he retained some of the Ausangate's flocks. These stories explain why the *qulla* have big flocks of alpacas but have neither corn nor other valley agricultural products (Valderrama and Escalante 1975).

While these narratives report events that took place in the remote past, they are firmly inscribed in the landscape. On the one hand, all the actors are actual mountains. On the other, any individual can still plainly see the corn beer that is still fermenting in La Raya – a volcanic hot spring – with which Inkilli tried to greet Ausangate; or the agricultural products, turned into stones, that Inkilli lost in the plain of Ch'ilkamayu while escaping (Valderrama and Escalante 1975). These narratives then are *chiquaq* – true as oppose to fictive – accounts of events that actually happened (Mannheim 1991a). In this remote past, social relations were crucial to the ways that these persons became embedded and constitutive of the landscape – events that deeply affect contemporary humans.⁶⁴

But places' social interactions do not belong exclusively to the past. They have active social relations, which, in many ways, are similar to those of humans. While kin relations between places seem to have been fixed when they become emplaced, they also have ongoing friendships, conflicts and animosities. Juan de Dios explained to me that when they consume food-offerings, they also invite their relatives and acquaintances to share those offerings. Don Alejandro, in Hapu, speaking after he left a food-offering on hot embers, explained to me that just as humans were inside the small harvesting hut exchanging coca leaves and talking, the places were congregated around the offering, talking among them while consuming it.

Just like humans, the *apu* have chickens, mules, and cats, but humans see them as condors, vicuñas, and pumas (e.g. Gow and Condori 1976). This arrangement resembles Amazonian *perspectivism*, as proposed by Viveiros de Castro (1998, 2009): Humans and animals have the same culture, but each species lives in a very different world. For the case discussed here, one recognizes that places have a culture similar to that belonging to humans'. While places and humans necessarily live in permanent interaction, the world in

⁶⁴ There are other narratives that do not deal with their emplacement but how powerful mountains intervened in human historical events (e.g. the war of independence and the war with Chile). In similar ways, these are also true events which have left material traces (Gow and Condori 1976).

which the places live and engage socially amongst themselves is markedly different from the human world. Humans cannot see or engage easily with the places' social world. However, this is the extent of the similarities between the world of the places in the communities in and around Cuzco and Amazonian perspectivism. For jaguars in Amazonia, human blood cannot be but manioc beer (Viveiros de Castro 2009), while in Quechua terms, the places can transcend their own world and observe and understand the human world in human terms with great ease. Likewise, places willfully intervene in human affairs, and punish or reward humans according to their sometimes opaque criteria. As Juan de Dios explains in the following fragment, they can also grant special petitions of a human depending on the affection demonstrated through food-offerings:

<p>JD: Entran a los hospitales a los palacios así, cuando uno netamente tiene fe entran así, carnalmente, ves gente.</p> <p>G: ¿Cómo gente ve?</p> <p>JD: Gente ve</p> <p>G: Así? Y que hacen</p> <p>JD: Te lo borran pues el expediente, lo hacen perder, también lo pierden las firmas.</p> <p>G: ¡No te creo! ¿Quién hace eso? ¿Cuál apu hace eso?</p> <p>JD: Cualquier apu pues de acuerdo a tu pedido.⁶⁵</p>	<p>JD: They enter into the hospitals, into the courts. When one really has faith, they enter, embodied, you see a person.</p> <p>G: How do you see a person?</p> <p>JD: You see a person.</p> <p>G: Really!? And what do they do?</p> <p>JD: They erase your file, they make it lost, the signatures disappear...</p> <p>G: I can't believe it! Who does that? Which apu does that?</p> <p>JD: Of course any apu can [do it] depending on your request.</p>
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However the opposite does not happen. It is not only that humans cannot see pumas as cats, but, more importantly, humans cannot treat pumas as cats. All that we know about the world of the places is in accordance with their will to communicate through the coca leaves or the humans chosen to be their channels of communication. As such, the world of the places encompasses and transcends the human world, speaking to the hierarchies present in the relations between humans and places.

Circulation of food and social hierarchy

As Van Vleet (2008) has demonstrated for Sulluk'ata, Bolivia, food creates not only relatedness but also hierarchy within the household. While children contribute to the household through labor, the circulation of food is not a reciprocal exchange but a one-way provision from parents to children; children depend on their parents' provision of

⁶⁵ Conversation with Juan de Dios, San Jerónimo 2002.

food.⁶⁶ When they become very old, parents might then be given food by one of their adult children; as a result, the authority and hierarchy might shift in some ways.

This kind of logic is not at work when considering kinship relations between places and humans. It is a different relation; not only do places feed humans, but humans must too feed places. This process of feeding places is a quotidian, but is also performed on special settled occasions.⁶⁷ They are also performed on occasions of illness, misfortunes, or when starting a new project (e.g. travel, house, business).

Places constantly demand food from their human children under the threat of punishment. As noted earlier with the case of my nephew, hungry places are sources of illness and misfortune. Neglecting to feed the places can make humans the desired food for the places; hungry places eat humans (Fernández 1997: 75, Rozas 1992: 216). While ungrateful human sons or daughters are able to sever their relationship with their human parents through a lack of visits or food sharing, both of which express the material dilution of human kin ties (Leinaweaver 2008), when humans sever their kin responsibilities of food provision with places, humans destroy themselves.

Places become hungry through the very process of producing food for humans, allowing a good harvest and the reproduction of livestock. This particular hungriness seems to be only satisfied by humans' offerings. As Harvey (2001:205-6) has pointed out, this could indicate that the places' power ultimately depends on human offerings, a relationship of power similar to that of the landlords (*hacendados*) in the past, who depended on peasant labor force. However, I am inclined to think that, in Quechua terms, places transcend all human life. Places willfully nurse and nourish humans and they behave according to their own intentionality, which is not always transparent to human beings. This opacity necessitates that humans are careful to cultivate strong relationships with places. Human provision of food to the places is then a performance of deference and respect. As Juan de Dios told me during one conversation about mother earth, "She gets angry when people disrespect her, because someone does not appreciate her. Many

⁶⁶ See also Harvey 1998:75.

⁶⁷ For example, in Qamawara, complex food-offerings to the places are arranged on August 1st, when the agricultural lands are particularly hungry after harvest and before the beginning of a new agricultural cycle. Likewise, food-offerings are made to the places on fixed calendar dates to both give thanks and ensure the fertility of livestock. In Qamawara, these days are: San Juan's day for sheep (June 24), San Ramon's day for donkeys (August 31), and Santiago's day for llamas (July 25). Other communities have similar fixed days for celebrating various animals.

people consume, drink all, without giving thanks to the mother earth, without giving thanks to the angels,⁶⁸ then they also get angry.”⁶⁹

While illness, a poor harvest, or any other misfortune results from improperly feeding, or neglecting to feed, some place, it is difficult to know which place has been offended and why. Humans have relationships with many places through their lives, and as such, there is always a possibility for some place to be resentful.⁷⁰ Places are known to be capricious; some get easily angry without clear reasons. There is always a level of uncertainty regarding how places will act or react. The moral economy of their relationship with humans is neither settled nor consistent.

Given this great power inequality, the relations of humans and places are very vertical. When talking about his past, Juan de Dios mentioned that for some years he was indecisive about becoming a full time *curandero*. Occasionally, he would do some work together with other *curanderos*. One of those occasions was crucial for becoming fully committed:

“Si tú tienes en tus manos para cosechar oro y plata, ¿por qué no trabajas? Por gusto estás perdiendo tu tiempo. Nosotros te habíamos dado el poder desde aquella fecha. ¿Por qué no ejerces? ¡Si tú no quieres entonces déjalo y haz tu vida! [...] Entonces también el *pongo*, el *altumisayuq* me dijo “¿Cómo tú teniendo en tus manos no has ejercido este campo?” Pero yo ¿de donde voy a saber pues?⁷¹

[The apu said] "You have everything in your hands for harvesting gold and silver. Why don't you work? You are losing your time. We gave you power a long time ago. If you don't like this gift then leave it and make your life" [...] The *pongo*, the *altumisayuq*,⁷² also said to me: “Why, if you had [it] all in your hands, did you not work in this field before?” But how would I know? I did not know that.

What struck me from this passage was his use of the word *pongo*. In another conversation, it came up again:

⁶⁸ Juan de Dios, as well as other specialists, refer to the apus, the mountains, also as angels.

⁶⁹ Conversation with Juan de Dios, San Jerónimo 2002.

⁷⁰ See Ricard 2007, ch. 1, for similar explanations regarding the multiplicity of places and the difficulties of knowing the causes of misfortunes.

⁷¹ Conversation with Juan de Dios, San Jerónimo 2002.

⁷² *Altumisayuq*: *Altu* comes from Spanish *alto*, high; *misa* from the Spanish *mesa*, table (that refers to an actual table or to a group of objects, usually stones, that are given by the places); and the suffix *-yuq* is a possessive. The translation would be *who holds a high table, who holds high presents of the places*. This word is used to refer to those who can talk directly with the places. Their existence is contested. While some people claim that they are not around anymore, others claim that actually they themselves are *altumisayuq*.

JD: El *pongo* pues tiene que darle su llamada, para eso el *pongo* está autorizado pues, para llamar a los ángeles.

G: Y ¿quién es el *pongo*?

JD: El *altumisayuq* pues, claro. Ellos rezan, llaman y [los ángeles] entran a la mesa. Cuando entran a la mesa tienes que invitarle pues.⁷³

JD: The *pongo* then has to call them. The *pongo* is authorized to call the angels.

G: And, who is the *pongo*?

JD: He is the *altumisayuq* of course. They pray and call. And the angels enter in the table. When they enter in it, you have to invite them [to drink].

*Pongo*⁷⁴ refers to one of the services that Quechua people living in *haciendas* – large landholdings – had to perform for the landlord in order to keep the right to cultivate a plot of land for their subsistence. A *pongo* had to work for some weeks each year in the house of the landlord at the lowest servant status. The word encapsulates the extremes of exploitation and maltreatment in the hacienda system. The conditions of *pongos* are well illustrated by *The Pongo's Dream*, a famous piece by the writer/anthropologist José María Arguedas (2005 [1965]), and to some extent by this fragment of a conversation that I had with an anthropologist from Cuzco. Recalling his participation in research done in 1955, he talks here about the *pongos* of the then *hacienda* Q'ero (Paucartambo):

R: Acaso el patrón iba a ver [la hacienda]. Iba una vez al año. A veces ni iba

G: ¿Así? O sea que estaban casi prácticamente tranquilos ellos ¿o no?

R: Si, pero cumplían pues puntualmente las obligaciones. Por ejemplo, hacer el pongueaje. Bajaban a Paucartambo por treinta días y en Paucartambo los pobres ¡cómo sufrían! Yo los encontré en Paucartambo y allí en esas casuchas dormían sobre ramas de retama verde.

G: ¿Ni siquiera un cuero?

R: ¡No tenían qué comer! [...] Pregunté si les daba comida. Que no comían, que se habían traído un poco pero que lo poco que se trajeron no les había alcanzado para treinta días, se les había agotado. Y ¿cómo están sobreviviendo? y ¿cómo están comiendo? Y me decían, bueno, con la coca nomás.⁷⁵

R: The owner did not go to oversee [the *hacienda*]. Maybe he was once a year. Sometimes he did not go.

G: Really? Then, they were tranquil, just by themselves, weren't they?

R: Yes, but they did all their obligations with punctuality. For example, going as *pongos* to Paucartambo [the provincial capital where the landlord lived] for thirty days and there, poor them! How they suffered! I found them in Paucartambo, living in shacks, sleeping over *retama*⁷⁶ branches.

G: Not even a [sheep's] skin?

R: They did not have anything to eat! [...] I asked them if they received food. They didn't. They had brought some but that did not suffice for thirty days, it was already gone. And, how are you surviving? What are you eating? They told me, only with coca leaves.

The Agrarian Reform of the 1970s ultimately brought the already weakened hacienda system to its demise. Since then, *pongos* serving as serfs of human landlords no

⁷³ Conversation with Juan de Dios, San Jerónimo 2002.

⁷⁴ *Pongo*: from *punku* (Qu. *door*) or from the hispanization of *punkuq* (Qu. *belonging to the door*) for referring to a door keeper.

⁷⁵ Conversation with Demetrio Roca Wallparimachi. Cuzco, 2004.

⁷⁶ *Spartium junceum*.

longer exist. However, Juan de Dios is not the only person that I met who used the word *pongo* to refer to those who know how to give food to the places. Arguedas (1975) used it in the same way in an ethnological piece about Puquio (Ayacucho) in the 1960s, and Gose (1986:302) also reports this same use in Antabamba (Apurimac) in the late 1970s.

The haciendas of Cuzco, which included a great diversity in size and production, were founded in asymmetrical exchanges between the *colonos* – the people who lived and worked in the *hacienda* – and the *patrón* – the landlord (Anrup 1990, Mayer 2009, Orlove 1977).⁷⁷ The *colono* families were unable to cover all of their needs with the meager production on the small plots that the landlord assigned them. All that was necessary for the family and community reproduction, and that was not produced by the families themselves, was provided by the landlord and presented as an act of generosity. The *socorros*⁷⁸ were a set of products, such as cloth, sugar, bread, and sugar cane alcohol that were given to *colono* families during Christmas or the Holy Week. The landlord provided for the rituals of the family cycle (baptisms, marriages, burials) and, in some cases, for the hacienda's patron saint festivities. The landlord also mediated all disputes and moral faults that arose between *colonos*, sometimes even between husband and wife. As such, the landlord was not only the owner of the land but also a provider for the social reproduction of the *colono* community and the ultimate judge of the moral order of the *hacienda*. Physical punishment to *colonos*, performed ritually after Sunday's mass and in front of the community, was presented as having been imparted by a father who was responsible for correcting his children. The power of the landlord and the resultant social order of the hacienda were legitimized by these displays of generosity, responsibility, and morality, all framed in a language of kinship. The landlord assumed the role of the generous and responsible father to "his Indians" while also an unmerciful punisher. Landlords were usually greeted as *papay*, my father, or *mamay*, my mother.

The use of the word *pongo* in relation to the *curanderos* or *paqus* reveals how the relationship between humans and places is imagined. In addition to *pongo*, Juan de Dios used the expression "servant of the earth" or "servant of the angels" to refer to himself and other *curanderos*. The kinship relations between humans and places, resonating with

⁷⁷ See also Guerrero 1991 for similar cases in the highland Ecuatorian haciendas.

⁷⁸ *Socorro* (Sp.) Aid.

the historical connotations of the word *pongo*, mimic the extreme asymmetrical character of the past *hacienda* system. The similitude between landlords and powerful places that is apparent through the use of the word *pongo* becomes explicit in some testimonies scattered in the ethnographic record. For example, in the 1960s, a person from the area of the Río Pampas (Vilcashuamán, Ayacucho) told John Earls (1969:67) that a powerful mountains can

... appear in human form riding over the puna mounted... “on a beautiful white horse, luxuriously appareled with a fine saddle, and San Pedrano saddle cloth, with silver reins, blinkers – all complete. He wears a beautiful poncho, pallay poncho of the ancient ones, very fine with spurs; he dresses as these rich ranchers (*hacendados*).”

Similar claims about the appearance of apus were reported by Gose (1986:299) for Antabamba (Aurimac) in the late 1970s. Likewise, powerful mountains tended to be characterized as *misti* – an relationally ethnic label, stereotypically referring to town dwellers or city Spanish speakers – and were racialized as white, bearded, tall males (Gow and Condori 1976:52, Tomoeda 1992:229, Earls 1969:67, Gose 1986:299). The places that constitute the landscape thus live in an authoritarian social position in relation to humans, resembling the relationships were between powerful landlords and peasants.⁷⁹

Unlike powerful humans, places control all of the means of reproduction of humans, in particular that of the poor who depend on agriculture. The families under the *hacienda* system had to live as serfs in order to be allowed to cultivate small plots of land to subsist. Currently, these families, or their descendants, are, either individually or collectively, owners of most of the agricultural lands in the Southern Andes. However, they are still dependent on the fertility of the places, who are ultimately the absolute owners of themselves, as well as the plants, animals, and human beings who dwell on them (Casaverde 1970: 144, Earls 1969).

In the context of a national economy which needs less and less of Andean peasant production, these people might be considered – even after the Agrarian Reform of the early 1970s – a proletarian class, insofar as they own only their labor and that of their

⁷⁹ Other testimonies of curanderos from the city of Cuzco hint at relations of exploitation through the extraction of vital substances, such as fat, in order to elaborate sumptuary commodities such as creams, bells, or sophisticated weaponry (Gose 1986; Morote 1988; Taussig 1986): “According to don Salvador, the specialists have short lives because in each session, the apu sucks the vital energy of the healer just like vampires” (Rozas 1992:209, my translation; see also Tomoeda 1992).

children. Human landlords are gone, but the places are, in the first instance, landlords. Generous fathers and despotic landlords, the places are nothing if not ambiguous (Earls 1969, Harvey 1991, 2001). As Harvey explains, in Ocongate (Quispicanchis), the places “have their negative and capricious side. People have to attend to them with great care and attention, as their goodwill is vital for the reproduction of the community in the locality” (1991: 5). Depending on whether a plain or a mountain has received food or not, and from whom, she or he can be benevolent or might cause disease and misfortunes. Given their multiplicity and also their different propensities and personalities, it is hard to know exactly why some places might be angry and how to placate their anger. This ambiguity in the behavior of the places points to their ultimate independence of human beings.

* * *

Recently, Marshal Sahlins has proposed kinship as “mutuality of being:” “Kinsmen are persons who belong to one another, who are members of one another, who are co-present in each other, whose lives are joined and interdependent” (Sahlins 2011:11). Through my findings, it is possible to appreciate how this applies to the Quechua societies of the region of Cuzco. However, in this case, these societies do not solely include humans but also places.

Persons – in Quechua terms, both humans and places – are composites of the substances and actions of other persons, in a way that resembles to some extent the elaboration of Strathern (1988) for Melanesian societies. Through the processes of caring and feeding, relatives emerge joined and interdependently related to one another at their most primary constitution. This does not include only relationships between humans but also between places. Ultimately, human bodies are produced through the incorporation of the materiality of the places, mediated through the consumption of food, which is cultivated and cooked by human relatives. Contributing to the material constitution of human bodies, providing support where they live and work, and actively watching and judging human moral behavior, places participate in quotidian, human existence. Places are co-present in humans in decisive ways while humans are also co-present in places,

albeit in lesser degree and capacity: Humans leave emplaced traces of their actions, such as crops, houses, or roads. As much as places are co-present within other places, they are also co-present in their human children.

Equipped with these ideas, it is easy to understand Justo Oxa, a primary school teacher in Sicuani, when he claims: “It is important to remember that this place [the community] is not where we are from, *it is who we are*. For example, I am not *from* Huantura, I *am* Huantura” (Oxa 2005:239, translated and quoted by De la Cadena 2010:354, her emphasis). This type of claim is implicit when speaking in Quechua. When outside Hapu someone says “*Hapuruna kani*”, it usually would be translated as “*I am from Hapu,*” but closer attention would reveal rather “*I am Hapu human being.*” This is to say that the person is a human member and part of Hapu, a relational field that encompasses humans and places who all are part of each other’s lives.

Kinship, then, is an ongoing process of relatedness that constitutes persons. That is why all persons are composites of many others, human and places, even though they can have very unequal power. As Allen (2002[1988]:84) noted, “only when *runakuna*⁸⁰ establish a relationship with place by building houses out of its soil, by living there and by giving it offerings of coca and alcohol is an *ayllu* established.” The *ayllu* is a social entity, produced in and through the co-existence of humans and places. Individual persons do not pre-exist to their *ayllu*, but are constituted by the process of relatedness.

All this elaboration however runs the risk of being framed within the dominant stereotypes that are present in the narratives of modernity analyzed in chapters II and III. It could be claimed that this characterization of the relationship of Quechua people with the places they inhabit reproduces many aspects of the narratives of modernity such as essentialist associations with rural areas, and with agricultural and pastoralist activities. It could be said also that this framework reproduces stereotypical assumptions about an essentially harmonious relationship between Quechua people and the environment or even ideas about an intrinsic communalism devoid of conflicts. Hence, I will briefly discuss how the proposed framework does not follow those stereotypes and should not be understood as reproducing them.

⁸⁰ *Runakuna* (Qu) Human beings.

While I elaborated mainly on examples that are drawn from rural areas, this framework was also developed through ethnographic observation and interviews carried out in the city of Cuzco with practitioners such as Juan de Dios and doña Alejandrina. This tells about the relevance of Quechua worlds in the city of Cuzco. As it will be elaborated with more detail in the next chapter, existing scholarship on urban curanderos before the flourishing of New Age tourism shows a strong presence of curanderos in Cuzco: For the early 1990s, Tomoeda (1992:223) reports on around three thousand curanderos working in the city of Cuzco, which by then had less than 200,000 inhabitants. As I mentioned in chapter III, urban inhabitants of Cuzco from all different social extractions recurred to curanderos on certain occasions but kept this as a private affair before the growing presence of New Age celebrations of indigenous practices. I will elaborate further on this point in the next chapter. Here I will briefly address how the relationship with places works in the city where there are neither crops nor flocks of animals whose fertility depends on the places.

As the example of my nephew shows, urban places get hungry as much as rural places do. That is why Juan de Dios dedicated the food-offering to all the places where my nephew used to transit: avenues, streets, houses, hospitals, his kindergarden, and so on. Similar to people in rural areas, Juan de Dios' and Alejandrina's clients consult them when they are concerned with conflicts with relatives or partners and when they have health issues. However, urban clients do not recur to their help in order to request fertility for crops or try to find stolen animals; rather they ask about business plans such as buying a car, starting a travel agency, or a small restaurant. Businesses also depend on the generosity of places. Business success ultimately depends on the will of places – the store itself, the surrounding streets and avenues, the mountains surrounding the city. Hence, urban context does not imply an ontological rupture of the conception of a society beyond humans but an extension of its logics to new situations. This follows the model of cultural change proposed by Sahlins (1985) in his explanation of the interaction between captain Cook and native Hawaiians with the difference that in this case this extension has been developing gradually as the capitalist economy was taking root in Cusco along the last century at least.

Human relations with places are not necessarily harmonious. As the use of the word *pongo* and the human appearance of the *apus* as powerful and despotic landlords suggest, powerful places can be arbitrary, merciless and unjust in their relations with humans. This is easy to grasp when people are confronted daily with the highly unequal social order prevalent in the region. Human beings are at the mercy of powerful places and try to navigate the best they can their arbitrary designs and those of the institutions of the powerful humans, strengthening their alliances and trying to avoid conflictive situations.

This framework proposed here neither should be understood as reproducing the idea that Quechua people are essentially rooted in rural areas. Historically, Andean societies have shown high levels of spatial mobility. This was inscribed already in the pre-Hispanic and pre-Inka ethnic archipelago (Murra 1975) and widely present in forced and voluntary migrations associated to the colonial mining *mita* (Cole 1985). Based on a processual approach to relatedness, the proposed framework allows understanding how, through cohabitation and provision of food, people can develop kin relations with new places as well as debilitate their relations with others. Migrants' visits to their relatives in the city or in the countryside are not only visits to humans but also to places. Additionally, the logic of the food-offering allows people to keep cultivating their relationships with places that can be far away, by inviting them food. Migration is also associated with the development of stronger attention to regional *apus* who encompass both rural and urban areas.

Finally, as it will be clearly seen from chapter VI onwards for the case of Hapu, this ontological framework does not preclude people to get involved in deeply conflictive scenarios.

CHAPTER V

COEXISTING WORLDS, Q'ERO FAME AND HAPU PEOPLE

I met my now *compadre* Luis in 2002 when he had already an established group of middle class clients in the city of Cuzco. He travelled each year, around August, from Hapu, one of the famous Q'ero communities, in order to offer his services as *paqu* in the city. When Luis goes to Cuzco to work as a paqu, he stays at the house of one of his compadres. He wears his Q'ero cloths that, he acknowledges, are important for him to be able to attract clients. Because of his clothes, he was able to know more clients, and people approach him directly asking for his services.

When in the city, he starts visiting his clients in order to schedule appointments to make offerings. When they are scarce he also goes to the surrounding streets of the Qasqaparu market, in the city center, and sits there waiting for clients to come. He complains that now there are too many Q'ero people offering their services and hence there is a shortage of clients. Luis' clients, as those of other Hapu paqus, tend to be from the urban middle class.

To my knowledge and in contrast with other Q'ero communities such as Hatun Q'ero, only one Hapu paqu directly works with a tourism agent in Cuzco who has taken him as far as Europe to offer his services. In his small hut close to the plot where his family was harvesting potatoes in March 2008 he showed me his passport with the Schengen visa stamped in it. He also had a ten year visa to the US and a visa to the UK. He soon was going to travel to Europe. Here is the text in English on the web site that publicized "*Don Raymundo Inka-Q'ero Healer's Journey to Italy-Germany-Polony (sic)-Sweden April 15-30 / 2008*":

Don Raymundo, a "Q'ero-Pampamesayuc", who is part of a selected group of Ancients, with a great wisdom of Ancestral Andean Mysteries, an expert "knower" of the profound secrets of Pachamama, for whom he carries out exclusive ceremonies - "offerings" - which help us to balance our energies and so

have a better harmony with nature. The daily pattern of our lives wears us down and separates us from Pachamama; many technological changes interrupt our natural connection with her. An Offering Ceremony to Pachamama will allow us to re-connect with her and the Apus. *Our bodies, our families, our homes, our work, our earth, rivers, lakes and oceans are only waiting for this spiritual blessing.*¹

When I met Don Raymundo he was in his sixties and suffered a persistent cough that, he claimed, no doctor was able to cure. He is a Quechua monolingual with little competence in Spanish. He told me that he travels abroad almost yearly; however his trips haven't produced a significant change in his economy. He refused to talk about the details of his job, but talking with other Q'ero people who also have gone on this kind of tour it seems that the average salary is 500 dollars for an entire trip that can last a month or more. He was rather reserved about this job, but he explained to me that he did not wander the streets and the market of Cuzco scouting for clients as some of his fellow Hapu and Q'ero people do. He committed to remain in the tourist agent's house and work in Cuzco exclusively for the agent's clients, foreign tourists, and nobody else. The other Hapu paqus resent him for not introducing them to this agent: "He just thinks of himself, he does not want us to work like him. He is stingy."

I ended up doing ethnographic research in Hapu precisely through this relatively new work that some of Hapu people found in the city. When I was deciding on my ethnographic field sites, Luis came to my parents' home in San Jerónimo. Having known him already for five years, and having talked several times with him about his work and the places he serves, I thought it was a good idea to go with him to Hapu for my dissertation research. This seemed even more so because Hapu was a Q'ero community and hence, I thought, it was a good place to contrast the discourses that are made in the city about Q'ero people with what was actually going on in one of these communities. Luis was happy to bring me to his community while I am not totally sure he fully understood what my intentions were. He was convinced that I wanted to see the carnival and the pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i, as all other foreigners that had visited Hapu before. While I did want to know more about these practices, I was interested in other things beyond the Q'ero's practices of which the carnival and the pilgrimage are part of. I tried

¹ Urpichay Events. http://www.pumaperu.org/puma_expeditions/. Last accessed on March 22 2011.

to explain to him – and later to the whole community – as best as I could that I was interested in how people understood social hierarchies, that I wanted to participate in the daily life and that I neither worked with tourism nor would I do that in the future. Nevertheless I think that for a good time he thought of me as his potential connection to foreign tourism. The possibility of bringing foreign tourists to Hapu as well as establishing links with foreign Andean textile markets came up several times during our conversations. That was quite a plausible expectation about me that I however would not match. And this was not a perception held by Luis only. Almost all Hapu people where thinking this way as the following fragment of a conversation with Lucila, an Evangelical woman in her forties shows:

- | | |
|--|--|
| G: Imapaq turistakuna humunku | G: What do tourists come for? |
| M: Paykunaqa hamushankuqa nanchista munaspamá riki, kulturanchista munaspa imaynan tiyasqanchista qhawaspa, imaynan ñampa timpu karqan, imaynan chaypi runakuna tiyáunku imayna klasípi, akhnata riki haqhay Istadus Uniduskunapiqa qhawasqaku napi riki | M: They come wanting, liking our [inclusive] culture, wanting to see how we live, watching, how it was in the old times, how people live there, what kind, in that way, right? Those of the United States will watch, right? |
| G: Ríki | G: Right. |
| M: Mmm kay sirimpi riki akhnata riki | M: Mmm. Here, always, in that way, right? |
| G: Umhu | G: Umhu. |
| M: Chayqa chayta riki yachayta munanku chiqaqtapunichu chhaynata tiyanku icha yanqallachu chay larupi tiyanku chay intíhinas (indihinas) ñisqapi, anchayta munaspamá hamushankuqa ríki | M: They want to learn the exact truth, they wonder how do they live, [is it] inaccurate. They ask themselves, how those indigenous people live there? They are coming wanting do know that, right? |
| G: Ummm, imarayku paykuna chayta munan | G: Ummm, why do they want that? |
| M: Imaraykuchus, qhawaytapunicha munanku, riki ² | M: Why would it be? But they definitely want to see, right? |

While Hapu is not as famous as Hatun Q'ero and not so many people actually arrive there interested in their practices; Hapu people, as Lucila's words express, are well aware of the allure that their Q'ero practices have for foreigners and some urban Spanish speakers. For her, tourists are driven by an ethnographic desire to know. Hence from a Hapu perspective there is not very much difference between a tourist and an ethnographer. This type of explanation made quite clear that, while I was from Cuzco and I spoke some Quechua, I was still another tourist. There I was, asking questions, interested in their customs, taking pictures, making notes, and recording conversations. While to my knowledge I was the only academic ethnographer that reached the

² Conversation with Lucila. Hapu 2008.

community, the Hapu people were already familiar with foreigners registering their exclusive Q'ero customs.

This chapter is devoted to locating the diverse ways by which the community of Hapu is situated within the broader scenario of the Cuzco region. It is intended to accomplish two objectives in the broader argument of the dissertation. On the one hand, it is a general introduction to the Q'ero communities and particularly to Hapu. On the other hand, the chapter aims to discuss the ways in which multiple ontologies produce multiple worlds that are not isolated one from another.

The two themes are articulated by paying attention to the different ways in which Hapu paqus experience their travels to the city of Cuzco in order to give their services; how the urban curanderos see them; and why their clients value them. Their travels to the city of Cuzco and the issues that these give rise to show how Quechua ontologies are not secluded to rural areas. Indeed, they reveal that there are multiple Quechua worlds coexisting in the city of Cuzco and involving people who see themselves as *modern*.

The chapter starts with a brief historical contextualization of Hapu and the other Q'ero communities – since they were part of the same colonial hacienda – up to the recently formed multi-communal association called *Nación Q'ero*. Then I move to presenting their main characteristics such as location, weather, ecological niches, and production. The following section is a discussion of Hapu people's discourse about the forms of discrimination they face from other Cuzqueños. This discussion is related to the travel of Hapu paqus to the city, which is the bridge theme that connects this topic with a final discussion of how dominant narratives of modernity are articulated in the discourse of different urban curanderos and their evaluation of rural paqus' abilities. This theme is also important to clarify how the ontological diversity present in the region and its multiple worlds interpenetrate each other, making very ambiguous the possibility of defining a clear cut threshold between modern and non-modern worlds.

From *hacienda Q'ero* to *Nación Q'ero*

Until the late 1960s, Q'ero was a hacienda that included both Kiku and Hapu. The earliest documents register it as *hacienda Querós* in 1617 when it was already grouped

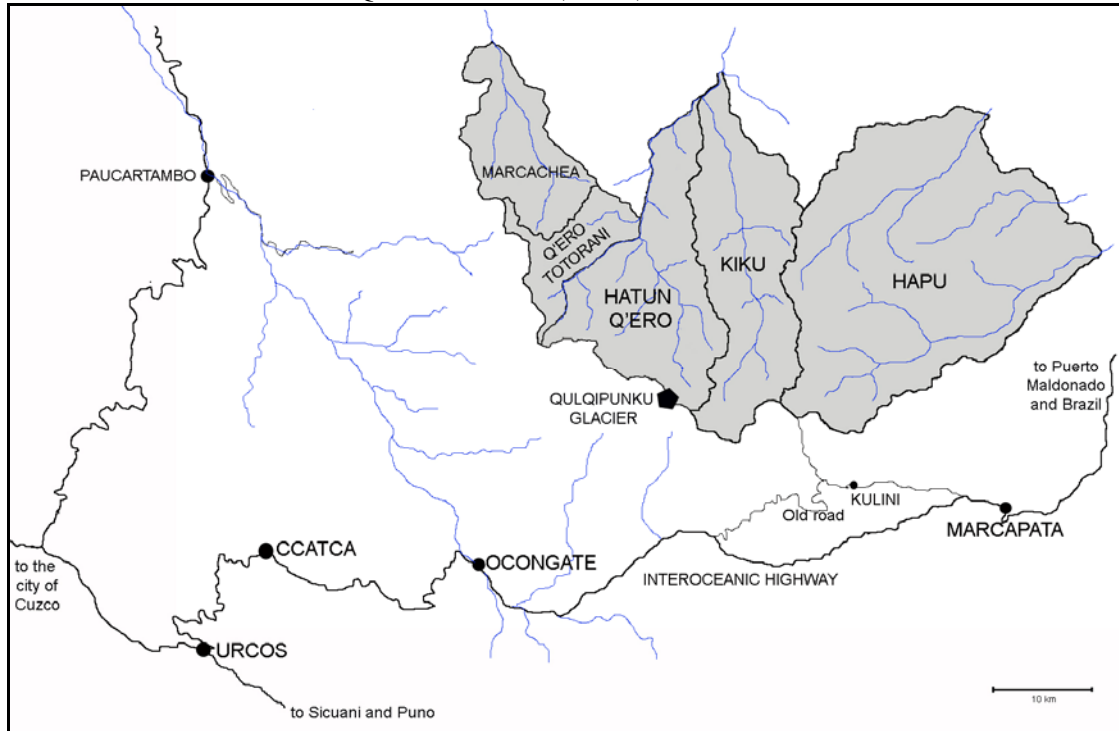
together with Mollamarca, Umamarca, Archi, and Sisipata under the same Spanish owner (Gutiérrez 1984). Discussing about its past, Efrain Morote comments that Q'ero might have not been granted before 1617 due to “the enormous distance [from Cuzco], the unpleasantness of its weather and the poverty of its lands [...] These lands were finally granted to Gabriel Ruiz de la Peña, an impoverished Spaniard” (Morote 2005[1958]:299). Morote adds another piece of information: the document he reviewed mentioned that the Q'ero people requested the presence of the Spaniards due to their concern with the attacks of the “*indios Caranaguas*.” (ibid). Similar information was communicated to me by Tom Zuidema who was able to briefly examine the landlord's archive in Paucartambo. Those documents seem to be also the source from which Morote elaborated his claims. Those document justified the grant of the land to Gabriel Ruiz de la Peña due to the request of the Q'ero people who sought to make an alliance with the colonial state seemingly to replace the protection that they received from the Inka against the mysterious “*indios Caranaguas*.”

Since then, these lands and their inhabitants were owned by different Spanish and then criollo/mestizo families during the colonial times. The mention of Kiku and Hapu (written as *Quico* and *Apu*) as annexes of *hacienda Queros* is explicit in documents dating from 1808. Since the mid-19th century, Q'ero and its annexes were owned by the Yábar family, who were also the owners of Mollamarca until the 1960s (Challco 1994, Gutiérrez 1984). Within Hapu there are still traces of colonial or early republican attempts to develop mines. These are inscribed in toponyms such as *machu minas*, old mines, or *tarapichi*, from Spanish *trapiche*, a mineral mill. The ruins of an unfinished mill structure that was to be powered by the Hapu river, as well as large unfinished grinding stones, can be found there.

The landlords lived in the town of Paucartambo from where they also controlled other haciendas they owned, such as Mollamarca. Due to the geographical difficulties in managing Kiku and Hapu from Paucartambo, as well as the closeness of these lands to

the hinterland of the town of Marcapata (Quispicanchis), these landholdings were also leased to third parties who controlled them from the town of Marcapata.³

Figure 5.1
The five Q'ero communities, rivers, closest towns and roads.



Source: Elaborated by the author on the basis of INC-Cusco 2006.

The documentation available in the Ministry of Agriculture hints that there were no specific registered legal titles for Kiku and Hapu, as they were considered annexes of the hacienda Q'ero. The legal titles of the former hacienda Q'ero were obtained separately by the *comunidades campesinas*⁴ that emerged from it. While Hatun Q'ero, the most famous Q'ero community, obtained its legal land titles in the 1960s (Flores Ochoa and Fries 1989), the other four Q'ero communities Marcachea, Q'ero Totorani,

³ The last landlady leased Kiku and Hapu to a person whose last name was Arteaga and who was from Sicuani. Then they were leased to Julio Solorzano. The latter had an employee in charge of it, a *mayordomo*, called Ezequiel Achahui who lived in Wayllayuq, a hamlet close to Marcapata.

⁴ *Comunidad Campesina* (Peasant Community): A legal republican institution. After independence the legal jurisdiction of the Republic of the Indians was largely derogated by the early liberal republican regimes. This implied not the equality of Peruvian citizens but rather the lack of protection of indigenous lands in the new legal framework. The contemporary *comunidad campesina* was firstly recognized as a *comunidad indigena* (indigenous community) in the 1920s, in part as a populist governmental indigenismo. The recognition involved the recognition of the collective entity as well as its legal ownership of the land. The name *indigena* was officially changed for *campesina* in 1969 when the Agrarian Reform was launched by the Left wing military dictatorship of Velasco, as was previously explained. For a comprehensive review of the literature on *comunidades campesinas* see Castillo 2007.

Quico (Kiku) and Japu (Hapu) established themselves as legal entities during the 1980s. Soon after their recognition by the State, they also achieved the legal deeds to their lands.

Associated to this recognition, Kiku and Hapu divided their territories previously managed as one communal land. Its civic-ritual center was Hatun Hapu, the current civic-ritual center of Hapu. This division had as a consequence that the corn plots that Hapu people cultivated in the *yunka*⁵ were lost. They became part of Kiku lands and Hapu people were not allowed to keep them. While Hapu possessed other *yunka* lands these were harder and more dangerous to access as well as very rocky. Hence, since the eighties, Hapu people do not cultivate corn in the *yunka*. When they need it to make corn beer, they exchange it with people from Kiku or buy it in Marcapata or Ocongate.

As many other Quechua communities in the region, Hapu, the place, is also the most important identificatory label for the community members. They call themselves *Hapu runa*, Hapu people. However, unlike most other Quechua communities in the region, Hapu people also use Q'ero as a broader identificatory label which they share with members of other communities that formerly belonged to the hacienda Q'ero. Hence Hapu people also call themselves *Q'ero runa*, Q'ero people. They juxtapose *Q'ero runa* to other Quechua communities that are their southern neighbors of the Quispichancho province, calling them *Qhiswa*⁶ *runa*. Beyond their old common belonging to the hacienda Q'ero, there are several ways to distinguish between Q'ero from the Qhiswa communities from the perspective of the Q'ero. One is the type of weavings: Q'ero *pallay*⁷ that involves a particular technique of weaving with three cords, different from the way other communities weave, which Q'ero runa call *Qhiswa pallay*. Q'ero *pallay* is easily distinguishable due to this particular trait and its distinctively different weaving motifs (Silverman 1998).

Q'ero people refer to their distinctive way of making textiles as part of their *kustunri*. This word is used also in relation to many other practices that they regard their own. *Kustunri* is a Hispanism used in Quechua coming from the word *costumbre* that is translated into English as *custom*. People in Hapu use this word similarly to the way

⁵ Low warmer lands between 2500 and 1700 meters of altitude and which precede the Amazonian plains.

⁶ *Qhiswa* (Qu) It refers usually to an ecological zone where it is possible to cultivate corn, however this is not the meaning that Q'ero people seems to be assigning to it in this context.

⁷ *Pallay* (Qu) To collect, to pick up.

custom is used in English. Kustunri includes practices such as rituals for domestic animals' fertility, communal rituals of carnival and *paskuwa* (Easter) associated with the system of staff bearers,⁸ as well as the practices linked to their pilgrimage to Taytacha Quyllurit'i, the most important regional shrine at the bottom of the Qulkipunku glacier. All these rituals have different musical genres played with several instruments. They are distinctively Q'ero and different from the neighboring non-Q'ero communities as well as from other Quechua communities of the region. The Q'ero repertoire of song genres is quite diverse. For example, the songs for the cows are different from the songs for the llamas, and are played with different instruments: the former with a pan pipe called *qanchis sipas* (lit. "seven young girls") the latter with a flute called *tukana*. There are many other musical genres which are associated with the different non domesticated beings. They include genres for praising the *phallcha* and *thurpa* flowers, the *wallata* (Andean goose), the *sirinas* (sirens) who live in/are the waterfalls, and so on. While these genres are stable in terms of melody their lyrics vary greatly. Almost every family has different lyrics that mention and comment on the particular places they live in. They also improvise the lyrics according to the events happening in their lives (see Holzmann 1986, Wissler 2009). Kustunri includes the particularly Q'ero repertoire of making food-offerings to the place-persons that are part of almost all family and communal rituals mentioned above (see Flores Ochoa and Núñez del Prado 2005).

While all Quechua communities that I had the opportunity to meet have similar claims about their own kustunri associated to the particular ways to do their festivities and rituals, it is striking how not only the Q'ero people but most of the external actors came to a certain agreement about the outstanding particularity of Q'ero customs. While it cannot be overlooked that Q'ero kustunri has distinctive traits, the same could be said about many if not all Quechua communities. The particular recognition of the Q'ero's outstanding distinctiveness should be understood in relation to the way in which it was constructed since the 1950s. It owes to the fame the Q'ero have acquired in the city of Cuzco and beyond.

⁸ The system of staff bearers is a rotating system of post of authority. It will be discussed in detail in chapter VII.

Recently the five Q'ero communities have legally formed an association called the *Nación Q'ero* (the Q'ero Nation). I do not fully know if the word *nación* was proposed by the Q'ero themselves. When I first heard of it, it resonated to me with three different but somewhat related associations. The first was the use of the word *nación* in the context of the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage, to refer to each of the delegations of pilgrims that went with a ritual dance to the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage. Each *ayllu*'s dance troupe and pilgrims was called a *nación*. In the context of the same pilgrimage, all the delegations that came from a broader political jurisdiction are also called *nación*. For example, all the dance troupes that belong to the province of Anta form the *nación Anta*. Here, the word *nación* comes from its old meaning, referring to community or group of people (Sallnow 1987).

The second association was related to what José María Arguedas, an important Peruvian writer and anthropologist, called “una nación acorralada,” a nation surrounded; a phrase with which he referred to the situation of the Quechua people: “a great people, oppressed by social contempt, political domination and economic exploitation in the very lands where it achieved the feasts by which history considered it so” (Arguedas 1990[1968]:256). It is this phrase of Arguedas that Mannheim (1998:385) uses for characterizing “the unstable, conjunctural character of Quechua nationality, which percolates below the threshold of awareness save for sporadic eruptions.”

The third possibility was associated to the agendas of the indigenous movements in the neighboring republics of Bolivia and Ecuador. The indigenous movements in both countries have achieved the constitutional recognition that these are plurinational states rather than solely nation-states (Lucero 2008).

As I got to know more about the ways in which the *Nación Q'ero* emerged and how it worked in practice, I realized that it was far from an explicit claim on Q'ero nationality arising from Q'ero people. It was rather someone else's project and not one of the Q'ero people themselves. Among these external actors was, for example, the then first lady, Eliane Karp, who was interested in their “shamanic” practices. Several town dwellers of Ocongate tell how, during the regime of president Toledo (2001-2006), school classes were suddenly canceled, the town was taken by policemen, and Eliane Karp arrived in a helicopter to meet privately with several Q'ero “shamans” who had

been convoked in advance. The same day she arrived she left by helicopter in the afternoon. Q'ero people told me that on those occasions she gave them blankets and food as presents.

The Regional Direction of the National Institute of Culture was also important in supporting the legal creation of the *Nación Q'ero*. Thanks to the efforts of personnel from this direction in 2007 the “*cultura Q'ero*” (Q'ero culture) was included within the *Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación* (Cultural Heritage of the Nation)⁹ and more recently, in 2011, the “*Q'ero taki or Inka taki*” (Q'ero or Inka musical tradition) was included within the same category.¹⁰ Civil servants from the Regional Direction of the Ministry of Culture were working to get the *Nación Q'ero* recognized by UNESCO as Intangible Cultural Heritage.

The Regional Direction of the National Institute of Culture (INC in its Spanish acronym) also launched the *Plan Integral de Etnodesarrollo para las comunidades de la Nación Q'ero, Paucartambo* (Integral Ethno Development Plan for the Communities of the Q'ero Nation) (INC-Cusco 2006). This plan was built on the idea that Q'ero culture should be at the core of Q'ero's development. As other discourses of development, this one was entangled within the logic of narratives of modernity. In its vision it stated “by 2015, the Q'ero communities will have become a regional referent of how indigenous communities in Peru have managed to combine strategically tradition and modernity, privileging culture as a factor of development” (INC-Cusco 2006:22). One of its strategic objectives was to “transform Q'ero in one of the most important spiritual centers of the region, so it be recognized as a cultural and spiritual reserve of the Andean region” (INC-Cusco 2006:23).

In the eyes of people in Hapu and Kiku this project of ethno development meant the construction of a cultural/community center financed by the INC, the installation of radio communication and some sporadic visits by representatives of the INC inquiring about pre Hispanic sites, or bringing an expert in natural dyes to train the women on how

⁹ Resolución Directoral Nacional (Resolution of the National Direction) RDN 1582/INC-2007. http://intranet.mcultura.gob.pe/intranet/dpcn/anexos/33_1.pdf . Accessed on Oct 20, 2011.

¹⁰ Resolución Viceministerial (Resolution of the Vice Ministry) VMPCIC 345-2011-VMPCIC-MC http://intranet.mcultura.gob.pe/intranet/dpcn/anexos/91_1.pdf . Accessed on Oct 20, 2011.

to make textiles with them so they can be sold at a higher price to the tourists.¹¹ They saw the relation with the INC as an opportunity to receive some benefits from the state and hence these communities agreed to form the *Nación Q'ero*. In practice, the new Board of the *Nación Q'ero* did not have too many immediate practical issues to deal with. Each community rather had a different agenda and the communal authorities were those legally responsible for pursuing it.

Soon, however, an issue emerged to keep the Board of the new *Nación Q'ero* busy. The *Asociación para la Conservación de la Cuenca Amazónica* (Association for the Conservation of the Amazonian Basin - ACCA), an environmentalist NGO, formally requested a concession of state lands in order to implement a private biosphere reserve according to a then relatively recent legislation.¹² The state lands they wanted to obtain in a conservation concession were located immediately to the Northeast of the Q'ero territories in lower altitudes.

Since the first geographical works on this region these lower lands were characterized as very inaccessible, densely vegetated, formed by steep slopes that finally ended in the Amazonian plains. These lands were below the *yunka* lands that the Q'ero people used. In the past, these rocky, densely vegetated and steep slopes below their *yunka* lands were characterized by the Q'ero people to be empty of human beings (Escobar 2005[1958]) and I was told similar claims by Hapu people. In 2006, during an electoral campaign in the lowland district of Kosñipata, where this NGO worked, it was accused of acting as the agent of foreign powers seeking to grab the district resources. The case appeared in the regional media and in the city someone noticed that these lands were just off Q'ero territories. Soon the accusation shifted from issues entangled in

¹¹ In the last decade there has been a revival of natural dyes in Quechua textiles in the region. It was deeply related to producing textiles for the tourist market as opposed to the production of textiles for self consumption that involved chemical dyes as well as the use of bright synthetic wools. See the book by Nilda Callañaupa (2007) who was an important promoter of the current revival of Andean textiles in Chinchero and more broadly in Cuzco.

¹² ACCA already had successfully obtained the *Concession for the Conservation of Los Amigos river* and the associated *Los Amigos Biological Station*. This was the first of the conservation concessions that followed the Law of Forests and Wildlife (Ley 27308), and was the first of its type to be implemented in Latin America. For more information about the *Concession for the Conservation of Los Amigos River* and *Los Amigos Biological Station* see the following web pages: http://www.acca.org.pe/espanol/conservacion/conservacion_los_amigos.html and <http://cicra.acca.org.pe/>. Both accessed on October 18, 2011. Recently the cited law was replaced by the Ley 29763 on June 15, 2011.

Kosñipata district politics towards claims in the city according to which the NGO was trying to take over Q'ero lands. Then the INC and many other individuals who see themselves as committed to defending and helping the Q'ero people became concerned with this issue. Accusations revolved around potential interests in timber, or gold mining.

Faced with accusations coming from multiple fronts ACCA decided to make an important shift. Its directors proposed that these lands could actually be given in a concession for conservation to the Q'ero people themselves and that ACCA could help them go through the process because they had the know-how. The INC called coordination meetings between these different institutions and individuals related to the Q'ero and ACCA so that all the actions be coordinated and articulated through its ethno development plan . Some meetings took place in the city with the presence of Q'ero authorities who largely did not understand what was going on in the discussions because these were carried out almost exclusively in Spanish. A few other meetings were carried out in some of the Q'ero communities. In these meetings soon emerged another possibility: why not obtain the legal titles instead of the concession?

These two options involved two very different strategies, long and complicated bureaucratic procedures, which supposed different types of plans on what do to with these lands. While initially the authorities of the Nación Q'ero were working with ACCA for the concession, there was a sudden change of its Board made during one of the assemblies of the five communities where they also decided that it was better to obtain the actual legal titles. ACCA then stopped its intervention and let the actors who advocated for obtaining legal titles help the Q'ero to carry out that process. The last time I talked with the president of the Nación Q'ero in the early 2009 he told me that all these other actors slowly became uninterested in the process of obtaining the property titles and it seemed to him that the process was not going anywhere.¹³

From what I was able to understand from this complicated issue involving different actors defending opposing claims is that the Nación Q'ero as an organization was encouraged more by external actors than by the Q'ero people themselves. The same

¹³ Later, through the year 2011, Hapu obtained state recognition of the *Área de Conservación Privada Japu - Bosque Ukumari Llaqta* (Hapu Forest - Bear's town Private Conservation Area) located in the yunka lands included within Hapu's land titles. Resolución Ministerial N° 301-2011-MINAM from December 28, 2011.

could be said about the concession or the lowland titles. The Q'ero people saw possible opportunities to obtain benefits but these were not their projects and they did not have any plan in relation to the lowlands.

Most of the people or institutions who are committed to helping the Q'ero people, both Cuzqueño and foreign, follow a slightly similar pattern: They are people interested in the culture of the Q'ero due to their fame, manage to arrive at one of the Q'ero communities and greatly appreciate their distinctive practices. They are also faced with the subsistence economy in which they live lacking electricity, tap water or other service that can be found in communities closer to urban centers. As many other Quechua communities, the Q'ero do not have a significant access to health services or to anything close to a relatively proper formal education for their children. Hence, from the appreciation of their culture many of these foreigners have moved to becoming involved in trying to help them improve their living standards. From these individual concerns were born some small organizations that try to collect funds in order to help one or another Q'ero community with its primary school, water system, electrification, winter clothing, affordable green houses, vitamins, lanterns and so on.

Most, if not all, of the people who are committed to working with the Q'ero can be assumed to be good people and very well intentioned. There are however two striking characteristics that many of them exhibit. The first one is a deep concern with issues of authenticity. This could be demonstrated with two examples. As part of ACCA efforts to construct a good relationship with the Q'ero communities they implemented a small program of planting trees in Hapu. After the reiterated request of Hapu people and somewhat reluctantly, ACCA accepted to plant, among other trees, some Eucaliptus. This is an originally Australian tree that was introduced in the Andes during the early 20th century which is greatly appreciated by local people because it grows fast and its wood is long and straight, unlike the native highland trees. That is why it is almost omnipresent in the landscape of the highlands. Hapu people also requested it due to this characteristic with the difference that the ACCA program would introduce eucalyptus to Hapu for the first time.

When the INC representatives learned about the plantation of Eucaliptus in Hapu they bitterly criticized ACCA for doing so and claimed to denounce them for altering the

Q'ero communities that were National Cultural Heritage. The representative of ACCA with whom I talked was astounded by the claims of INC representatives because, he claimed, there is no possible legal ground to denounce ACCA for providing the Hapu people with the trees they wanted.

Another example of this concern with authenticity was, for example, the criticism that one of the representatives of the INC and a philanthropist raised regarding another actor who had introduced the consumption of ayawaskha to Hapu. Ayawaskha is a psychotropic vine used in Amazonian indigenous practices (Dobkin de Rios and Rumrill 2008). During the last decade, with the emergence of New Age tourism, some tourist agents in the city of Cuzco offer Ayawaskha ceremonies. Ayawaskha ceremonies in the city then tend to be seen as a dishonest commodification of Amazonian indigenous knowledge and practices. This concern is present in the criticism of the INC representatives and are conflated with worries about the preservation of Q'ero authenticity that arised in a blog that was actually set up in order to promote dialogue between these different actors involved with the Q'ero communities.

In one of the posts one of the members of the blog mentioned that a representative of the INC had said in a meeting of Hapu and Kiku that it was very bad that someone had introduced ayawaskha in Yanaruma, a sector of Hapu. In another post other philanthropists claimed that:

... en los últimos tiempos se están introduciendo elementos ajenos a la cultura de los Q'eros, específicamente "ceremonias" de Ayawasca aprovechando su efecto psicotrópico, especialmente en las comunidades de Japu (Yanaruma) [...] Quien está dando Ayawasca a los jóvenes de Q'ero?¹⁴

In the last times, some elements that are alien to the Q'ero culture have been introduced, specifically the Ayawasca "ceremonies" taking advantage of its psychotropic effect, specially in the community of Hapu (Yanaruma). [...]Who is giving ayawasca to the Q'ero youth?

The answer to this worried concern regarding the use of ayawashka in a sector of Hapu came in the next post of the same blog:

¿Cuántos de los extranjeros estudiantes en los carísimos talleres de "shamanismo Q'ero" promovidos por el Sr. Núñez del Prado y otros agentes del "neo-shamanismo" en el rentabilísimo negocio de la "Nueva Era" en varios países no han probado alguna vez la ayawaskha? Si los turistas y los neoshamanes del mundo occidental tienen

How many foreigners have studied in the very expensive workshops of "Q'ero shamanism" promoted by Mr. Núñez del Prado and other agents of "neo-shamanism" in the highly profitable "New Age" business in several countries? How many of them have sometime tried ayawashka? If the tourists and the neo shamans

¹⁴ Blog Nación Q'ero. February 6, 2009. <http://nacionqero.blogspot.com/2009/02/qero-apoyo-al-desarrollo.html> . Last accessed on June 21, 2011.

derecho, por decirlo de la mejor manera, a "experimentar" con la ayawashka, ¿por qué los Q'ero, "el último Ayllu Inka", no tienen derecho, no a "experimentar" con ella sino a recuperar, para su propio bienestar, una Medicina Sagrada que siempre fue Inka y siempre fue suya?¹⁵

from the West have the right, to frame it in the best possible way, to "experiment" with ayawashka, why don't the Q'ero, "the last Inka Ayllu," have the right to recuperate for their own wellbeing a sacred medicine that always was Inka and always theirs?

What these exchanges show however is not only a clear concern with authenticity but also a second characteristic that is present among several actors that have befriended the Q'ero people. It is striking that many of them, while not all, see the others with a lot of suspicion. Most of these friends of the Q'ero deeply mistrust the others who also claim to help them; and suspicion or open accusations quickly arise about befriending the Q'ero in order to take advantage of them. I have listened to these claims from very different actors. Beyond the usual claims about not wanting to keep the Q'ero frozen in time or to make decisions in their name, what this mistrust reveals is a deep, while probably involuntary, paternalism. The mistrust can only be explained because it is assumed that the Q'ero might not be capable enough of distinguishing between their actual good friends and those who only want to take advantage of them. The Q'ero would then need someone to do this work for them.

The Q'ero communities

The current five Q'ero communities – Marcachea, Q'ero Totorani, Hatun Q'ero, Kiku and Hapu¹⁶ – are located contiguous to each other in the Eastern slopes of the Andean mountain ranges of Cuzco (see figure 5.1). Their highest lands start at the summits of a mountain range that goes Northwest towards Southeast, dividing the jurisdictions between the Paucartambo and the Quispicanchis provinces. Some of these mountains are glaciers whose summits are close to 6000 meters of altitude. From them the Q'ero territories descend abruptly through very steep slopes towards the Amazon. Their rugged lands cover very high *puna* lands where they herd llamas¹⁷, alpacas¹⁸ and

¹⁵ Blog Nación Q'ero. February 9, 2009. <http://nacionqero.blogspot.com/2009/02/creo-que-quienes-estamos-participando.html> . Last accessed on June 21, 2011.

¹⁶ Previously the communities of Pukara, K'allakancha and Qachupata also recognized themselves as Q'ero but they no longer do so as they have abandoned their Q'ero distinctive customs (INC-Cusco 2006).

¹⁷ *Lama glama*

¹⁸ *Vicugna pacos*

sheep (between 4700 and 3800 meters of altitude), cultivate Andean tubers (many varieties of potatoes, *ulluku*¹⁹, *uka*²⁰, and *añu*²¹) and herd small numbers of cattle (between 4000 and 3200 meters of altitude) down to the warm *yunkas* (approximately between 2500 and 1700 meters of altitude) where they cultivate small plots of corn and squash, and collect most of the wood they use as firewood and to build roofs for their houses. As the Q'ero River drops into the Amazon basin, far from the highland Q'ero communities, it forms the nucleus of a lowland community also called “Quero”, speakers of Huachipayri, a southern Arawakan language.

The proximity to the Amazon plains makes Q'ero lands very humid. From May to October, in the early morning the sky is usually cloudless, but around 8 to 9 am a dense fog arrives from the Amazon to the high *puna*, covering everything for most of the day only to retreat during the night. The rest of the year this fog is present even during the early mornings. The relatively low diversity of cultivated crops in Q'ero communities might be related to the extreme humidity. Contrary to other Quechua communities, Q'ero communities do not cultivate fava beans²², kinuwa²³, wheat²⁴, or peas²⁵. Hapu people repeatedly explained to me that these crops do not grow well in Hapu or when they grow they are not productive. Hence, their diet consists fundamentally of potatoes and other tubers. Corn is used primarily for preparing *aqha*, corn beer, used for the several rituals performed in the annual cycle.

Marcachea, Q'ero Totorani and Hatun Q'ero are closer to the town of Paucartambo than to any other town in the region; however it takes two walking days to get there. Hatun Q'ero is the most famous community and is seen as the center of the Q'ero communities. It was there that the 1955 “expedition” arrived and carried out most of its research. As a result, it is also the community that receives the most visitors looking for the *Last Inka Ayllu*. Due to this earlier exposure to touristic demand, Hatun Q'ero people were able to develop a deeper relation with these foreign actors. People involved in intellectual circles in Cuzco tend to have critical comments toward Hatun Q'ero

¹⁹ *Ullucus tuberosus*

²⁰ *Oxalis tuberosa*

²¹ *Tropaeolum tuberosum*

²² *Vicia faba*

²³ *Chenopodium quinoa*

²⁴ *Triticum* spp.

²⁵ *Pisum sativum*

people, lamenting that their fame is affecting rapid change. I heard several times that now even Hatun Q'ero teenagers go to the city of Cuzco pretending to be paqu. Others who have actually visited Hatun Q'ero say that the communality is in danger because each family competes to have their own "tourists." The arrival of tourism industry then might be reinforcing a family oriented economy. Hence, the presence of tourism would be increasing the internal economic differentiation within the community, the conflicts among different families and eroding the sense of community. In the town of Paucartambo, the Q'ero people are not very well regarded. Paucartambo townspeople claim that there is an exaggerated attention to them so they have become spoiled and want everything to come easily and for free.²⁶

In contrast to the other three Q'ero communities, Hapu and Kiku are closer to the towns of Marcapata and Ocongate, both located in the province of Quispicanchis. However, Hapu can be classified as belonging either to the province of Paucartambo or to that of Quispicanchis, depending on which sources are used. This in itself is indicative of its marginal status. According to the official state maps it is within the Quispicanchis province, but the Hapu people, as well as the Paucartambo authorities, claim they belong to the Paucartambo province. This is also claimed in the town of Marcapata, the closest town to Hapu and a district capital within the province of Quispicanchis.

From Hapu or Kiku, Paucartambo is very far, at least three walking days away, while Marcapata is reachable in less than one. Kiku's and Hapu's formal political articulation with Paucartambo but actual closeness to Marcapata puts these communities in an unfavorable situation. For example, in 2007 the closest health center was located in Marcapata. I accompanied Hapu friends to Marcapata where they could not access the state's free medical attention and medicine because it was not in their jurisdiction. They still could use the Health Center but had to pay for the services. If they wanted free attention and medicine they had to walk three days to the Paucartambo Health Center. Similar problems were faced in relation to the Civil Register office. Kiku had the status

²⁶ Much of these claims are repetitions of derogatory discourses about indigenous peoples and some of these stories might not have any factual basis. Even in Hapu I heard some critical comments about Hatun Q'ero. A Hapu friend told me that when they did not know that their textiles were so highly appreciated by foreigners, some Hatun Q'ero people started to come to Hapu and buy their old textiles for a very cheap price in order to sell them at very high prices in the city.

of *Centro Poblado Menor* (Minor Population Center) of Paucartambo and had a Delegate Mayor in charge among other things of the civil register. However during my field research this Delegate Mayor did not even have the forms to register the new born children and kept saying that they would soon arrive from Paucartambo. When I accompanied Hapu people to Marcapata's civil register the authorities refused to attend them claiming that they should go to Paucartambo.

Furthermore, in the past, due to its closeness many Hapu people registered in Marcapata and hence vote there. This, in addition to the fact that the population of Kiku and Hapu is very small, makes them a very low priority for the municipal administration of Paucartambo. Hapu and Kiku are one of the least important corners of Paucartambo, but they are Q'ero. That is why, when the issue arises that Hapu and Kiku should be assigned to the jurisdiction of Marcapata, the authorities of Paucartambo fiercely oppose it claiming that all Q'ero people historically have belonged to Paucartambo and that it should remain that way.

Hence, within the broader scenario of the region, Hapu people live in a marginal situation due to several dimensions of their insertion in the regional political economy. They are located on the margins of two provinces far from the provincial capital and have a difficult access to state services. Their geographical position and low density make them an irrelevant community in terms of provincial politics and hence are a very low priority for the provincial government. Due to the humidity of their lands they cannot cultivate a high diversity of agricultural products and their diet is almost exclusively based on Andean tubers. However, being a Q'ero community, Hapu people are aware that their distinctive practices, that they refer to as *kustunri*, provoke the interest and admiration of foreign people, of which some of them have already started to arrive to their lands.

The community of Hapu

Hapu, like the other four Q'ero communities, is relatively difficult to access from the city of Cuzco. In 2007, it usually took me six hours by bus or in a truck that was going from Cuzco to the Amazonian city of Puerto Maldonado to the small hamlet of

Kulini. From there, it took me a six hour hike – Hapu people made it in only five – to arrive at the civic-ritual center of Hapu, after having traversed a pass at 15,400 feet altitude. Due to the construction of the paved Inter-Oceanic Highway, a truck or a bus from Cuzco to the closest spot to start walking has reduced its time from six to four or even three hours. However, the road’s course was redesigned and from 2010 onwards Hapu people have to walk not five but eight hours in order to arrive from Hapu to the road or viceversa.²⁷

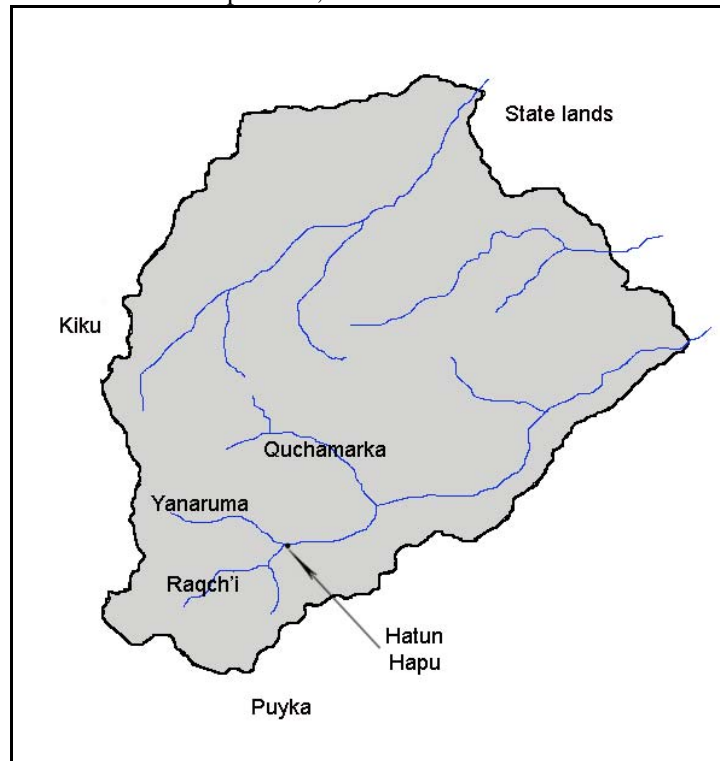
There was neither electricity nor tap water in Hapu while I was doing my fieldwork there.²⁸ The only official state institution present in the community was a primary school where one teacher was in charge of the first four grades. Social programs such as the *Programa Juntos*,²⁹ which gives about 35 dollars per month to households in extreme poverty, included Hapu families. This money could only be received by women and hence it pushed Hapu mothers to identify themselves in the civil register. In order to do so, most women had to go through frustrating processes to obtain a Peruvian ID. Because it was easier to reach the community from the towns of Ocongate or Marcapata (both in the Quispicanchis province), the special arrangements made by this program to facilitate the obtaining of IDs failed for Hapu women who officially belonged to the Paucartambo province. Hence obtaining an ID many times involved quite expensive travels to the city of Cuzco. Being in charge of managing the family and taking care of their children, a considerable group of them continuously postponed their travel to the city to get their ID. This was also due to the fact that the Hapu women barely speak Spanish. This is a serious obstacle in navigating the alien world of Spanish-speaking urban bureaucracies of Cuzco.

²⁷ During these years there has been heavy construction works on this road to improve and pave it. This road is part of the Inter-Oceanic Highway, part of the IIRSA (Spanish acronym for the *Initiative for the Integration of the South American Infrastructure* which involves 12 countries), that connects Peru and Brazil. Due to an environmental and economic assessment, the road that passed through Coline (Kulini), the place where Hapu people took buses and trucks to go to Cuzco or elsewhere, was moved. Currently the paved road, where all the traffic passes, does not go through Kulini but by a new southern route. While previously Hapu people had to walk five hours from Hatun Hapu to Kulini to catch a truck, now they have to walk eight hours to get to Wayllayuq.

²⁸ More recently my Hapu acquaintances have told me that an Austrian couple who visits them every year and helps them in different ways have contributed with the means to install a small hydroelectric plant in Hapu and helped them install piped water. This infrastructure was done in 2010.

²⁹ This program is directed to families that have children below 6 years old living in extreme poverty. It gives 100 Nuevos Soles (approximately 35 USD) each month to the mother under the condition that the children attend school and the mother takes them to the Health Center for regular checks.

Figure 5.2
Hapu lands, its rivers and sectors



Source: Elaborated by the author on the basis of INC-Cusco 2006 and fieldwork.

Hapu's legally registered land comprises 34,250 has. During 2008, Hapu had approximately 460 inhabitants represented by 78 heads of household. This number suggests a very low density (1.3 inhabitants/km²). However, much of these lands are covered by peaks, rocks, abysses, and densely vegetated slopes in its lowest territories. Hapu population lives fundamentally in the highest areas.

The ritual-civic center, Hatun Hapu, looked like a small village. There one could find the old Catholic chapel, a newer Evangelical church, the recent communal center -- finished in 2007 with funding from the National Institute of Culture as part of its program *Q'ero Ethno Development*--, and the primary school. Close to it there was also a soccer field that congregated the community's youth on Sundays. Made of stones and thatched roofs, the civic-ritual center had the biggest houses in Hapu, however they were empty almost year-round. Each house belonged to a closely related group of households, led by the oldest couple. These houses were used almost exclusively during the festivities of carnival and the celebrations of *Kurpus* (*Corpus Christi*, Christ's Body) associated with the pilgrimage to the shrine of Quyllurit'i. The families of the couple sponsoring the

festivities cooked and prepared corn beer in these houses and received the dance troupe, while the rest of the community ate, drank, danced, played music and sang during several days and nights. Their bigger size was intended to allow many people inside at the same time, in contrast to the smaller houses where people actually live most of the year and which would not allow many people to stand up and be able to dance and sing.

Figure 5.3
Hatun Hapu, the ritual-civic center of Hapu.



The buildings with red roofs at the left of the picture are part of the primary school. The one with a red roof at the right of the picture is the new cultural center built by the INC with the manpower of the community. Next to it, with a tin roof, is the recently built Maranata church in Hatun Hapu. The Catholic chapel is towards the left of the cultural center. It is thatched with a walled enclosure in front of it. April 2008.

The territory of Hapu has a multitude of named places with whom people live and cultivate their lands. However it is understood as comprising three major sectors which correspond to three small basins: Quchamarca, Yanaruma and Raqch'i. While each household had more than one house at different places and altitudes, each belong to the sector where it had its main house, where its members spent most of the year and where the pasture lands where it herded its animals were located. This main house tended to be located between 3700 and 4500 meters of altitude, relatively close to the pasture lands. Roughly half of the households lived in a much dispersed pattern, in groups of two or

three houses of closely related households far from another similar group. The rest lived in three relatively denser agglutinations of houses that are named after the sectors' names: Yanaruma, Quchamarka or Raqch'i.

Figure 5.4
Group of houses of three closely related married couples



The family members were getting ready for the festivity of the male llamas brought close to the houses. Hapu 2008.

Beyond this main house, all Hapu families had agricultural land plots in all the different sectors of the community. This is the case because most of the agricultural land is worked on a rotational cycle of six years. This rotational cycle is associated to six areas of cultivation in which all families have plots and which are distributed across the three Hapu sectors. Each of these six areas had central lands called *asinda allpa*, land of the *hacienda*, that was communally worked and its production destined for paying for the bureaucratic paperwork, travels or other expenses of the communal authorities. Before, these *asinda allpa* covered much larger areas and their production was destined for the landlord. Similarly, the community owned around forty cows that are taken care of by the *wakiru* (*vaquero*, cow's caretaker), a family assigned to this task for a year on a rotational basis. Before, this group of cows belonged to the landlord and its keeper had the same title.

When I stayed in Hapu during my fieldwork in 2007 and 2008 a little more than half of the households of Hapu had become Maranata, that is, members of the *Iglesia*

Evangélica Maranata (Maranata Evangelical Church). The first conversion of Hapu people occurred during the 1990s. The spatial distribution of converts to the Maranata church and non-converts is not random. During my stay, all but one family living in Quchamarka were Maranata. In contrast, all families in Yanaruma were *Katuliku* (Catholic). The third sector, Raqch'i, where I lived, had both Maranata and Catholic families as can be seen in the following table:

Figure 5.5
Distribution of households according to self ascribed religious affiliation (2008)

<i>Sector</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Maranata</i>	Total
Yanaruma	25	0	25
Quchamarka	1	32	33
Raqch'i	11	9	16
TOTAL	37	41	78

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Their main activity, agriculture, is for subsistence. Llamas are used mainly to transport products and their manure is used as fertilizer. Their wool is used for making sacks to transport potatoes or ropes. Sheep are also highly valuable as a source of manure and wool. Only in festivities are these animals sacrificed for their meat. By occasionally selling their sheep the Hapu people get some cash to buy kerosene (for lighting), clothes, oil, school items for the kids and, for those who have not converted to Evangelicalism, coca leaves and some alcohol. Extra cash was obtained through seasonal migrations for wage labor. Young single males, as young as 15 years old, migrate to the frontier economy of the informal gold mines in the lowland Amazonian plains where they work in unsafe conditions, with poisonous substances, and earn low salaries. In many cases they are scammed by their bosses who tend not to pay them their last month salary and can recur to open violence to manage complaints or discontent.

Some older males migrate to towns close to Cuzco or to the city itself where they work making *adobes* (mud bricks) or as construction workers. Around six middle aged and older Hapu men, among them Luis, go to the city of Cuzco around the end of December and beginning of January or more frequently at the end of July and the beginning of August, in order to offer their services as specialists making food-offerings for the place-persons.

Talking about social hierarchies with two Hapu men

The portrait of the contemporary Q'ero people as relics of Inka culture and as keepers of Inka wisdom stems partly from the narrative theme of *Inkari*, the Inka King. The ethnographic team that visited Hatun Q'ero people recorded narratives about Inkari as a cultural hero with extraordinary powers, having founded Hatun Q'ero and leaving in its landscape the marks of his deeds (Morote 2005[1958], Núñez del Prado 2005[1957]). This is, however, hardly a Q'ero exclusivity. Ethnographers and historians have reported similar themes about the Inka in several other communities across the Andes and in different times periods (see Arguedas 1975, Flores Galindo 1986, Ortiz 1973, 2001, Ossio 1973, Pérez 2005, Urbano 1987).

Explicit connections with the Inka are not frequently drawn in Hapu. Both Catholic or Maranata individuals rarely talked about the Inka or invoked them in quotidian practice. There were only a few instances when I heard about the Inka, and that was only when I inquired about them directly. On one occasion, I heard an elaborate discourse about the Inka in a conversation with don Sebastián – who I will introduce in greater detail in chapter VII – when I brought the theme into the conversation. During a visit to his house one afternoon, as we chewed coca leaves throughout the lengthy conversation, what started as a question about the Inka became an elaboration about Hapu people and their relationship with the Spanish speaking world and the dominant narratives of modernity:

- | | |
|--|---|
| G: Imata yachanki inkakunamanta | G: What do you know about the Inkas? |
| S: Inkamanta, minus partillata mana tantutachu. | S: [I know] less about the Inka, not very much. |
| G: Ummh. | G: Ummh |
| S: Umhu. | S: Umhu |
| G: Abuelituyki, imata ñiran, inkakunamanta, mana imatapas, icha. | G: Your grandfather, what did he said about the Inka, anything at all, or... |
| S: Inkakunaqa kasqa, kay na, ñuqa pisi partillataqa yachanin, inka imaynapitaq purirusu kasqa, purirñiyuq karanku paykuna, rumikunata qatiranku lasuwan. | S: There were Inkas. I only know very little about that. How the Inkas were powerful. They had power. They herd stones with a whip. |
| G: Ríki. | G: Really? |
| S: Hinaspa pirqasqaku munay driminru rumikunata grarashkunapi riki. | S: In that way they accommodated huge stones into beautiful walls, in stairs, right? |
| G: Uhmu | G: Uhmu |
| S: Piru paykunama, paykuna Yus taytanchishina purirñiyuq kasqaqu, paykunaqa karan, chiqaq | S: But, they, they, like God our father, had power. They were really kind people, healthy people, |

³⁰ Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

sumaq runa, sanu runa, manas kunan
nuqanchishinachu huchasapachu.
G: Umhu.
S: Chayraykus paykunaqa, mihur, Yushina
kasqaqu, manas paykunaqa imatapas
inwiyusuta kankuchu, ñi millayta
kawsankuchu, manas huchakunatapas
ruwankumanchu karqan, apinas kinsachunka,
tawachunka watayuqsi warmiwampas,
qhariwampas tupankuman karan chaysi.
G: Umh, riki
S: [...] mas allin ñuqanchismi, [...] rispitusu,
chiquaq sumaq, chanin runa kasqaku.³⁰

not like us [inclusive] who have great sins.

G: Umhu
S: It is said that because of that they were better,
like God. They were neither envious of
anything, nor they lived doing evil things. It is
also said that they wouldn't commit sins. When
they were thirty, forty years old, it is said,
women encounter men. It is said they were so.
G: Umh, right.
S: [...] they were better than us [inclusive]. [...] they were respectful, really kind, just people.

As noted previously, across the Andes, travelers, folklorists, and ethnographers have registered similar testimonies that feature the Inka as powerful cultural heroes who lived in a utopian world, who had powers that humans no longer have, and as morally superior beings. Similar to other narratives about the Inka, don Sebastián associates the Inka with Christian virtues and even equates the Inka with God. The Inka likeness to God is due both to their former power but also in relation to their moral life, absent of sin. And again, similar to narratives from elsewhere in the Andes, the Inkan utopia was broken by the Spanish conquest (Flores Galindo 1986).

G: Imata pasaran
S: Aynamantacha riki, chay akhanapi
kawsakushaqtinku riki, ispañul hamuspa riki,
inkanchiskunataqa, riki, risasirqan riki,
ispañul riki, aha, ñinku.
G: Imata pasaran.
S: Chaypichá wañuchiranku riki, chaypicha
chinkapuranku riki.
G: Tukuyta?
S: Tukuyta, chayqa chaypichá riki, ispiritunku
maypicha kunan kashan riki.
G: Ummh.
S: Aha, ispiritunku kashampuniya paykunaqpis.
G: Ichaqa kunanlla paykuna mana
kawsashankuchu?
S: Mana kanchu, manaña.
G: Mana kanchu?
S: Mana maypipas kanchu.
G: Ummh.
S: Manapunin kanchu.
G: Mana Qosqopichu, mana kaypichu.
S: Mana, manapunin kanchuqa, imapaqmi
ñiykiman chay.
G: Chinkapuranku.
S: Manapuni kanchu, chinkapun.³¹

G: What happened?
S: In this way, right, when they were living in
that way, right, the Spaniards arrived, right.
Our Inkas, right, risasirqan, right, Spaniards,
right, they say.
G: What happened?
S: There, they kill them, right? They were lost at
that point, right?
G: All?
S: All. Then, there, right? Now, even where their
spirits might be now, right?
G: Ummh
S: Yes. Definitely their spirits exist.
G: But, now, aren't they living?
S: There aren't. Not anymore.
G: There aren't?
S: There aren't anywhere.
G: Ummh
S: With certainty, they aren't.
G: Not in the city of Cuzco? Not here?
S: No. Definitely there aren't. Why would I say
so to you?
G: [They] are lost.
S: Definitely there aren't. They are lost.

³¹ Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

The Spaniards killed the Inkas who do not live anymore; they are lost from this world, the world of the surface, although don Sebastián insists that their spirits exist. This spiritual nature reinforces their similitude with God. What remains unexplored, however, is the relationship between these local renderings of the Inka and the globalized, urban discourse about Q'ero people as harbingers of ancient Inkan authenticity.

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: Imayna, imayna qankuna Q'ero kuna, Hapu runakuna inkakunaq wawankuta? Icha mana? | G: How [are] you, Q'ero people, Hapu people, children of the Inka? Or not? |
| S: Arí ñuqaykuqa huq chikan inkaq grashan hinarayqa kayku | S: Yes, we still have a bit like Inka's grace. |
| G: Imayna pasaran. | G: How did it happen? |
| S: Inkaq grasan hina, inkaq ñitun hina aynapuniya kayku, chaytaqcha akasu liyiytapas, imapas huq chikan palawra kastillanullatapas yachaqchu kanku, ñi ñapaykuypas, kakuq ñawpaqqa tinpuqa manama, wunus taris, wunus rias, wunus nuchis, mana qaqchu. | S: Like Inka's grace, like Inka's grandchildren. We clearly are so. In this way, [we] do not read, we don't know even few Spanish words, not even for greeting each other. In previous times not even, good afternoon, good morning, good night. There was not. |
| G: Ummm | G: Ummm |
| S: Mana qaqchu, mana chaytaqa yachaqchu kayku, ñuqaqpis hukñiqpuraqmi, huk klasi. Napaynakuy, napaynakuyñiykuqa. | S: There was not. We did not know that. Ours [is] entirely other type, other kind. We greet each other with our own greeting. |
| G: Umhu. | G: Umhu |
| S: Huk t'aya, ayna chaychu, kunanma ichaqa kustunrarapuyku chayman, yasta. | S: Other type. Not this. But now we are becoming accustomed to this, already. |
| G: Ummh. | G: Ummh |
| S: Aha, kunanqa chayman kustunrarapuyku, chikan iskuylapi karuyku, chayqa pisi, pisita anchayna kastillanu rimaykunata, huk chikachanta yacharuyku, chaychawan hina huk chikanta, huqñiraqman kustunrarapuyku, kunan wawakunaqa ashwanmi. ³² | S: Yes. Now we are becoming a bit accustomed in the school. Hence slowly, in that way, we are learning to talk some Spanish. With that, a little bit, we are getting used to other way. Currently the children even more so. |

Don Sebastián claimed that contemporary Hapu can be considered, to some extent, kin of the Inka. On first glance, it is notable that he makes this association using a Spanish word that comes from religious language. He used *grasha* (from the Spanish *gracia*), grace, as is used in *grace of God*: the gift of God to humans. The same word is used in Quechua also to refer to person's names. Hence, the people of Hapu have some of the gifts of the Inka, or have Inka names. The first possibility once more places the Inka in a structurally similar position to God. On the other hand, don Sebastián associates Q'ero people's relationship with the Inka, with a shared Spanish illiteracy and its

³² Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

consequences in a world in which Spanish is the language of hegemony. Hence one of the Inka gifts to Q'ero people is currently an index of ignorance, poverty and social inferiority.

My conversation with don Sebastián about the Inka eventually turned toward issues of language, social hierarchy and blunt discrimination. I inquired about his assessment of the slow shift toward Hapu people's mastery of Spanish.

- | | | |
|---|-----|--|
| G: Y ñawpaq aswan allin karan? Icha kunan aswan allin. | 1a | G: And, was it better before? Or now is better? |
| S: Irwalcha rikí, hukta ñiqtinqa, ñishu mana imachallatapis yachaqtinchisqa, sawinchisqataq kay liyiy yachaq wayqikunaqa sawinchakunkuya manaya imapaqpis kasurikunkutaqchu, inyu yaw, ch'uspa anchayllaya rimay. | 2a | S: It is just the same, right. But I would say that, because we do not know many things, these brothers who already know how to read [in Spanish] do not pay attention to us at all. <i>Hey Indian, dickhead</i> , in that way they speak. |
| G: Umm. | 3a | G: Umm |
| S: Arí, chayllatayá ñikuq kanku | 4a | S: Yes, there are people who speak like that. |
| G: Ummm | 5a | G: Ummm |
| S: Yaw inyu karahu, ch'uspa karahu ñispa, anchayllaya rimay kaq | 6a | S: They say <i>Hey damn Indian, damn dickhead</i> . There are people who speak like that |
| G: Riki. | 7a | G: Right |
| S: Aha. | 8a | S: Yes |
| G: Chayta mana allinchi. | 9a | G: That is not good. |
| S: Chay, manaya chay allinchi. Mana kunanqa chhayna, pisi palawrallatapas yachanki, imallatapis, chayqa mana chhaynata ñiwankumantaqchu | 10a | S: Certainly that is not good. Currently it is not so. [If] you know some few words, whatever, then they would not say such things to you. |
| G: Ummh. | 11a | G: Ummh |
| S: Aha | 12a | S: Yes. |
| G: Y mistikuna. | 13a | G: And <i>mistis</i> |
| S: Mistikunaya chhay. | 14a | S: Those are <i>mistis</i> . |
| G: Imayna kashan, mistikuna. | 15a | G: How are the <i>mistis</i> ? |
| S: Mistikunaya chhayna rimaq, inyu karahu, ch'uspa karahu ñispa ñuqayku ankhayna, inyu p'achachayuq kakuqaykurayku ñiwanku, anchaypiya kan, lluy mana ancha anchay p'achaykutapas wikch'upuykuña riki. | 16a | S: The <i>mistis</i> talk like that. <i>Damn Indian, damn dickhead</i> saying to us in that way. They say us <i>Indian</i> because of our clothes. It is so. Certainly, not all drop our [exclusive] clothes, right. |
| G: Maypi | 17a | G: Where? |
| S: Puriqtiykuya Qusqunapi, maypi. | 18a | S: When we travel to Cuzco. There. |
| G: Aan. | 19a | G: Aan... |
| S: Wakillanyá sumaq runa mistimantapis | 20a | S: Among <i>mistis</i> , only some are kind people. |
| G: Uhum | 21a | G: Uhum |
| S: Chay ñisqayyá, mana allinchi. | 22a | S: It is not good to talk like that. |
| G: Riki | 23a | G: Right |
| S: Runaqa ch'ullallaya kanchis | 24a | S: We human beings (<i>runa</i>) all are the same |
| G: Ríki. | 25a | G: Right |
| S: Yuspa kamasqan. | 26a | S: Created by God |

Don Sebastián claims that the people of Hapu, where there is a general lack of Spanish fluency, experience discrimination, insults, and maltreatment when they are

outside of Hapu, in places where the general population has a higher command in Spanish (2a, 10a). The practices of the *kustunri* are not as valuable as literacy in Spanish for what counts as *knowledge*. Don Sebastián implies that it is their *brothers*, who are fluent in both Quechua and Spanish, that insult them (2a) but when learning Spanish, such malevolence is uncommon (10a). However, as he points out, the hierarchy is not only about language, but is also inscribed also in other signs carried in items such as dress.

Unsure of how he might use the label *misti*, whether he was labeling those he referred to as brothers as such, I inquired about this category. Within the literature, the term *misti*³³ is used as a category in opposition to *runa*, which then acquires a racial/ethnic tone and in those context *runa* would not be translated solely as human being. *Runa*, as opposed to *misti*, would index Quechua speaking agriculturalists that live according to the norms of reciprocity with fellow *runas* and the place-persons (Allen 2002[1988], Mannheim 1991). As such, the dichotomy *runa/misti* would seem to correspond with that of *indio/mestizo* but with inverted derogatory connotations. However, this is not don Sebastián's usage in the cited fragment. Rather, invoking God, he uses *runa* to refer to the shared humanity of all people as part of his condemnation of discrimination and maltreatment (24a, 26a).

When used in everyday life, *runa* primarily refers to human beings and should not be assumed to carry racial/ethnic tones. As Huayhua (2010) has explained for a different community in the region, and as, for example, don Sebastián used the term in this fragment, *runa* is primarily used in its general meaning of human being. All of my interviews in Hapu are consistent in this point. The word *runa* only becomes an ethnic tag when I introduced it as such in contrast to *misti*:

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| G: ... kunan kaypi Hapupi, mistikuna tiyan?
Mana tiyanchu. | 27a | G: ... now, do <i>mistis</i> live here in Hapu? or not? |
| S: Manamá kanraqchu | 28a | S: There are not yet. |
| G: Mana. | 29a | G: No |
| S: Manaqa mistipuni kanchu | 30a | S: Definitely, there aren't <i>mistis</i> . |
| G: Runalla. | 31a | G: Only <i>runas</i> . |
| S: Runallapuni. | 32a | S: Definitely only <i>runas</i> . |
| G: Imayna runa huqñiraq mistimanta. | 33a | G: How <i>runa</i> is different from <i>misti</i> ? |
| S: Aqhanapunichá kawsay riki, hinapuni, ríki. | 34a | S: We live in this very way, in this way, right? |

³³ *Misti* (from Sp *mestizo*)

³⁴ Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

- G: Ichaqa imaynan huqñiraq. 35a G: But how is different?
 S: Anchayllapiyá huqñiraq kanchis, anchay 36a S: Here we are different, in our live, we are a bit dirty, a bit in some way dirty, in dirty ways we live, our language, our *kustunri*, our singing, our dance, is other class, other model.
 kawsayñinchispi ñuqayku ash chikan qhillillaña kayku, huk chikan imapas qhilli, qhillikunallapi tiyakuyku, rimayñiyku, kustunriykuta, takikuy, tusuyñiyku; huk klasi, huk mudilu, 37a That of *mistis* is other model, other, clean, good. Yes. They are into studying, in reading Spanish, they are better, select.
 Piru místiqqa huk muliruñataq, hinas 38a In that other way, into that other type we [inclusive] are becoming, right?
 limphiyu huq allin, arí kay isturiyunpi, liyiyi kastillanupi, mas allin siliktu kanku, Anchay, anchaywanmi huqñiruqman tukushanchis riki.³⁴

In a different conversation, I posed a similar question to don Luis and he offered a slightly different answers, but touching on very similar topics. Below, I cite don Luis' elaboration of *runa* and *misti* in order to compare both dialogues and make some points in relation to how Hapu people talk about regional social hierarchy and how they relate to the dominant narratives of modernity.

- G: Kaypi misti kashan? Mana? Hapupi. 1b G: Here, in Hapu, are there *mistis*? Or not?
 L: Kayqa lluyñataq mistiyapushankuqa, misti 2b L: All are becoming *misti* already. All have *misti* cloth.
 p'achayuq kamañataq. 3b G: Aah. *Misti* cloth?
 G: Aah, misti p'achayuq? 4b L: Uhum...but definitely we also are *runa*, right?
 L: Ummhu... piru runaya kashaykupasqa riki. 5b G: Right
 6b L: The young men who grew after me are not anymore, like me, using this cloth.
 G: Riki 7b G: Ummhu
 L: Manañaya ankhayna ñuqa hina p'achata 8b L: All are already wearing cloths of fabric
 usankuñachu, qhipa wiñay maqt'akunaqa riki. 9b G: Ummhu.
 G: Ummhu. 10b L: All [are] already with jeans, with jackets,
 L: Llipin yasta pañu p'achayuq kama 11b G: But, are *misti* and *runa* different only in their cloths?
 churakapushanku. 12b L: Yes, only in their cloth
 G: Ummhu. 13b G: Only the cloth?
 L: Pantalunwan, kasakawan, lluyllaña 14b L: Only the cloth
 G: Ichaqa, misti, runari huq niraq 15b G: But other...
 p'achallamantachu 16b L: Our bodies are the same, aren't they?
 L: Klaru, p'achalla. 17b G: Yes
 G: P'achalla? 18b L: We eat in the very same way, we drink in the very same way, right?
 L: P'achalla. 19b G: Right
 G: Ichaqa huq... 20b L: The same. But you [honorific] Guillermo, you are a student. And we [exclusive] are a bit blind, right? We [exclusive] are not so much students.
 L: Kurpunchisqa irwal, nu? 21b G: Ummm
 G: Riki. 22b L: That is how we are different Guillermo.
 L: Riki ch'ullallata mihunchis, ch'ullallata tumanchis, riki
 G: Riki
 L: Irwal, piru pirsunaykisqa Guillermo, kankis isturianti, ñuqaykutaq kayku huq chikan ñawsa, riki, mana tantu isturiantichu kayku.
 G: Ummm.
 L: Anchayllapi diphirinti kanchis Guillermo.

³⁵ Conversation with don Luis. Hapu 2008.

G: Ummhu	23b G: Ummhu
L: Umhu.	24b L: Umhu.
G: Riki.	25b G: Right
L: Haqhay larumanqa yasta Okungatimanta haqhay larumanqa yasta isturianti allin ñawiyuqñaya, paykuna riqsinkuña papilta allinta, riki (?)	26b L: In that other side, already, in that side of Ocongate, they are already students, already have good eyes. They know papers very well, right?
G: Riki.	27b G: Right
L: Ñuqaykutaqya mana kaypiqa, kunan qhipa wiñaypiñataq mana riqsinkuchu allinta.	28b L: Here we don't. Now those who grow after me still do not know very well.
G: Ummhu.	29b G: Uhum
L: Wakillan atin acta ruwaytapas, wakinqa manan atinchu, unus kuantus numas.	30b L: Only some can do the minutes. Some can't. Only some [can].
G: Ummhu.	31b G: Ummhu.
L: Mana palabrapas kanchu wakinpaqa. ³⁵	32b L: Some do not have words.

There are some clear commonalities about social difference in these two discourses. Both clearly emphasize a shared humanity – being *runa*. Don Sebastián stressed it through his invocation of God's creation (26a) and don Luis by pointing out the sameness of the human body, which is built and constituted by the same fundamental practices across sociocultural difference: eating and drinking (16b-18b). As discussed in chapter IV, these practices are fundamental not only in constituting the body but also in constructing sociality and kinship.

The ambiguity and differences between don Luis' and don Sebastián's answers about the existence of *mistis* in Hapu point to the relational quality of these categories. Don Sebastián claims that there are still no *mistis* in Hapu (28a) while don Luis says that all are becoming *misti* (2b, 6b-10b). Just as *indio/mestizo* are relational categories rather than fixed social groups, the *runa/misti* dichotomy works in similar ways, constructing social hierarchy in actual social interactions rather than pointing to a clear boundary between two discrete social groups.

Both of their answers also refer to a process of progressive conversion. For don Sebastián, there are *not yet* *mistis* in Hapu (28a), whereas for don Luis, all young males are *becoming* *mistis* (2b, 6b-10b). Likewise, both claims reference communities outside Hapu that are already *ahead* in their process of appropriating Spanish. Don Sebastián refers to “these brothers who already know how to read” (2a), who discriminate against Hapu people, and don Luis points toward the communities of the Ocongate area who are no longer blind (26b). It is relatively easy to see that within these discourses about racial/ethnic difference lay elements of modernity's dominant narratives (see chapter II),

particularly those that frame indigenous practices and knowledge in strongly derogatory tones. Finally, both interlocutors identify these processes as being indexed by a number of changes: Acquiring some level of literacy in Spanish (10a, 38a, 30b-32b) jettisoning Q'ero style clothing (16a, 6b-10b) for manufactured cloth (2b), and moving from dirtiness toward cleanliness (36a-38a).

Don Luis and don Sebastián statements make clear how issues of language and literacy are deeply related to the hierarchical organization of society. Language and literacy mediate one's relationship with the power of the Spanish speaking world and its bureaucratic institutions. The relationship with such power is mediated by written papers that stay beyond the knowledge of most of Hapu people (28b-34b). For don Luis, this difference in the mastery of Spanish literacy is what articulates social hierarchies and the different levels with which people can negotiate and even manage the formal political institutions of the state. It is a difference in access to a key political tool that makes a Quechua speaker *runa* different than a literate *misti* field researcher like me. As in many other parts of the Andes, this difference is pointed out through the mention of blindness: to not be able to read is to be blind, to do not have good eyes (Degregori 1991, Montoya 1990, Zavala 2002). These political differences stemming from a lack of literacy are correlated with differences in clothing and in *kustunri*.

In the Andes, clothing has a long history as an important marker of social difference (see Callañaupa 2007, Femenias 2005, Murra 1962). Both don Luis and don Sebastián point out dress as one central semiotic domain for identifying people as *misti* or *runa* (16a, 1b-14b). Q'ero *p'acha* is the distinctive clothing of people of Hapu. As don Luis points out, many males of Hapu wear manufactured clothes rather than Q'ero *p'acha*.³⁶ While Q'ero women may also don manufactured clothing, they never stop wearing their distinctive *pullira* skirts and thus always carry clear signs of Q'ero *p'acha*.³⁷

³⁶ See Chapter IX, "Differences Among Catholic and Maranata Households"

³⁷ As in other communities of the Andes, the ethnically marked cloth is constantly used by the women while that is not the case for men. There are several implicit disciplinary mechanisms, such as mockery, sarcasm and ridicule of women who do not adjust to the appropriate ways to dress, which reinforce these gender differences in clothing. See De la Cadena 1995, Harvey 1989, Oliart 1991, Stephenson 1999 among others.

When Hapu men travel to the city of Cuzco – women seldom accompany them and rarely travel by themselves – not all wear their Q'ero cloth. But those who travel in order to make food offerings to the place-persons do wear them. While I did not observe the blatant maltreatment that don Sebastián reports, I saw other, more paternalistic ways that the ethnic hierarchy can be exerted. For example, as don Luis and I were looking for some coca to buy in the San Jerónimo market in the outskirts of Cuzco, one man who was passing by asked don Luis in Quechua with an affected surprise and familiarity, “*Don't you have cold in your knees? Why are you wearing those pants?*” The man, in his forties, younger than don Luis, was pointing out his capris cut pants, known as *kalsun*,³⁸ Don Luis replied in Quechua, ironically overstating his lower social position and poverty by treating the man as a patron who would care for his needs: “*My father, these are the only pants I have. Thank you. You are going to buy new ones for me, aren't you?*” As Luis smiled at him the stranger laughed by way of answer and kept walking. The readiness of his reaction led me to believe that don Luis often had to deal with similar situations. His strategy did not contradict the hierarchy implied by the man but pushed it even further, pointing to material inequalities to put the man in an unexpected position of patriarchal benefactor that was at least uncomfortable for this man.

While popular urban classes might maltreat or lecture Q'ero people in relation to their clothes, urban elites and representatives of public institutions repeatedly demand that they maintain their authentic clothes. For example, school teachers from each Q'ero community who came together in Kiku with their students for a soccer championship among Q'ero schools, lectured Kiku authorities about how they were abandoning their Q'ero style clothing, that they should be proud and maintain it. The Kiku authorities listened and made no comment. A functionary of the Ministry of Tourism, who had arrived in Hapu as part of the National Institute of Culture's ethno-development project in order to train women in dying wool with plants and other natural dyes, directed similar admonitions toward the townspeople.³⁹ After the training session, while were chatting

³⁸ *Kalsun* (from Spanish *calzón*) Pants until the knee, stereotypically associated to authentic indigenous people.

³⁹ Textiles with natural dyes are sold at higher prices, claiming not only to be devoid of chemical inks but also bearing a higher *traditionalistic character*. These weavings “with natural dies” have become quite popular to be sold to tourists. Natural dyes add them more authenticity, since they are protected from industrial processes associated to synthetic dyes.

with young Hapu men, he said to them in Spanish: “*You should wear all like him,*” pointing at an elderly man in Q’ero clothes, “*so beautiful, you see. You should maintain your customs.*”

This demand is constantly made on those who travel to Cuzco. A telling incident occurred during the presentation of a documentary about the Q’ero singing tradition. After the director answered several questions, she invited the film’s protagonist, her Q’ero *compadre*, to respond to the audience’s questions. A man in his thirties, who wore manufactured clothes, rubber sandals, and his *chullo*, he came to the front of the auditorium, which hosted around two hundred middle-class and urban elite, mostly artists, intellectuals, and people interested in “Andean culture.” The first question came from a man in his sixties who was wearing a suit. Without further elaboration, he asked plainly in Spanish, “*why aren’t you wearing your poncho?*” The documentary’s director translated it into Quechua for her *compadre*. His immediate answer was not an explanation or a request of clarification. Rather, he quickly went back to where his fellow Q’ero people were, put his poncho on, and came back to the front of the auditorium. He interpreted that the question was rather a disciplinary remark, and I think that his interpretation was accurate.

These examples show the double value that Q’ero clothes have outside of places like Hapu. On the one hand, they have to interact with truck and bus drivers, other travelers from different backgrounds, and people from the towns of Ocongate, Ccatca and Urcos as well as people of the city. On the route to Cuzco and in many contexts within the city, their Q’ero clothing is iconic of Indianness and its characteristics: poverty, ignorance, and backwardness. For Hapu people dressed in the Q’ero style embody the highest markers of “Indianness.” Many different people might feel entitled to lecture, mock, or insult them.⁴⁰

On the other hand, for these Hapu men, Q’ero clothing is an essential element in conveying the aura of authenticity that is crucial for the work they must do. Without those clothes, they would not be able to mark themselves as authentic enough in order to satisfy the expectations of travel agencies, tourists, or middle class clients. Here, Q’ero

⁴⁰ One *paqu* of *Hatum Q’ero* told me that he preferred not to wear Q’ero cloths when returning to his community, because they became easy targets for thieves who know that they are carrying their work’s earnings.

clothing is iconic of Andean authenticity, a pristine culture uncontaminated by modernity, the remnants of past Inka glories. Without these clothing, Hapu men would look just like any other folk of the region. The same clothing that marks them as targets of maltreatment gives them the opportunity to earn monetary income by making offerings to the place-persons for urban middle classes and tourists. Q'ero clothes make Hapu men the object of both celebratory and derogatory versions of narratives of modernity.

The dirtiness to which don Sebastián refers relates to the quotidian relationship that Q'ero people have with the earth in agricultural work. As Orlove (1998) has shown, social hierarchies are also organized through levels of proximity with the earth as a substance (soil, dirt, mud). The more people distance themselves from practices related to the earth (such as cultivating the land, having the house with dirt floors, using *ojotas* - cheap rubber sandals- rather than shoes, etc), the higher one is in the hierarchy, the more “modern.” This distance or proximity with the earth is always relative: who is more proximate or more distant to the earth is negotiated in social practice.⁴¹

Orlove (1998) shows how having earth floors in one's home, as well as sitting and sleeping directly on the earth, constitute powerful indexes of racial/cultural standing. Covering the floor with concrete, tiles or wood in towns or cities, or incorporating the use of chairs, tables, and beds are ways to put distance between one's body and the earth. As don Sebastián put it, close daily proximity with the earth becomes associated with dirtiness, which then becomes inscribed within discourses about hygiene that are morally loaded.

For example, the following incident happened during a visit from a representative of the state program *Juntos*,⁴² a program of conditional monthly aid that provides approximately \$30 to women who have children younger than six years within communities considered to have extreme poverty.⁴³

⁴¹ In this way *runa* in the same way than *indio*, as racial/ethnic tags, are essentially linked to the term *campesino* (peasant) which is racialized geographically and occupationally. While *campesino* was promoted by Marxist intellectuals in the early 20th century as a way to replace the derogatory *indio*, it is after all equally racialized (Orlove 1993, 1998).

⁴² *Juntos, Programa Nacional de Apoyo Directo a los Más Pobres* (Juntos [Together] National Program of Direct Support to the Poorest). <http://www.juntos.gob.pe/>

⁴³ In order to be beneficiary of the program *Juntos* the woman had to have a DNI (national document of identity) that most of women of Hapu did not have. Additionally they had to show that they send their children to school and to the Health System. This is a state strategy to push women to use the services

Shortly after his arrival, the *Juntos* representative managed to alienate the communal authorities and most people in the community. He arrived at the Hatun Hapu school already annoyed because, despite announcing his arrival to the community by a radio message, the authorities of Hapu did not arrange a horse for him to ride from Kuliki to Hatun Hapu. Hapu men were not comfortable with his insistence of having a meeting only with women. The day he arrived, he held an assembly with the women in the school's patio. As usual, the women started to sit down in the grass of the primary school patio waiting for the meeting to start. The representative of the *Juntos* program insisted on taking the chairs of the primary school to the patio and requested that the women use them. Although a Spanish speaker with a weak command of Quechua, he nevertheless offered as part of his instructions before the meeting, "*Sillapi tiyay, runa hina, sillapi tiyay*" ("Sit down on the chair, like a human being, sit down on the chair"). This claim met no response from the women who might have been surprised and insulted. The state bureaucrat was implying that they were not human beings because they did not sit on chairs.⁴⁴ The Hapu women did not move from their earthen seats and the *Juntos* representative could only start the meeting after accepting their refusal to his attempt at disciplining their way to sit down. This failed attempt was part of how he understood his commitment to the moral mission of converting Hapu women.

Don Luis and don Sebastián organize these practices – literacy, clothing, and dirtiness – within certain overarching notions of social difference. For both don Sebastián and don Luis, social hierarchy is indexed primarily by differences in *habitus*, developed through humans' relationship with the environment, performed in and through particular practices. Both speak through an ideology of racial difference, which is articulated as different cultural practices inscribed in the bodies. *Runas* are of a different type, of a different class, that is, of a different race, than *mistis* due to their higher proximity with the earth, their dedication to agricultural work, the clothing worn and weaved by the women, by all of the exclusive practices of the *kustunri*, and by their lack of literacy. The *misti* are differentiated fundamentally by their literacy, which is then correlated with a

given by the State, without a clear policy that would improve the low quality of the education and health services provided (see Huayhua 2010).

⁴⁴ In the case that they were understanding *runa* in its ethnically charged meaning the claim would not make any sense at all, because actually *runa* women do sit on the floor and do not sit on chairs.

greater distance from the earth that would made them less dirty, and with the use of manufactured clothes and commodities.

Because the differences between runa and misti boil down to practice, they are possible to overcome though it is very hard to do so. Both don Luis and don Sebastián discuss the process of learning to read and write Spanish as well as using manufactured clothes as a process of becoming misti. Along with his claims about how Hapu children were learning some Spanish, don Sebastián states that Hapu people are slowly becoming used to the misti ways. When using runa as an ethnically marked label, his words carry a teleological narrative of improvement from *runa* to *misti* in a settled hierarchy, which ascribes greater status to greater command of Spanish, wearing manufactured clothes and having a less proximity to the earth.

It has usually been claimed that the runa view of mistis includes a negative moral judgment because they do not maintain reciprocal relations with the place-persons (see Allen 2002[1988], Mannheim 1991). For Hapu, this claim is not totally applicable. For a Hapu traveler, it is obvious that those who wear manufactured clothes and already speak, read, and write Spanish do pay respect to the places through practices that might not be exactly Hapu's *kustunri* but are recognizable anyway. The city's Spanish-speaking middle-class and elite families actually pay Hapu *paqus* for making offerings to the place-persons in their names. Additionally, foreign visitors to Hapu are deeply interested in Hapu food-offerings.

This view of the regional society can be illustrated by the following example. There were strong, worrisome rumors about the presence of miners in Hapu's surroundings in 2008. I asked one of my compadres: *Why do people worry so much if the apus are so powerful? Would the apus allow those miners to enter and take the metals from them?* His answer was that the miners, because they were engineers, knew a lot more than them. The miners might thus be able to give better offerings to the apus than those given by the community members and then the apus might allow the miners to take the minerals from them. These engineers – those who are considered to have the highest knowledge and power – would be able to establish more preferential reciprocal relationships with the apus than those already established with the Hapu humans. While this explanation might not be the only one that could be found in Hapu, it is illustrative

that, on one hand, Hapu people tend to assume that all humans cultivate reciprocal relationships with the place-persons, an assumption of a Quechua ontology, combined with the recognition of a higher power of the engineer's knowledge, that is consonant with the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy.

Curanderos, paqus and Cuzco's multiple coexisting worlds

As I stated before, I met my now *compadre* Luis in 2002. He met my mother through his other clients and she introduced me to him when he came to my parents' house in order to make a food offering to the place-persons in the name of my family. Luis started to offer his services as a *paqu* during the 1980s, before the Q'ero people came to be regarded so highly as "shamans" by New Age tourist agencies and the Cuzco middle classes. His entry into the *paqu* business took place through a remarkable story that destabilizes assumed stereotypes about Q'ero people in the city.

During the 1980s, Luis used to travel between Hapu and Cuzco, first as secretary and then as president of his community, to carry out bureaucratic procedures in order to obtain the community's legal land titles. During those years it took at least two days to arrive to Cuzco due to the very low quality of the roads which were not yet paved then. Additionally, neither he nor his fellow delegates knew anyone in the city, which made their journeys even harder. During one of these travels he was left alone in Cuzco by his travel companions. To make matters worse, he ran out of money. He thought about accepting an offer to go to Quillabamba, a lowland valley, to work in harvesting coca. However, the civil servant who was assisting him with the community's bureaucratic procedures told him not to do so. Quillabamba was far, risky and it might become harder to return to Hapu from there than from Cuzco. Instead, the engineer suggested to Luis that he should offer his services as *paqu*. Luis told me that at that point he knew only few things about reading coca leaves or preparing food offerings to the places, both fundamental tasks that any *paqu* must do. While he had learned some basic things from his father, he was absolutely lost about how to be a *paqu* in Cuzco.

- L: Manchapuniya Qusqu llaqtapi ayna ruwayta, riki. Llullakunmanpas niwankumanya, riki, chikullaraqtaq karani.
- G: Riki
- L: Manaya kiriwankuchu pinsarani ñuqa
- G: Aah.
- L: Hinaspa. Qulqiy pisiqtin pay inhiñiru ñiwaq: “khayna, aqhayna, manan kay runa allintachu kawsan chaykunata ñinki, kukata qhawaspas, manan walisqankichu ñinki, mana allinchu kanki ñinki, ñispa yachachiwaran”
- G: Riki
- L: Hinan chayqa, paytaq yachantaq riki, anchhayna mana allin kawasaypi kasqankuta, imata, anchayllata ñiwaq
- G: Riki⁴⁵
- L: I was afraid to do so in Cuzco, right. If [they] told me I was lying? I was still very young,
- G: Right
- L: I thought they would not believe me
- G: Aah
- L: Then, when money ran out, that engineer told me this: that [arrangement of coca leaves], you should say this man is not living well, looking into the coca, say, you are not well. He taught me saying such things.
- G: Really?
- L: It was so. He really knew, right? That [arrangement of coca leaves], there will not be a good life, all, in that way, so, he told me.
- G: Right.

This agronomist and civil servant helped Luis substantially. Luis and I spent a good amount of time talking about him and how they became close acquaintances in the city. The agronomist was originally from the town of Combapata in the province of Canchis, where he went back every year on the patron saint’s festivity as the *rey – king*, the leader – of the district’s *Qhapaq Negro* (Powerful Black) dance troupe. This engineer taught Luis to read coca leaves and to prepare food offerings in the ways they are acceptably done in the city. Beyond the relative lack of expertise of Luis as a *paqu*, there is a high diversity among the practices that mediate the relations between humans and places in the region. One clear difference is that food offerings in the city of Cuzco are bigger than those made in Hapu and consist of many more ingredients. This high number of ingredients in urban offerings is, to some extent, imposed by the presorted packages of ingredients that are sold in the central market of the city. Varieties of these packages are sold also in almost any market through the region.

After instructing Luis on how to prepare food offerings in the style of the city, the engineer recommended him to people he knew. Luis ended up relieved and happy to be able to earn some money, which also allowed him to pursue the bureaucratic procedures he had originally come for. Since then, Luis has returned to the city of Cuzco every year to offer his services as a *paqu*. He slowly built a bigger clientele. Until now he finds the quantity and diversity of ingredients used in the urban food-offerings strange and

⁴⁵ Conversation with don Luis. Hapu 2008.

amusing. This is clear as he explains to my mother how he considered the *lluqipaña despacho* was an exclusive custom of Q'ero people:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>L: Ñuqaykuqa mama ankaytaqa akllayku tawa
unkhañaman ima huch'uyllapi</p> <p>M: Ahhh</p> <p>L: Aha. Iskayta lluq'ita aqllayku, pañata akllayku
hina napi wikuña millmapi...
Unkhuñaqa hina chaytallaña riki ruwankichis
Hayk'a unkhuñapiraqcha akllakunkichis
misapaq hinan tuta p'unchawpas akllarinkichis
anchayta haywakunchis riki nispa</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[Laughs]</p> <p>L: Piru kustunriyku ñuqaq hinapuniya ñuqaykuq⁴⁶</p> | <p>L: We (exclusive), mother, chose these
[ingredients] in four <i>unkhuñas</i>⁴⁷, in quite small
[quantities]</p> <p>M: Ahhh</p> <p>L: Yes. We [exclusive] chose two to the left, and
two to the right in vicuña's wool...
You do just like this one. Like it's an <i>unkhuña</i>.
How many <i>unkhuñas</i> would you have to use to
choose [the ingredients] for the offering! When
you say, let's give, you might spend all day and
all night choosing!</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[Laughs]</p> <p>L: But our [exclusive] <i>kustunri</i>⁴⁸ is in this way,
definitively [exclusive] ours.</p> |
|---|---|

While he acknowledges the role of this engineer in teaching him some of the urban ways of preparing food-offerings, he also claims that from then on he learned slowly by himself how to prepare more and more effective offerings. He has mastered both the Hapu ways of doing them as well as how to do food-offerings that seem plausible to urban eyes.

A very similar story about this type of learning process was told to me by Juan de Dios, the *curandero* of San Jerónimo. He claimed to have learned some of his art by looking at the work of other *curanderos*, but he also claims that most of what he knows now he actually learned by himself. These testimonies tell about a dialogic process of learning in which the *paqu* or *curandero* first learns by observing and participating in the work of other *curanderos*, and then by interacting with the place-persons themselves. Depending on how the place-persons consume the food offering, if they refuse them or not, and on which occasions, each *curandero* or *paqu* gets to know what particular place-persons prefer and on which occasions. This individual process of learning in interaction with the place-persons explains the great variety of patterns to be found in the food-offerings. While it is relatively easy to recognize how a food-offering looks like, a close

⁴⁶ Conversation with Don Luis. San Jerónimo 2007.

⁴⁷ *Unkhuña* (Qu) A small textile used for carrying boiled potatoes or similar refreshment. Some are used for holding coca leaves. They are also used for making offerings to the place-persons.

⁴⁸ *Kustunri* is a Hispanism used in Quechua coming from the word *costumbre* that is translated in English as *custom*. This word is used also in relation to many practices that Hapu people regard their own.

examination shows a great diversity of arrangements that vary from town to town and even between particular *curanderos* or *paqu*.

When I first heard how Luis started to work as a *paqu* in Cuzco I was surprised. Knowing his famous Q'ero background, I assumed that Luis would have learned his skills in Hapu or at least that he would claim so. But I was just starting to know him and eventually I understood that for him it did not matter how he learned to prepare the food-offerings in the city style. What was relevant was to do it well so the place-persons consume them with pleasure.

Figure 5.6
Food-offering in process of preparation in Hapu



It is being prepared over a small *unkhuña* exclusively used for food-offerings. The offering is contained in vicuña fiber. Notice the small size of the offering in contrast with urban ones as the one shown in the next figure. Hapu 2008.

It should be clear then that he does not follow the same criteria of authenticity that actually gives Q'ero *paqu*s their special aura among urban middle classes and foreigners. He does not root his knowledge in the supposedly more authentic traditions of the Q'ero people. For him it was not surprising that a professional working for the state was knowledgeable in the ways of preparing food-offerings well. And Luis's mentor is not the only urban professional regarded as a good *paqu* that I know of. For example, a musicologist originally from Lima who now lives in Cuzco and who befriended the Hapu

people some years ago is also recognized as a knowledgeable paqu by several Hapu people. A couple of well known anthropologists, Juan V. Núñez del Prado and Aurelio Carmona, also claim to to be paqus and are recognized as such by urban people involved in tourist and intellectual circles as well as by other rural paqus.

Figure 5.7
Urban food-offering in process of preparation in Cuzco



Urban food-offering prepared with the ingredients contained in a pre organize package bought in the Central Market of the city of Cuzco. 2005.

In the 1980s, when Luis started to perform this work, there were not as many Q'ero people as today who went to Cuzco to offer their services as paqu. In the 1980s, Luis told me, the only Q'ero who traveled with some frequency were the authorities of the different communities who went to Cuzco, like him, to carry out bureaucratic procedures on behalf of their communities. The demand for Q'ero people as paqu grew with the emergence of New Age tourism in Cuzco and increased in the mid to late nineties.

Obviously, there were many *curanderos* in Cuzco before the emergence of New Age tourism but they did not offer what these tourists were looking for. And so, the demand changed both quantitatively and qualitatively. These many urban curanderos competed among themselves in a particular economy of prestige that actually would not appeal to the coming New Age demand. They regarded themselves as more sophisticated

and more instructed than rural paqus such as Q'ero people for example. They usually claim that their treatments are more effective and plainly superior to that of rural paqus. Urban offerings include as many ingredients as possible, claiming more effectiveness and sophistication because of the higher complexity of the offerings.⁴⁹ While in many ways the ritual practices of urban curanderos are similar to rural ones, urban curanderos use not only vocabulary taken from modern medicine but also from esoteric and New Age parlance such as *karma*, *mantra*, *energy*, *astral*, and so on. They usually claim to have read and studied many other traditions that gave them knowledge above and beyond those of the rural paqunkuna (Rozas 1992, Tomoeda 1992). Urban curanderos hence invoke the power of the lettered city (Rama 1996). Consider this testimony of an urban curandero given to Rozas (1992:210) in the early nineties:

Los curanderos comunes no hacen investigación, no se dedican al estudio, allí radica mi diferencia con ellos y soy investigador y desarrollo mi curanderismo basado en una técnica superior [...] Un curandero es igual que un médico, porque estudia constantemente para renovar su técnica [...] Yo estudié ocultismo, seguramente en una anterior reencarnación fui curandero, por eso tengo facilidad para aprender muy rápidamente

The ordinary *curanderos* do not research; do not dedicate themselves to studying. That is the difference with me. I am a researcher. I develop my treatments with a superior technique. [...] A *curandero* is just like a physician because has to study constantly in order to renew his techniques [...] I have studied occultism, I am sure in a previous reincarnation I was a *curandero*, hence I learn quickly.

Claims of formal education and literacy, hence, are useful for urban curanderos in order to claim higher efficacy and prestige among their clients. The latter are mainly from the working class of the city, many of whom have economic strategies that combine urban informal activities with rural subsistence agriculture. As it was explained in chapter II, formal education and literacy are seen as constructing legitimate social hierarchies in the dominant narratives of modernity present in the city.

In contrast to these curanderos, rural paqu from distant communities like those of Q'ero ended up being more attractive and appreciated by New Age tourists looking for “premodern” authenticity. Urban curanderos were not what New Age tourists were looking for: their very urban location, their language, their appropriation of esoteric and medical vocabulary made them not “premodern” enough. These tourists had a preference for the radical otherness of the indigenous clothes, Quechua language, and rural

⁴⁹ According to Rozas' (1992) calculations for the early 1990s, the urban offering had approximately 250 ingredients while the rural one only 30. While these calculations might tend to overstate a clear-cut opposition, they give an idea of the differences among urban and rural types of offerings. For a similar process among the Aymara in Bolivia see Fernández 1997:209-223.

remoteness. Aligned with tourists' interests, the Q'ero paqu also became popular among tourist agencies as well as some urban elites who also wanted to access the uncontaminated powers of remote authentic Andean tradition. Compared with the Q'ero people, regarded in high esteem by the tourism industry, the urban curanderos came to be seen as rather unauthentic charlatans, manipulators of popular classes' ignorance.

Urban curanderos, as other non-Q'ero paquna, criticize the Q'ero and their involvement in the tourist industry. The curanderos also tend to criticize the local anthropologists who are directly influencing the participation of the Q'ero in the New Age tourist industry. For example, doña Alejandrina, an urban curandera who works in the San Sebastián district within the city, had a very bad opinion about the Q'ero paqus. I asked her:

G: ¿Ud qué diría de los curanderos de toda la región? ¿dónde están los curanderos que son más efectivos, en el campo o en la ciudad?
 A: En el campo, hay en el campo. Pero por ejemplo en Q'eros ya no confío en nadie, más que nada se han malogrado, nuestros famosos antropólogos, nuestros famosos curanderos que se van a dar conferencias, a dar charlas, enseñan en las universidades acá. Han prostituido a los curanderos Q'eros. Uno va a k'eros, y desde el que vende su pan, hasta el que vive en la última casa todos son curanderos, todos, todos. Y están en el aeropuerto, cuatro, cinco, diez Q'eros. Ay va a llegar mi grupo ahorita, llega un avión. Ósea, qué es eso, no? ¡Nuestra tradición está prostituida, totalmente prostituida!⁵⁰

G: Thinking about the curanderos in the whole region, where would you say the most effective ones can be found? In the countryside or in the city?
 A: In the countryside, in the countryside. But, for example, the Q'ero... I do not trust them. They have become corrupted [by] our famous anthropologists. Our famous curanderos go to give conferences, to give talks, teach in the universities here. The Q'ero curanderos have been prostituted. If you go to Q'ero, from the one who sells bread to the one who lives in the last house, all are curanderos, all, all. And you find them in the airport, four, five, ten Q'ero. My group is going to arrive soon! That is not right. Our tradition has been prostituted, totally prostituted!

In one of my conversations with Juan de Dios, the urban curandero of San Jerónimo, I asked him about President Toledo's inaugural ceremony in Machu Picchu and the food-offerings that were carried out there. He openly criticized it:

JD: Ah, esta muy mal; ¿acaso se ha visto eso? Solamente en un *kipitu*⁵¹ nomás han alcanzado al Toledo. Esto es la ofrenda que vamos a hacer. No se ha visto pues cómo han puesto el *k'intu*, a quiénes han invocado, cómo han pedido, qué orden han sacado para que le apoye todo. No había pues.

JD: Ah! That was very bad. We did not see how it was done! They only have given one *kipitu*⁵³ to Toledo. This is what we will do. It was not seen how they put the *k'intu*, who did they invoke, how did they asked, which mandate they had obtained in order to achieve full support [for the government]. Clearly there was

⁵⁰ Conversation with doña Alejandrina. San Sebastián, Cuzco 2009.

⁵¹ From *kipitu* (Qu) knot.

⁵² Conversation with Juan de Dios, San Jerónimo 2003.

⁵³ From *kipitu* (Qu) knot.

G: Ya, y ..., y ¿lo quemaron o no lo quemaron?
 JD: No sé, yo no he visto eso. Eso tenían que hacerlo en público pues, hacer la ofrenda en público.
 G: O sea, así como tú has armado, debían haber armado en público.
 JD: Así tiene que ser pues, que sean aunque sea cien, doscientos mil personas, pero la cosa es que tenían que armar en público para ver y según eso cada uno también se pone su *k'intu* pues. Eso es lo bueno pues, si lo hacen oculto no vale pues. No se sabe si han hecho bien, han hecho mal. Cómo habrán hecho?⁵²

not.
 G: Right, and... and, did they burn it or not?
 JD: I do not know, I did not see that. That had to be public, they had to do the offering in public.
 G: Just as you prepare [the offering], they had to prepare it in public.
 JD: It has to be so. Even if there are one hundred, two hundred thousand people but it has to be in public arranged in public so that everybody can put their own *k'intu*. That is the proper way to do it. If they had done it hidden, it is not worth anything. We do not know if it was well done, badly done. How would they have done it?

That particular offering was done by paqus of Q'ero Totorani, another Q'ero community.⁵⁴ The late Nazario Turpo and Aurelio Carmona were also present but carried out only a secondary offering. The former was a well known practitioner who lived close to the Ausangate glacier who also worked with tourists. He was very critical of the Q'ero paqus who he saw as competitors. The latter was a professor of anthropology of the local university and also knowledgeable about food-offerings (De la Cadena 2011). When I talked with Juan de Dios, I thought that Nazario Turpo was in charge of the main food-offering. I wanted to know Juan de Dios's opinion about him:

G: Pero ¿tu les conocías a esos señores?
 JD No
 G: Dice uno es... ¿Cómo se llama?... Un señor que vive cerca del Ausangate.
 JD: ¡Que va a ser!
 G: ¿Cómo se llama? Un curandero que vive por allí, ¿cómo se llama? [...] Bueno, no me acuerdo su nombre. ¿No conoces al altumisayuq de la zona del Ausangate?
 JD: No, ellos que van a venir a ese tipo de campañas. Nunca bajan. Los auténticos nunca bajan.⁵⁵

G: But do you know those persons?
 JD: No.
 G: One of them... what is his name? He lives close to the Ausangate.
 JD: That is not possible!
 G: What is his name? He is a curandero that lives there. What is his name? [...] Well I do not remember. Don't you know the altumisayuq of the Ausangate area?
 JD: No. They would not come to that type of events. They never come down. The authentic never come down.⁵⁶

Juan de Dios could not imagine that the people who were in charge of those offerings in the presidential inauguration were those who lived in the highlands close to the Ausangate or in remote places as Q'ero Totorani. This seemed absurd to him. While both Q'ero people and the communities close to the Ausangate interact frequently with

⁵⁴ Yann Le Borgne, personal communication.

⁵⁵ Conversación con Juan de Dios, San Jerónimo 2003.

⁵⁶ Conversation with Juan de Dios, San Jerónimo 2003.

tourists and many of them are Evangelical converts, for Juan de Dios these spaces seem isolated from the rest of the society, far away, locked.

While Juan de Dios's criteria for authenticity seem to match those of the elites and the New Age tourists (i.e. the most "pre-modern," and far away, the most authentic Andean tradition) his vision is somewhat different:

- G: Y los auténticos ¿son más poderosos?
JD: *Wak'a* son pues. Claro, son poderosos también, es lo mismo. En la mayor parte ellos hacen otro tipo de trabajo pues
G: ¿Como qué tipo?
JD: Puede ser así, en privado mayormente hacen, en privado y de noche, de día no hacen.
G: ¿Pero igual que tú, así preparan?
JD: Cómo harán .pues, cómo harán. Diferente hacen.
G: ¿No te conoces con ellos?
JD: Nunca he trabajado, claro nos conocemos de vista, pasada. Pero en trabajos nunca hemos visto como trabajan como cada uno tiene su forma de trabajar.
G: Y ¿cómo me dices que son *wak'a*?
JD: *Wak'a*.
G: Y eso ¿cómo es?
JD: O sea que son pues netamente encarnado por el demonio. Así son.
G: ¿Así? ¿No hacen cosa buena?
JD: No hacen. Pocos.
G: O sea los señores que están lejos en los cerros no son...
JD: Hay algunos que entran en la mesa pues a apoyarle o darle un valor a uno cuando está agonizando, cuando uno está mal por si uno está totalmente embrujado. El mismo *wak'a* pues no puede curar, el mismo demonio ¿no? Entonces entra pues otro ángel celestial y entonces limpia pues.
G: Pero ¿ellos pueden llamar a los ángeles celestiales?
JD: Llegan pues los ángeles, llamen o no llamen ellos. Siempre tienen que entrar, porque por algo ellos defienden pues todo lo que es celestial todo del blanco. Pero lo que es de negro, con el demonio ellos también, si es necesario que haga eso aceptan. Pero si no es necesario, no aceptan pues eso hacen pues contra la voluntad de uno.⁵⁷
- G: Are these authentic *curanderos* more powerful?
JD: They are *wak'a*. Of course, they are also powerful. It is the same. But in their majority they do other type of work.
G: What type of work?
JD: They do their work mainly privately. Privately and at night. They do not work during the day.
G: But, do they prepare like you prepare?
JD: I do not know how they prepare. They work differently.
G: Don't you know them?
JD: I have never worked with them. Of course we recognize each other when we see each other. But I have never seen how they work. Each one has his own way of working.
G: And are they *wak'a*?
JD: *Wak'a*
G: What is this?
JD: They are completely embodied by the demon. They are like that.
G: Really? Don't they do good things?
JS: No, they don't. Maybe a few of them.
G: Then, those people that are far in the mountains...
JD: There are some [place-persons] who enter in the *mesa*⁵⁸ to help them, to give courage to someone that is agonizing, when someone is ill, in cases when someone is totally bewitched. And the *wak'a* cannot heal. The same demon cannot heal, right? Then, other celestial angel⁵⁹ enters and then the angel cleans.
G: But, can they call the celestial angels?
JD: The angels arrive, even if they do not call them. They always enter, because they defend all that is celestial, that is white, but that which is black, which belongs to the demon if it is necessary, they also accept, but only if it is necessary. But if it is not necessary, they do not accept to do anything against the will of someone.

⁵⁷ Conversation with Juan de Dios. San Jerónimo 2003. My translation from Spanish.

⁵⁸ *Mesa* (Sp) Table. In the context of the work of *curanderos* / *paqukuna mesa* or its quechuzation *misa* refer to the set of objects that are given by the places-persons to the *curanderos* in order to carry out their work. It also refers to the context in which food-offerings are prepared and given to the places.

⁵⁹ Juan de Dios, as other urban *curanderos*, refer to the mountains as celestial angels.

These rural specialists of the highlands are radical others for Juan de Dios. While saying “they are the same”, he also says that they do not do the same type of work. This otherness is marked by his use of the word *wak’a*. When the Spaniards arrived in the 16th century, the notion of *wak’a* was used by indigenous people as an adjective to indicate something extremely powerful that we could associate with our notion of the “sacred.” Usually early chroniclers and “extirpaters of idolatry” translated it as a noun associated to features of the landscape - like mountains, lakes, springs, rivers - but in their dangerous and potentially harmful capacity (Mannheim and Salas 2010).

The contemporary uses of the word *wak’a* are to some extent influenced by the demonization of indigenous practices by Catholic priests and reinforced by Evangelical churches. For example, a young evangelical from a community of Paucartambo told me that a *wak’a* is an ugly place, usually a rock, and could be the places where the *ñawpa machu* (ancient old) live. Another woman from Qatqa (Quispicanchis) told me that the word referred to non-baptized babies and then she also said that the lightning was *wak’a*. A neighbor in San Jerónimo told me that a *wak’a* is a dangerous place, a place that one is better keep away from because it can make one ill. Casaverde (1970:176) in his ethnography of Cuyo Grande, a community of Písaq, written in the 1960s, states that by *wak’a* people refer to “hills, mountain or rock of strange shapes, or other similar places, where people rarely or never arrive.” Juan de Dios’ use of the term *wak’a* referred, in other parts of our conversation, to features of the landscape and, in the quote above, to the rural paqu of the highlands.

Juan de Dios’ reference to the highland specialists as authentic others related them to evilness and the devil. They can cure but only because the mountains intervene in the process and help people, not because they were called by the paqu. The healings that highland paqus achieve would be a consequence of chance and generosity from the mountains rather than due to the specialists’ abilities. Juan de Dios portrays these authentic specialists in some ways as incompetent healers.

Juan de Dios’ claims about the authentic rural paqus of the highlands depart clearly from the way New Age tourists highly regard them. Following the negative stereotypes about *Indians*, Juan de Dios regards paqus as ignorant and incompetent

healers that are essentially rooted in the highlands. Even when he criticizes those paqus that made the offerings in the 2001 Machu Picchu Presidential Inauguration, Juan de Dios cannot see as plausible that highland paqus who live close to the Ausangate could have been entrusted to do the offerings on such an important occasion.

The case of the engineer who helped Luis teaching him how to read coca leaves and prepare urban food-offerings as well as the case of Juan de Dios show clearly how Quechua ontologies that do not follow the nature/culture divide are not secluded in some isolated rural areas but mediate the lives of the majority of people living in the region across rural and urban areas, occupations, and any other marker of social difference. Quechua worlds coexist with the worlds that emerge from the modern constitution. These modern worlds are present in the formal discourse of many state institutions even though many of his workers might live in a Quechua world. Different worlds are not geographically or spatially exclusive. The same person can engage in a modern world in some contexts of her life while in others reproduces non-modern worlds. This is why it is the crucial constant work of purification.

As Marisol de la Cadena (2011) elaborates, these worlds coexists in a web of partial connections (Strathern 1991), of different levels of familiarity and knowledge of practices emerging from different ontologies. Due to the long history of their coexistence and sustained interaction, people living in these worlds have a strong familiarity with practices emerging from other ontologies, though they might not fully understand their internal workings and can even systematically misunderstand them. For instance, the vast majority of urban Spanish speaking people know that a food-offering is given to the mountains in order to request a favor. However, many do not realize that it is food, that its preparation is a process of preparing food, and that when it is being burned, the place-persons are eating it. This realization came to me when some middle-class, Spanish-speaking acquaintances, facing some misfortune or an important decision that caused them anxiety, readily accepted my offer to put them in contact with a paqu for delivering a food-offering. Participating in the process of making it and discussing the process afterwards, I realized that some of these acquaintances conceived of the food-offerings as an obscure technique of manipulating supernatural “mountains’ spirits,” that could only be done properly by an authentic indigenous paqu. For these urbanites, the food offering

is a magical procedure, whereas for someone living through a Quechua ontology, it lacks mystery and is conceived as a regular social interaction between different types of people, human persons and place-persons. Conversely, some of my Quechua acquaintances wondered aloud about foreigners who carelessly walked off of the mountain trails without greeting them at all (see also Spier 1995).

Each of Cuzco's worlds are partially co-present in their counterparts, they interpenetrate each other. Modern and non-modern worlds are deeply interconnected and cannot be isolated. This is true for the supposedly most authentic indigenous community, such as the Q'ero communities, as well as for urban Spanish speaking urbanites who rarely get out of the city. This is the case across class lines, geographical divisions, occupation, subsistence and monetary economy, literacy and illiteracy (see ØDegaard 2011 for the city of Arequipa, and Stensrud 2011 for the city of Cuzco). As the practice and discourse of Juan de Dios shows, Quechua worlds are thoroughly present in urban Cuzco. On the other hand, it is obvious that his discourse is in negotiation with the dominant narratives of modernity that organize Cuzco's regional social hierarchies. Juan de Dios' case is not an isolated one and not one secluded to curanderos. Upper and middle class urban Spanish speakers are not only familiarized in their own terms with Quechua ontologies. They also actually recur to the services of curanderos, actively engaging in non-modern worlds. Many of the contemporary middle classes are bilinguals who have also deep connections with rural areas. Furthermore, some urban middle class people – such as the engineer that helped Luis, or the anthropologists and the ethnomusicologist mentioned above – are themselves paqus recognized as such by rural Quechua people who know them.

Similarly, people living in relatively remote Quechua communities, such as the famous Q'ero communities, are constantly interacting and negotiating with ideologies, institutions and practices constitutive of modern worlds. They are thoroughly familiarized with modern worlds and are able to navigate them with relative ease. It is not their lack of familiarity with urban institutions and practices that impedes rural Quechua speakers to navigate them successfully, but rather the hegemonic character of the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy. As will be shown in the next chapters, the projects, conflicts and dilemmas present in the community of Hapu cannot be understood in

isolation from the institutions, ideologies and practices emerging from and constitutive of modern worlds.

Hence, this is not just a case of spatially-overlapping networks; or, an encounter between people of different cultural backgrounds. The distribution of semiotic resources that construct modern worlds and non-modern worlds is ambiguous and does not follow a clear cut line. People who see themselves as modern construct and live in non-modern worlds as well. People who might be seen as living in essentially non-modern worlds (e.g. monolingual Quechua speakers) are deeply used to the practices and discourses of modern worlds and engage, in their own terms, in modern contexts.

CHAPTER VI

TURISTAS IN HAPU: AYNÍ, STINGINESS AND PROFITS.

This chapter discusses the relationships between Hapu people and the visitors that make their way to the community. Some philanthropists and New Age practitioners, mostly foreigners, have befriended the people of Hapu and have been visiting them since the 1990s. Hapu people also receive visits from state and local NGO representatives. The particularity of their Q'ero customs (singing, oral traditions, weavings, and rituals) is crucial to the rationale that motivates these visitors to go to Hapu. In this chapter I analyze different levels of misunderstandings that are at play and mediate the interactions between Hapu people and these foreigners. I pay attention to the attempts of a film crew that wanted to document their pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i as well as the interactions between Hapu people and the members of a foundation that tries to help them improve their living conditions. I also explore the views that Hapu people hold on these foreigners and how they understand the practices of receiving support from them. This is partly carried out through assessing the contrasting ways that the notion of *ayni* is understood and used by foreign philanthropists and Hapu people.

A communal assembly

Five days after I had arrived at Luis' house in Hapu a communal assembly was held. At this occasion Luis introduced me to the community's heads of households, in order to explain to them what I wanted to do. The community members were congregated in one of the two classrooms of the primary school in the civic-ritual center of the community. They had put the tables and chairs on one side. Some sat down on chairs but most of them were on the floor in a big circle. The authorities, leading the assembly, sat

down on chairs and had a table in front of them. There was an *unkhuña*¹ with coca leaves on it. The community's president sat down directly in front of it, while on one side was the community's secretary writing the assembly's minutes, and on the other the vice president.

As the assembly moved on I was asked to enter the classroom. After Luis introduced me to the authorities and the assembly, I offered, as a formal expression of respect and *cariño* (affection), a bag of coca leaves to the president of the community who gave it to one of his assistants in order to distribute them to each of the assembly members. I noticed that some of them did not accept their share of coca leaves, which worried me. Later I would realize that those refusing the leaves were Maranata converts. I recited almost by memory my self-introduction in Quechua. After explaining my research, I requested their permission to carry it out in their community. As a way to match the community's generosity I offered to teach math and language to those children that had finished fourth grade and had stopped studying.²

After a relatively short discussion in which some members of the community were concerned with allowing me to record their distinctive practices, their *kustunri*, I noticed with relief that they were making the list of students that I would be teaching. After a brief discussion of why I would not stay the whole academic year, they accepted my presence and allowed me to stay in the community.³ Later I would learn that those who were more concerned with me registering their *kustunri* were people from the Yanaruma sector who were formerly Maranata converts but had come back to the cultivation of the *kustunri*. Without knowing it, after this assembly I was seen by the Yanaruma people as an ally of the Evangelicals. They did not see me as an enemy but not as an ally either. This was also due to the fact that I came to live in Raqch'i – the sector that had a mix of Maranata and Catholics practitioners – in Luis' house. While Luis practiced the *kustunri*

¹ A small textile used for carrying boiled potatoes, or used to hold coca leaves. They are also used for making offerings to the places.

² The primary school of Hapu only teaches the four first grades and only one teacher is in charge of the entire group of students who in total were 24 in 2007. Many children of the sectors of Quchamarka and Yanaruma were not attending school due to the long distances. During my field research both sectors, with the help of foreign philanthropists, were attempting to establish primary schools in each of them.

³ The first days I taught, I received a couple of random visits from parents who wanted to see what I was doing in class. Beyond that I did not receive more supervision from the community regarding my teaching performance. I had eight students, all of which were sons of Maranata converts.

and was a critic of the Evangelicals, he did not have the best relations with the families of Yanaruma. Hence, starting with my introduction I was already occupying a situated position within the Hapu. This actually had effects on my research. I spent a considerable time at Luis' house which is located in an area of highly dispersed houses. I travelled to all other sectors of Hapu but due to these initial events, the role of Luis' household in relation to the broader networks in Hapu and other events, it was easier for me to interact and get invited to many Maranata and Catholic households both in Raqch'i and in Quchamarca. Yet I was not able to develop a close relation to the households of Yanaruma, the sector that have returned to cultivate the *kustunri* and that were openly against Maranata practices.

After my introduction to the assembly, the authorities made me sit next to the vice-president, in a place of honor for visitors, so that I was able to observe the rest of it. After they were done with me, they moved to their next point on the agenda which was related to the presence of two representatives from the National Institute of Culture (INC according to its Spanish acronym) who were carrying out activities related to its Q'ero Ethno Development project. One of INC representatives explained in his native Quechua that they wanted to continue with the archeological survey they were doing. They requested Hapu people to show them the *machuwasikuna*, the houses of the old ones; "so the INC could make a document demonstrating that they were actually the descendants of the Inka." They also claimed that with attractive archeological sites they might also be able to design a good program for ethnic tourism (*turismo vivencial*). The archeologist recommended however that they should not show these sites to foreigners because they might take the mummies and archeological materials. They extended this recommendation to not showing communal documents and not letting foreigners record their customs. They were also coordinating a future workshop in which a representative of the Regional Direction of Tourism would arrive to Hapu in order to train Hapu women to make and use 'natural dyes': different processes of dyeing wool with herbs, and other products, in order that Hapu people could sell the textiles woven by women at higher prices to tourists interested in naturally dyed, organic, textiles. The "rescue" of natural dyes and the production of naturally dyed Quechua textiles had started some years before in other rural communities and it was clearly becoming a new source of income. In

contrast to stores which used to sell old textiles, in the late 1990s fancy stores of the city center started to sell beautifully dyed new textiles targeted for ecologically minded tourists who could buy authentic Quechua textiles (see Callañaupa 2007). However, in Hapu as well as in many other communities, women were still dying their textiles with anilines or weaving synthetic wool with brighter colors that they actually preferred for their own clothes.

The members of the assembly asked the INC representatives (an anthropologist and an archeologist) about the “Japanese tourists” who had arrived in the previous days to the community. The community members were interested in having a sense of how much they should charge the Japanese for filming their pilgrimage to Taytacha Quyllurit’i. One of the INC representatives said that the Japanese crew had to give at least 500 US dollars, otherwise it did not make any sense for the community. He also stated that a fair price might be 20 dollars per person per day because they were not only letting them film the rituals but also giving them a place to stay (the communal house built as part of the INC’s Q’ero ethno development project).

Then, the representative of the INC started to talk about the importance of the community’s organization. He said that he was worried because the community was not as well organized as it used to be. He said that the only way to benefit from tourism was to be well organized. There had to be a communal plan in order to distribute evenly the income from tourism, therefore benefiting all members and maybe investing the money coming from tourism in other projects. He said that the people of Hatun Q’ero charged 2000 Nuevos Soles (approximately 670 US dollars) in order to let tourists see the festivities of carnival. But, he claimed, that was only possible with a good organization. He said that they also needed organization to be able to succeed in attracting more tourism. Organization would help them to remain attractive for tourists (i.e. deciding communally to keep thatched, not tin, roofs). The same was recommended with respect to the customs and traditions which they should aim to preserve. These recommendations were articulated in front of an audience that was more than half Maranata converts constituted at least in its half by Maranata converts who remained silent about them. INC representatives clearly were familiar with the Maranata condemnation of these practices but they did not mention them directly. Even though the community had a strong

Maranata presence that condemned the cultivation of Q'ero kustunri, these types of recommendations from the INC representatives, and from other foreign visitors to Hapu, contributed to reinforce already existing expectations over tourism. However Hapu did not receive anything close to regular groups of tourists. Besides small groups of foreign philanthropists and people interested in the Q'ero practices that were in total less than four groups a year, there was nothing close to regular groups of tourists coming to Hapu.

The Japanese video crew and the *ñak'achus*

The assembly continued discussing some problems like damage to crops caused by animals or concerns about strangers getting into the community at night to fish trout. It was already two in the afternoon. Since the morning, a Japanese video crew was waiting to present itself to the community. They were there in order to make a documentary for a Japanese TV channel about the daily life in the community and the Hapu pilgrimage to the Quyllurit'i shrine that would take place in the following weeks. There were three Japanese camera men, a Japanese interpreter from Japanese to Spanish, a Cuzqueño interpreter from Spanish to Quechua and also a Cuzqueño cook. The crew was led by a young woman who only spoke Japanese.

Before they were allowed to enter there was a bitter discussion within the assembly whereby the president and other authorities were questioned and criticized. Why did they accept these people to film their customs? Who gave them authorization? What was the community getting out of this? I learned then that the community's president, an evangelical convert, and the president of the School's Parents Association had met the crew in the Main Square of the city of Cuzco while they were there carrying out bureaucratic paperwork for the community.

They had talked about making the documentary about Hapu and offered, in order to compensate the community, to give them an electric generator. That year's pilgrimage was going to be carried out only by a small group of Catholic families from Raqch'i with only a few dancers. This was so because the evangelical converts refused to participate in these practices and also because a good group of Catholics, those of the Yanaruma sector, had decided to make their own pilgrimage. Even with this complex scenario that stressed

the differences and conflicts between Maranatas and Catholics as well as between the Catholics from Raqch'i and Yanaruma, the president accepted the offer of the filming crew thinking, as far as he explained, that the generator would be a small hydroelectric plant similar to those existing in neighboring communities of the region.⁴ He thought it was a good deal for the community. Furthermore, the crew had confirmed the deal during a quick visit to Hapu where they had met the authorities and some of the community members during a communal work.

When the president met the film crew in the community a couple of days before the assembly, he figured out with surprise that the Japanese's electric generator was a small one powered with gasoline which actually the Japanese brought in order to recharge their equipment's batteries. The authorities and all the members of the assembly were totally disappointed by this electric generator. The president tried to explain this misunderstanding, but the dominant opinion was that the gasoline powered generator was not good for them. How will they fund the gasoline for the generator? The community members consulted the members of the INC on how much they should request as daily payment for the use of the community center that had recently been built with INC's funding and which the crew was using as a dormitory and center of operations. The communal authorities came up with daily costs and sent somebody to request this payment to the Japanese.

At 4 pm the Japanese were requested to present themselves at the assembly. The Japanese, who were already tired of waiting, had gone elsewhere. After being called they came back to the assembly and were allowed to address the community assembly. Their leader, with the help of two translators (one from Japanese to Spanish and the other from Spanish to Quechua), started to explain what they were trying to do. She said they wanted to film Hapu's customs and pilgrimage to the "sacred mountain" so many people in the world would know about their lives and culture. While she started trying to communicate their objectives she was interrupted by one of the senior community members who pointed out the rudeness of coming to the assembly without making any expression of

⁴ These small hydroelectric plants provide electricity to most of the population in Marcapata. They were built in the last three decades mainly through the work of a Jesuit parish priest of Marcapata. One of these mini hydroelectric plants provided electricity to Kiku, the neighboring community, and there was one in the Hapu's sector of Quchamarka but it did not work properly.

respect and affection. He did so by asking if they, as “tourists,” had brought “at least some bread” to the assembly.

This took the crew by surprise. After apologizing for this, the spokeswoman claimed that they did not know that it was the customary thing to do. They also reacted in a defensive way when they were framed as tourists. They stated that they worked for a state TV channel; something that I think did not make too much sense to the Hapu people. The crew leader tried to make her case by talking about the good that this documentary would bring to Hapu. She offered to portray the community in the best possible way so that the Hapu people would have more fame and more tourists would come in the future. She also stressed that they already had a deal and that she was shocked to know that the community seemed not to be honoring their commitment. “A promise is a promise. I thought that you would keep your word, that you were men of honor.” She also said that the price that they were asking for the use of the community center was excessive and that they would not be able to pay it (20 dollars per person per day made the total amount around close to two thousand dollars). She claimed that they were state employees, they did not work for a private corporation, and hence they did not have the budget to pay what the people of Hapu were asking. She committed herself to give a donation to the community but only after they would film the pilgrimage.

Her speech took a long time. She did not make a strong effort in keeping it short, and the double translation added extra time. In the process her speech also got transformed in important ways. In two or three occasions community members tried to intervene but she insisted in saying everything she had to say, not allowing interruptions. This just made things worse. The community members, unsatisfied by her remarks and attitude, were already tired and it was late. A community member openly expressed his dissatisfaction: “You come, you take advantage of us and then you are gone with our customs.” At some point in her speech one of the community members said that they should keep talking with the authorities because it was too late, it soon would be dark and they each had to walk to their homes which were dispersed throughout the landscape of Hapu. Then the assembly started to disperse in front of the disappointed crew.

The two members of the INC and me were asked by the crew to stay and help them arrive at an agreement with the community. During this conversation the crew’s

leader restated that the community did not keep its commitment and she also refused to acknowledge the uselessness of the generator for the community. The president said that they no longer were asking for a generator but they expected a substantial donation. After a great deal of back and forth the crew leader offered to pay 500 Nuevos Soles (approximately 165 US dollars) to the community. The authorities reluctantly accepted the offer. The crew's leader said they would pay half of that amount before they did their job and the other half after the pilgrimage.

The following days, however, when the crew attempted to register the daily life of the community everyone refused to be filmed. People just hid their faces, made signs of refusal with their hands, and so on. It was obvious that the authorities of the *Junta Directiva* did not make any effort to communicate with the community members about the agreement. That would have involved a very complex logistics that would have had dubious outcomes and potentially would have cost too much to the authorities' legitimacy within the community. After three or four days of unfruitful efforts the Japanese crew left. They took the generator with them.

Fabian, Luis' younger son, commented over dinner: "The *ñak'achus* are gone." I was struck by the mention of the *ñak'achus*. I tried to know more about why they were calling them so. "Are they *ñak'achus*?" I asked. "That is what people say. I do not know", replied Fabian without much interest.

Ñak'aq could be translated as butcher, but the word carries darker meanings. It is associated with the image of a foreigner, usually bearded white Spanish or English speaking person, in the past associated with Catholic priests, who attack people – typically Quechua speakers – in solitary paths at twilight in order to steal their fat. *Ñak'aqs* then sell this expensive substance which is used for making sumptuary products such as candles, soaps and cosmetic creams, or to maintain sophisticated machines such as artificial satellites, or nuclear weapons. The victim suffers a slow and painful agony that ends with her or his death after many days (see Ansi3n 1989, Morote 1988[1952], Taussig 1986: 238-241). As this case shows, the stories about *ñak'aqs* are related to perceptions of exploitation and abuse by the powerful outsiders coming from the Spanish speaking world or beyond. This relation is extreme in the case of *ñak'aqs* who do not care to kill Quechua speakers in order to get richer than they already are.

I asked Fabian what else he knew about the *ñak'achus*. He did not tell me too much more. He commented also how he was terrified when he saw a movie about it. I found out he was referring to *Ñak'aq*, a 2003 low budget film by José Gabriel Huertas, part of the recent boom of films made in Ayacucho which are very popular in the region. A compact disk copy, together with many other popular domestic and foreign films, was sitting in a small store in the hamlet of Kulini, where Hapu people went in order to buy coca and alcohol, or to catch a truck to Marcapata or Ocongate.

Later, and expecting to get a more complex narrative I asked Luis to tell me if he thought that the crew were *ñak'aq*. He replied briefly and without too much elaboration, as I slowly got used to his succinct way of speaking: “Those Japanese are just too stingy, too selfish, aren't they?” And he added that it was better for all that they had left.

The episode with the film crew worried me both at the assembly and during the following days as I thought more about it. While I was not going to do a documentary, I was sure to be perceived by the Hapu people as a foreigner who was primarily interested in registering their Q'ero *kustunri*. They suspected also that I was going to get much money out of them. I do not know if some members of the community ever talked about me as *ñak'aq*⁵ but I had clear hints that some families who I was not very close to talked about me as being stingy. If I was not treated as the film crew that was due to a number of reasons: a respected member of the community introduced me to it, I cared to give a small present for the assembly - *cariño* - as a formal sign of respect and consideration, I offered to teach in the school as a way to give back to the community in some way for this opportunity they were giving me, I was from Cuzco and not from a foreign country and I addressed the assembly in Quechua. On my side was the fact that not all foreigners who arrive to Hapu were seen in the way the film crew was perceived, as the following case shows.

⁵ There are several ethnographers of Andean communities who report that they have been framed as such (see Wachtel 1994; see also Behar and Mannheim 1995:123-124). Obviously these reiterative framing of ethnographers point to the way in which those who are object of ethnographic practices perceive the problematic nature of field research and production of knowledge embedded in it. Ethnography in this case is framed and associated to other extractive and exploitative practices carried out by foreigners at expense of indigenous populations.

Good Earth Good Heart Foundation, compadres and ayni

Foreign visitors have arrived relatively recently and in quite small numbers to Hapu. During the nineties, one musicologist from Lima, now established in Cuzco, was key in connecting the people of Hapu with visitors from abroad. He told me how, due to his interest in the particular Q'ero musical traditions, he ended up visiting and living in Hapu, learning from and befriending Hapu people. When a harvest was lost due to terrible weather conditions, Hapu authorities went to Cuzco looking for help and he mobilized his broader networks, including foreign philanthropists interested in Andean culture that he had just happened to meet, in order to provide an emergency fund for food to alleviate the need of the community. These efforts made several foreigners who were interested in Andean indigenous traditions acquainted with Hapu.

These foreign visitors to Hapu, having diverse sensibilities and discourses, usually share a high regard for Hapu's Q'ero customs. They also tended to have, in different fashions, a critical stance towards their own Western culture, capitalism and its concomitant modern objectification of nature. It is the fame of the authenticity of Q'ero practices that attracted most of them in the first place, and hence it is easy to understand their disappointment in finding an Evangelical church thriving in a community which is usually portrayed as the cornerstone of non-Western premodern authenticity. The negative attitude toward the evangelicals in Hapu was also shared by personnel of the INC. One INC representative told me that in the rest of Q'ero communities there were not evangelicals anymore. "Only in Hapu remains the last nail that has to be pulled out!"⁶ In the same vein, one of the foreign visitors who was well acquainted with the people of Hapu told me in a very authoritative tone that it was obvious how in Quchamarca, where almost everybody was evangelical, it was possible to see how people were actually individualist, and in Yanaruma, where everybody came back to cultivating Q'ero kustunri, it was easy to feel more communalism.

⁶ While it seems that in Hatun Q'ero and Q'ero Totorani most of evangelicals have returned to practice the Q'ero kustunri as foreign visitors have increased their presence and so the income they receive from them, this is neither the case in Kiku nor in Hapu where there is not a strong presence of foreign visitors. The information about Hatun Q'ero and Q'ero Totorani was given to me by Yann LeBorgne in a personal communication.

Due to the particular interest the foreign visitors had in Q'ero kustunri and their negative regard of Evangelicalism, the practice of the kustunri, and more importantly how this practice is framed in the presence of foreign visitors, had become entangled with expectations in relation to the opportunities that these visitors might offer, including benefiting from their *apuyu* (from Spanish *apoyo*, support).

When I arrived to Hapu there were at least two groups of foreign philanthropists who came to Hapu once a year bringing with them what Hapu people call *apuyu* as well as a foreign ecological activist who visited with more frequency and who was mainly interested in the people of the Yanaruma sector. The Cuzco based musicologist did not visit the community anymore but he maintained a strong relationship with the leaders of Yanaruma and openly disliked the presence of evangelical converts.

One group of philanthropists was an Austrian couple who had given the people of Hapu special plastics for implementing small family greenhouses, and funded the installation of a system of piped water in the ritual center of the community, the hamlet of Hatun Hapu.⁷ Another group was a small US foundation led by another couple that year after year became more and more involved and increased the scope of their interventions in Hapu. What started as a visit to Hapu in the early 2000s, introduced by the ethnomusicologist, has become for Phoebe and Thomas a growing small foundation. While they started in 2004 with relatively small donations of notebooks and pencils for the school children, lanterns and some medicines, their work has taken the form of a foundation – *Good Earth Good Heart Foundation*⁸ – that has started carrying out fundraising efforts in the US. In 2008 they were funding the implementation of two new schools in Hapu (one in Yanaruma and the other in Quchamarka), trout ponds in different sectors of the community and a multi-communal training and health center near the town of Ocongate. *Good Earth Good Heart Foundation*'s explicit mission is the “support the preservation of native cultures and traditional community living” and its vision is to “assist in creating sustainability in native communities that can serve as living models from which we can learn wholeness, balance, and harmony.”

⁷ During a brief visit to Cuzco I was informed that these couple further funded the implementation of piped water to most of Hapu sectors as well as the provision of electricity to the sectors of Raqch'i and Hatun Hapu during 2010.

⁸ The name I am using here is fictive.

Additionally to their fundraising efforts in the US, they also buy textiles from Hapu and sell them in the US. Through this strategy they not only can provide certain monetary income to Hapu households but also obtain an additional source of funds to help Hapu. As Phoebe and Thomas told me, all the profits obtained selling Hapu textiles in the US are reinvested in the projects benefiting the Hapu people. Hence there is no profit involved in the selling of these textiles. Phoebe detailed to me how difficult it has become for them to sell these textiles in the US and how frustrating it is for them to hear Hapu people complaining about the prices paid by them in Hapu when they are perfectly aligned with the prices that Cuzco textiles stores paid to other Quechua weavers.

I met Phoebe and Thomas when they arrived at Hatun Hapu in 2007. After they arrived there was a community meeting attended by most of the people of Hapu. The assembly included a considerable group of women who came to sell their textiles to the visitors. After they were welcomed by the president of the community in the assembly, held at the school's patio, Thomas addressed the assembly in Spanish, having Bernabé - the community's secretary and Evangelical pastor - translating it into Quechua. He talked about the different ways in which they were working hard in order to bring to Hapu some help so that Hapu people can improve their living standards. He stressed how the money that they brought was not just theirs, that they were not rich but that this money came from many people of the US who were not rich either but wanted to share some of their money with the people of Hapu.

They stressed these points because, the previous day, they had been bombarded by individual requests for help as well as many requests for buying textiles preferentially before the general purchasing to be held at the communal assembly. This was also the case because Phoebe and Thomas already were godparents of twenty five children of the community and hence were *compadres* of many community members. Their *compadres*, according to what is normally assumed from *compadres*, expected a preferential treatment from them compared to the rest of community members. These understandable attempts to obtain higher benefits than the rest of their fellow Hapu people through an anticipated request appealing to bonds of *compadre-hood* shows clearly that Hapu people do not actually live in a world of essential communalism where every social relation is mediated through a romanticized notion of *ayni*.

Thomas' discourse was constructed in an unusual Spanish which was hard to translate for Bernabé. Thomas is not a native Spanish speaker and his sentences are not precisely in an easily understandable Spanish. Bernabé is not a native Spanish speaker either and at some points it seemed that he did not fully understand what Thomas wanted to convey. This meant that the communication between Thomas – as well as Phoebe – entailed several misunderstandings through translations.

For example, when Thomas tried to explain the main themes around which the foundation was going to help Hapu people, he used words such as *sostenibilidad* and *metas* that come from the jargon of NGOs and state programs. Bernabé translated Thomas' summary of the projects' goals rather as a statement in which the visitors would be framing themselves as benefactors of the community moved by an explicit paternalistic attitude towards the needy Hapu mothers and children. While language differences were clearly one source of misunderstandings, there were others shaped to some extent by a language of hierarchy and paternalism in which the translator framed the benefactors. Additionally there was a deeper type of misunderstandings which emerged through the use of the notion of *ayni*.

During his speech, Thomas referred to an internal conflict in Hapu. Without mentioning it directly, he stressed how they did not want to take sides in that internal tension between those families that have converted to Evangelicalism who claim that *kustunri* should not be practiced anymore and those who remain Catholic and keep practicing their Q'ero *kustunri*. In invoking the people of Hapu to overcome their conflicts he made references to key ideas at the heart of the foundation's efforts: That all humans beings need each other to live, and particularly that Western societies need the wisdom that indigenous communities like Hapu maintain in the ways they cultivate customs of respect and harmony with the environment. As the core of the foundation's vision states, indigenous cultures are valued because "we can learn wholeness, balance, and harmony" from them.

Thomas justified why they did not take sides in the internal tensions of Hapu by invoking the Andean notion of *ayni*. Beyond this particular point, he invoked *ayni* in other instances in his discourse. For example, he claimed how they had limited amounts

of money and stated that the foundation was not a bank. Then he stressed that if they were a bank they would not be working in a relationship of *ayni* with Hapu.

As explained in chapter III, the Quechua notion of *ayni* has been an object of romanticization that might be at its extremes among the New Age tourism industry, which is different from the case of philanthropists such as those from the Good Earth Good Heart Foundation. This romantic notion of *ayni* encapsulates what some foreigners look for among Hapu people or similar communities: the Other who has what the West has lost, a harmonic and respectful relation with “nature,” who lives in a community essentially founded on mutual cooperation and solidarity.

As far as I understand their position, Good Earth Good Heart Foundation and Hapu were in *ayni* because the foundation was trying to give to Hapu people some support in order to ensure that they improve their living standards and increase their self-sufficiency. In those terms Hapu needed the help of institutions such as this foundation. Conversely, the foundation and the rest of humanity needed Hapu because they kept the wisdom of maintaining a harmonious relationship with nature and an alternative to the way in which Western societies relate to “nature”. That give and take and interdependency were at stake in Thomas’s invocation of *ayni*. As one of the principles of the foundation states “we have much to learn from aboriginal cultures, traditions, and conventions that have sustained spirituality and balance for centuries” and that “the well-being of each of us depends on the well-being of all beings.”

After Thomas and Phoebe, and their companions, had left Hapu I talked in several occasions with different Hapu people about what they thought about *Good Earth Good Heart* Foundation’s visit and work. The first thing that deserves being mentioned is that several of my Hapu compadres and acquaintances referred to Phoebe and Thomas as *turistas* (tourists). They tended to comment about the price that they had paid for the weavings stating that they were insufficient. I asked if they could find anywhere else a buyer who was disposed to purchase their weavings by similar prices. They assured me that in the city of Cuzco the prices were higher but that they actually did not have the connections to put their weavings in the market of Cuzco.

G: Imata ruwan kaypi	G: What does she do here?
T: Artesaniyata rantin, riki, kunanpi	T: She buys handicrafts, right, now.
G: Chay hina sapa wata ruwan	G: Is it like that every year?
T: Arí	T: Yes
G: Chaylla ruwanchu	G: Does she do only that?
T: Chayllata ruwan, mana imatapas	T: She does only that. Nothing more.
G: Mana imatapas	G: Nothing more?
T: Mana imatapas	T: Nothing more.
G: Uhhh... y imayna precio karan	G: Uhhh... and how was the price?
T: Menos preciowan apan, riki	T: She took with a lesser price, right?
M: Qusqupi mas	T wife: It is more in Cuzco
T: Qusqupi mas precio	T: The price is higher in Cuzco
G: Riki	G: Really?
T wife: Mas precio...Nishuta Qosqopiqa munanku turistakuna ankaytaqa nishuta mashkanku ⁹	T wife: Higher price ... Tourist like these [textiles] a lot in Cuzco. They look for them a lot.

I had doubts about this and I figured out in my conversations with businessmen that sell Quechua weavings to tourists in Cuzco that the prices paid in Hapu were quite similar to those paid in the city and Hapu people have not had to spend the price in transportation. This perception might be partly due to the fact that the prices on display in the tourist shops of the city center are higher than those actually paid to the weavers. While the textiles are received by most of these shops in consignment, these higher prices do not cover only the payment to the weaver but also the utilities, salaries and profits of these shops.

What was more telling, however, was the way in which some Hapu people understood the relationship of ayni with Phoebe and Thomas. When I asked one of my compadres what he thought of their whole relationship with *Good Earth Good Heart Foundation*, he told me that in general the prices paid for the textiles were not very good and also implied that it was quite likely that Phoebe and Thomas were going to get a lot of more money selling these weavings in the US. Notwithstanding that Phoebe openly stated that the profits would be invested in funds for the project, my compadre seemed convinced that they would retain for themselves the profits obtained from the selling of the weavings. Actually this was the case because they were in an ayni relationship: Phoebe and Thomas gave apuyu (support) to Hapu people when they came and visit. Obviously, as part of the ayni relationship, they were going also to benefit themselves from Hapu, with the profits that they were going to have selling the Hapu weavings in the US. It was legitimate to do so within the logic of ayni.

⁹ Conversation with Teodoro and his wife in R'aqchi. Hapu 2007.

The same type of perspective on the work of the foundation can be found in the following fragment of a conversation with one of the Maranata leaders. He frames Phoebe and Tomas as tourist guides.

- | | |
|--|--|
| S: Guiadurkuna hinallama, purimushanku riki | S: They might be like [tourist] guides. They are traveling, right? |
| G: Ima | G: What? |
| S: Kiyadur, kíya hina | S: Guide, like guide |
| G: Guiador | G: Guide |
| S: Aha, paykuna ñukaykuq kustunriykuchus, ima kawasayñiykuta qhawarispá, aqhay llaqtankuman apanku. Chaypi phirmadurawan ima phirmaspa apashánku. Chaykunatacha qhawachinku, chaypi khayna, aqhayna kustumbri kasqa. Chaykunallawan paykunapis, ñuqaykuq sutiypukupi qulqita huñumunku hinas apuyuchakunata qumuwanke riki | S: Yes. They take our [exclusive] <i>kustunri</i> , see how we live, and carry it to their countries. They are recording with video cameras, and carrying with them. They show these recordings there. They have these <i>kustunri</i> over there. . With those things, in our [exclusive] name they gather money in order to give us some help, some support, right |
| G: Riki | G: Right |
| S: aha, chaykunawan paykunapis talwis ganakunkupashcha, wakinqa gananmi ñiwanku, nusipi manaya ñuqa. ¹⁰ | S: Yes, with that maybe they are also earning [money]. Some told me that they gain. I do not know. |

Another person with whom I spoke had similar opinions regarding the work of the foundation:

- | | |
|---|--|
| G: Imapaq hamushan | G: What is she coming for? |
| F: P'achakuna rantinanpaq | F: To buy textiles. |
| G: Chaylla? | G: Only that? |
| F: Ajá, chaylla, yanapayta ima churashawanku comunidaspaq | F: Yes. Only that. Also she is giving us help, for the community. |
| G: Yanapayta | G: Help |
| F: Arí, qushawanku yanapayta, pisillata | F: Yes. she is giving help to us, only a little. |
| G: Imata ruwan chay p'achawan | G: What does she do with those textiles? |
| F: Imatacha, no sé, llaqtanpi venden seguro, nispa rimasharan | F: What would it be? I do not know. Surely she sells them in her country. She said so. |
| G: Chay qulqita payllapaq, icha kutimushan | G: And that money is only for her or it is returning [here]? |
| F: Kutichimunchu mana, payllapaq ¹¹ | F: She does not make it come back. Only for her. |

This vision of the foundation - coming to Hapu with apuyu but also in order to take economic advantage of the Hapu people' culture - was not only perceived as such by them. The primary school teacher, a young female bilingual from the outskirts of the city of Cuzco, was convinced also that these *gringos* were going to gain way more money from the textiles than what they would give back to the community. When I commented these things with her, she was quite amused by how naive I was in thinking that they

¹⁰ Conversation with a Maranata leader. Hapu 2008.

¹¹ Conversation with Florentino. Hapu 2007.

actually were going to put the profits of the textiles' sale for funding projects benefiting Hapu people.

Wealth, stinginess, and *turistas*: Hapu's view of foreigners

As happened with the film crew and with Thomas and Phoebe, other foreign visitors who arrive to Hapu were usually referred to as *turistas* or as *guías* (tourist guides). Hapu people's conception of the turista and the guía is a particular one. Key in Hapu people's conception of the turista is that they ascribe economic interests as a guiding purpose for their visits.

Consider how a Hapu person referred to the ethnomusicologist that was crucial to the arrival of the rest of foreigners to Hapu. While it is important to know that this person is Maranata and the ethnomusicologist has been an open critic and opponent of the Evangelical presence in Hapu, the following fragment is illustrative of what I am pointing at:

- | | |
|---|--|
| C: Pay ñuqaykumanta qulqita ganakuran nishuta | C: He made a lot of money from [exclusive] us |
| G: Riki | G: Really? |
| C: Aha. Ñawpaq, kustunrikunata apaspa,
phutukunata urquspa, nashun Hapu nispa
churaran Qusqupi, chaypi ganaran askhata
qulqita | C: Yes. Long ago, [he] took the custom, took
pictures, in the name of Hapu people, placed
them in Cuzco. There he made a lot of money. |
| [...] | [...] |
| G: Imayna hamuran primera vez | G: How did he come the first time? |
| C: Primera vez pisi qulqillaraq, wakchalla hamuran.
Kunanqa mana Haputa hamuyta munapunñachu | C: The first time he still had only little money. He
came quite poor. Now he does not want to come
to Hapu anymore. |
| G: Riki, imarayku | G: Really? Why? |
| C: Askhaña qulqin karapun | C: Because he has already a lot of money. |
| G: Um, sapallan hamuran? Primera vez? | G: Did he come alone? The first time? |
| C: Turistakunawan hamuran, turistakunawan
ashkata apamuq, chaykunawan, kunanqa
tukanaykuta yachapun, pituta yachan ¹² | C: He came with tourists. He brought a lot of
tourists. With them. Now he knows [to play]
our [exclusive] flute, [to play] the traverse flute. |

This view of turistas and guías is influenced by two factors: Firstly, tourism – in a narrow understanding of the term – has not yet reached Hapu. There are not regular tourists who visit Hapu. Even Hatun Q'ero receives relatively few groups during the year. There is not any travel agency selling tours that include visits to Hapu. Secondly, the

¹² Conversation with a Maranata convert. Hapu 2007.

imagination of how tourists are has been shaped by the broader fame of Q'ero communities as the essential embodiments of Andean authenticity.

Turista then becomes a label in Hapu to refer to foreign visitors who, besides their differences, have certain aspects in common: these people come from foreign countries that are places of vast accumulation of wealth. The extreme differences in wealth between Hapu people and *turistas* were marked in the most elemental artifacts carried on the body. These differences were obvious in so elemental adornments as any cloth, shoes, backpacks or cameras. For example, regular trekking shoes that a tourist wears might cost around one hundred dollars at the cheapest while the Hapu people's sandals made of used rubber tires cost no more than one dollar. Many Hapu people were genuinely curious to know how much those boots, backpacks or cameras cost. Several times I went through interrogations about how much my boots, my jacket or my camera had cost. I am convinced that most of these questions were done out of genuine curiosity and without any intention of putting me in a difficult position. However, these were very uncomfortable moments for me, clearly pointing out to the inequality of wealth between me and the Hapu people whose largely subsistence economy cannot afford by any stretch to pay for these commodities. Through these simple comparisons, seen from their subsistence economy marginally involved in the market, the foreign countries such as the United States are considered by Hapu people to be a part of a world where people live in grotesque opulence. These foreign opulent societies include some spaces in the city of Cuzco as well as Lima, the Peruvian capital.

This exaggerated difference in wealth contributes to their view that *apuyu* from outside is morally legitimate. After one of the community members pointed out the lack of expression of *cariño* (affection) – “not even some bread” – from the Japanese video crew, he backed this up claiming how Hapu people were living in “extreme poverty” which is the case according to the Peruvian official statistics (INEI 2011). Hapu people tend to frame their requests and reception of support from *turistas* not as a grant but to some extent as a moral imperative. However *apuyu* is expected not only due to this asymmetry of wealth.

Hapu people are well aware that their Q'ero *kustunri* is highly valued by foreigners. This has been confirmed by the keen interest that all *turistas* who have arrived

to their lands had showed for their *kustunri*. They want to watch their rituals, get their textiles, photograph their festivities, record and film their songs. As some of the quotes included above show, most of Hapu people with whom I talked seemed to be convinced that *turistas* do so in order to get economic advantage of Hapu's Q'ero practices. All these different ways to register Hapu customs are imagined as being sold at high prices in the wealthy foreign countries. I was repeatedly requested to contact them with the markets in which they could sell textiles when I would be back in the US and people asked me in different contexts if I would sell their pictures to others or how much I would charge for that.

I am aware that the ethnographic information emerging in my fieldwork in Hapu is part of the raw material with which I can develop academic products with associated economic entailments, and thus the observations of Hapu people are not inaccurate in their essence. While I approach Hapu in a different fashion and with an interest other than looking to preserve the practices associated with a particular notion of indigenous authenticity, the records of my fieldwork interactions are nevertheless a type of resource that is involved in academic activities that might have economic benefits. The members of *Good Earth Good Heart* Foundation and other philanthropists might not be taking economic advantage of their engagement with Hapu and, as they claim, they might be spending money rather than gaining it. What they are gaining might be something else that is not possible to put in monetary terms. Other agents, who are rather invested in the New Age tourism and who bring Q'ero "shamans" to tours to the US and Europe seems to be more clearly making considerable profits and only giving little to the Q'ero.

Besides these different types of relationships with foreigners, what is clear in the understanding of Hapu people is that these *turistas* and *guías* do have the opportunity and the necessary knowledge in order to take economic advantage of their customs. This is important because those opportunities are currently beyond the control and reach of Hapu people. Hence, what this attitude points to is to the very weak control that Hapu people have over the registry of their own *kustunri*, over their own cultural artifacts when they leave the community. It also points to a lack of access to information about how these objectifications of their customs will circulate, about how much profit they will generate

and who will benefit. All these aspects are related to how to judge an appropriate price for letting the *turistas* take textiles or make a documentary of their pilgrimage.

The assumed high profits that *turistas* would get from recording Hapu customs, in addition to the extreme inequality of wealth, makes it obvious why Hapu people expect *apuyu* from them. It obviously does not constitute a generous grant but just part of the profits that will be obtained in the foreign countries. As the case of the video crew showed, tourists do not always behave in a minimally acceptable way, and not all of them give *apuyu*. Some tourists are so stingy that they attempt to get even more wealth than what they already have with the profits from selling Q'ero customs. Even so they do not want to give *apuyu*. Then to some extent, it can follow that these foreigners might be so wealthy precisely because they are very stingy.

Stinginess however is not to be found only in certain *turistas* but, more broadly, in people who live in towns and cities: Hapu people tend to see urban Spanish speaking people usually as being very stingy: they are so stingy that they avoid expressing the most elemental expressions of respect and *cariño* (affection), such as just bringing some fruit, bread or coca leaves when they visit, or when these persons ask for bargains in what the Hapu people consider reasonable prices for their services. Luis, for example, commented to me in Cuzco that he had made a food-offering in the name of a middle class Spanish speaker lady. It emerged in the conversation that she had paid him 40 Nuevos Soles. I asked him then why he charged that price while I used to give him a considerably higher fee for similar service. He just replied, “because you are not stingy.”

* * *

The ways in which Q'ero *kustunri* is changing its value, and the contradictions that this process is creating, have become articulated through a deep irony: The very practices that in some contexts work as indexes of illiteracy, poverty, and lack of access to the abundance of the urban world are transmuted into valuable commodities but only in the hands of foreigners, of people who already have accumulated vast amounts of wealth. Their *kustunri* becomes a valuable commodity only in a world which is almost totally beyond their reach, in the opulent foreign world which is only approachable in its

margins through the tourism circuits of urban Cuzco. Being to a large extent marked and stigmatized practices within the regional society, foreign interest in them was hardly imagined by the Hapu people as driven by pure intellectual or “spiritual” interest, but rather primarily fueled by interest in monetary profits. This perception was at the core of the refusal to cooperate with the film crew as well as how some Hapu people with whom I talked framed their relationship with the foundation.

These visions are in sharp contrast with how philanthropists, state bureaucrats and NGO representatives frame their relationship with Hapu people. This is clearly exemplified by the very different understandings around the notion of *ayni*. The foreign philanthropists see their work as providing some support that might help maintain ancient knowledge deemed highly valuable for humanity at the same time that it can alleviate harsh living conditions. The Hapu people tend to see this rather as a relation of reciprocal gifts that benefits both sides of the exchange but that might benefit the foreigners in a much greater extent.

Beyond the complex ways in which practices such as songs, offerings, rituals participated and constructed Hapu people’s lives, the fame of *Q’ero kustunri* built in urban Cuzco and reshaped by the New Age tourism entangled them into relatively new and contradictory systems of value articulated by interlocking narratives of modernity.

When Thomas called on Hapu people to transcend their disputes, he was tacitly referring to the tensions that have been building up within the community between those that have become members of the Maranata Evangelical Church and those who kept honoring the practices of the *kustunri*. These conflicts, as I will further analyze, manifest Hapu people’s different positions and projects in dialogue with and response to dominant narratives of modernity that frame them in radically different ways: on one hand, as premodern, poor and ignorant Quechua peasants; on the other, as keepers of ancient wisdom, of pristine harmony with nature, and as magical sources of modernity’s urgent redemption.

CHAPTER VII

THE EMERGENCE OF A CONFLICTIVE SCENARIO

I met don Sebastián, who was then in his early sixties, in 2007. At the time, I was accompanying the Hapu's dance troupe in its pilgrimage to the *Quyllurit'i* (White Shining Snow) shrine. There, close to the perpetual ice of the Qulqipunku glacier, the core of the shrine is an image of Christ painted on a crag over which a Catholic chapel has been constructed gradually over time.

Don Sebastián accepted the request of the pilgrimage sponsors and thus accompanied the dancers as a musician. He played a small drum. Good humored, constantly making jokes and quick in replying to the jokes of others, he eased my integration into the pilgrims' group. He teased me constantly, addressing me with quick Quechua phrases that I couldn't understand, to the hilarity of the other pilgrims. He ended his phrases saying "*Suyru masiy, kancha masiy. Chansalla numas*" (my in-law whose animals and mine are in the same flock, it is just a joke!¹). Beyond his role in the pilgrimage, don Sebastián was one of the paqu who used to travel to Cuzco to make food-offerings to place-persons. One of his sons, one of the very few Hapu people who migrated to the city, lived in the outskirts and don Sebastián used to stay with him when working there. The first conversation that we recorded was done almost nine months after we participated in the pilgrimage. At that point he had started to go to the Sunday meetings of the Maranata church. His youngest son had already been a Maranata for some years. While most of Hapu people would claim to be either Maranata or Catholic, he was one of the few who did not acknowledge that there was a contradiction in being Maranata while keeping practicing Q'ero *kustunri*.

¹ A more literal translation would be "my fellow who has the same father in law, my fellow who shares the same enclosure for animals."

Partly guided by my conversations with don Sebastián, this chapter will explore the process through which Hapu arrived to a very conflictive scenario and almost to the brink of rupture. It was deeply related to processes of conversion to Evangelicalism as well as to re-conversions from Evangelicalism to Catholicism. In order to show what was at stake in these conflicts, I explain the system of staff bearers and the broader system of rotative posts that organized how people served the community as well as how they gained respect and prestige. Then the chapter examines how Hapu people were related to Catholic priests and what kind of roles they played in Hapu. After this I turn to how the Maranata Evangelical Church arrived in Hapu and how its presence ultimately broke down the system of posts and prestige. This latter situation provoked an open conflict between those who wanted to keep practicing the Q'ero *kustunri* and the Maranatas who condemned and forbade these practices. The chapter ends with a discussion of how this conflict is structured through different forms of social arrangements between various factions within Hapu that are related to different sets of place-persons.

The system of staff bearers

When talking about the past *asinda timpu*, the time of the *hacienda* and the landlord, don Sebastián linked life's hardships directly with the system of posts. This system was organized through positions called *warayuq*, staff bearer. This institution organized both the status and authority positions within Hapu and the labor organization within the hacienda regime. The staff bearers were also in charge of the communal festivities of the rainy season: Carnival and Easter. These staffs are typically made from *chunta*² wood, a palm that grows in the Amazonian lowlands, and is adorned with silver rings, particularly at its top where it has a cross.

The Hapu system of staff bearers, similar to many others in the region, was an authority structure that followed the formal organization of the colonial *Común* o *Cabildo de Indios* (the municipal council of an Indian town). This institution did not vanish with

² *Chunta* or in Spanish *chonta* (*Bactris gasiapes*). Chunta wood is not only very hard but also is considered to be a powerful weapon against the damage that envious persons could produce. This power indexes also to its exotic origins in the Amazon plains. This contemporary use might be related to the production of spears by Amazonian and also highland peoples. Chunta was also used by the Inka and the colonial indigenous elites for making highly decorated pair of cups in order to drink corn beer.

the new Republic. In fact, it remained central to the organization of this community, as well as to many other Andean communities.³ Both Quechua communities living in hacienda regimes and those that maintained ownership over their lands were similarly organized through this type of system. It consisted of a rotational system of authority posts of service to the community. Those who assumed the posts also were the legitimate channels of relationships with persons and institutions foreign to the community. The posts of staff bearers consisted in a chain of three positions where the lower *alwasir* (from Spanish *alguacil*, sheriff) was followed by the *rihirur* (from Spanish *regidor*, alderman) and ended with the highest *alkalri* (from Spanish *alcalde*, mayor). Beyond these three positions there were other posts that were also important as service to the community as well as status builders. According to Oscar Núñez del Prado (2005[1957]) who visited Q'ero in 1955 and Juan Ossio (2005) who visited Q'ero in 1966 as well as the information I received, these chains consisted at least in the following positions:

The first one was called *istanrarti* (from Spanish *estandarte*, banner) for teenage boys and *kiwnira* (from Spanish *guionera*, banner holder) for teenage girls. Both had to carry small banners during Easter processions. *Alwasir* was the lower staff bearer position. It was occupied by males in their late teens who were in charge of blowing the *pututu* or *wusina*, sea shell trumpets.⁴ Their tasks were mostly to carry out the orders of their superiors and to ensure all received the communications from the *alkalri*. The *rihirur* was the staff bearer of second rank, direct aids of the *alkalri*. Another post was that of *qullana* (the first one) who during a year had the responsibility of starting and leading the communal agricultural work with his example. The post of *contador* (accountant) was devoted to keeping accounts of the landlord's harvest and animals. The *alkalri* was the highest authority in the system of staff bearers. The candidate for this position not only had to carry out the previous posts but also had to be married by the Catholic Church. There was also the position of *mandón* (foreman) who received the orders from the landlord and made sure the staff bearers carry it out. Finally there was the post of *fiscal* or *kapillayuc* (who holds the chapel) that was assumed by an elder who

³ For more information regarding the system of staff bearers, its colonial origins, and its adaptation to republican Perú see Diez Hurtado 1998, Fuenzalida 1970, Pérez Galán 2005, and Thomson 2001, ch. 1.

⁴ *Pututu* or *wusina* (from Sp *bocina*) is trumpet made of a sea shell. Since pre Hispanic times it has been associated with authority. This association might be related to its scarcity and exoticness in the Andean highlands.

took care of the chapel and taught to children the Catholic prayers to be repeated by memory. Núñez del Prado (2005[1957]), Ossio (2005), and Yábar (1922) hint that the *kapillayuy* was also a recognized paqu.⁵

It was not necessary for each person to fulfill all these posts. However, it was fundamental to fulfill at least some of them to be recognized as a respected elder. During hacienda times, staff bearers played a central role in organizing the relations between the people and the landlord. The earliest description available mentions that staff bearers received their staff in Paucartambo from the landlord or the governor (Yábar 1922). However, Núñez del Prado (2005[1957]) only mentions the landlord. According to this account, the landlord would formally give them the staffs in a ceremony thus legitimizing their positions of authority. This trip to Paucartambo, hence, highlighted the dependence of the community's inner structure of authority on the alien powers of the Spanish-speaking world of the hacendado and its allied institutions. While the staff bearers were in charge of making important food-offerings to the place-persons in the name of the whole community, they could not fully act without the legitimacy received from the realm of the human powers emanating from the Spanish-speaking world of landlords.

The staff bearers sponsored the carnival festivities that involved redistributive celebrations. This cycle of celebrations during the rainy season, generally referred to as *pukllay*,⁶ started when the new staff bearers arrived back to Hapu from Paucartambo or Marcapata. This celebration was called *chayampuy*, the return arrival. Then the celebrations of *pukllay* were held, followed by the festivities of *paskuwa* (Easter). Assuming a higher post implied contributing more to the festivities, including the provision of food for all the participants. This meant potatoes, *chuñu*⁷ and *moraya*⁸, as well as sacrificing llamas, cows, and sheep. They also had to provide *aqha* (corn beer)

⁵ Aside from these posts, assuming the sponsorship of the pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i associated to the celebrations of the dry season or *Kurpus* (from *Corpus Christi*) was also a recognized responsibility. When I did fieldwork in Hapu, I was told of other posts such as the *wakiru*, who was in charge of the landlord animals and now in charge of the communal livestock, and the *arariwa*, who was in charge of making appropriate food-offering to the place-persons to ensure a good harvest as well as take care that the crops are not invaded by livestock or other pests.

⁶ *Pukllay* (Qu) To play

⁷ *Chuñu* (Qu) Dehydrated potatoes by its exposure to freezing cold during nights and the sun during days in the months of June, July and early August.

⁸ *Moraya* (Qu) Dehydrated potatoes. Additionally to the procedures of doing *chuñu*, the potatoes are left in water current which washes its starch.

and *tragu*⁹ as well as request their acquaintances to perform as *sarhintu* (from Spanish *sargento*, sergeant), carnival dancers during the celebrations. The following fragment of my conversation with don Sebastián gives some texture of the role of these authorities:

- S: Warayuq, chay anchay asinda timpupi mas, mas siktur karqan chay.
 G: Umhu?
 S: A la phirsa chay warayunkunaqa, putuq diwirñinkumanta, wachuykin chayqa, yasta karahu haykuy, ruway awir, ruwanaykin ñispa a la phirsata tanqayquq chay kargumanqa, mana, mana munashan, mana kallpa kanchu wasi runan kani, ñishaqtapas.
 G: Ummh.
 S: Aha, ubligashuntapuni ruwachiq [.....] chayqa chaypipas karan wara ruwaypas karan kumparinchis, kumparinchis riki, kumparispi karqan chayampuy.
 G: Chayampuy.
 S: Chayampuy pimiru bara risiwiy, may Paukartamputa rinku, Markapatata rinku hina, mana kaqllapichu warata risiwinku. Aha, wara risibiq, chaymanta chayamunku anchaypi p'unchayñintin pasán, chaypi phista pasan, karnawal ichaqa kaq, karnawal ichaqa, karnawalpipuni, pashkuwa chay kinsata ruwaq barayuqkuna, kinsa kargu pasakuq watapi. [...]
 G: Mana ni imatapas, icha fiestalla, ichan.
 S: Mana, mana phistallachu, ruwachinku chakrata ruwachinku, paykuna mihur inwararu kanku, chay asindaruq kamachinta ruwanku, imamapas tirashanku, pusana, chaypi tudu kayuspa, bara apayusqa watantimpuni.
 G: Riki, watantin.
 S: Watántin suphrin.
 G: Umhu
 S: Chakakunata ruwachinku, ñankunataata allchachishanku, uywata¹⁰
- S: In the times of the hacienda there was more, more sector [posts].
 G: Uhum?
 S: Those staff bearers were done forcibly, out of obligation. That was your work, your path. Enter now, damn it! You have to do it! Saying so, [people were] forcibly pushed to assume the post. Against their will. Even claiming 'I do not have strength, I am a house person' ...
 G: Ummm
 S: Yes. They were forced to assume them by obligation! [...] Then, those in charge of the staffs had to do [the carnival festivities of] *compadres*, in *compadres* they did *chayampuy* (the return).
 G: *Chayampuy*
 S: *Chayampuy*. [But] first was the reception of the staffs. They went to Paucartambo or to Marcapata. They did not receive the staffs here. Yes, first, they received the staff, then they came, there they stayed one entire day, then they sponsored a party. After that there was carnival. After all the carnival festivities were done they have to do Easter. Hence, they have to carry out three sponsorships through the year [...]
 G: Did they only do those festivities?
 S: No. It was not only the festivities. They have to make people work in the fields. They were the best staff bearers. They carried out the orders of the landlord. Whatever, they carry it out. They had to carry the staff the entire year.
 G: The entire year.
 S: They suffered the entire year
 G: Umhu
 S: They have to make people do bridges, make them maintain the roads, [take care of] the animals.

When I carried out my fieldwork the carnival festivities of Hapu were not done anymore. I only observed the celebrations of *Paskuwa* (Easter) in Yanaruma. However, celebrations carried out in 1988 at the neighboring Q'ero community of Kiku are described in detail in a book by a European Jesuit scholar of religion assisted by the Jesuit parish priest of Marcapata (Schlegelberger 1993). These observations were carried

⁹ Tragu, from Spanish trago, literally, cane alcohol. However it includes more and more industrially processed alcohol not suited for human consumption.

¹⁰ Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

out at least fifteen years after the end of the hacienda times. In the 1980s both Kiku and Hapu were carrying out bureaucratic paperwork in order to be recognized as peasant communities by the State. For this reason, they were adopting the new structure of authorities imposed by the State for that new status: the *Junta Directiva* (Directive Board). In 1988, when the Jesuit priest carried out his ethnography of Kiku, the new staff bearers no longer travelled to Paucartambo to receive the staffs from the landlord or the governor. However, Schlegelberger (1993) explains that *chayampuy*, the return, continued to be carried out. There was no *alkalri* that year but only one *rehirur* and two *alwasir*.

According to Schlegelberger, the *chayampuy* was celebrated in *compadres* Thursday, two weeks before the Carnival Sunday. The day before *compadres* Thursday the new staff bearers invited the *almusay puririy* (departure lunch) to all the community members at the house of the *rihirur* in the ritual-civic center of the community, Hatun Kiku (Big Kiku).

At night, the new authorities attended a session of coca leaves interpretation. Then they bathed in a river and changed their worn everyday ponchos for a new *puka punchu* (red poncho), the richly decorated ponchos of carnival. Then they went to the Hatun Kiku's stone and cross (both called *misa rumi*) located towards *Kiku Q'uchu*, the main glacier of Kiku. Each staff bearer prepared and burnt one food-offering and sprinkled three bottles of wine. It is worth noting that the two priests were not allowed to attend this part of the ceremonies carried out at night.

Early the following day the new staff bearers went to the chapel of Hatun Kiku. There they made a small prayer with their faces hidden behind their hats. Their helpers, the *apiris*¹¹, brought horses for them and the new authorities said their farewells to the old authorities. They followed the path on horse towards Paucartambo but stopped at their first usual resting place, a big stone called *Quchapata Mach'ay* (the cave of the lake) or *Quchapata Hatun Rumi* (big stone of the lake). Other community members, including the two Jesuit priests, walked with them. The *apiris* brought and distributed food among all. Then, the *apiris*, the new staff bearers, and Marcapata's parish priest entered the rock shelter. They requested the priest to participate in the ceremony. The

¹¹ *Apiris*: this word might come from Spanish *alférez*, standard bearer

apiris gave the parish priest the staffs for his blessing. Then the priest gave the three staffs to the *rihirur*. The *rihirur* then gave theirs to the two *alwasir*. The priest then prayed, took oath to the new authorities and gave a small sermon about the new authorities' responsibilities.

They organized a *misa*¹²: it consisted of an *unkhuña* put on the floor, and over it each *apiris* put two bundles of coca leaves, three bottles of alcohol, and three sea shell trumpets. Each of the staffs was cleaned with alcohol making sure that it did not drop on the floor but in a cup. The remaining alcohol was drunk by the staff bearers and then passed to the rest of attendees. A similar procedure was carried out with the sea shell trumpets after which they were blown by the new staff bearers.¹³

Then a series of cycles of distribution of food, coca leaves, alcohol and cigarettes followed while people talked and sang. Each of these distributions was called by the name of each of the resting places that were used before in their long travel towards Paucartambo: Quchapata Hatun Rumi, Alkalri Samana, Hatun Q'ero, Willkakunka, K'allakancha, and finally Paucartambo. New cycles were done for each of the same resting posts for the return from Paucartambo towards Kiku. They got back to Quchapata Hatun Rumi, where they were. The old practice of travelling to Paucartambo officially to receive the staffs from the landlord was reenacted in this rock shelter through the sequential invocation of the places found along the road. At mid afternoon the new authorities rode their horses to return to Kiku. They made a stop at a stone called *Uphuysuruyuq*. Here it was customary for *sarhintu*¹⁴ dancers to greet the travelers; however there were no *sarhintus* in 1988. At 6 pm they arrived to Kiku. At the entrance they stopped at the stone and cross (*misa rumi*) without getting off their horses and were given corn beer by males. Among them were the past year staff bearers who were wearing very old and rugged ponchos. Then they continued to the chapel of Kiku in front of which they got off the horses, entered the chapel and left their staffs in the altar. Then women brought food and corn beer. The whole community spent the entire evening and

¹² *Misa* (from the Spanish *mesa*, table). It refers to an actual table but more generally to an *unkhuña* (textile for carrying food) together with some stones, cups, coca, alcohol and flowers that are used for preparing food-offerings in special occasions.

¹³ Descriptions of similar rituals in the region report that the staffs are regarded as persons: they are alive and they can consume the alcohol as well as, for example, listen to mass (e.g. Pérez 2005).

¹⁴ *Sarhintu*, from Spanish *sargento*, sergeant

night singing, dancing, and drinking, going from one of the staff bearers' houses to the other until very late. The following day the staff bearers visited the houses of each of the families. Their sea shell trumpets announced their arrival. They received food in each of them. This food was called *mañayraki uchu*, the meal of the request. During hacienda times this was the occasion at which particular plots of land were requested and the new authorities received extra plots (Schlegelberger 1993:203-207).

This whole ritual through which the new staff bearers assume their responsibilities follows a classic pattern of separation, liminality, and incorporation (Van Gennep 1960). The process involves the distribution of food, coca, and alcohol to the entire community. It also entails complex offerings to the place-persons that constitute the community of Kiku along with its human members. All this is carried out around Kiku's ritual-civic center. The Catholic chapel ultimately defines the center of Hatun Kiku from where the new authorities depart and to where they return.

Here I will briefly focus on the liminal stage of this ritual due to telling events. Even after the landlord regime was over, Kiku people reenacted, through cycles of distribution of coca and alcohol in the Quchapata Mach'ay, the travel from Kiku to Paucartambo. In other words, this travel followed the path from the community to the sphere of foreign power that ruled over people's lives during the hacienda regime.¹⁵ While the new staff bearers of Kiku did not travel physically to Paucartambo, nevertheless they did so virtually. Through this travel they reinscribed the way by which the legitimacy of their posts depended on the outside power of the broader human society beyond Kiku. While the priests were not allowed to participate in the food offerings that were carried out at night by the new authorities, their presence in Quchapata Hatun Rumi was crucial. There the parish priest of Marcapata embodied the outside power that the landlord previously occupied. By giving them their staffs of authority and instructions about the proper way to carry out those responsibilities, the parish priest seems to have fulfilled a structural role of outside patriarchal power. His actual status as a priest, referred to as *father*, made him a suitable replacement for the father-like authority of the

¹⁵ Nevertheless in other areas of Cuzco this system of posts continues functioning and it is now the governor who gives the staffs to the new staff bearers. For the district of Písaq (Calca), see the work of Pérez (2005). I carried out fieldwork in the neighboring district of San Salvador (Calca) where the system functions in a similar way than in Písaq.

landlord (as explained in chapter IV).¹⁶ Furthermore, the parish priest also embodied the status of outside power because he did not only carried out his work strictly as a religious authority but also as an energetic promoter and funder of infrastructure works such as the small hydroelectric plant that was being constructed in Kiku during those years.

The festivities of *pukllay* proper, the Carnival, involved several celebrations. Each family carried out the *phallchay*, a celebration to give thanks to the places-person and to the female llamas in order to propitiate their fertility. At the same time the new staff bearers visited all the families of the community in their houses. The next day everyone went to the center of the community where people spent the day and night singing, playing, dancing, eating, and drinking in each of the houses of the new staff bearers. The Kiku people also went in a *tinku*, an encounter, with the community of Hatun Q'ero. The staff bearers of both communities greeted each other ceremoniously and then the single males and females of both communities danced with each other in a high pass that marked the boundary between both communities (Schlegelberger 1993).

The festivity of *paskuwa* (Easter) involved a similar *tinku* with the Hapu people in another high pass that also marked their boundary. There was also a celebration of the new textiles that had been produced for the carnival. They were tied to a long stick and suspended in the air with several long sticks that formed an arch through which the image of the Carmen Virgin and a Cross were carried in procession. After this, people spent the day singing, playing flutes, dancing, eating, and drinking in the houses of the new staff bearers (ibid.)

All these celebrations were the only moments in the year during which the entire community came together. These festivities were marked by the communal consumption of food, coca and alcohol, as well as singing and dancing. Adults, both male and female, were expected and pushed to get drunk during these days. As Harvey (1991) discuss for Ocongate, the consumption of alcohol and drunkenness certainly had the effect of stressing community integration and celebration, but also entailed undesired and dissociative effects. Together with the integration, drunkenness also produced discussions, fights, jealousy and domestic violence.

¹⁶ In a similar fashion, in the case of the communities of Písaq (Calca), the staffs listened to a special mass when the new staff bearers assumed their posts (Pérez 2005).

The visits to the community boundaries and the recognition of these boundaries by the neighboring communities, together with the visit of the new staff bearers to all the families of the community and the food offerings to the place-persons marked an annual reinscription of Kiku as a community involving humans and place-persons.

The state recognized Kiku and Hapu as *comunidades campesinas* (peasant communities) respectively in 1986 and 1987, and given official land titles in 1994. This recognition involved the imposition of a new structure of authorities by the state: the *Junta Directiva* (Directive Board) comprised by a president, a vice-president, a secretary, a treasurer, a *fiscal* and a couple of *vocals* (who were assistants to the Board). The members of the community elected these authorities according to the official community's register. The state recognized the elected Board as the official representative of the community for all legal matters. The *Junta Directiva* was inscribed as the official representative of the community in the Public Registry and the Ministry of Agriculture gave it credentials. In this structure, the only instance holding power over these representatives was the General Assembly. There were monthly General Assemblies in Hapu.

The new structure of authorities belonging to the Junta Directiva was included within the previously existing system of posts functioning in the community.¹⁷ The staff bearers continued to exist focusing their roles in the carnival festivities and organizing communal works. Meanwhile, the Junta Directiva represented the community in front of all the external agents, among them the institutions of the state such as the National Institute of Culture, the Ministry of Agriculture or NGOs. These authorities also assumed the responsibilities of maintaining the community records and documents. Through conversations with people I can say that any male was expected to assume at least a couple if not all the posts of staff bearer system as well as several positions in the Junta Directiva in order to arrive at a status of a respected *kuraq*, elder. In the last two decades there have been new posts that count tacitly as community service: *Teniente Gobernador*, President of the Committee for the Wikuña Chaku, President of the School Parents Association, President of the Self Defense Committee. Males formally have held all of

¹⁷ This differs from analyses that claim that the staff bearers system is parallel to and independent from the new structure of authority imposed by the state. See Pérez 2005.

these positions with the implicit requirement that they be married. This is was particularly the case for the staff bearers. The festivities that they sponsored involved a big load of work for the wives. Hence, while the male held the visible aspects of the office, it was actually assumed by the couple.

This system was working in Hapu until very recently. Actually, it was in 2007 when the celebrations of the rainy season stopped being carried out in Hatun Hapu as it will be explained in detail in the coming sections.

The relations with Catholic priests

Don Sebastián explained to me that when he was a child during the time of the *hacienda*, once every year or every other year Catholic priests used to come to Hapu from Paucartambo. They came to baptize newborns and recite mass. A Jesuit parish priest of provides important details about the history of past relations between the priests of Paucartambo and the landlord: The latter was who sponsored and organized these trips and he also monopolized the position of godfather for all the baptized children. The landlord was who ordered to build the chapel and who brought saints' images for them. However, the landlord also provided the people with all the necessary ingredients to make the appropriate food-offerings that ensured the fertility of the animals and agricultural production (Hansen 1993:269).

The only other way by which the Hapu people were able to meet with priests was during the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage when it was possible to baptize newborns. Don Sebastián refers to baptism as a crucial event in a person's life; however, this was not due to its religious significance. Rather, he stressed the importance of the baptismal register in the parish of Paucartambo or in the parish of Ocongate (where the Quyllurit'i shrine is located). The baptismal records constituted the only instance for acquiring a document used as a birth certificate to acquire a *Libreta Electoral* (the Electoral Document which was also an ID).¹⁸

¹⁸ Before the eighties Peruvian illiterates did not have the right to vote. Illiteracy correlated with not having Spanish as first language. Only with the 1979 Constitution voting became a universal right. During the 1990s, the *Libreta Electoral* was replaced by the *Documento Nacional de Identidad* (National Identity Document - DNI)

S: Umhu, paykuna kasaraqpas kunanñamá siwilpisqa. Paykuna kasaraq kumu kustunri kay matrimuñutaqa ruwakuq kanku kasamintutaqa nuwiyu kakuq paykunallawan. Mana, mana kaqchu siwil, ñi alkaldi, ñi imapas.

G: Ummh

S: Kaqta kan ankay kawsayñinchispas riki wayqiykuna anchayta qunqarushanchis.

G: ummh.

S: Manan karqanchu, anchay asindaru timpu, anchay timpukunaqa karqanchu, ñi anutay, ñi ima, anchay rayku runaqa kayku yasta, ñuqapas imapas kani mana wataykupas u minus, u mas mana tantu kumu diwi sirchu.

G: Umhu.

S: Taytamamayku kunan hina chay kunsihu minurllapas u kunsihupi kanchu, kumunta kalkularispalla chay wautisachiwanku padriwan chaypa anchayllapi anutaykachinku, anchayllaman anchay p'unchayllamantaña wataykutapas ñuqayku riqsikuyku.

G: Riki.

S: Umhu, ñuqapas wawtismun sirtiphikarullawanñan urqukuni watampiraq kasqa parukiapi, wautismu sirtiphikaruy anchayta urqukuspa, anchayllawanmi ñuqapas dukumintutapas, sut'intaña rimaspaña hurqukuni [...]

S: chaypaqpis mana kumu diwisirtachu, padri hamuq Quyllurit'ipi wawtismu kaq

G: Riki.

S: Umhu, sapa watan, wawtismuqa quyllurit'imanqa, runaqa warmikunaqa apashanku wawakunata [...] kunanmi wayqiy kay minur kunsihu ima kapun chayraqmi kunan ultimu qhipa wiñay ultimu wawakunallaña ichaqa siliktu ima p'unchay nasisqa, hayk'a p'unchay killapi wawakunapis kunan ch'uyanchakushan¹⁹

S: Umhu, they [the priests] married [people]. Now [it is done] in the civil [register]. They married [people] like in the *kustunri* (customary) ways. Only they married the betrothed. There was neither a civil [register], nor a mayor, nothing.

G: Ummh

S: Our [inclusive] lives were like that, right. My brothers are forgetting that.

G: Ummh

S: In that time, the time of the landlord, there was no way to register [people]. Because of that people were just like that. Also I am so. I do not know my age, maybe more, maybe less. It was not as it should be done.

G: Umhu

S: It was not like today when parents [have] that delegate [municipal] council. All, anybody, were baptized by a priest in that way, only calculating [the birthday]. Only in that way, there, they made [their children] registered. Only from that day we [exclusive] know our [exclusive] age.

G: Right.

S: Umhu. Also in my case, only with the certificate of baptism that was in the parish. Only with my baptism certificate, with it speaking on my behalf, I was able to obtain my [identity] documents. [...]

S: Because of that, it was not like it should be. When priests came to Quyllurit'i there was baptism.

G: Right

S: Umhu. Each year, for the baptism, people, women brought babies to Quyllurit'i [...] Now, my brother, this [local municipal] council is recently [registering] those that are born last, all the newborns. Now it is well done, with certainty [it is known] the day of the birth, what day, what month the babies are born.

Don Sebastián remembers the priests who married and baptized once a year in Hapu or in the Quyllurit'i shrine as crucially performing the role of civil register. Even with a lower number of priests and diminished power when compared with colonial times (Fisher 2000, Walker 1999), the Catholic church kept assuming by default State functions such as the civil register that don Sebastián reports.

Since 1968 the Jesuit order has been in charge of the parishes of the Quispichan province, including Ocongate and Marcapata (Schlegelberger 1993). Jesuit

¹⁹ Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

priests, most of them foreigners, also have been in charge of the Quyllurit'i shrine. These Jesuit priests had a strong commitment with development, actively looking for and channeling foreign aid. They have been directly involved, for example, in the electrification of most of the province, the construction of roads, as well as carrying out development projects in order to improve the quality of livestock and agricultural production. While some of this work has been carried out through the personal activities of the priests and volunteers, another part was carried out through the NGO CCAIJO (*Centro de Capacitación Agro Industrial Jesus Obrero*, Jesus the Worker Center for Agroindustrial Training). The changes launched by the Second Vatican Council (1959) and the Conferences of Medellin (1968) and Puebla (1969) associated with the development of the Latin American Theology of Liberation and its "option for the poor" (Gutiérrez 1971) influenced this work of the Jesuits.

These priests also have showed a sustained intellectual interest in the study of Quechua religious practices. The Jesuit priest and anthropologist Manuel Marzal (1971, 1983) carried out some of the founding works of religious anthropology in the Andes. Other related intellectual works are those of José María García (1983), Bruno Schlegelberger (1993), and Carlos Flores (1997). All of these priests learned Quechua and gave their services in this language. This Jesuit intellectual engagement and its broader attitude towards indigenous practices were grounded in the Theology of Inculturation that also came out of the 1960s' conferences of the Latin American Catholic Church mentioned above. The Theology of Inculturation attempted to overcome what was seen as mistakes of the previous evangelization, particularly its attempts to erase what was seen as indigenous religiosity. The Theology of Inculturation proclaimed that indigenous cultures develop their culturally distinctive ways to embrace the Gospel, and so this required encouraging the practice of their own rituals through which Christian values were expressed (Andrade 2004, Orta 2004). The Jesuit priests of Quispicanchis were constantly reflecting to find paths to achieve this non-colonial way of carrying out a new evangelization. Their reflections pointed out to complex ways to articulate what was seen as indigenous "religiosity" within a broader ecumenical Catholicism that also implied a change within the Church. Consider this fragment published by Peter Hansen, one of these parish priests of Quispicanchis:

It is not about introducing uniform ritual from Western Christianity. Neither is it about “purifying” the Quechua peasant religiosity but rather discovering its legitimacy within the pluralism of Christian cultures. Then, the main task of the pastoral agent is to share the Andean religiosity, deepen it, and find its place in the universal Catholic community in such a way that the Church ends up recognizing itself in Andean religiosity, and that the Andean religiosity finds itself reflected in the official Church (Hansen 1993:277).

For over thirty years the late Peter Hansen²⁰, originally from the Netherlands, has been the parish priest of Marcapata. He played a central role in acquiring funds and coordinating community work in order to construct several small hydroelectric plants, including the one that provides electricity to the district’s capital town. Similar work was done by other foreign Jesuit priests in the other districts of the province. During the eighties and early nineties, *padre* (father) Peter used to visit Hapu and Kiku with relative frequency. He even lived in Kiku for long periods of time. When Bruno Schlegelberger carried out his ethnographic research in 1988, *padre* Peter had been living in Kiku for three years. He promoted the construction of the road to Kiku, which was done with a bulldozer that the parish acquired, as well as its small hydroelectric plant. He also participated in the construction of another small hydroelectric plant in Hapu (which currently does not work), in the sector of Quchamarka. Padre Peter’s closeness to the Quchamarka sector seems to have been quite strong. I was told that Quchamarka used to be called *Huch’uy Hapu* (Small Hapu), in opposition to the Hapu’s ritual-civic center, *Hatun Hapu* (Big Hapu). Hapu people told me that padre Peter was the first to start calling it Quchamarka (the town/people of the lagoons) due to several small lagoons located upstream from it. From then on, the name Quchamarka has been adopted and almost nobody calls it Huch’uy Hapu. His work in these communities also included training local catechists both in their own communities and by congregating them in workshops held at Marcapata or Kiku.

Until the late eighties there was no evangelical presence in Hapu. In the following fragment, don Sebastián explains how, before the conversion of some Hapu people to the

²⁰ Peter Hansen, *pari Pitir* (father Peter) as people in Hapu and Kiku referred to him, passed away in 2011 after a life dedicated not only to his Catholic priesthood but effectively contributing in substantial ways to improve the living conditions of the people of the Marcapata district.

Maranata church, there were not many options in relation to the structure of prestige embedded in the system of ritual posts:

G: Umh, y siempre ñawpamanta apukunata iñinkichu²¹?

S: Ari, anchay timpuqa mana kaqchu chhayna iwanhilista, mana chay timpuqa kaqchu na, ñi ima rilihumpis, ñi ima, imapas, piru siliktu katulikucha chay kaq riki, chayqa, kargu ruway, kay santukuna yupaychay

G: Ummh.

S: Kay apukuna yupaychay siliktu kaq, mana imapas kaqchu chayqa, a la phirsa chaypipuniyá purikunki

G: Riki.

S: Ariyá, ima apukunatapas ima yupaychaspa, waqaychaspa, kay pachamama paykunatapas sumaqta aruraspapuniyá kawsanaqa kaq.

G: Riki.²²

G: Umh, and, always, since previous times do you believe in lords (mountains)?

S: Yes. In that time there were not Evangelicals. In that time there was not *religion*, nothing similar. There were only selected Catholic people, the ones who carried out the posts, those who honored these saints.

G: Ummh

S: There were outstanding [ways] to honor these lords (mountains). There was nothing else then. Definitely you forcibly had to walk that path.

G: Right

S: Yes. Honoring, respecting the lords (mountains). Certainly, they also lived beautifully adoring this mother earth.

G: Right

Don Sebastián tacitly associates the notion of *rihiun* (religion) with the Maranata evangelicals. Religion emerges in opposition to *kustunri* (custom). To don Sebastián, as other Hapu people, *kustunri* points to local practice, local embodied and practiced knowledge that is reproduced outside of the regimentation of external institutions. Religion then is about foreign practices mediated by a bureaucratic institution. Not only Evangelicalism is considered religion but also some Catholic practices that are mediated by a priest. However, from don Sebastián's words it is clear that there were festivities of Catholic images that he does not classify within his notion of religion. These festivities were carried out locally, without the mediation of a priest, hence, were *kustunri* and not religion.²³

In the time 'when there was not religion,' Hapu people honored the place-persons and the Catholic saints' images that were housed in the chapel. Don Sebastian stresses the existence of only one integrated local system of festivities that organized the status and public service within the community. All people forcibly had to go through these series of posts in order to acquire not only status but also a minimum of respect from their fellow community members.

²¹ *Iñiy* (Qu) to believe. This verb was created by the first Catholic colonial evangelization. Due to this origin it is used exclusively for referring to the cult of God and saints' images. In this fragment, I made mistake using this verb in a socially inappropriate context associating it to the place-persons.

²² Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

²³ These categories will be further explained at the beginning of chapter VIII.

As the evangelical presence started in Hapu in the 1990s and increased in importance, *padre* Peter's age made it harder for him to endure the long walking journey from Kiku to Hapu. His visits to Hapu became less frequent and eventually stopped altogether. Since the mid nineties then there has been no direct presence of Catholic priests in Hapu. Father Peter only visited Kiku, where he could go by car.

Seen in perspective, the 1980s and early 1990s were the years in which Hapu had the more sustained interaction with this particular kind of Catholicism – one which, from the Theology of Inculturation, was open to cultural difference and did not condemn or attempt to eradicate indigenous practices. In this context, the relation with priests can be exemplified by what is considered to be a baptism in Hapu. While in many Quechua communities baptism necessarily implies the mediation of a priest, in Hapu it is a ceremony that serves to define two important issues for the baby and for the parents: the baby's name and her godparents. When I participated in a baptism having accepted being the godfather of a baby, the parents consulted and discussed with me about the name of the child. When that was settled the ceremony could be carried out without the presence of a priest. To my surprise they just mixed water with salt, and the whole baptism was a relatively simple ceremony in which the name was assigned at the moment of sprinkling the salty water on the child's head with some flowers. After this brief baptism, a long party followed that went on late into the night. There were festive foods, continuous exchanges of coca leaves, and alcoholic drinks, along with animated conversation and singing. To some extent this attitude towards the lack of a Catholic priest for carrying out baptisms is related to the claims of don Sebastián who seems to have valued the priest-directed baptism primarily for the inscription of the child in the parish baptismal records. The importance of baptismal records is now gone due to the existence of the Delegate Municipal Council of Kiku that is in charge of the civil register.

While the state civil register became closer and the hacienda regime was gone, the Catholic church in Hapu lacked of a noticeable role, something that was also due to the age of padre Peter. The celebrations of the *kustunri* did not require the presence of a priest. Then, in the last decades, if not for a longer period, Hapu relation with Catholic priests has been sporadic at best.

The Maranata Evangelical Church's arrival

The *Iglesia Evangélica Maranata*²⁴ originated in the Amazonian city of Puerto Maldonado (Madre de Dios) under the guidance of missionaries from the *Misión Suiza de Cooperación Evangélica* (Swiss Mission of Evangelical Cooperation). This organization first established itself in Satipo, the Amazonian province of the Department of Junín. There it initially was focused on medical campaigns for the indigenous population and establishing schools as part of its missionary activities. In 1966 the *Misión Suiza de Cooperación Evangélica en el Perú* officially became affiliated to the *Consejo Nacional Evangélico del Perú* (Peruvian National Evangelical Council).²⁵ Around this year it also established another mission in the city of Puerto Maldonado, the capital of the Amazonian department of Madre de Dios, located east of Cuzco.

Under the guidance of Swiss missionaries, a new evangelical church emerged: *Asociación Iglesia Evangélica Maranata* (Association Maranata Evangelical Church) or *Iglesia Maranata* (Maranata church).²⁶ Soon afterwards, it started to expand towards the neighboring highland regions of Cuzco and Puno. By the early 1980s the Maranata church already was associated with the *Consejo Nacional Evangélico del Perú* (Peruvian National Evangelical Council)²⁷ as a different institution from the *Misión Suiza de Cooperación Evangélica*.

The main pastor at the Maranata Church in the city of Cuzco told me a brief history of the development of this church. After it was established in Puerto Maldonado, new churches of the Iglesia Maranata mushroomed from Puerto Maldonado to the towns along the roads that connect this city to the highland towns and cities of Cuzco and Puno. It was a quick growth. In the early 1980s there was already an important Maranata

²⁴ *Maranata*, or *Maranatha* – in its English spelling –, is the combination of two Aramaic words, either מרנא תא (“marana tha”) or מרן אתא (“maran atha”) and means either “Come our Lord” or “Our Lord has come.” It occurs once in the New Testament, in 1 Corinthians 16:22. BibleQ. <http://bibleq.info>. Last accessed on January 12, 2012.

²⁵ *Consejo Nacional Evangélico del Perú*'s web page: http://www.concilionacionalevangélico.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=30. Last accessed on February 25, 2011.

²⁶ This should not be confused with the *Iglesia de Avivamiento Maranatha* which has its main congregation in Lima and also has presence in Puerto Maldonado and Huánuco.

²⁷ *Consejo Nacional Evangélico del Perú*'s web page: http://www.concilionacionalevangélico.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=30&limit=1&limitstart=2. Last accessed on February 25, 2011.

congregation in Tinki, a growing town close to Ocongate. This church kept up its speedy expansion until the end of the 1990s when the Swiss missionaries left Peru for new missions in Africa and Asia. With their absence, the foreign financial support that the church used to receive also stopped. After the missionaries left and the church became a fully Peruvian institution, its growth slowed somewhat although it has not stopped. Currently it has more than 240 established and self-sustaining churches –communities of believers who congregate at least once a week under the leadership of a *pastor* or a *responsable* (*responsible one*, someone who leads the group but who is not yet a pastor) – distributed across three Peruvian regions: the Amazonian Madre de Dios, and the half-Amazonian, half Andean, Department of Cuzco and the Department of Puno.

This church also has established the *Seminario Teológico de Formación Ministerial Maranata* (Maranata Theological Seminary of Minister Training) in order to train pastors.²⁸ It has an accreditation from the Global University, “a Christian university in the Pentecostal tradition” and “worldwide distance education provider bringing tools for evangelism, discipleship, and training to 180 countries around the world in 124 languages” based in the United States.²⁹ In 2007, it was also accredited by the Messianic Jewish Biblical Institute (MJBI) through its branch in Argentina. The MJBI is a Christian organization that has brought together organizations that originated in post-socialist Russia and in the United States. It aims to “bring Jewish people into a personal relationship with the faith of Yeshua [Jesus], the Messiah, knowing their acceptance will eventually mean life from the dead.”³⁰ Its headquarters are in Texas (United States) and currently it runs schools in Ukraine, Hungary, Russia, Brazil, Israel, South Korea, Mexico, and Argentina. While it was developed primarily for Jewish people, it is growing also in areas that do not have strong Jewish communities such as Korea and Cuzco.³¹ The last accreditation that this school earned was with another Argentinean organization, the *Ministerio Betel para América Latina* (Betel Ministry for Latin America), a Christian organization with a strong focus on the coming of the Last Judgment and on the role of

²⁸ *Seminario Teológico de Formación Ministerial Maranata*’s web page: <http://www.seminariomaranata.org/>. Last accessed on February 23, 2011.

²⁹ Global University’s web page: <http://www.globaluniversity.edu/>. Last accessed on February 23, 2011.

³⁰ Messianic Jewish Biblical Institute’s web page: http://mjbi.org/about_us.php. Last accessed on February 23, 2011

³¹ Messianic Jewish Biblical Institute’s web page: <http://www.mjbi.org/>. Last accessed on February 23, 2011.

Jewish people. It produces audio-visual materials and has expanded to Chile, Uruguay, and Peru.³²

The Maranata Theological Seminar of Minister Training has established the following training sites: In its headquarters, the city of Cuzco, and in the towns of Huancarani, Paucartambo (Paucartambo), and Ocongate (Quispicanchis), all within the region of Cuzco. There are also training seminars in the city of Puerto Maldonado and in the town of Mazuko (Tambopata), both within the Amazonian region of Madre de Dios.³³

Figure 7.1
Façade of the Maranata Church in Hatun Hapu



This chapel was built during 2008. Its states on the top “Maranata Evangelical Church of Peru”, around the fish “Maranata. The lord comes” and below, “Hapu.” 2008.

The *Iglesia Zonal* (Zonal Church) of Tinki—which coordinates 50 local churches in the districts of Carhuayo, Ocongate, and Marcapata—has jurisdiction over the church established in Hapu. While the Maranata Church has a strong presence in Tinki and the surrounding districts, it is not the only evangelical church present in the area. There are

³² *Ministerio Betel para América Latina*’s web page: <http://www.ministeriobetel.org/>. Last accessed on February 25, 2011.

³³ *Seminario Teológico de Formación Ministerial Maranata*’s web page: <http://www.seminariomaranata.org/>. Last accessed on February 25, 2011.

various other evangelical churches in these highland areas surrounding the Ausangate glacier.³⁴ The different evangelical denominations that could have conflictive relations in terms of recruiting new adepts, present only slight differences in theological terms, according to the different pastors that I met.

The first Hapu person to convert to Evangelicalism was a 17-year old man who, living in Tinki, started to attend the Maranata church in the late 1980s. When he started his own household, his wife converted and, soon after, her family. Through their attendance of services in Tinki they befriended another Maranata who lived in Hapu's neighboring community of Puyka and would become the pastor of the still inexistent Maranata church in Hapu. Bernabé, the future pastor, carried out biblical studies in Tinki, Ocongate, and the city of Cuzco for two years before deciding to move to Hapu with the plan of converting Hapu people and starting a new church.

There are different versions of why he moved to Hapu. He told me that it was because he already had some friends in the community and that his motivation was to bring the word of God to Hapu. He added as well that in Puyka – the community where he was born – he did not have good lands and it was impossible to get more, while in Hapu there was not such shortage of lands. Other Maranata brothers told me that at that time, in Puyka, cattle rustlers that he had denounced were threatening him. He moved with his family to Hapu where the rustlers hardly would look for him. Some Catholics who do not like the presence of the Maranata in Hapu have another version, which includes the pastor's escape from cattle rustlers who wanted to avenge his involvement in the murder of one of their peers. It is hard to know if his primary motivation was to convert Hapu people or if he actually had other motives to get away from Puyka.

Fellow Maranata friends presented the pastor to the general assembly of the community. They petitioned for him to be accepted to live in among them. During the early 1990s (and even today) when compared to other Quechua communities of the region, Hapu's population density was very low. This, in addition to his commitment to contribute to the community, might explain the relative easiness with which he was accepted. Bernabé might have been seen potentially as somebody who could contribute to

³⁴ As it was mentioned before, the Ausangate glacier is the highest and most important mountain of eastern Cuzco.

the community due to his good command of Spanish, both spoken and written. Even today he is routinely in charge of writing the assemblies' minutes, reading and translating the documents that arrive in the community as well as translating from Spanish to Quechua when visitors show up during community assemblies.

Bernabé and his family occupied an area that nobody was using, a high pasture zone particularly appropriate for herding alpacas. While all Hapu families had llamas, there were no alpaca herds in Hapu. When I stayed in Hapu, Bernabé's family and only three other families had alpaca herds that provided them with alpaca wool.

The challenge to the local system of posts and prestige

The first families that converted to evangelicalism in Hapu met in their houses in the Raqch'i sector. Slowly but steadily they started gaining more and more converts. First, some families from Raqch'i converted. Yanaruma families followed. After some years, when they had become more numerous, they built a church for their Sunday meetings quite close to the old Catholic chapel in the civic-ritual center of the community. As their presence gained strength, the members of the Maranata church of Hapu stopped participating in the communal rituals, particularly *Pukllay* (Carnival), *Paskuwa* (Easter), and *Kurpus* (Corpus Christi).

By the mid-to-late-1990s, when the conversion to the Maranata church was gaining momentum, the community's Directive Board was well established as the political body of community representatives in charge of most of the relations with exterior agents and the state. It seems that when the Maranata converts stopped participating in the festivities of the rainy season and the pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i, the rest of the community did not see this as a real threat to the continuity of the staff bearers system or the pilgrimage. Hence, this was not addressed as a problem at the communal assembly. However, when the number of converts increased, problems of continuity started to appear because those who were supposed to assume positions as staff bearers were refusing to accept them. To justify their refusal, they claimed that the festivities of Carnival, Easter, as well as the pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i were idolatrous and that God forbade them from participating. Additionally, the Maranata pastor and the converts

criticized the heavy drinking at these rituals and also the spending of resources that could be used for better ends.

The Maranatas claimed that these posts could not be forced on them. They did not refuse to participate in the Directive Board and serve the community, but crucially claimed that the positions of staff beavers were *kustunri* and hence could not be obligatory. The Maranata pastor, Bernabé, was the first one who refused to assume a position as staff bearer. Non-Maranata members of the assembly requested this of him as part of his services to the community. One of the Maranata leaders of Quchamarca recalls the moment in which the non-Maranatas tried to enforce this post when I was asking him about the early times of the Maranata:

T: Chay ñuqa ñirani asambliyapi, imaraykun qan..., ñuqanchis chashkiranchis, karguta ruwanayki kaqtin chashkisaykiku, ñishunman karan kaq ratu, kunantaq rimanchis manan allinchi ñispa, akhnata ñirani asambliyapi.

G: Riki

T: Umhu

G: y runakuna imata nishanku.

T: Imarayku kunan rimanchis ñispa, nipuniya, chayqa karguta ruwananpunin, ruwananpunin ñinkutaqya.

G: Ummh, ichaqa chay pachapi, tukuy runa karguta ruwarankuchu

T: Umhu, ñuqapas llipinta ruwani kargutaqa

G: Alkalripas.

T: Alkaldillaña phaltan.

G: Manaña ruwankiñachu

T: Manaña ruwasaqchu³⁵

T: Then I said in the assembly, why you... We accepted. When you accept the post you have to do it. It was too much in those times. And now we say it was not good. I said so in the assembly.

G: Ok

T: Uhum

G: And what are people saying?

T: I said why are we now talking in this way? They say, those posts have to be done, have to be done.

G: Ummm. But in that time, did everybody assume the posts?

T: Yes. I also did all the posts.

G: Also [the post of] mayor?

T: Only mayor is missing.

G: Won't you do it?

T: I won't do it.

Toribio stresses that a person has to receive the post willingly, hence implying that those posts were voluntary. It follows that those posts should not be forced onto somebody as the non-Maranatas were trying to do in the assembly. But given that there were no alternative systems for serving and acquiring respectability and prestige within the community, these posts actually were mandatory if a person wanted to keep the fellow community members' respect. However, when the Maranata refused to participate in community celebrations and framed them as idolatrous expressions of ignorance associated to sins – mainly drunkenness and domestic violence but also as a waste of resources – they went beyond questioning their legitimacy as a mechanism for

³⁵ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

negotiating status. They sought to establish an alternative system of prestige in the community.

Toribio and other Maranatas claimed that to accept the posts of the staff bearers, mostly associated with the festivities of Carnival, was not as important as to assume other positions of authority and service to the community such as those of the Directive Board. After Toribio acknowledged that he had not held the post of mayor, the highest post in the system of staff bearers, he nevertheless felt compelled to give me proof of the many positions he had assumed serving the community. As we were talking he showed me several of his official credentials that state institutions had granted: Secretary of the Community (1989-1990), Vice-president of Hapu's Self Defense Committee (1998), Responsible of the *Wikuña Chaku*³⁶ (2001), Community Vocal (2001-2002), Community President (2003-2004), and Community Fiscal (2007-2008). While Maranatas refused to accept the posts of the *kustunri*, they did not refuse these other posts of service to the community. Hence, they could not be accused of not doing their service and not being good community members.

Towards the early 2000s most families living in Yanaruma, as well as some of Raqch'i, had converted to Evangelicalism (I will discuss the reasons behind these conversions in chapter X). A few families in Quchamarka were starting to convert. While Yanaruma people became Maranata, the Quchamarka people were fully participating in the community's posts system. Additionally to Hapu's customary *Wayri Ch'unchu* dance, Quchamarka people had organized the new, and more fashionable, *Qhapaq Qulla* dance troupe to go to the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage.

However, enthusiasm about the new religion also arrived in Quchamarka. Some Quchamarka families also started to convert to the Maranata church. However, this process was not a one way path conversion. On the one hand, not all families in Hapu became Maranata. On the other, families that had converted to Evangelicalism later decided to abandon it and return to the practice of the customs. This ostensibly happened in Yanaruma. The Yanaruma people who were at some point enthusiastic converts to the Maranata Church started to quit. A *pampamisayuq* from Yanaruma who was also the

³⁶ *Chaku* (Qu) A technique of capturing wild animals whereby large numbers of people surround them. The *Wikuña Chaku* is the annual capture of wild vicuñas in order to shear their fiber.

Community President encouraged their return to practicing the *kustunri*. Some of their outside friends from the city of Cuzco and abroad actively encouraged this return. Most of these were foreign New Age activists who held in high regard the conservation of Q'ero *kustunri*. Most of them, but not all, openly criticized Evangelicalism. Having returned to the practice of the *kustunri*, Yanaruma people gained the preference of most of these external actors.

All of Yanaruma's families returned to the practice of *kustunri* and rejected their allegiance to the Maranata church. Hence, while in Quchamarka most families were converting to Evangelicalism in Yanaruma those who had already converted were turning back to embrace again Q'ero *kustunri*. While both Yanaruna and Quchamarka showed clear patterns of conversion, the families of Raqch'i did not follow a common path. While some of the Raqch'i families were among the first converts to evangelicalism, others remained Catholics and did not accept the pastor's invitations when he went to their homes.³⁷

But even when people of Yanaruma and the remaining Catholics of Raqch'i were disposed to keep carrying out not only the family rituals but also the communal rituals, the high number of converts in Quchamarka and Raqch'i put in danger the continuity of the system of staff bearers and the sponsorships of the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage. While during the early 2000 the people who had not converted kept carrying out the community rituals in Hatun Hapu, the Yanaruma people started to develop, in dialogue with the external allies of the city, alternative plans.

The conversion to Evangelicalism of Quchamarka and Raqch'i people continued so much so that in 2006 the celebration of the rituals of *Pukllay* (Carnival) and *Paskuwa* (Easter) could not be carried out. Those who had the responsibility of becoming staff bearers did not accept the posts because they had become Maranata, and there were no others who were willing to replace them. The conversion had paralyzed the system and ultimately disrupted the transmission of the posts of the staff bearers system. Since 2006 there were no more celebrations of the rainy season in Hatun Hapu. For the evangelical converts this was a positive change in the community.

³⁷ At it will be explained in the final section, these patterns can be explained through the ways in which reciprocal relations are articulated with residence patterns. The reasons for conversion, in the first place, will be discussed in chapter X.

Hapu at the brink of rupture

Faced with the collapse of the system of staff bearers and in conversation with their external allies, the Yanaruma people decided to build a new chapel in their sector. It was done following a different architectural plan than the old Catholic chapel at Hatun Hapu. Instead of the usual quadrangular plan, the Yanaruma people erected a circular structure. It included a hearth at its center for burning offerings, an element absent in the old Catholic chapel. Some philanthropists who have visited Yanaruma as well as civil servants from the National Institute of Culture have criticized this architecture and have accused other friends of Yanaruma of introducing alien elements within Q'ero communities. This was the space where external allies and Yanaruma paqus carried out the ayawashka “ceremonies” criticized by state representatives and other philanthropists.³⁸ Within the chapel, at the opposite side of the door, hanging on the wall, there was one staff of authority, together with two framed photographs of the Taytanchis Quyllurit'i (Our father Shining Snow), and a similar framed picture of Taytanchis Wanka (Our father Crag), both important pilgrimage sites in the region.

By then, the Yanaruma people decided to carry out communal celebrations just for themselves in Yanaruma and no longer in Hatun Hapu. This was an attempt to restructure a system of staff bearers and carry out the carnival rituals within a smaller community but without Maranata presence.

Inevitably, this change of location was entangled with the politics of expectations associated with the visits of foreigners and the potential benefits one could derive from them. Attracted by the fame of Q'ero authenticity, these *turistas* were interested in the distinctive Q'ero practices and did not see the evangelical presence with good eyes. Carlos, a Maranata convert explains the distancing of some of the external friends who used to visit Hapu, due to their conversion.

- | | |
|--|---|
| G: Ichaqa Martin Maranatawan allinta purin? icha manachu | G: But does Martin ⁴⁰ walk well with the Maranata? Or not? |
| C: Mana, chiqnikun | C: No. [He] hates [them]. |
| G: Imata pasaranchu | G: What happened? |
| C: Pay nishuta chiqnikun Maranata | C: He really hates the Maranata. |

³⁸ See chapter V, section “From *hacienda* Q'ero to *Nación* Q'ero”

³⁹ Conversation with Carlos, an informal Maranata leader. Hapu 2007.

⁴⁰ He is a friend of some Hapu people who lives and works in Cuzco.

G: Diskutiranchu?

C: Mana diskutinchu, mana pay parlayta munanchu Maranatawan, huntakuyta munanchu, mana kuska kayta munanchu, aswanpas sapaqpi, manan diskutiykucho.³⁹

G: Was there an argument?

C: There was no argument. He does not want to talk with the Maranata. He does not want to get together, does not want to be together. Better each one on his own. We did not argue.

In contrast, the people of Yanaruma, as they expressed themselves in communal assemblies, criticized the Maranata due to their expectations of deriving benefits from the *apuyu* (support) given by these *turistas* (tourists).⁴¹ The logic of criticism was simple and powerful: *Turistas* came to Hapu and gave *apuyu* because of the *kustunri*, hence if Maranatas refused to practice the *kustunri* and condemned it, how could they expect to get benefits from the *turistas*?

The tense 2007 pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i

The rituals of the dry season consist of a cycle of festivities that Hapu people call *Kurpus* (from *Corpus Christi*, Body of Christ)⁴² involving the pilgrimage to Taytacha Quyllurit'i (dear father Shining Snow). Close to the perpetual ice of the Qulqipunku glacier, the core of the shrine is an image of Christ painted on a crag over which a Catholic church has been constructed gradually over time. Currently, the crucified Christ painted on the crag is visible through a glass while the rest of the crag is hidden behind the church's baroque style altar.

The Quyllurit'i pilgrimage, celebrated yearly on the days previous to the celebration of Corpus Christi, is the biggest and most important in the region, and has a constantly increasing presence of urban pilgrims of diverse social and cultural backgrounds from the city of Cuzco and the region on the whole. It also has witnessed an increasing presence of foreign New Age tourists, observers from the cities of Cuzco or Lima, and several film crews. This shrine is controlled by a brotherhood affiliated with the Catholic Church and under the guidance of Jesuit priests. During the main days of the pilgrimage, the Sunday, Monday and Tuesday before *Corpus Christi*, thousands of

⁴¹ See chapter VI for a elaborations about *apuyu* and *turistas*.

⁴² *Corpus Christi* is the Catholic celebration of the Eucharist and it is not related to a particular episode of Christ's life. It is celebrated on Thursday to associate it with Holy Thursday, the day when Christ shared the bread and wine in the Last Supper, the event that gave the foundation for the Eucharist. Corpus Christi is celebrated on the Thursday after the Holy Trinity Sunday (the eighth Sunday after Easter). Hence it does not have a settled calendar day.

pilgrims arrive at this high shrine either individually or as part of a collective such as a peasant community, a neighborhood organization, or a youth club.⁴³

When I arrived in Hapu in 2007 I expected being able to participate in the Hapu pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i. Soon after, I realized that there were going to be two delegations departing from Hapu. One was the usual Hapu delegation – mainly made up of the remaining Catholic people of Raqch'i – and the other was that of Yanaruma. The decision of Yanaruma people to carry out their own rituals in Yanaruma had put the remaining Catholic people of Raqch'i in an even weaker position. These Catholics nonetheless continued to carry out the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage from Hatun Hapu, the civic-ritual center of the community. By constructing their own chapel, and by carrying out their own rituals, the people of Yanaruma actually launched a process of constituting a new center of a different community. It did not take long for tensions to arise.

While there already were tensions between Catholics and Maranatas, a new source of conflict arose between the Yanaruma people and the remaining Catholics of Raqch'i. Yanaruma's decision to go to Quyllurit'i weakened an already weak posts system in Hapu on which the pilgrimage depended. Beyond the lack of participation of the Maranatas, the available musicians and dancers had to be divided between the Raqch'i Catholics from Hapu and the new Yanaruma delegation. Both groups went on pilgrimage with the minimum number of *Wayri Ch'unchu*⁴⁴ dancers. The holder of the post in Yanaruma was not able to find two *pitu*⁴⁵ players. One of them ended up being one of the friends that Yanaruma people had in the city of Cuzco. Yanaruma people also borrowed from one of their friends in Cuzco a *Wayri Ch'unchu* feather headdress and a drum. The musicians of Hapu also were incomplete. The two sponsors (*huntarira*⁴⁶) of

⁴³ The Quyllurit'i pilgrimage has attracted the attention of several authors and there is a considerable corpus of texts describing and analyzing it. See Allen 1997, 2002[1988], Flores Lizana 1997, Flores Ochoa 1990, Gow 1974, Gow and Condori 1976, Müller 1980, Poole 1988, Ramírez 1996, Ricard 2007, Salas 2006, 2010, Sallnow 1981, 1987, 1991, among others.

⁴⁴ *Ch'unchu* (Qu) refers to the indigenous peoples of the Amazonian plains and carries a derogatory tone of being "uncivilized." *Wayri* is not a Quechua word. It means leader or chief in Matsiguenga and Wachupaeri (Nicholas Emlen, Holly Wissler, personal communications). For further information of the role of the *Wayri Ch'unchu* dance in the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage see Salas 2010.

⁴⁵ *Pitu* (from Spanish *pito*, whistle) Transverse flute.

⁴⁶ *Huntarira*, from Spanish *juntar*, to collect. The *huntarira* was the name used to refer to the couple sponsoring the pilgrimage. They were in charge of finding and convincing the dancers and musician to accompany the Taytacha to the shrine, provide food, coca and alcohol in the journey, as well as to provide

Hapu, responsible for organizing the pilgrimage, were able to commit only one *pitu* player. Already in the Mawayani fair, the starting point of the last section of the path towards Quyllurit'i, they met a former *pitu* player from Hapu who was a Maranata convert. After one of his compadres insistently begged for his help, he agreed to go with them and play the *pitu* while the rest promised him not to insist in making him drink alcohol.

During the departure from Hapu and along the way towards the shrine there were no interactions between the two groups because they took different paths. The Hapu group arrived to Kulini. There we took a truck to Mawayani, spent the night relatively close to the fair, in an empty *kancha*⁴⁷ of llamas. The entire delegation slept directly on the grass without tents and just covered by a few blankets and some plastic. Early in the morning after breakfast we started to walk toward the Quyllurit'i shrine. The Yanaruma group walked all the way from Yanaruma to the Quyllurit'i shrine. While the groups did not interact with each other during their journeys, both groups ended up meeting in Hapu's *kancha* at the shrine. This was a partially fenced spot at the shrine that Hapu people year after year use to camp. Tension was palpable, but this was not only due to the presence of two groups where normally there is only one. Tensions also arose from the duplication of the ritual etiquette practiced around the two movable Taytachas Quyllurit'i, the small boxes containing images of the Christ painted on the rock of the miracle. Each duplication inevitably indexed a different community that Yanaruma people were claiming through ritual practice, a new community distinct from Hapu. There they were, the two Taytacha Quyllurit'i, side by side, on the presiding place of the *kancha*. Pilgrims of both groups did not exactly know how to act in relation to the two taytachas. This was actually a new situation that nobody knew how to deal with. After some hesitation most of the members of the two delegations greeted and paid respect to both icons, making the *much'a*⁴⁸ to both of them.

While I was a non-Hapu person accompanying the delegation from Hatun Hapu, at least four people who live in the city of Cuzco were accompanying the Yanaruma

the celebration at the return to the community. When I accompanied the nación in pilgrimage there were two *huntariras*.

⁴⁷ *Kancha* (Qu) Enclosure. It is usually used to refer to the spaces where llamas or alpacas sleep at night.

⁴⁸ *Much'a* (Qu) A practice similar to a kiss that is directed towards the powerful place-persons or to saints.

group. One was a musician who played the pitu with them, two were Cuzqueño anthropology students, and the third was a Spanish resident of Cuzco who is an activist of alternative uses of coca leaves. While the two delegations barely greeted each other, it was the companions of the Yanaruma delegation who offered coca leaves to the delegation from Hatun Hapu and who, to some extent, promoted the dialogue between the two groups. After a long conversation, mediated through exchanges of coca leaves and sharing of alcohol, the two delegations ended agreeing to dance together as only one group in front of the two taytachas presiding the *kancha*. Even though most of the dancers participated in the somewhat reconciliatory dance, a couple of Hapu ukuku⁴⁹ dancers refused to do so. Nevertheless, the dance started and went on for long hours. It was a seemingly unending repetition, a structure of loops within loops of music and dance figures. When, one by one, all the pairs of dancers finished all the many combinations of different dance figures, the whole structure started again, all along with the hypnotic Wayri Ch'unchu music played by one group of musicians after the other. The dance continued from around nine at night until midnight, when most of us went to sleep on the ground.

Hapu's *kancha* is located at the bottom of a very stony slope. While some years ago nobody camped above Hapu's *kancha*, the growth of the pilgrimage transformed this area into a new camping zone. That night, after the long dance, when most Hapu and Yanaruma pilgrims were already sleeping, some horses went higher on the slope and caused some rocks to fall. The rocks going down injured people who were sleeping there, which led to great consternation in the area. Some rocks went down to Hapu's *kancha*. While none of the pilgrims from Hapu or Yanaruma were seriously injured, one rock hit a Yanaruma woman on her arm. The next morning, during the mass of blessing that marks the end of the rituals in the shrine; other rocks fell onto the Hapu *kancha* also injuring other pilgrims who were quickly carried to the state health services' tent.

⁴⁹ *Ukuku* dancers are said to represent spectacle bears that live in the low rain forest close to the Amazonian plains. They dance complementing the Wayri Ch'unchu dance troupe or any other dance that arrives to Quyllurit'i. They are both constantly mocking other pilgrims and making jokes; and enforcing the discipline in the shrine. As it will be explained later, they play a crucial role in the pilgrimage climbing to the glacier the first ours of Tuesday in order to accompany big crosses there and coming back to the shrine when the sun rises bringing the crosses to the church just before the main mass of blessing.

Both delegations from Hapu and Yanaruma were worried. These rocks falling down on Hapu's *kancha* worsened the already uncomfortable situation between Hapu and Yanaruma dance troupes. Hapu pilgrims told me that this had never happened before. Our father Shining Snow might be angry with the community and with what Yanaruma people were doing. Why did the stones fall twice on the Hapu *kancha* but on the side where Yanaruma people were camping, even hitting one of them? Happily nobody was hurt.

Usually Hapu pilgrims, as well as the pilgrims of the other Q'ero communities, stayed in the shrine one more day. The previous days, including the Tuesday of the main mass of blessing, it is hard to dance with ease in the shrine and almost impossible for the Q'ero dancers to be able to enter the church and dance in front of Taytacha Quyllurit'i. Most dance troupes typically take turns according to their order in each province's (*nación*) settled lists, to which the Q'ero communities do not officially belong. Previous accounts of Q'ero experience of the pilgrimage as well as Q'ero pilgrims from different communities with whom I have talked to in different years, mentioned how members of the Brotherhood⁵⁰ do not let them dance inside the church, or how other bigger groups of wealthier dancers displace them by rudely imposing their superiority, mockingly dismissing their statements or just ignoring the claims of these smaller and poorer dance troupes of mostly Quechua monolingual pilgrims (Müller 1980, Salas 2006).⁵¹ Staying one more day allows the Q'ero communities to dance freely in the presence of Taytacha Quyllurit'i when all of the other pilgrims and the members of the Brotherhood are gone, and nobody interrupt or bother them.⁵²

That year, however, both Hapu and Yanaruma pilgrims decided to leave the shrine at the same time as the rest of the pilgrims, each group on its own without coordinating with the other. Hapu people did not want to stay there with the Yanaruma

⁵⁰ The Brotherhood is a group of devotees who control the shrine. They are legitimized by their relationship with the Catholic Church. They attempt to enforce the appropriate ways to behave in the shrine as well as control the access to the church and carry out the main rituals of the pilgrimage.

⁵¹ Sallnow (1991:303-304) also points out how the poor Quechua community members of the highlands abstain from participating in the main processions of the pilgrimage in order not to expose themselves to maltreatment.

⁵² Ironically, urban explanations about the longer stay of the Q'ero in the shrine when all the other pilgrims have left is read as a voluntary attempt to isolate themselves in order to carry out secret rituals out of the gaze of the other pilgrims. Hence their longer stays are framed as due to their special status as keepers of secret Inka rituals that other communities no longer practice. See Salas 2006.

pilgrims. They were upset and bothered about the presence of the Yanaruma people with a different troupe. The falling rocks added to the unease and made them decide to return that very same day. Yanaruma people took a similar decision. They walked all the way to Yanaruma while Hapu people, like most pilgrims, again took a truck on the part of the path that was along the road. Each group carried out independently the festivities of *Kurpus*, the rituals and celebrations at their arrivals on Thursday, in two different locations: one in the chapel of Hatun Hapu and the other in the new one built in Yanaruma.

This encounter at the pilgrimage site incited animosity between the remaining Catholic people of Raqch'i and the Yanaruma people. This marked the division of the remaining group of Catholics in Hapu. The Catholics of Raqch'i, being a smaller group, ended up being the weakest of both sides. This tension also played out in my not very easy relation with Yanaruma people. I was associated already with the Catholic families of Raqch'i who did not have any interest in interacting with the Yanaruma people. Conversely the Yanaruma people tended to see me either as an ally of the Maranata or as an ally of the Catholics of Raqch'i.

The 2008 *Pukllay* and *Paskuwa* in Yanaruma

As 2008 approached, it became clear that the communal celebrations of the rainy season⁵³ would not be carried out in Hapu. While somebody was disposed to take the position of *rihirur*, nobody wanted to assume the posts of *alkalri* or *alwasir*. At the end, the family of the possible *rihirur* refused to carry out all the celebrations just by itself. For the first time *Chayampuy*, *Pukllay*, and *Paskuwa* were not going to be celebrated in Hatun Hapu. However, in Yanaruma they were carried out without the Catholic people of Raqch'i. Unfortunate events happened during these festivities. I briefly reconstruct them through different conversations as I did not witness them personally.⁵⁴

⁵³ These are carried out from January to early April and include *Chayanpuy*, *Pukllay* and *Paskuwa*.

⁵⁴ I could not attend *Pukllay* that year because I was ill, and while I was able to attend the festivities of *Paskuwa* in Yanaruma, as most of the people participating in them, I did not notice anything that would have hinted me of the tragedy that would unfold.

The first tragedy in Yanaruma occurred during one of *Pukllay*'s nights. Apparently a senior member of the community who was sponsoring the festivity fell down and as a result his clothes got wet. The different versions I was told made me think that, exhausted after helping carry out the festivity as well as drunk, he fell asleep with his wet clothes on. He died from what appears to have been pneumonia.

The second disgrace happened during the communal rituals of *Paskuwa* (Easter) in Yanaruma. Drunk and jealous, a young man started a bitter discussion with his wife and beat her. Then he left. The wife's relatives thought he just left Yanaruma afraid of their retaliation. After three days he was found dead in a rocky summit of a mountain surrounding Yanaruma. Outside of Yanaruma rumors mentioned a bottle of medicine for llamas with which he might have poisoned himself. Yanaruma people claimed, however, that it was not the case and that the causes of the death were still unknown.

Most of the heads of household from Hapu went to Yanaruma where the corpse was found. The Directive Board, whose majority of members was Maranatas, and the municipal authorities of the Centro Poblado Menor of Kiku were there in order to retrieve the corpse. An informal assembly was carried out on the spot. The assembly decided to impose a fine of 600 Nuevos Soles (approximately 200 dollars) to Yanaruma for the deaths that had occurred during these festivities. Additionally, they forbade Yanaruma from carrying out communal festivities there and mandated that they be held only in Hatun Hapu. If they wanted to have them in Yanaruma they had to pay another 600 Nuevos Soles fine.

At that time, the events overwhelmed Yanaruma people and they did not challenge these decisions. However, as time went by, conversations between them and their friends in the city of Cuzco encouraged Yanaruma people to continue carrying out festivities in Yanaruma. They then not only continued to hold festivities in Yanaruma but also announced their decision to start legal procedures in order to become a new *comunidad campesina* separate from Hapu. They also stopped attending the monthly communal assemblies in Hatun Hapu. When I asked some Catholics of Hapu as well as some Maranatas about these developments, most were quite blunt in their views concerning Yanaruma. Most told me that if they wanted to leave Hapu they should do so. Who needed the high pasture lands over 4500 meters where Yanaruma was located?

However, the Yanaruma people, they claimed, could no longer cultivate the agricultural plots they had in Hapu's rotating sectors dispersed through the whole Hapu territory.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>C: Imachá pasawanqaku, no si, ñuqayku
Raqch'iwan, Quchamarkawan
rimanakushayku. Yanarumaman nispa
nisallaykutaq, Raqch'i q'asamanta altupata
q'asamanta ñuqayku.</p> <p>G: Raqch'i q'asamanta</p> <p>C: Yanarumaman wasamuna Raqch'imanta,
Raqch'ita wichayuspa</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>C: Aknapi ñuqayku sayasaqku, kunanqa kay
sikturpi ñuqayku rimanakushayku, Kikupi
chaynata niwaqtin aswan amaña tarpuqpas
hamuchunkuchu nispa. Aman
riharapusunmanchu</p> <p>G: Ummm</p> <p>C: Ñuqayku nishayku Raqch'iwan
Quchamarkawan rimanakuspan nisaqku:
Amaña tarpuq hamuykichischu chayllapiña
tarpuykis nispa</p> <p>G: Chayrayku Yanaruma mana kaypi tarpuyta
atinkuchu</p> <p>C: Ari, mana atinkuchu, paykuna nishanku
t'akakupusaqku nisqan hawa, ari.⁵⁵</p> | <p>C: What might happen? I do not know. We were
talking with Raqch'i, with Quchamarka. We
will say to Yanaruma, from the pass of Raqch'i
it is ours.</p> <p>G: From the pass of Raqch'i.</p> <p>C: Yanaruma's land is beyond the Raqch'i high
pass</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>C: That will be our position. Now in this sector we
talked. In the assembly [of Nación Q'ero] in
Kiku we said so. It is better that they do not
come to sow. We would not let them sow.</p> <p>G: Ummm</p> <p>C: We [exclusive] said, with Raqch'i, with
Quchamarka. We said in a conversation. Do not
come to sow. Only sow over there.</p> <p>G: Then, Yanaruma [people] will not be able to
sow here [in Quchamarka]?</p> <p>C: Yes. They will not be able. They say we will
separate.</p> |
|---|--|

This was the peak of the conflicts between Yanaruma and the rest of Hapu. When I left Hapu in the middle of 2008 the tensions were pretty much the same. That year also two groups of pilgrims went to the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage. The following year things calmed down. On the one hand the Ministry of Agriculture bureaucrats convinced the Yanaruma people that their project to form a new community was doomed to fail. On the other hand, the Hapu authorities did not try to enforce the fine even when Yanaruma people carried out again the pilgrimage from Yanaruma instead of from Hatun Hapu. Yanaruma people formed the legal entity *Asociación Ayllu Yanaruma* which does not have any consequence in terms of the legal property over land or challenges in any way the existence of Hapu as a *comunidad campesina* (peasant community). While they kept holding assemblies in their sector they started to participate again in the monthly general assemblies of Hapu.

⁵⁵ Conversation with Carlos, an informal Maranata leader. Hapu 2007.

***Ayllu*, reciprocal relations and factionalism**

Andean environmental conditions impose a certain need for households to cooperate. Given the environmental diversity and high risks as well as a largely non-monetary production and consumption, such as in Hapu, a some level of cooperation between households is necessary in order to carry out the agricultural work and take care of the livestock (e.g. Golte 1980, Mayer 1977, 2002). Higher levels of cooperation and mutual dependence are present in the production directed to self consumption or barter exchange (Kervin 1989).

This need for cooperation imposes certain conditions on the processes of conversion. As Spier (1995:80-81) has shown in his ethnography of Zurite (Anta, Cuzco), when an isolated household or individual converts to Evangelicalism, this person or household faces serious problems in order to carry out some of the tasks associated with agricultural work. Spier shows how Evangelical refusal to consume and offer alcohol hindered the possibilities of arranging groups of cooperation. This also sparked the resistance of the spouses worried about the future of their children's social networks. These isolated attempts to convert failed. It is necessary to have a minimum number of convert families for the conversion to be viable. Conversion cannot be a single household project, much less an individual pursuit (see also Pærregaard 1994).

A Hapu's cooperation group, which also could be called a family, consists of three or four households. It is not necessary to have more than that coordinated labor for some crucial moments in the agricultural cycle in order to carry out the necessary tasks. A cooperation group in Hapu usually corresponds to the group of households that herd their animals together. The first conversion in Hapu actually happened at the level of one of these cooperation groups. Due to its relatively small size, it was possible to remain economically viable.

Another important element to take into consideration is that in Hapu, alcohol consumption does not mediate the agricultural work in a way comparable to the situation in Anta or other communities of the region. Hapu's alcohol consumption, either locally produced *aqha* (corn beer) or *tragu* (industrial alcohol mixed with water), occurs almost exclusively during family rituals (such as the different celebrations of animals' fertility,

or a child's first hair cut) and communal rituals (such as *Chayampuy*, *Puqllay*, *Paskuwa* or *Kurpus*). This is relatively different from other Quechua communities of the region where alcohol consumption is more frequent, particularly during periods of heavy agricultural work.

However, the consumption of coca leaves has a different pattern. Coca leaves not only are consumed in all communal and family rituals but also in everyday life. Coca leaves are exchanged at rest breaks during agricultural work and also after each meal. All the different etiquettes for consuming aqha, tragu, and coca leaves prescribe inviting the liquor or the leaves first to the place-persons. Only afterwards do humans consume them. Maranatas condemned the consumption of both alcohol and coca leaves. The tension about these coca exchanges worked in similar ways as the refusal to consume alcohol that Spier (1995) mentions for Anta. Refusing to exchange coca leaves could hinder group cooperation as people are expected to engage in these basic acts of consideration and respect, not only between humans but also between humans and place-persons.

The Hapu households constituting a group of cooperation live near each other, herd their animals together in the surrounding pasture lands, and tend to have neighboring agricultural plots. Usually one of the households corresponds to the parents and the others to sons or daughters. They work together during some activities of the agricultural cycle (i.e. the preparation of agricultural land that has rested for some years) and coordinate the caring of the herds. During these occasions they eat together and exchange coca leaves. Due to these continuous social interactions, they are the ones invited to participate in rituals of the life cycle of the household members. Raising their animals together they also celebrate them and propitiate their fertility together. The members of each group of cooperation are closely related to a set of common places with whom they interact daily: the houses, the pasture lands, their agricultural plots, and the mountains that oversee their daily activities.

There is a less dense web of asymmetrical reciprocal relations binding Hapu households beyond the group of cooperation. A good way to grasp these groupings is by observing the group of families that are involved in the organization of a dance troupe that goes to Quyllurit'i. To some extent this group represents the whole community. However, the households involved in a particular year constitute a relatively small

subgroup of within the community (Sallnow 1981). These are groups of related households are flexible and evolve through the strengthening or loosening of their bonds of exchange of work, visits, common consumption of food and becoming *compadres* of each other. The household that sponsors the pilgrimage is responsible for coordinating all the work involved such as the recruitment of dancers and musicians, the provision of coca, corn beer, alcohol, and food at the return) and for doing so mobilizes its own network of related families

These networks between households include a spatial dimension involving interactions with relatively common places where the agricultural plots and houses are located and the animals are herded. Celebrations such as the pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i further reinforce them. The fashionable Qhapaq Qulla dance was strongly associated with the people of Quchamarka even though some people of Yanaruma and Raqch'i also used to participate in it. The traditional Wayri Ch'unchu became associated with Raqch'i when the people of Quchamarka promoted the Qhapaq Qulla, while the Yanaruma people had converted to Evangelicalism and had not yet rejected it.

This broader web of social relations between humans and humans and places is what Hapu people refer to as *ayllu*. As stated in chapter IV, *ayllu* can point to different levels of social groupings below or beyond the level of the peasant community. Hapu people refer to Hapu itself as an *ayllu*. The events that were the mechanism of reproduction of the oneness of Hapu and united the different networks of localized households were the celebrations of the rainy season - *Chayampuy*, *Puqllay* and *Paskuwa*. All married couples were supposed to participate in the staff bearer system. All households were visited by the staff bearers and all were supposed to participate in the common festivities.

However, *ayllu* is also used to refer to subunits within the community. The subunits within Hapu were the three *siktur* (sector). Their names – Yanaruma, Quchamarka, and Raqch'i – point toward a set of places organized by small ravines. In the middle of the three is *apu Chawpiurqu* (lord Middle Mountain), the most important mountain of Hapu, forming, structuring and giving unity to them, This division is also reproduced by humans. One way to do so is, for example, how soccer championships were organized. Each sector has at least one team; no teams cross sector lines. A sector

team hosts a championship in its sector. To participate, each team pays a registration fee. The champion gets a prize: a sheep, a 50 kilos bag of rice, new uniforms for the team, and so on. On one entire Saturday, all the youth, organized into the different sectors' teams, play to define a winner. The championships were practices where rivalry and competition were overtly present along sectoral lines but that at the same time reproduced an idea of unity.

Another context in which the alignment by sectors could be appreciated was in the general assemblies. People sat down in groups following a sector pattern. This pattern was more evident during the lunch break when it broke down in smaller groups. Each person opened his *unkhuña* with boiled potatoes, *chuñu*, or *oca* and put it in the middle of a circle. Those who sat down together around the group of *unkhuñas* then took food from any of those *unkhuñas*. Through this level of commensality the sets of networks between households were being tacitly reproduced. Quchamarka and Yanaruma people formed distinctive groups. However, Raqch'i people did not form one group but two: The Catholic heads of household formed one and the Maranata other.

Each of these sectors has a particular place that gives name to it where the biggest conglomeration of houses is located. Most people who regard themselves as part of Yanaruma live relatively close to each other in the place called Yanaruma. However, Yanaruma as a sector also includes a small group of families that live in the Liqipata plain. Similarly, most people who belong to the Quchamarka sector live in the Quchamarka hamlet, but this sector also includes the families who live in the T'inki and others who live dispersed in other high pasture lands. In contrast to these two sectors, most people who live in the Raqch'i sector do not live in the Raqch'i hamlet proper. Instead, they live in other relatively nearby places such as Inkapata, Lluskhapata, and Kachumuqu in small groups of two or three households.

The Raqch'i families lived in a more dispersed pattern than those of Quchamarka or Yanaruma. Besides a nucleus of around eight families whose houses were close to each other in Raqch'i proper, the rest of the families lived relatively far from each other. I lived in the house of don Luis in Lluskhapata that is considered within the Raqch'i sector. Next to it was the house of one of Luis' sons who was already married. The next closest house was of Luis's daughter and her husband at more or less two hundred meters of

distance past a small ravine. The next closest house was located at least five hundred meters away higher in the ravine. In contrast, the families of Yanaruma and Quchamarka were more nucleated, constituting small hamlets with the houses much closer to each other. This pattern involved more frequent social interactions among the different families of Yanaruma and Quchamarka in contrast to those of Raqch'i.

In contrast, both Yanaruma and Quchamarka constituted two groups of relatively closely related people through their very coresidence. Beyond some conflicts and criticism among neighbors, this pattern of coresidence tended to reinforce relations and allegiances between them. This did not work in the same way in Raqch'i, where all the families did not live only in one hamlet. These factors played partially in relation to the high homogeneity between the religious affiliation of families in Quchamarka and those in Yanaruma, in contrast to the families living in Raqch'i.

Another element that was at play in these patterns is that in both Yanaruma and Quchamarka there were households that had more livestock than most of the other Hapu households. These families were influential because they had the material means with which to help other families with less livestock. Livestock is not only a source of cash. Llamas are crucial for the transportation of the harvest from the fields to the houses, which can be located at a very long distance. Not only are sheep valuable because they can be sold in moments of emergency or because of their wool; more importantly, their manure is the main fertilizer. Large numbers of livestock are the means through which particular households can accumulate debts and favors from relatives and acquaintances and build a network of clients. These networks are aligned through locality. Hence the households in Quchamarka are likely to strengthen – through mutual services, debts, and favors – ties with a relatively richer family from Quchamarka, rather than with one living in a different sector.

Both Quchamarka and Yanaruma had relatively richer families forming a network with less favored families as clients. Additionally, these wealthier families tended to include a charismatic leader. Often these charismatic leaders also were recognized *paqu*. That was the case in Yanaruma. In contrast, in Quchamarka, the rich families were that of the pastor and two siblings. These siblings had the biggest herds in the community and had served in many positions of authority in the community. Their father, who had passed

away almost fifteen years ago, was remembered by many people as a highly skilled *paqu* and leader of the community. He also was recognized as a notorious good friend of *padre* Peter, the Jesuit parish priest of Marcapata and most important foreign actor visiting Hapu in the 1980s.

Large herds and good production indexed the particularly favorable relationship of these household leaders with powerful place-persons. Their success with their animals was due to the blessing of the places. In the case of the Maranata leaders, their success pointed to the blessing of God. This indexical evidence of the powerful non-human agents' blessing, inscribed in the materiality of the world, is central for understanding the patterns of conversion and reconversion as it will be discussed in chapter X.

These networks of debts of reciprocity around charismatic leaders who had the material means to cultivate them structured both Quchamarka and Yanaruma. They help explain, to some extent, the process of conversion of both sectors. Those families who were dependent on borrowing a wealthier household's sheep to put manure on their fields could not easily sever their ties with them. Hence, the conversion of the charismatic leader influenced the conversion of his clientele. This was not just an issue of economic calculation. At play was also the charisma of the leader and the evidence of non-human blessing. This process was at play in the initial conversion of people in Yanaruma as well as in their subsequent return to the *kustunri*. This was also the process at play in Quchamarka. Similar influence occurring in an asymmetric social context has been argued to explain other contexts of conversion to Evangelicalism (Smilde 2007:171).

Witnessing the neighbors' conversions, indirectly listening to the chants of the Sunday practices, and having the pastor visiting and inviting them to the cult where their relatives were already going influenced the decision to convert. A majority group of converted neighbors was constantly praising the benefits of its new cult work as a constant pressure on others to convert (Smilde 2007: 175-7).

Additionally, some level of rivalry and opposition between different networks of reciprocal exchanges and clientelism was at play in the patterns of conversion in Yanaruma and Quchamarka. It was when Quchamarka people converted to Evangelicalism that Yanaruma people came back to cultivate the *kustunri*.

In contrast, in Raqch'i there was an absence of comparable leadership and an associated network of clientelism. It was a loose network of several groups of cooperation. While don Raymundo is a pampamisayuq who works with a travel agency and has travelled abroad to provide his services as an "Andean shaman," he did not exert any charismatic authority and was even accused of stinginess because he did not share his contacts with the tourism industry. Don Luis was a paqu but he had few animals and hence did not have the material means to become a leader of Raqch'i. The exception to this pattern was that in Qachumuqu, a place that is part of the Raqch'i sector, lived the Maranata pastor who was the leader of all Maranatas. He also was among those who had more animals and particularly more alpacas in Hapu. Nevertheless, his leadership was articulated rather through his weekly activities at the Maranata church where he was able to reinforce his relationship with all the Maranata households.

These different patterns of relationships between households in Hapu were brought together by the system of posts of prestige in the community and particularly the system of staff bearers. This system not only mediated Hapu's relation with the landlord during the *hacienda* times but also reproduced the idea of a single ayllu, a community that encompassed all of these different types of relationships between households.

However, currently both the Yanaruma people and the Maranata church can be seen as constructing new communities. However, they do so in different ways. By participating in the Maranata church's weekly activities, the preexisting networks among the Maranata households – both from Quchamarka and Raqch'i – became stronger, developing denser webs of relatedness. Each Sunday all of the members of the Maranata households came together to one of the two churches they built in Hapu. One Sunday all attended the cult in the Hatun Hapu church. The following week, they attended the cult in that of Quchamarka. Through these weekly services, the Maranata from Raqch'i also were producing and reinforcing ties with the households of Quchamarka. Hence, the Maranata practices were constructing a new community through a different set of practices.

The construction of a new chapel and the relocation and reframing of the communal rituals in Yanaruma were also constituting a new community and reinforcing bonds between Yanaruma households. This project supposed a new ritual center ignoring

Hatun Hapu as the center of the community. Yanaruma as a new center not only implied a new community of human beings, but also a different community of humans and place-persons. The set of powerful mountains that oversee Yanaruma, while including the main mountain of Hapu, *Chawpiurqu* (the Middle Mountain), is different from the set of mountains overseeing Hapu as a whole. The localized character of the communal rituals and the pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i constructed this new community inscribed in the landscape in a way absent in the Maranata project. Due to this spatial character, the construction of a new center in Yanaruma excluded the Catholic families that remained in Hapu. These families were living in Raqch'i outside the places that could be claimed as constituting Yanaruma. Hence, the claim of a new center provoked the division between the Catholics and the hindering of any attempt at establishing a common front against the Maranata. When I asked some Yanaruma people about this, they told me that there were no Catholic people in Raqch'i or Quchamarka. When I asked them why they said something they knew was not accurate; they, for example, minimized the number of Catholics in Raqch'i claiming that it was just a matter of some time until they also became Maranata. This exclusion and the conflict that arose from it were expressed in spatial terms. This became ostentatiously clear when the two different groups of pilgrims found each other in the Quyllurit'i shrine. These spatial relations explain why the Catholic people of Raqch'i did not participate in the rituals of Yanaruma. When I asked about the possibility of going to the rituals in Yanaruma, the members of Catholic households in Raqch'i were clear: *Why go to Yanaruma? Those are not nice people. I would never go to their Carnival. Plus, it is too cold, too high. Who would like to go there?*

* * *

This chapter gives a general frame to the coming chapters where several issues that are mentioned here will be explained in further details. It therefore provides key elements to contextualize the situations I observed in the community of Hapu.

Because I could not find archival material directly related to Hapu and very little about Q'ero in general, it is difficult to make strong claims about Hapu's history. From

the conversations with senior Hapu people it seems that these lands were very scantily populated and they remained so to a large extent when compared to other Cuzco rural localities. Through conversations with senior Hapu people as well as personnel at the Ministry of Agriculture it could be said that at the time of the Agrarian Reform Kiku and Hapu constituted one *ayllu* whose civic-ritual center was Hatun Hapu. During the 1980s, their efforts to acquire official recognition by the state led to them becoming two different communities and Hapu people lost access to the corn fields of Kiku's *yunka*. As many other communities in the region, Hapu emerged as a unity out of a process of divisions and subdivisions. It is difficult to know if the transformations that they are facing now will lead to the constitution of new *ayllus* through the division of Hapu. Given the current legal framework regarding peasant communities it is unlikely that a division might prosper and it is more likely that the different communities that are emerging from within will have to coexist in Hapu.

During a quick visit to Cuzco in 2011 I was able to talk with a *compadre* who was visiting the city. He told me how the Raqch'i Catholics were reduced to only six households and as a result were not able to continue going to the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage. Currently, the Hapu *kancha* in Quyllurit'i is only occupied by the Yanaruma small Taytacha Quyllurit'i. While they refuse to convert to Evangelicalism they cannot carry out communal celebrations and they also refuse to participate in Yanaruma's.

Yanaruma people kept carrying on the celebrations of the rainy season as well as the pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i while trying to acquire monetary income by giving performances of their *kustunri* – particularly their singing – in the city with the help of their allies there. The Maranatas have consolidated as the majority in Quchamarka and Raqch'i as well as within the General Assembly to which Yanaruma people keep attending.

Hence, Hapu is to some extent divided between Yanaruma people allied with foreign visitors who admire and advocate for the preservation of the *kustunri*, and the Maranata who condemn the practices of the *kustunri*. Rivalries between leading families of Yanaruma and Quchamarka, different ways to interpret the intervention of non-human agency as well as different types of negotiations with the hegemonic narratives of modernity are at play. As it will be shown in the following chapters, the different paths

taken by Catholics and by Maranatas are articulated in different ways with the two types of narratives of modernity that I described: those that stress the derogatory stereotypes associated to indigenusness and those celebrating contemporary indigenous people as the keepers of ancient wisdom.

CHAPTER VIII

BEING CATHOLIC IN TIMES OF MARANATA PRESENCE

Maranata, Catholic, *Kustunri*, *Rilhiun*

Before the arrival of the Maranata, the label *Katuliku* (from Spanish *Católico*, Catholic) was not relevant in Hapu, because everybody was considered *Katuliku* (Catholic). As don Sebastián explained, referring to the system of staff bearers, there was not an alternative path to follow. Because of this, Catholic was not a relevant label for pointing out any social difference within the community.

However, as a consequence of the presence of Maranata converts in Hapu over the last fifteen years, Maranata and Catholic emerged as the two labels widely used to distinguish and classify people within the community. With few exceptions, as in the case of don Sebastián mentioned above, people in Hapu consider themselves either Maranata or Catholic. These labels are relationally constructed. Maranata indicates the membership to the Maranata church while Catholic can best be characterized as *non*-Maranata.

Catholic and Maranata as relational labels are articulated through two notions that are used locally in Hapu: *Relihiun* and *Kustunri*, both coming from the Spanish words *religion* (religion) and *costumbre* (custom). As stated previously, with the word *kustunri* and more clearly with the word *kustunriyku* (our [exclusive] custom, when speaking with a non-Hapu person), Hapu people refer to the practices that they regard as distinctively theirs. These practices could be also framed as Q'ero *kustunri*, Q'ero customs. People do not refer to these practices as religious or as having to do with religion, although they involve some practices that, seen from the lens of the modern constitution, tend to be framed as such. For example, such is the case with the pilgrimage to the Quyllurit'i shrine or with the many different food-offerings that are given to the place-persons. Included in this classification, however, are also some practices that might not be easily

classifiable as religious, for example, the production of textiles. Distinctive Hapu customs are not best understood within the frame of religion or the religious. While there are many different approaches to the notion of *religion*, the word itself is charged with implications deriving from the nature/culture divide, notably because it is associated with the *supernatural*. *Nature* and *culture* are necessary for the notion of the *supernatural* to make sense. This association is found in classic definitions as well as in recent scholarship (e.g. Atran 2002, Tylor 2002[1871], Whitehouse 2004). The very notion of religion as a social field is a product of the particular history of European Christianity, and it is deeply related to the ways in which modern institutions are grounded in the nature/culture divide (Asad 1993).¹ In order to avoid being trapped in these issues here, I am using religion in its vernacular use in Hapu rather than deploying it as an analytical category.

In Hapu usage, *kustunri*, stands to a certain extent in contrast with *religion* (*relihiun*). The latter is mainly used to refer to Maranata practices. This can be exemplified in don Sebastián's words, quoted in the previous chapter, when he spoke of the times prior to the arrival of the Maranata:

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: Umh, y siempre ñawpamanta apukunata
iñinkichu? | G: Umh, and, always, since previous times do you
believe in lords (mountains)? |
| S: Arí, anchay timpuqa mana kaqchu chhayna
iwanhilista, mana chay timpuqa kaqchu na, ñi ima
rihumpis, ñi ima, imapas, piru siliktu
katulikucha chay kaq riki, chayqa, kargu ruway,
kay santukuna yupaychay. | S: Yes. In that time there were not Evangelicals. In
that time there was not <i>religion</i> , nothing similar.
There were only selected Catholic people, the ones
who carried out the posts, those who honored these
saints. |
| G: Ummh. | G: Ummh |
| S: Kay apukuna yupaychay siliktu kaq. ² | S: There were outstanding [ways] to honor these lords
(mountains). |

Beyond certain specificity, belonging to the exterior is what marks religion as a category. It is not part of Q'ero practices, and is therefore opposed to *kustunri*. Ironically, the notion of being Catholic is understood as practicing Q'ero *kustunri* that include honoring the place-persons as well as the saints. Hence, being a Catholic in Hapu has nothing to do with *religion* insofar as its practices are local and are not mediated by external actors such as priests.

¹ For discussion regarding the difficulties produced by the work of purification in the relationship and difference between notions of religion and culture, see Keane 2007, ch. 3.

² Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

The opposition between *religion* and *kustunri* and the parallel relationship between foreign and local practices is further iterated through the different ways that these practices are organized and regimented. *Religion* is associated with institutional churches, canonical texts and a bureaucracy of specialists, while *kustunri* belong to the community itself and are neither prescribed by an objectified canon nor controlled by an organized body of specialists.

The Maranatas of Hapu are part of a wider institution of hierarchically organized local churches. While local Maranata churches have considerable autonomy, they are nevertheless under the authority of zonal churches that organize multi-communal activities such as seminars and collective fasting. Pastors of the zonal churches visit the Hapu church with some frequency and their higher status is acknowledged. While pastors, including the one at the Hapu church, are not totally foreign specialists, they nevertheless receive special training before they can perform as such. Bernabé, the local pastor in Hapu, claims to have attended two years' worth of courses in the Maranata Theological Seminar for Minister Training. In the same vein, when a practice is directed or organized by a Catholic priest—such as a mass, a baptism or a blessing—it is likewise considered within the category of *religion*.

Conversely *kustunri* is used to refer to practices that are not disciplined by any institutional church, that are neither subject to an explicit canonical doctrine nor rest on canonical written texts.³ Most people can carry out by themselves the majority of these practices, which work to mediate the relationships between humans and places, both in everyday life and in family rituals. Most people also learn the appropriate etiquettes for carrying out the communal rituals as they occupy the successive offices of authority and service. While there are particularly knowledgeable people who can mediate the relationships between humans and powerful places – the *paqu* – their services are only needed in contexts of illness, misfortune or when there is need to request the powerful places' help in order to start a new project. Furthermore, the *paqu* are not organized within an institutionalized hierarchical structure. As it happens with the *curanderos* of the city (Rozas 1992:204) as well as all other *paqu* of the region, the only relationship

³ For an elaboration about the absence of canons in several semiotic domains in Sothern Peruvian Quechua cultures, see Mannheim 1986, 1991a.

between *paqu* of Hapu is one of apprenticeship at the beginning of their careers. They are basically expert cooks who know well which particular combinations of food is desired by particular powerful places in order to request certain type of favors from them. In the same way, while there are people who are more gifted at creating new lyrics, playing a particular instrument or performing a particular dance style, anybody can do so. Doctrine, or ideology, is not to be found as a settled theological corpus in explicit discourse nor do specialists study objectified texts. Quechua ideology, or doctrine, on the other hand, is located implicitly in the practices and mechanisms that stabilize meaning and are inscribed in these practices' poetic structure (Mannheim 1991a).

This becomes evident in the many instances wherein *kustunri* is explicitly invoked as an explanatory principle of ongoing practice, when explicit exegetical discourse is requested. Consider the following fragment of my questions to don Luis regarding the reasons behind the dancers' ascent of the Qulqipunku glacier during the Quyllurit'i pilgrimage shows:

- | | |
|--|--|
| G: Ummh... ichaqa imapaq alturaman rit'ikaman rinku | G: Ummh... but why do they go to height, to the snow? |
| L: Nusi imapaqchá, hina kustunrinku, chayqa purinku riki. ⁴ | L: I do not know why it might be. Their <i>kustunri</i> is so. Because of that [they] go, right? |

In a similar way, don Sebastián uses the same category when explaining the formerly extant battle between two types of dancers in the Quyllurit'i shrine, which took place on a plain that currently is full of pilgrims' tents and temporary restaurants.

- | | |
|---|--|
| S: [...] chimpallapin qhatupas imapas kakuq, chaypi chay huktaqa machula ñisqa tusuq kallantaq anchaywan ukukuqa, rit'i p'ananakuspa, maqanakuq chayamuspa. | S: [...] At the other side there were no vendors, nothing. Those other dancers called <i>machula</i> (old people) were there with those bear dancers, hitting with ice, when [they] met [they] fought. |
| G: Riki. | G: Really? |
| S: Aha. | S: Yes |
| G: Imapaq | G: What for? |
| S: Hinapuniyá kustunri ⁵ | S: <i>Kustunri</i> has always been like that. |

This same attitude is expressed in the following fragment of my conversation with don Francisco, an elder who also kindly agreed to talk about these topics with me:

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: Imarayku anchaykama rinki, anchay Quyllurit'iman rinki, chay apuman. | G: Why you go until there, until that Shining Snow, until that apu? |
| F: Hinatapunitaq purishan machulapas awlupas, | F: In that very way walked the old ones, the |

⁴ Conversation with don Luis, Hapu 2008.

⁵ Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

akhnatapunitaq rishanku chayqa,
rillaykupuniyá.⁶

grandparents, in that very same way they went,
because of that we definitely keep going in the
very same way.

Hence, *religion* and *kustunri* do not only point to foreign and local practices but also to practices that have very different forms of regimentation.

Quechua regimentation of practice

As it was explained in the first chapters, the social hierarchies and material inequalities present in the regional society of Cuzco are naturalized and legitimized by a set of interlocking narratives of modernity. This is possible through a series of mechanisms that reproduce them. Among the main sources of these discourses are the regional authorities, the mass media, the school system, and the local university. They are further reinforced in the conflicts between the regional public sphere and the Lima based national media. They are ingrained in the series of rituals of the regionalist nationalism that inundate the city during May and June which are at the core of the regionalist pride. The tourist industry produces an effect of reinforcing these ideologies. All these institutions and practices are central in successfully reproducing and legitimizing the regionalist ideology and the maintenance of social hierarchy.

As Foucault (1979, 1988) has shown, the emergence of *modern worlds* – sociocultural worlds living within the frame of the Modern Constitution (Latour 1993) – is coterminous with how several institutions progressively came to existence, gained legitimacy and authority and became the mechanisms of regimentation of social life and the shaping of the *modern subject*. Among the systems to which Foucault paid particular attention were the educational and health system, the judiciary as well as the institutions in charge of the creation of legitimate knowledge and governance.

Quechua communities throughout the Andes have been in constant and long interaction with dominant Western oriented elites who transformed themselves as modern worlds emerged from the colonial encounters (Coronil 1996, Mignolo 2000). Currently, most of the mechanisms of social regimentation analyzed by Foucault are, with local particularities, present in contemporary Peru. Beyond their strong deficiencies, and also

⁶ Conversation with don Francisco. Hapu 2008.

through them, the State bureaucratic structure, and the health and educational systems preside over the vast majority of the country. Beyond their institutional weaknesses and weak reach through most of the republican history, these institutions historically had the explicit objective to convert Quechua and other indigenous people into “modern” subjects, to “civilize” them at the same time that they attempted to erase Quechua language and practices. While the colonial state attempted to do so in religious terms, the republican state institutions have attempted to do so in secular and “modern” ones (De la Cadena 2005, Mannheim 1998). In both cases, this mission was entangled in the inherent contradiction of colonial discourse: An explicit aim to convert combined with a structurally necessary failure in order to maintain their mission’s relevance (Bhabha 1994).

Notwithstanding many repeated projects to erase Quechua culture and produce non-indigenous citizens (as well as several dramatic social disasters), the scholarship on the Andes has recognized a notable resilience of many Quechua semiotic forms (see Harris 2000, Mannheim 1991a, Ortiz 1977 among others). It should be clear that this does not mean that the contemporary Quechua practices are those of the 16th century, but rather that similar semiotic mechanisms are at play in the ways in which these practices are both performed and interpreted. This resilience should not be understood through the frame of *resistance* that has already been criticized due to its tendency toward romanticization (Abu-Lughod 1990), but can be explained through the particular mechanisms of regimentation that are at play in Quechua practice and which differ sharply from those emerging from the dominant society. They rely neither on bureaucratic institutions nor on a body of specialists. This is evident in the way the language is regimented: There seems to be an absence of a clearly institutionalized division of semantic labor in order to regiment meaning (Putnam 1975). However, this could not be claimed in a conclusive way. There might exist regimenting institutions without being recognized as such by scholars. Additionally, there is also an absence of socially significant metalinguistic repositories such as dictionaries and grammars used by actual Quechua speakers (Mannheim 1991a). Likewise, there is no specialized priesthood in charge of reproducing an inexistent canonical Quechua theology.

The Quechua regimentation of practices – in the same manner as quotidian practices of most cultures – does not rely on canonical and socially sanctioned theories about their own practices and how they relate to the world. Some individuals are more articulate than others in giving particular theories about Quechua practices and about the world. This is one of the reasons why when ethnographers request exegetical discourse, their questions are answered by invocations of the *kustunri*, which ultimately refer to the bodily praxis of habitus (Bourdieu 1977, Mauss 1973[1935]). The corpus of elicited exegetical discourse, when produced, is notably heterogeneous and not necessarily consistent. These aspects of Quechua cultures have been reported by several scholars, including Bernard Mishkin (1940:238), Catherine Allen (2002[1988]:96) and Bruce Mannheim (1986, 1991a) for Quechua communities within the region of Cuzco. Beyond Cuzco, Mary Weismantel (1988:208-9) has noted similar characteristics in her research among a Kichua community in Ecuador and Thomas Abercrombie (1998) with an Aymara community in Bolivia.

When some ethnographers were confronted by the fragmentary, heterogeneous and inconsistent Quechua exegetical discourse, these characteristics were not seen as part of a different cultural world without the need of canonical discourses but rather as fragments of a formerly coherent canonical discourse that was degenerated by the long colonization or by the inevitable process of acculturation. For example, during his field research in the late 1930s in community of Kawri (Ccatca, Quispicanchis), Bernard Mishkin found what he considered “the most extreme variety and inconsistency in the cosmological data... [where] practically every person I questioned with reference to cosmology had his own system or lack of system” (Mishkin 1940:238). He claimed this was a case due to cultural disintegration:

The disintegrating effects of subjugation without incorporation, of contact without assimilation, are clearly seen in these four cases of individual cosmologies. The forces operating in the world are somehow different for each person. Contradiction is piled onto contradiction. In the light of this condition it is understandable why the Kauri villager is so often frigid and sullen in his responses to questioning about his cosmological ideas (Mishkin 1940:240).

The folklorist Efraín Morote, who was part of the Cuzco National University’s interdisciplinary team that visited Hatun Q’ero in 1955, offers a similar interpretation. He recorded what was considered to be the first narrative about Inkari, a widespread

mythical theme that would become famous in Andean scholarship as well as in the nationalist reformist military regime led by Juan Velasco (1968-1975).⁷ Interpreting the passages that referred to how the Inka king left traces of his deeds in several rocks of the landscape of Hatun Q'ero, Morote elaborated:

We believe it is probable that this is the ideological content of this collected myth that is in a clear process of disintegration and submitted, very schematically, under the light of uninterested hermeneutics. The Inka work is indissoluble of this lithic content and the Inka culture reduces and deforms itself without it (Morote 2005[1958]:296).

In Morote's view, the fragmentary and uninterested manner in which some Hatun Q'ero people reported passages of the deeds of Inkari were also indexes of a former Inka narrative, which was in process of disintegration. Here again, the Q'ero practices were understood as remnants of a former Inka culture and not as cultural practices in their own right.

In what follows, I elaborate on some of the mechanisms at play in the reproduction and regimentation of Quechua ontologies. I will not elaborate on the kinship notions based on cohabitation and commensality among humans that are reproduced in daily life. These aspects are extensively analyzed in ethnographies by Leinaweaver (2008) and Van Vleet (2008). Rather, I will focus on the semiotic mechanisms of regimentation that make obvious the personhood of place-persons and their social relationships with humans. In order to do so I will use the framework provided by Mannheim (1991a) in his analysis of Quechua dreams.

Signs⁸ carry meaning due to three basic relationships: the semantic relationship between signs and their objects (the relationship that usually tends to be overemphasized when talking about "meaning"); the syntactic relationship between signs and other signs with which they are combined; and the pragmatic relationship between signs and their users.

⁷ In order to review how this mythical theme could be traced from colonial times and not have the overstated messianic character that several anthropologists attributed to it, see Urbano 1987.

⁸ I use Peirce's basic definition of the sign. A sign consists in three elements: the sign properly speaking, its object and its interpretant. The sign stand for its object to its interpretant (Parmentier 1994, Peirce 1955[1902]).

These three dimensions are interrelated and interdependent in any semiotic practice, and they cannot be understood isolated from each other. All semiotic practice has a poetic structure, which plays an important role in the ways meaning is stabilized.

The three dimensions of semiosis – semantics, syntactics, and pragmatics – are partly specified in the formal structure of a cultural practice, and partly supplied by the process of interpretation. There is a give and take between the formal structure and the process of interpretation. The more specified the formal structure, the less play there is in the interpretation. Conversely, the less specified the formal structure is for one of these dimensions, the more it is supplied by the interpretation. Cultural systems (or semiotic systems) differ in the extent to which the three dimensions of semiosis are formally specified... To the extent that the syntactic and pragmatic dimensions are present in the formal structure of an action, the meanings of signs are constrained by the formal structure. To the extent that the formal structure of all action is specified and consistent through time, the meanings of signs are anchored into place, secured into stable contexts (Mannheim 1991a:57).

If nothing else, ritual practice follows relatively fixed sequences of actions. These formal sequences specify the syntactic and pragmatic dimensions of their meanings. The more fixed the sequence of actions, the more stable the syntactic relations between signs. Likewise, these sequences necessarily involve actors who perform relatively pre-established roles in them. So the more fixed the ritual sequences and roles, the more stable the pragmatic relations between signs and their users (Mannheim 1991a, Tambiah 1985, Turner 1968). Conversely, the more fixed the sequences and roles of rituals, the less the need for interpretative discourse to stabilize meanings. People know the meaning of a ritual not because someone explained it to them but because it is contained in the presuppositions that are embedded in the formalized sequences, which depend on both the syntactic and pragmatic dimensions. Such is the same process through which anyone learns the meaning of a word by hearing repeatedly how it is used in conversation, reiterated in certain syntactic and pragmatic contexts, which convey the same type of implicit semantic content.

Presuppositions are tacit assumptions, embedded in the overt assertions being made in an utterance (Gumperz 1981). In other words...

(an utterance of) a sentence *S* presupposes a proposition *p* if (the utterance of) *S* implies *p* and further implies that *p* is somehow already part of the background against which *S* is considered, that considering *S* at all involves taking *p* for granted (Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 1990:280, cited by Mannheim 2006:9).

For example, consider the question that a Maranata convert in Hapu posed to me: “*Qan manaraq Yusta chaskikushankichu*” (Haven’t you surrendered to God yet?). The question presupposes the existence of a God to which it is possible to surrender oneself: Both the affirmative and negative responses maintain the presupposition. When people speak to each other, they validate each other’s presuppositions. Furthermore, the majority of this validation happens beyond the conscious awareness of those who interact and in a routine fashion (Harding 1987, Mannheim 2006). Yet, while any utterance carries presuppositions, it is not only utterances that do so. All semiotic practices have embedded presuppositions.

The daily etiquette of chewing coca leaves is a good example of how meanings are stabilized in Quechua cultures. People chew coca leaves during the breaks in agricultural work, while resting on a long walk, or after the main meal of the day. In Hapu, the etiquette of chewing coca leaves involves several steps.⁹ One sits on the floor in a circle with other people. From a personal bag of coca leaves, one chooses three of the best leaves and orders them in a small fan (*k’intu*). Taking the shining side of the leaves towards oneself, the person mentions the names of the mountains and fields who he or she invites to participate in the chewing session and utters a petition related to the activity that is being carried out or which will be done in the near future (i.e. *let us harvest well, do not allow more rain, let me find clients and have work*). Then one blows the coca leaves towards each named place, which are in different directions. Finally, one puts the *k’intu* in one’s mouth and start chewing it. Immediately after that, the individual chooses another *k’intu* of coca leaves. Putting the shining side of the leaves towards a peer, one offers it to the other, saying “*Hallpakusunchis*” (*let’s chew coca leaves*). The person who receives the *k’intu* will give thanks, saying “*Urpiy sunquy*” (*my dove my heart*) and will make a similar recitation to the places, utter a petition, and blow the *k’intu* toward the places who he or she just mentioned and will then start chewing it. The peer who received the *k’intu* will then return another to the initial giver, repeating the whole sequence of etiquette. The recitation of the names of the places and the petition are

⁹ For a detailed description of a similar etiquette in the community of Sonqo (Paucartambo, Cuzco), see Allen (2002[1988]).

performed more formally with the first exchange of *k'intus*, and the ones that follow are less formal or could be absent altogether.

A set of associations emerges from this relatively simple sequence. Within the formalized sequence of chewing coca leaves, which is performed on a daily basis, a group of signs cluster together, reproducing a set of presuppositions in each iteration. These presuppositions include several ideas: On one hand, that places are persons, capable of consuming some essence of the coca leaves and hearing dedications made by humans. On the other, that humans and places have relations of asymmetric reciprocity that point to the subordinate and dependent position of humans in relation to place-persons. The routine engagement in the etiquette of coca chewing constructs and reproduces these presuppositions as self-evident certainties.

The formal sequence is easy to learn. While there are different levels of mastery in the recitation of the list of names of places to whom one offers the *k'intu*, everybody manages to make appropriate recitations. Luis, my *compadre* and in whose house I lived, showed me how to do it the very first day I arrived in Hapu. He just told me to imitate him, while he slowly did it, saying “*ayna, chaymanta ayna*” (so, then so). While blowing the leaves, he mentioned the names of the main mountains and plains, which were crucial for the place where we were. It was not too difficult for me to learn the etiquette. When I asked for an explanation, he merely commented, pointing to the surrounding mountains, “*they take care of us, they take care of us.*” Obviously my case was rather exceptional because I was learning it as an adult. People of Hapu observe this etiquette from childhood, and they know it by the time they start practicing it as teenagers. There is no need for a particular interpretative discourse for community members to understand the presuppositions in the etiquette; these presuppositions are inferred over time through the repetition of the practice and as the ideologies embedded in them are secured and stabilized. And while the syntactic relations between the different signs are secured by the formal sequences, the pragmatic relations between different persons and these signs involve not only the humans who perform these practices but also the particular places to whom the coca leaves are principally offered. These recitations and blowing are directed to particular places, and hence these syntactic/pragmatic relations constitute social

interaction with the landscape, anchoring these practices in the known landscape constituted by persons.

These structural relations between syntactic, pragmatic, and semantic dimensions of meaning are also present in rituals, such as the offering of a *despacho lluq'ipaña* – the left right offering that I mentioned in chapter IV – that I observed just before I left Hapu at the end of my fieldwork. People present during the preparation of a despacho, usually inside a house and at night, sit around small pieces of textile (*unkhuña*) used exclusively for making food offerings. However, they have the same name and the same design as other *unkhuñas*, which are used to carry food when one is traveling or working far from the house. Hence the *unkhuña* already frames the offering as food. The bundle where the ingredients of the offering are contained is also called *apuq harmun* (lord's snacks), reiterating the nature of the food offering.

During the preparation of the offering, the participants, who are usually relatives living relatively close by, engage in continuous and formalized exchanges of coca leaves. The consumption of alcohol, also part of the ritual, has its own etiquette. It requires some spillage into the hearth of the house, addressed as *kawildu*,¹⁰ and is also dedicated to the local mother earth, the place where the house is located. Some drops are then sprinkled with fingers in the direction of the surrounding mountains.

The senior couple of the household is in charge of the preparation of the *lluq'ipaña despacho*. The couple sits in front of the two small *unkhuñas*, the woman at the left of the man. The offering on the left is arranged by the woman, and it is for the places where people live, or for agricultural fields, which are relatively low and tend to be plains. The offering on the right is prepared by the man, and it is for the surrounding mountains, the high peaks where people do not live, work, or transit. The offering on the left for the low plains is arranged on a small piece of paper over the *unkhuña*. The offering for the high mountains is arranged on a small portion of *vicuña*¹¹ wool.

The preparation of the *despacho* starts with all participants making several coca *k'intus*. After the couple has started to dedicate their *k'intus* to the places and in their respective offering, each of the participants has to carefully dedicate their own *k'intus* to

¹⁰ *Kawildu* from Spanish *cabildo*, town council. In this context, it refers to the house as a living being.

¹¹ *Vicuña vicugna*. The *vicuña* is a wild camelid that lives in high pastures close to the mountain peaks.

the places, asking for particular favors then blowing through the *k'intus* towards the places. Then each participant puts the dedicated *k'intus* into each of the offerings. The couple then starts arranging small pieces of many different ingredients of the offering.

Both the left and right offerings share some fundamental ingredients, like coca leaves, llama fat, corn, red and white flowers, starfish, and candies. However, the left offering for the cultivated and inhabited lands has a strong preponderance of sugar and candies, while the right offering for the mountains has preponderance of herbs and grains, some of which - like *wiraquya*, or *kañiwa* – only grow in very high altitudes. After carefully arranging all these ingredients, each of the offerings is wrapped in the *unkhuña*. Then each participant takes turns holding the offerings, the left with the left hand and the right with the right hand, while requesting special wishes to the places and giving three strong exhalations of air through the mouth over the wrapped offerings.

The couple will then exit the house and put both offerings into a small bonfire that has been previously prepared, the woman on the left with the *lluq'i* (left) food-offering and the man on the right with the *pañã* (right) one,. The rest of the participants continue inside the house, talking and exchanging *k'intus* as well as alcohol, activities that continue for one or two hours after the burning of the offerings, depending on the will of the participants and the availability of coca and alcohol.

Figure 8.1
Salient associations present in the *lluq'ipaña despacho*

Left	Right
<i>Pachamama</i> (Mother earths)	<i>Apu</i> (Lords)
low	high
cultivated and inhabited plains	Uninhabited peaks
On paper	On vicuña wool
Preponderance of sugar and candies	Preponderance of highland grains
Female	Male
Women	Men

The left-right offering is loaded with more presuppositions. On one hand, the left-right offering reinforces the presuppositions embedded in the etiquette of coca chewing by demanding its performance in an more formal fashion, and further, by reinforcing it with other etiquettes, such as the etiquette of alcohol consumption, which carries in turn its owns presuppositions, such as the difference between *apus* and *pachamamas*. Both *apus* and *pachamamas* receive alcohol, but in different ways: the local *pachamama*

(mother earth), where the people are located, receives drops directly from the glass; *apus* (lords) receive alcohol through sprinkling drops with the fingers towards their summits. The process of the preparation and delivery of the offering contains all of these presuppositions, while rendering the gender roles and hierarchies between places. The gendered order of places and humans thus become mutually iconic of each other, replicating, reinforcing and reproducing each other.

The couple that is responsible for the household (which includes two or more nuclear families) makes the left-right offering. By the time a couple gets to be the head of a household, they have already witnessed this sequence countless times. In almost all the offerings I had the opportunity to participate in, the full responsibility was given to the couple while the rest of those present were engaged in conversations about other topics, exchanges of *k'intus* and alcohol, and occasional singing. The way people learn how to perform these sequences rests fundamentally on observation and imitation.

There are several types of offerings depending on the occasion. For a serious misfortune – illness, robbery, or accident – people usually recur to a *paqu* who knows more intimately how to make food-offerings that enable the requests to the places to be received with sympathy. Offerings are also made for starting new projects: building a house, going on a travel, starting to sow, and so on. Additionally, there are annual offerings exclusively dedicated to the mother earth, at the end of July and beginning of August, just before starting a new agricultural cycle.

As it was mentioned before, there are elaborated family celebrations dedicated to the well-being of the animals. There are different ways to greet the animals directly and give them thanks for the resources they offer. The animal rituals are also moments to thank the places – the mountains that protect, and are the ultimate owners of, the flocks, the plains where flocks eat, and the places where they sleep – for allowing the flock to be healthy and reproduce. These rituals include the preparation of *despachos*, food offerings for the places, but are integrated in broader sequences in which animals take part. For example, the celebration of female llamas includes a crucial practice that gives the ritual its name: The female llamas are greeted as flowers of *phallcha*¹² are spread over them.

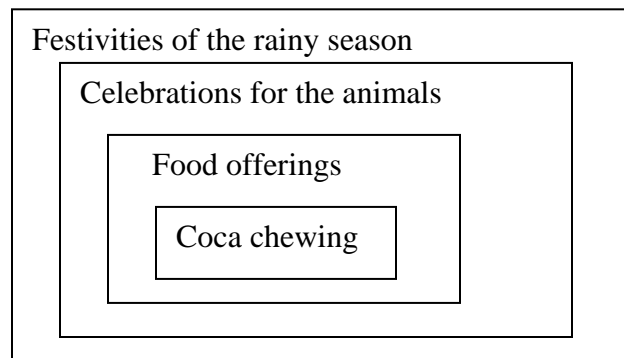
¹² Phallcha (Qu) *Gentiana luteomarginata*. A red flowers gentiana that blossoms during the rainy season very high and close to the mountain peaks.

These flowers index the places where they grow and when: high altitudes close to mountain peaks and the rainy season. Male llamas, in contrast, are celebrated in July and August after the harvest in order to thank them for the work they have done in transporting it. The central element of their celebration is that they are made to drink corn beer so they can enjoy the human celebration and regain the strength lost in their intense work during the harvest.¹³

Each animal celebration involves a particular musical genre and sometimes a particular instrument. The song lyrics vary from family to family. The lyrics reiterate associations between humans, places, and animals, which are already present in the broader context of their inscription. In Hapu, the following are the rituals for the household animals:

- San Juan (Saint John) – for the sheep
- Santiago (Saint James) – for the male llamas
- Phallchay – for the female llamas
- Santa Helena (Saint Helen) – for the cows

Figure 8.2
Practices within practices



Above is a visual representation of how some practices are performed within more complex practices, and through this relation add further presuppositions to existing ones. For example, food offerings are done for several reasons but are also part of the rituals for the animals; people engage in the coca chewing session in daily life, in the context of food offerings and in the rituals for animals. All these activities are included in

¹³ Decades ago, these male llamas were crucial in the transport not only of the harvest of potatoes, that they still do, but in the transportation of the corn that was harvested in the *yunkas* of Kiku. As it was said before, Hapu people no longer access these *yunkas* after the division of land between Hapu and Kiku during the 1980s.

the celebrations of the rainy season. Phallchay is carried out within the frame of the communal celebration of *pukllay*, which, in itself, includes all the other practices that were already mentioned.

All these different levels of complexity of practices involve the reproduction of syntactic and pragmatic relationships between signs and between signs and persons, between sequences of practices and social relations among humans and place-persons. All these practices constitute the relationship between humans as well as the relationships between humans and places, anchoring social relationships, knowledge, and ontology in the living landscape. Their formalized structures secure the reproduction of syntactic and pragmatic relations and hence guarantee the reproduction of the ontology. It is because of these semiotic configurations that ideological forms are resilient when confronted with competing, external ideologies, which rest on objectified doctrinal discourses for conveying meaning.

This includes the sustained efforts to eradicate Quechua practices by both the Colonial and the Republican states. Cultural practices that rely on canonical texts and discourses make these practices more easily questionable. Canonical discourses or texts constitute a stable body of texts against which it is easier to argue, attack, or propose subversive interpretations. In the absence of canonical discourses or texts, when ontologies are contained in the presuppositions of everyday practice and anchored again and again within the landscape, they are harder to attack, to put under question, to deny their truthfulness. These mechanisms of regimentation have been noted for their resilience in reproducing the naturalness, the obviousness of the ontological elements contained in their presuppositions. To a large extent, this type of regimentation reproduces the presuppositions in what Bourdieu (1977) has called *doxa*, all that goes without saying, all that is taken for granted. What the evangelicals have done through their conversions and practices in Hapu is to transform some, but not all, of the presuppositions from *doxa* to that of the *orthodoxia* and *heterodoxia*, that is, to a level of awareness such that they will eventually come under conscious scrutiny (ibid.).

The evangelical presence has brought some novel ideas that do not fit and even openly contradict the Quechua ontology embedded in practice. This includes ideas about the relationships between signs and their objects, about immaterial worlds that are

detached from the signs through which people refer to them, and claims about the true holders of agency. These ideas are what Keane (2003, 2007) has called semiotic ideologies, which means a challenge to the ongoing Quechua ontology present in Hapu practices. It is important to notice that the worlds that I encountered in Hapu cannot be understood as being independent of the Maranata presence. I might imagine and infer how the Hapu people lived before the Maranata presence, but the actual practices that I participated in already carry the dialogic *impronta* of Hapu Evangelicalism. Conversely, Hapu Evangelicalism cannot be imagined as an abstract Evangelicalism in a pure form, but as a particular Hapu Evangelicalism that emerged in dialogic interaction with the previous semiotic resources of the converts and with the refusal of those who remained Catholic.

This can be exemplified by the remarks of my comadre Isabel. On the one hand, she is the daughter of a well-known *paqu* and knows a lot about these practices. However, when I was doing fieldwork, she was struggling with her husband who wanted to be Maranata. The first time I met the husband, he was the *kapitan* (captain, second in hierarchy) of Hapu's Wayri Ch'unchu dance troupe, which accompanied Hapu's Taytacha Quyllurit'i in his pilgrimage. During the pilgrimage, he requested me to be the godfather of his son's first hair cutting. After some months, I heard rumors that he had converted to Maranata. Isabel told me how he tried to convince her to convert. She attended the Maranata church and also the pastor visited them several times. As far as my knowledge goes, they are still Catholic. Due to this tension in her household, my comadre has become familiar with the Maranata claims about place-persons and their discourses about spirits, as well as the narratives about the fierce opposition between God and Satan. The following fragment illustrates how she framed the Maranata discourse in her own terms:

- | | |
|--|--|
| G: y comadre, Señor Quyllurit'i apu? Icha mana apuchu | G: Comadre, is lord Shining Snow an apu? Or is not an apu? |
| I: Siñur, siñur Quyllurit'iqa, kunan Satanas ñishanchis riki | I: Lord Shining Snow, now we say [is] Satan, right? |
| G: Pín? | G: Who? |
| I: Satanas ñishanchís | I: We say Satan |
| G: Riki? | G: Really? |
| I: Anchay Satanas milagrusuyá Quyllurit'iqa | I: That miraculous Satan Shining Snow |
| G: Riki? | G: Really? |
| I: Aha, mana Dios Taytanchis partimantachu | I: Yes. [He is] not from the side of God Our Father. |

- | | |
|--|---|
| G: Riki? | G: Really? |
| I: Pampapacha partimanta, Satanaspa partinmanta milagrusuyá Siñur de Quyllurit' iqa. Aha, Siñur de Wankapas | I: [He is] from the side of the world of the surface. From the side of Satan. Lord Shining Snow is miraculous. Yes. Also the Lord of Crag ¹⁴ |
| G: Riki. | G: Really? |
| I: Aha, milagrusu chay ispiritupi milagrusu, Satanas milagrusuyá chaykunaqa, chayqa pampapachaq aduranallanya chayqa | I: Yes. Miraculous. Miraculous in that spirit. Those are miraculous Satan. Hence they are adored in the world of the surface. |
| G: Riki. | G: Right |
| I: Katulikuq aduranan | I: The Catholics' adoration |

Here, there is an opposition between God and Satan. God belongs to the world above and Satan to the world of the surface. The Maranata adore God, while the Catholics adore satans, which are the places as well as the emplaced christs who are the focus of pilgrimages. Hence, Catholics do not adore God. There is no doubt, as Isabel stresses several times, that these satans are miraculous and can provide for Catholics. This fragment shows how these different claims about the world and its order are in dialogue producing new understandings and claims, forcing the development of new discourses that might not have existed previously, prompting exegetical discussions about practice that before were not necessary to deploy, or dealing with beings such as that of Satan that might have been largely absent from their practices.

Being Catholic in times of Maranata presence

As the marked category, Catholic is a label in Hapu that basically means non-Maranata. The self defined Catholic people of Hapu often claim that they are keeping the old Q'ero *kustunri* from being forgotten. On one hand, these claims respond to urban stereotypes that frame Q'ero people as the cornerstone of indigenous authenticity and keepers of ancient Inka culture, stereotypes that are appropriated by Q'ero people themselves associated to an emerging sense of ethnic pride. On the other, these claims about maintaining Q'ero *kustunri* carry an implicit condemnation of the Maranatas as agents of the loss of the old customs.

The fact that Maranata and Catholic constitute a dichotomy should not be interpreted as though Hapu is constituted by two clearly discrete and different groups,

¹⁴ *Señor de Huanca* (Lord of Crag) is another important pilgrimage shrine in the region. He is also associated with a mountain and appeared miraculously in a big crag which now is as well the main altar of his church.

each with internal homogeneity. On one hand, it should not be assumed that Maranata actually understand and practice being Maranata in the same ways. Neither is this the case among the Catholic. There is considerable diversity in the ways in which people understand and carry on practices associated with being Catholic or being Maranata. On the other hand, this points also to the ongoing process of conversion to Maranata and the return to the practice of the *kustunri* that many Hapu people have undergone. As with other dichotomies that organize social difference, Catholic and Maranata are principles of social classification that hide a much more complex sociological counterpart going on the ground (Irvine and Gal 2000).

Hapu Catholic people find no contradiction between their Q'ero practices that allow them to interact with the place-persons and considering themselves Catholic. Many Christian symbols and elements are included in what people consider their distinctive Q'ero *kustunri*. It should be noted, however, that God and Jesus are largely absent in their daily lives. During my fieldwork, God was quite seldom mentioned in everyday life. Nevertheless, when asked directly, nobody doubted the existence of *Yus Taytanchis* (God, Our father). Similar to cases of other Quechua communities reported in previous ethnography (e.g. Marzal 1971), Hapu people consider God to be a very distant person who lives in the *hanaqpacha* (the world above), a different world than the *pampapacha* (the world of the surface) that we humans inhabit. God usually does not intervene in the worldly issues of human lives. God is not a person with whom people interact on daily basis or in ritual contexts. God is not mentioned in their request for help or assistance. This is a sharp contrast with how often and routinely people request help and protection from the mountains and the lands. However God tends to be mentioned within conversations about the differences between Catholics and Evangelicals.

The Virgin and the saints are also absent from the recitations of places and other linguistic elements contained in the making of food-offerings. Nevertheless, the rituals for the fertility of the male llamas, the cows and the sheep include the names of saints. These animals are celebrated roughly around the days that the various saints are celebrated in the Catholic calendar. During these celebrations, the names of saints are mentioned in a formulaic fashion within the etiquettes for drinking corn beer or alcohol. For instance, in the festivity of the male llamas, referred to as *Satiaku* (from Santiago,

Saint James,) the formulaic conversation before drinking goes as follows: When A serves alcohol to B, A says: *Pirsunayki lisinshaykismanta* (from your [honorific] license). B, receiving the small glass of alcohol, responds: *Tayta Santiaku lisinshanmanta* (from Father Saint James's license). In the festivity for the sheep, the etiquette is the same, but invokes *Sanhuwan* (San Juan, Saint John). This suggests that all the festivities are due to the goodwill of the saint that gives name to it. It stresses that the agency of humans, framed as their desire/acceptance to drink alcohol, is futile in front of that of the saint. Likewise, during the food offerings dedicated to the place-persons for the fertility the animals, these saints are mentioned in the list of places to whom the food-offering is dedicated. However, while all the places mentioned can be located and one can interact with them in quite material ways, this is not so with the saints.

When I asked don Luis why he dedicated the food-offering to a saint, he told me the usual succinct and uninterested answer invoking *kustunri*. When I tried to learn more about the ontological status of the saints and continued posing questions about them, I was surprised when he told me that there used to be saints in the Hatun Hapu chapel but that they were long gone. Further conversations with other members of the community confirmed that there used to be saints in the chapel but that they had actually disappeared in an obscure episode involving the parish priest of Marcapata, *Pari Pitir* (Father Peter). Consider this fragment of my conversations with don Sebastián:

- | | |
|--|---|
| S: Ñawpaq karqan, santu karqan kay timplupi, karqan Ñustu Pari ñisqa huq, huk karqa. | S: Before, there were saints in this chapel. There was one called <i>Ñustu Pari</i> ¹⁶ , there was other.. |
| G: Nuestro padre? | G: Our Father? (In Spanish) |
| S: <i>Ñustu pari</i> | S: <i>Ñustu pari</i> |
| G: Riki. | G: Right |
| S: Huktaq karqan Pari Santiaku ñisqa, huktaq, ima ñisqa?, Mamacha Kunsiwira ñisqa karqan | S: There was other called <i>Pari Santiaku</i> ¹⁷ , other, how was called? There was [other] called Dear Conceived Mother. ¹⁸ |
| G: Riki. | G: Right |
| S: Umhu, huqtaq Kristu, kusa Kristuwal, Santísima Kruspa Ninakuq hina. | S: Umhu. And other <i>Kristu</i> ¹⁹ , good, <i>Kristuwal</i> ²⁰ , the <i>Fire of the Holy Cross</i> , so. |
| G: Riki. | G: Right |
| S: Chayta, chaytaqa asikuymañataq, pari | S: Then, and even laughing about them, father |

¹⁵ Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

¹⁶ *Ñustu pari*: (from Spanish *Nuestro Padre*) Our Father.

¹⁷ *Pari Santiaku* (from Sp. *Padre Santiago*) Father Saint James.

¹⁸ *Kunsiwira* (from Spanish *Concebida*): Conceived, pregnant. It refers to the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*.

¹⁹ *Kristu* (from Spanish *Cristo*) Christ.

²⁰ *Kristuwal* (from Spanish *Cristobal*) Christopher. Here probably is referring to Saint Christopher.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Pitirñataq, chay imapaqtaq kayri walin ñispa,
ñawpa machuhina kashan yanqata ñispa,
unuman hich' aychipusqa.</p> <p>G: Unuman?</p> <p>S: Unuman, [laughs], tanqaychikusqa.</p> <p>G: Mayuman?</p> <p>S: Mayuman, chayqa apinas Santuwariw
Quyllurit' illaña sapachallaña. Chayllataña
mana unuman wikch' uychipusqachu.</p> <p>G: Aaaaah,
[...]</p> <p>S: Uh, yastá machu, yastá thantallañaya kakuq ,
manaya allin, nachu mana, chikan thutakunachá
tukun imaymana p'achachankunatapas, yasta
tuuuru kumpa, kumpallañaya kaqqa.¹⁵</p> | <p>Peter,said, What are these useful for? These are
like the <i>ñawpa machu</i>²¹ ones, useless; and made
them to be throw to the water.</p> <p>G: To the water?</p> <p>S: To the water, [laughs], made them hurl [the
saints] down.</p> <p>G: To the river?</p> <p>S: To the river. Then, only <i>Shining Snow Shrine</i>
[remains] alone. Only that one [he] did not made
to be throw to the water.</p> <p>G: Aaaaah
[...]</p> <p>S: Uh, [They were] already totally old, totally
tattered. They were so, all things were quite
moth-eaten, also their little cloths. [They were]
already tootally falling apart.</p> |
|--|--|

Then, don Sebastián began to recount when each saint used to be celebrated. *Ñustu Pari* was celebrated in the *Pukllay*²² or Carnival (February), Kristu (Christ) was celebrated in Paskuwa (Easter) (around April), *Santiaku* was celebrated in July, and so on. Did they celebrate them each year?, I asked. “*Ari atispa, awisis wataqa ruwanku, aywisis wataqa manapunipas ruwarushankutaqchu hina*” (yes, when possible, sometimes each year and sometimes they did not used to do them so). Don Sebastián concluded his remarks about the saints with “*kunan yasta chinkapun q’ala mana kapunchu*” (now, they are totally lost, they do not longer exist).

This fragment, and other similar conversations, illustrates how Hapu people considered all these types of images as members of the same class: It is unclear to me who *Ñustu Pari* (Our Father) might be; tri-dimensional representations of God the Father are quite rare in the region and only tend to be found at the top of colonial baroque altars. When represented, God the Father is usually included as part of a broader scene depicting some event within colonial paintings (Mesa and Gisbert 1982). The image could have been a representation of Christ, but it is strange to use the Spanish name when Christ is usually referred to with the Quechua title, *Taytanchis* (Our Father). *Ñustu Pari* (Our Father) is listed together with *Saint James*, the *Virgin of Immaculate Conception*, *Christ*, *Saint Christopher* and a strange reference to an image called the *Fire of the Holy Cross*.

²¹ *Ñawpa machu* (Qu. Ancient old [ones]): This expression is used to refer to what from a non Quechua perspective would be called *pre-Hispanic mommies*. See chapter 3.

²² *Pukllay* (Qu) Game; to play. This is the name with which are called the rituals of the rainy season, of Carnival, which in cases involve confrontations and/or competitions.

Catholic icons of the Catholic God, Christ, the cross, the Virgin, and Saint James are classified together as saints, a clear departure from canonical Catholic theology.

Furthermore, don Sebastián claims that now only one saint alone inhabits the chapel: *Santuwariw* Quyllurit'i, a framed printed color photograph of the image of a crucified Christ painted on the rock of the miracle that now occupies the center of the main altar in the Quyllurit'i shrine (figure 8.3).

Figure 8.3
Hapu's *Santuwariw* Quyllurit'i



The framed photographic composition was introduced in what seems to be the old wooden box that contained a previous image of Taytanchis Quyllurit'i .

The way don Sebastián referred to what could be seen as a small icon of Taytacha Quyllurit'i (Our dear father Shining Snow) is of interest: He called it *Santuwariw*

Quyllurit'i, which might literally be translated as *Shrine*²³ *Shining Snow*. Here, don Sebastián is not invoking the word *Santuwariw* by its Spanish origin – shrine – but rather as part of the proper name of Quyllurit'i. If don Sebastián had been thinking in terms of “shrine,” he would not have used it as the name of the saint that now alone occupies the chapel. The image is not just an icon of Quyllurit'i but is *Santuwariw* Quyllurit'i himself, the same being that lives in the actual shrine.

The pilgrimage of Hapu's Quyllurit'i to the Quyllurit'i shrine would be made in order to ensure the blessing and the continued presence of Quyllurit'i in Hapu. All the special etiquettes expressed towards Hapu's small *Santuwariw* Quyllurit'i are exactly the same than those used to address the Quyllurit'i, that is, both the image and the rock of the miracle that is the target of the pilgrimage. Hence, saints' images should not be understood as icons of beings that live elsewhere. This is the same principle that I outlined previously in Chapter 3 when discussing the personhood of the places: on one hand, at least in relationship with toponyms, signs tend to be used as consubstantial with their objects (De la Cadena 2011, Mannheim 1991b); on the other, the personhood of a saint involves the materiality of his or her body. Just as the place-persons are the places themselves and not spirits who live in the places, the saints are the images themselves and do not live elsewhere as spirits. These images are, in practice, persons in themselves who belong to *pampapacha*²⁴, the world of the surface where humans live. They do not belong to *hanaqpacha*, the world above, where God lives.

This type of relationship with saints is not exclusive to Hapu but is widespread in the region, most often implicit in the ways in which devotees treat saints' images rather than to be found in explicit discourse. As Belting (1994) has shown, the Catholic canonical attitude of framing saints' images as icons of spiritual beings instead of understanding them as persons in themselves can be traced as a product of the campaigns of Iconoclasm in early Christianity.²⁵

²³ *Santuwariw*: (from Sp. Santuario) Shrine.

²⁴ Other ethnographies do not register the use of this composed word to refer to the world where humans inhabitate. Most ethnographic monographs carried out in the region of Cuzco register the use of *kaypacha* (this world) instead of the Hapu's *pampapacha*. See for example Gow and Condori (1976).

²⁵ Hence, here I am not claiming that this framing of saints' images as persons is exclusive to Quechua ontologies. Actually most people in the region of Cuzco, across social class, who consider themselves Catholic practice relationships with saints' images implicitly attributing personhood to the images

Don Luis explains this point in one of our conversations about Taytacha

Quyllurit'i:

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: Mana Dioschu | G: Isn't [he] God? |
| L: Mana Yuschu | L: [He] is not God. |
| G: Mana, mana Dioschu? | G: No? Isn't [he] God? |
| L: Piru payqa pampapacha katulikuq, nan... apun. | L: But he is the mmm... lord [<i>apu</i>] of the Catholics of the world of the surface. |
| G: Katulikuq? | G: Of the Catholics? |
| L: Katulikuq siñurñin. | L: The lord [<i>señor</i>] of the Catholics |
| G: Ummh. | G: Uhum |
| L: Umhu...pampapachamanta. Katuliku runa ñuqanchis kanchis, riki? ²⁶ | L: Yes... of the world of the surface. We are the Catholic people of the world of the surface, right? |

He differentiates between; on the one hand, the world of God, *hanaqpacha*, the world above – stressing that Taytacha Quyllurit'i is a powerful being by calling him *apu*, the title almost exclusively used for the powerful mountains – and, on the other, *pampapacha*, the world of the surface. Taytacha Quyllurit'i is a person emplaced in the landscape, in the *pampapacha*, and is not an icon of a being who lives in the *hanaqpacha*.

The deteriorating materiality of the saints' images is key in don Sebastián's explanation of why Father Peter mandated that the saints be thrown away. According to don Sebastián, the priest claimed that the images were useless and their uselessness was related to their material state. They were falling apart, totally broken and moth-eaten. This points to an important attitude of Hapu people towards the world and the relationship with non-human agents that is at play in the conflicts between Catholic and Maranata: The material evidences of the sensible world are crucial for understanding/interpreting the behavior of non-human agents such as the places, the saints or God. As human agency leaves traces and produces changes in the material world, the agency of the places, the saints or God, does very much the same. Hence, it is, to a certain extent, possible for anyone to assess the powers and relations between humans and these non-human persons through the material consequences of their actions.

The regrettable state of the saints' image-bodies indexed their lack of power and their actual ultimate uselessness. It was thus not surprising that the priest would throw them away without consequence from the saints. While old people recall this event with

themselves. Similar tensions between presence and representation are widespread in the relationship between Catholics with saints' images (see Belting 1994).

²⁶ Conversation with don Luis. Hapu 2007.

some nostalgia, there is not a great sense of loss, nor do they say that the incident had bad consequences for the community or for Father Peter. According to don Sebastián, the priest promised to bring new saints to Hapu, something that he ultimately never did. As a result, the festivities of Hapu that were more clearly associated with Catholicism have largely disappeared from the community. The practices of this Q'ero community then acquired even more an aura of being even more linked to an imagined pre-Hispanic culture, nearly untouched by exterior influences.

Taytacha Quyllurit'i, Saints and Catholic priests

When I lived in Hapu, the practice that was most clearly associated with Catholicism was the pilgrimage to the miraculous Taytacha Quyllurit'i. This was the only time I witnessed the chapel in use. It houses only a wooden cross, slightly more than one meter in height, and Hapu's small photograph of Taytacha Quyllurit'i. The pilgrimage is the biggest and most important in the region, and has a constantly increasing presence of urban pilgrims of diverse social and cultural backgrounds from the city of Cuzco and the region on the whole. It also has witnessed an increasing presence of foreign New Age tourists, observers from the cities of Cuzco or Lima, and several film crews. This shrine is controlled by a brotherhood affiliated with the Catholic Church and under the guidance of Jesuit priests.

As explained in chapter VI²⁷, the center of the shrine is a big rock, which has an image of a crucified Christ painted on it. A second and smaller rock, set a short distance from the first, has a sculpture of the Purified Virgin. The first rock is covered behind the main altar of the church that was constructed over it. Currently, it is possible only to see the image of the Christ; relatively few pilgrims have the privilege of being able to go behind the altar to see the crag directly. In 2003, the Brotherhood built a small chapel over the rock of the Virgin. Both rocks are about a kilometer from the perpetual snow of the Qulqipunku (Silver gate) glacier at more than 16400 feet of altitude.

²⁷ Chapter VII, section "The tense 2007 pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i."

Hapu participation in the pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i is sponsored by several married couples, the *huntarira*,²⁸ and their kin. In 2007 there were two *huntarira*. They are responsible for providing food, coca, and alcohol for all the pilgrims during the journey, the festivities when coming back home, and for ensuring the participation of dancers and musicians. The *Wayri Ch'unchu* dancers and the *ukuku* dancers (bears) are in charge of escorting the community's Taytacha Quyllurit'i to meet the Taytacha Quyllurit'i at the shrine. The sponsors carry the Taytanchis Quyllurit'i in their arms from Hapu to the shrine.

Figure 8.4
The glacier Qulqipunku, the Sinaqara valley and the Quyllurit'i shrine



Picture taken from the Machu Cruz high pass. 1998.

In 2007, when I accompanied a pilgrimage, the night before departing, the dancers' chief and ritual authority for the journey — called *arariwa*²⁹ — ordered the first dance in front of the icon, which lasted for more than one hour. Afterwards, the group engaged in chatting, drinking some tragu and chewing of coca leaves. The following day,

²⁸ From Spanish *juntador*, who puts things together.

²⁹ *Arariwa* is also the name of an office in the community. The *arariwa* is in charge of taking care of the potatoes crops from animals, both wild and domesticated. The *arariwa*'s family moves close to the potatoes crops in order to fulfill these duties. They are also in charge, through food-offerings, of preventing the damage of the potatoes crops from frost and hail. The dancers' *arariwa* is not the same person.

the Sunday immediately before Corpus Christi, after having breakfast in the house of the sponsors, we went to the chapel already carrying all our baggage. The arariwa called the musicians for playing the *alawaru* (praised), which marks a solemn moment wherein all present stand in front of Hapu's Taytacha Quyllurit'i held by the sponsor and his wife. All removed their head cloth and maintained silence while listening the *alawaru* music. Afterwards, the musicians started to play Wayri Ch'unchu and the sponsor began the journey, carrying Taytacha Quyllurit'i, escorted by the dancers and followed by the rest of us. When we arrived at the last place where we were able to see the hamlet of Hatun Hapu, the group stopped following the orders of the *arariwa* and looking towards Hatun Hapu another solemn *alawaru* was played.

Abandoning the community, the delegation is no longer interacting directly with the familiar place-persons of Hapu but with other place-persons that do not necessarily know them well and who could be prone to resent any disrespectful behavior. Such travel, across unfamiliar places, is marked clearly in the first high pass, *Kinsa Qucha Q'asa (Three Lagoons Pass)*: the end of Hapu and the beginning of Puyka. Crossing the pass, many mountains are suddenly lost of sight and many others are met, among them Ausangate, the highest and most powerful glacier of the whole region. Along the route, we stopped at many crucial places in the landscape to repeat the *alawaru*: at high passes, in front of chapels and crosses. When part of the journey was made on top of a truck, the truck stopped at high passes so that the *alawaru* could be played. The *alawaru* was also played at moments when the sun's rays touched our camp in the mornings as well as when the light of the full moon reached us at night.

As the group of pilgrims approached the shrine, the frequency of *alawaru* increased due to the eight big crosses located in the last eight kilometers walk between Mawayani, where motor vehicles can arrive and a fair is held, and the shrine. The *alawaru* at the entrance of the shrine — from where one first sees the Qulqipunku glacier — is done before *Machu Cruz (Old Cross)*, a stone cross that marks the entrance of the shrine. All members of the delegation, including the dancers who just dressed in full regalia, kneeled, removing their hats and headwear. After this point, the dancers engaged in their first dance at the shrine. Still dancing, they entered the shrine escorting Hapu's Taytanchis Quyllurit'i and went directly to the entrance of the church in order to greet

Taytanchis Quyllurit'i. The final alawaru arriving to the shrine was in front of the rock of the main altar, Taytanchis Quyllurit'i. Finally, Hapu's Taytacha and his dancers greeted *Mamacha Kalwariw (Dear Mother Calvary)*, or the Rock of the Virgin, where the same sequence was performed.

After finishing these initial salutations to Taytacha Quyllurit'i and the Mamacha Kalwariw, we went to Hapu's kancha, the customary place where Hapu people camp at Quyllurit'i. Each community along for the pilgrimage has a particular place in shrine where they camp year after year. Unlike other communities or corporate groups, the sponsor and the *arariwa* of Hapu did not leave the community's Taytacha Quyllurit'i in the main altar, close to the presence of Taytacha Quyllurit'i. They kept him with them at the camp. As years pass, it is harder and harder to enter the church due to the increasing numbers of pilgrims; the Hapu group did not want to risk losing it. At this point, the Yanaruma dancers arrived to the same kancha that Hapu occupies, as described in chapter VII.

The dance in front of the two Taytachas, one of Hapu and the other of Yanaruma, on Monday night was the main ritual performed in the shrine. In contrast to almost all dancers coming from the city, towns or those coming from wealthier rural communities, Hapu dancers neither participated in any of the main processions nor paid much attention to the mass of blessing that marks the end of the permanence in the shrine for the vast majority of pilgrims.

Each dance group that attends Quyllurit'i has some *ukuku* dancers; this group performs one of the principal practices of the pilgrimage at dawn on Tuesday. The *ukukus* (bear dancers) climb the Qulqipunku glacier around two in the morning in groups arranged by what roughly corresponds to eight provinces of the region, which in this context are called *naciones* (nations). The *ukukus* of each province accompany and light candles for their nation's cross, each already in its rightful and known place upon the glacier. At dawn, the *ukukus* descend from the glacier with their nation's cross. The rest of the nation's dancers wait for them at the base, where there is no ice, and then accompany the bears and the cross to the church. Until 2003, the *ukukus* used to descend carrying big chunks of ice cut from the glacier. However, that year, the Brotherhood decided that this practice must be forbidden because of the retreating ice caused by global

climate change. Neither the ukukus from Hapu nor those from Yanaruma participated in this climbing of the glacier; however, several Hapu people told me that they usually did so in other years.

After the nations' crosses arrived at the church, they were left there in the proximity of Taytanchis Quyllurit'i. Only then did the mass of blessing begin, celebrated outside the church because it is too small for the immense numbers of pilgrims in attendance. The blessing comes at the end of the mass and is prolonged for a time as many pilgrims attempt to get close to the priests who are sprinkling blessed water. Pilgrims want to ensure that some drops of blessed water actually touch the framed photographs of Lord Shining Snow that they have bought at the shrine and are carrying back home. In contrast to the majority of pilgrims, but like other highland communities, the delegations of Hapu paid little attention to the main mass of blessing.

This same attitude was reported for other Quechua communities. As Allen (2002[1998]:198) states, "for Sonqo Runakuna, processions organized by the Hermandad were not a major interest". See also Sallnow (1987) for a similar attitude of pilgrims of the community of Qamawara (Calca). Hapu people, as is the case with other pilgrims coming from highland communities that mainly rely on subsistence economies, are seen as "more Indian" than the majority of other pilgrims. In the middle of the crowded and competing context in which the main rituals are carried out, they are exposed to maltreatment by those who control the shrine, the members of the Brotherhood, as well as by other wealthier pilgrims. To not participate in the main rituals is a way to evade maltreatment and discrimination. This is the same reason why Q'ero pilgrims use to stay an extra day in the shrine in order to dance freely for Taytanchis Quyllurit'i (see Müller 1980, Salas 2006, Sallnow 1991).³⁰

After the mass, as the pilgrimage came to its end, the delegation from Hapu begin its return journey. In contrast with other years, and specifically with the awkward

³⁰ This disregard of the Hapu and Q'ero pilgrims regarding the main processions and rituals, as well as their longer stay in the shrine in order to dance undisturbed and prevent maltreatment, has the paradoxical consequence of reinforcing urban stereotypes about the Q'ero. In the city it is not hard to find people who claim that the Q'ero attend the pilgrimage only to pay homage to the glacier and that they stay longer in order to carry out secret rituals. As explained in chapter III, this reproduces a romantic vision of "authentic Andean communities" which are valued as relics of a glorious Inka past, rooting the Hapu and other Q'ero or similar communities in the past and denying them status as fellow citizens of the contemporary social and political order.

interactions with the Yanaruma pilgrims (as described in chapter VII), Hapu people decided not to stay another day more in the shrine. The journey home would include the same stops and alawarus made during the outward trip. The main difference was a more open consumption of alcohol in the return journey. We arrived at Hapu on Thursday, the day of *Kurpus*. The entry of Taytanchis Quyllurit'i into Hatun Hapu was slow, as those who did not go to the pilgrimage knelt in front the Taytancha and kissed him. The dancers performed for him at all the stops before entering the hamlet, and food and corn beer were offered to the dancers and pilgrims at each stop. The Taytacha finally reached the chapel. Escorted by the dancers and stopping at each corner where the arariwa quickly uttered formulaic prayers, Taytanchis Quyllurit'i made a procession around the chapel. Before entering, each of those present knelt at the door of the chapel as the arariwa and the captain of the ukuku dancers placed the icon briefly on each person's head, uttering a rapid prayer. Finally, one by one, everyone kissed (much'ay) the icon. The dancers engaged in a very long performance in front of the chapel and then another banquet took place. Corn beer was widely distributed, involving etiquettes of drinking more complex than usual. The celebrations of Kurpus ended after two more days of eating, drinking, and feasting in the Hatun Hapu sponsors' houses.³¹

The goal of this cycle was to accompany the community's Taytacha Quyllurit'i to meet the shrine's Taytacha Quyllurit'i, and then to return back to Hapu. The process of going there is marked by several stops where particularly important places are greeted with the music of the alawaru. The pilgrimage might then be framed as a process of human interaction with many different powerful place-persons until the group arrives at the shrine where the crucified Christ is painted on a rock, Our Father Shining Snow, and the female rock of Mamacha Kalwariw.

What is the relation between the many Christian symbols present in the pilgrimage with the practices that mediate the interactions that humans have with place-persons? Who is Taytanchis Quyllurit'i? Is he the Qulqipunku glacier? Is he the rock? Is he both? I asked these types of questions in several ways to different Hapu friends. The answers were diverse. For example, in the following fragment, don Sebastián explains

³¹ For descriptions of other communities' pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i see Sallnow 1987, Allen 2002[1988], and Muller 1980, among others.

that even though Taytanchis Quyllurit'i is an apu, he is located in the church and hence is not the glacier. It should be mentioned that Taytanchis Quyllurit'i is located within a broader place-person called *Sinaqara* a small valley that is just below the Qulqipunku glacier. In some context *Sinaqara* seems to also include the glacier.

Figure 8.5
Main altar of the shrine's church



A *contradanza* dance group is greeting Taytacha Quyllurit'i. The baroque-style altar was inaugurated in 2002. Most pilgrims can see the image of Christ painted on the rock through the altar's central arch. Only a small portion of them can access behind the main altar the see and touch the rest of the rock. Sinaqara 2007.

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: Maypin apu kashan? | G: Where is the apu [in the Quyllurit'i shrine]? |
| S: Apuqa ultimu, apuqa kashan uywaqñiykuqa, kikin altupuniya, rit'i llapan chayyá apukuna, apu. | S: The apu is at the last. The apu who raise us [exclusive] is definitely in the very icy height. All those are apus. |
| G: Chaylla? | G: Only those? |
| S: Chay Sinaqara | S: That Sinaqara ³² |
| G: Sinaqara apu. | G: Apu Sinaqara |
| S: Aha, llapanpiqa Sinaqaran | S: Yes, in all of Sinaqara |
| G: Aha. | G: Aha |
| S: Aha, chayyá chay, purir, purirñiyuq, chay Sinaqaraqa riki, aha | S: Aha, that's how it is. That Sinaqara has power, right? Yes |
| G: Y Señor Quyllurit'i | G: And Lord Shining Snow? |

³² Sinaqara is the name of the place where the shrine is located. It is not the mountain, the glacier, which is called Qulqipunku.

S: Ih, kay, inlishapi
G: Ichaqa paypas apu? Maná?
S: Apu, apupuniyá
G: Apupuniyá.
S: Apupuniyá, apu es, apu.

S: Here, in the church.
G: But is he also an apu? Or not?
S: [He] is an apu. [He] definitely is an apu.
G: Definitely an apu
S: Definitely [he] is an apu, apu

By treating Taytanchis Quyllurit'i as an apu, in a sense, he equates him with a mountain because this title is almost exclusively used as an honorific for addressing mountains. However, this title of *lord* was also used for addressing Christ or God in 18th century Catholic hymns in Quechua, which are still sung (e.g.: *Apu yaya Jesucristo, qispichiqniy Diosnillay / Father Lord Jesus Christ, my only God who makes me free*). This is further complicated by the use of apu at the arrival of the Europeans in the 16th century. At that point, *apu* meant lord and was used as an honorific to refer to the indigenous nobility (Gose 2008). Currently this title is used among some Amazonian indigenous peoples, such as the Awajún, to refer to their chiefs (Greene 2009).

Taking this consideration in mind, don Sebastián seems to be using the word apu as an honorific for both Taytacha Quyllurit'i, who is in the church, and the high glaciers. Don Sebastián might be referring to Quyllurit'i's maleness, great power, and authority over life and death, ownership of fertility of animals (particularly alpacas) and plants, which are powers he shares with the high glaciers.³³

However, even though the rock and the glacier are different places, there are several ways in which they are related to each other. First, there is proximity of the rock to the glacier. The rock, and hence the church, is located so close to the glacier that its presence is impossible to ignore. The second is evident in the very name Quyllurit'i, "Shining Snow," also points to the glacier. A third likeness is the numerous other small bodies of Taytanchis Quyllurit'i carried to their respective communities by each group of dancers. They include the crucified Christ and the glacier. Currently, these images are photographs of the Christ of the rock, compiled along with smaller pictures of the glacier and the shrine (figure 8.4). All these forms make the rock/image of Christ an index of the glacier. The rock/image points inevitably to the unavoidable presence of the glacier.

A fourth relation is borne of the main rituals' sequences. The crosses accompanied by the bear dancers remain at the glacier during the night and they descend

³³ See Ricard 2007 for a similar discussion.

to the church at dawn. Once they arrive at the church, the main mass of blessing is celebrated. Additionally, until only some years ago, the ukukus brought chunks of ice from the glacier with the crosses. Then it was even more evident how the blessed water was an index of the miraculous ice brought by the bear dancers from the glacier. Even though the ice is no longer carried down, the sequence of practices produce the same indexicality. The mass of blessing starts only when the dancers have returned from the glacier bearing the crosses and leaving them within the church, in the presence of Taytacha Quyllurit'i.

Figure 8.4
Taytacha Quyllurit'i. Photographic composition



Image of Christ painted over the rock of the miracle that is at the center of the main altar of the church. It includes a bear dancer holding a candle and behind him the Qulqipunku glacier at the bottom right and the church and part of the Qulqipunku glacier at the bottom left. Framed photographic reproduction sold at the shrine. Unknown author. 1997.

Through this sequence, Our Father Shining Snow, the rock/image in the church, gives his blessing through his priests only when he has received the crosses that stayed upon the glacier during the night and, some years ago, when the ice was brought by the bear dancers from the glacier to the shrine. This makes clear that, while the Taytacha Quyllurit'i is *not* the Apu Qulqipunku, he mediates the power of Apu Qulqipunku and makes it available in a particularly concentrated and powerful way for the humans who make the pilgrimage. The bear dancers, who stay throughout the night to accompany the crosses, assist in this mediation. Likewise, it depends on the presence of Catholic priests who channel the rock's agency by the very action of performing the mass and, more importantly, blessing and sprinkling water.

A fifth relationship between the glacier and the rock is made palpable by returning to the notion of spirit. What follows is a fragment of a conversation with my comadre Isabel who explains the relationship between the rock and the glacier:

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| G: Señor Quyllurit'i chaypi, Sinaqarallapi tiyan, maypin tiyan (?) | 1 | G: Where does Lord Shining Snow live? Only lives in Sinaqara? Where does he live? |
| I: Chay, mmm, na Sinaqara Quyllurit'iqqa chay chinchí chaytaq ñishañiqa, kaqipunicha kashan riki, kikimpi milagrusqa. | 2 | I: This, mmm, I already said that, Shining Snow, Sinaqara, right there. Is right there, right? Right there became emplaced ("miracled"). |
| G: Chaypi tiyan? | 3 | G: [Does he] live there? |
| I: Chaypiya tiyan | 4 | I: [He] lives there |
| G: Maypin, qaqapi? | 5 | G: Where? In the rock? |
| I: Qaqapi kashan. | 6 | I: Is in the rock |
| G: Rit'ipí? | 7 | G: In the glacier? |
| I: Rit'ipas kashan, Quyllurit'iman rishan, rishanchis chaypiqa, ñishu hisp'aykuna asnaqtinchis; ripun ispiritun, llusqiruspa pasapun. | 8 | I: Is also in the glacier. When we [inclusive] go to Quyllurit'i we stink too bad of urine. [Because of this] the <i>spirit</i> leaves, goes. |
| G: Riki | 9 | G: Right |
| I: Rit'iman. Kikin Quyllurit'ipiqa ñishutamá asnarishan rikí [...] ripun, chaymanta kutiyampuqtinchistaqsi kaqta chay inlishaman chayanpun. | 10 | I: To the snow. It stinks too much in the very Quyllurit'i, right? [Hence he] leaves. It is said that when we have come back here, [he] returns to the church. |

Similar explanations were offered at different times and places by other ethnographers (Gow 1976, Ricard 2007). This recurring type of explanation is in tension with the notion that signs are consubstantial with their objects in Quechua ontologies (De la Cadena 2011, Mannheim 1991b) — a notion that I used previously to explain the relationship between the place-persons and their names and materiality (see chapter IV). However, it is not an open contradiction but an ongoing negotiation with notions coming

from Catholicism, and later Evangelicalism, which have already a long history in the region.

My comadre Isabel's first answer (2) clearly references the place itself. Taytanchis Quyllurit'i is located within Sinaqara, a larger place-person where the miraculous rock lives. She even refers to how the once-mobile being became emplaced, became the rock over which the crucified Christ is painted. But my own ontological assumptions betray me and I ask if Taytacha Quyllurit'i lives *in* the rock, as if he would not be the rock (5). My comadre Isabel simply repeats my question in affirmative way: [*He*] is in the rock (6). Without realizing this shift, I ask if he instead lives *in* the glacier (7). She repeats what I have just said and then begins the narrative about the stinky odor of human sins felt by Taytanchis Quyllurit'i, who escapes from the worldly excrement, during the pilgrimage days, to the glacier (8). It is important to note that she does not claim that Taytacha Quyllurit'i goes to the glacier, she says that it is *the spirit* (8).

As I explained in chapter IV, human beings, as well as all beings, have an animating force usually called *animu*³⁴ (La Riva 2004, Ricard 2007). For example, in one of our conversations my comadre Isabel claimed regarding potatoes, “*mana animuyuq kanman chayqa, mana saksachiwasunmanchu mihuqtinchis*” (if they would not have animu they would not make us satisfied when we eat them). As explained in chapter IV, when the animu definitely leaves the body, we die. As she claimed, “*animunchis llusqiruqtinqa wañupushwan, riki*” (when our animu will leave [we] will die, right?); she later added, “*ñuqanchis kawsachiq ispiritunchisqa, kaq kurpullanchispiya, chayllaya kawsashanchis, riki*” (we [inclusive] are alive due to our spirit, in our bodies, only so we are living, right?). While according to her, and to don Sebastián, human beings have several types of animu, it seems clear that at some level she uses *spirit* as a synonym of *animu*.

The place-persons, being animated and also animators of other beings, also have *animu* or *ispiritu* (spirit). That is how during dreams human animu temporarily departs the body and can meet an apu's animu displaying human appearance. Through this interaction, apus can give advise, prizes or harsh reprimands and beatings. Apus' animu

³⁴ *Animu* (from Spanish *ánimo*) The Spanish word *ánimo* can be translated directly as soul, spirit, mood, energy, vitality and encouragement.

are so powerful that they can be seen as actual human beings riding in their luxurious horses in the highlands (Earls 1969), or getting into the courts and changing the judicial records, as it was mentioned in chapter IV. When I asked the absurd question about whether or not *apus* had *animu*, don Sebastián was very kind in explaining this to me:

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: [Apu Chawpi Urqu] paypas animuyuq, mana animuyuqchu? | G: Does lord (<i>apu</i>) Mountain in the Middle also have <i>animu</i> ? Doesn't he have? |
| S: Animuyuqchá, chay ispiritu. | S: Has <i>animu</i> , that <i>spirit</i> . |
| G: Umhu... | G: Umhu? |
| S: Arí, llapanpas apukuna animuyuq, ispirituyuq, kaqllataq kay Pachamama ispirituyuq. ³⁵ | S: Yes, all lords (<i>apus</i>) have <i>animu</i> , have <i>spirit</i> . In the same way the Mother Earth has <i>spirit</i> . |

Here don Sebastián also uses *animu* and *spirit* interchangeably. With the local uses in Hapu, which might be influenced by the Maranata discourses about God as a spirit that we cannot see, I interpret that my comadre is talking about Taytacha Quyllurit'i's *animu* when she says that the *spirit* goes to the glacier (8). This is reiterated when she says that in the very Quyllurit'i (*kikin Quyllurit'ipiqa*) it stinks too much, referring to the rock surrounded by thousands of stinky pilgrims (10). This is confirmed by her final assertion that when pilgrims are gone, the spirit returns to his body that is located in the altar of the church (10).

Beyond all the complexities of the relationship between the *animu* and the name, and the discussion about the consubstantiality of the sign and its object, this narrative theme about the changing location of Taytanchis Quyllurit'i's *animu* or *spirit* points again to the strong relationship between the glacier and the rock. This narrative builds on the other three ways in which the rock and the glacier are deeply related, and how the rock has no relevance without the presence of the glacier. The rock, being an entity in its own, is also an index of the great power of the glacier and it is its extraordinary channel that renders this power particularly available for the benefit of those who would undertake the pilgrimage.

When the practices around Taytanchis Quyllurit'i are compared with those addressing the mountains, it becomes clear that there are differences in the nature of the high mountains and beings like Taytanchis Quyllurit'i. The practices through which this person, Our Father Shining Snow, is greeted and honored are quite different from the ways in which the people of Hapu approach powerful mountains and plains. While the

³⁵ Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

main way to communicate and serve the places is through food, Taytanchis Quyllurit'i is honored with a particular type of dance, which is reserved for Catholic images of Christ, the Virgin or the saints throughout the region.³⁶ These persons also have a clear predilection for masses, candles, and flowers in contrast with the places, which mainly consume food-offerings, coca leaves and alcohol. These different preferences are indexes of different natures. As Mintz (1985:3) points out, people who eat radically different food are imagined as strikingly different and even as not human. Following the same logic, beings like Taytacha Quyllurit'i have a different nature than places because they do not eat humans' food offerings. Don Luis acknowledges this difference in nature. Consider the following fragment, taken from one of the conversations that we had at my parents' house, where my mother (M) was present:

- | | |
|--|--|
| G: Santukuna mihunkuchu kay dispachuta, icha manachu | G: Do saints eat this food-offering? Or not? |
| L: Santukunapas mihunchá | L: The saints also might eat |
| G: Mana mihunkuchu? | G: Don't they eat? |
| L: Mana mihunkuchu santuqa | L: Saints do not eat |
| G: Santukuna mana munankuchu kay dispachuta? | G: Don't saints like this offering? |
| L: Santukuna mihunkupunichá riki, mama riki? | L: Saints might eat, right. Right, mother? |
| M: Imachá don Luis? | M: How would it be, don Luis? |
| L: Apukunamanta. Apulla mihunku, riki. | L: [The food-offering is] of the apus. Only the apu eat [it], right? |
| G: Apulla | G: Only the apu |
| L: Apu tira chaylla, riki. Mana santu mihunmanchu. ³⁷ | L: The apu [and] the earth only. The saints would not eat. |

While Taytacha Quyllurit'i has a different nature than places, he nevertheless is localized, emplaced. The point of the pilgrimage is to go to where he is. He is the rock itself. This is also clear in the Quechua versions of the shrine's origin myth (Gow 1976, Ricard 2007, Salas 2006, Sallnow 1987). These versions say that a white child befriended and played with a Quechua child who was in charge of a flock of llamas. The flock then miraculously multiplied. When the townsmen of Ocongate heard of this strange child, they went to where he was reported to be. When they tried to get closer to him, he turned into a shining light, momentarily transforming himself into the image of a crucified

³⁶ While in carnival there is a type of dance that is performed in clear relation to the landscape and the places, it differs in many ways to the type of dances that are performed for saints. The carnival dances do not follow a clearly structured choreography. Each person dances it freely playing a flute and singing. In contrast ritual dance performed for saints do have clearly established choreography of two lines of dancers and a fixed hierarchy led by the *arariwa*.

³⁷ Conversación con don Luis, San Jerónimo 2007.

Christ and then disappeared into the rock, which is now the center of the shrine. The way the powerful child come to be fixed as a rock, emplaced close to the *Qulqipunku* glacier, is referenced in Hapu with the Spanish word for *miracle* (*milagro*) but as a verb and not a noun. The verb form, *milakruy*, refers to the transformation from a powerful person who looked human and was mobile to an emplaced person fixed in the landscape.

Taytacha Quyllurit'i's emplacement points to a crucial characteristic of its being. For Hapu Catholics, Taytanchis Quyllurit'i is not an indexical icon³⁸ of an invisible agent, the Roman Catholic Christ. Rather, he is a localized person, the rock itself, and is strongly related to the glacier *Qulqipunku*. He mediates the power of the glacier and renders it approachable by human beings in a particularly extraordinary and powerful way. Consider the following fragments of a conversation with my *compadre* Luis where he elaborates on Taytanchis Quyllurit'i and other pilgrimage shrines of the region:

- | | |
|---|--|
| G: ¿Y señor de Quyllurit'i? | G: And Lord of Shining Snow? |
| L: Pay allinta michimuwanichis katuliku runata. | L: He heard us, the Catholic people, in good way. |
| G: Katuliku runata? | G: Catholic people? |
| L: Ummhu. | L: Yes |
| G: Ichapas pay... | G: But him... |
| L: Siñur Wanka, Quyllurit'i, Qusqu Ilaqta | L: Lord Crag, Shining Snow, the city of Cuzco... |
| G: Kikinchi | G: The same? |
| L: Kikin, kikin. | L: The same, the same |
| G: Kikin Señor Wanka, Quyllurit'i? Mana kikinchi? | G: Are the same the Lord Crag and Shining Snow? Or not? |
| L: Kikin, kikin irwal riki paykunaqa, pampapachamanta; Yus hina kanku riki | L: The same, they are equal, right. [They are] from the world of the surface, they are like God, right? |
| G: Riki. | G: Right. |
| L: Ummhu. | L: Uhum |
| G: Ichaqa? | G: But... |
| L: Paykunaman riki, ñuqanchis, sikira wilallatapas lawrachikushanchis, riki, mañakunchis; allin kawsaypi kananchispaq, sumaq salusñinchispi yanapanawanchispaq, riki. | L: To them, right, we [inclusive] even only with lighting candles, right, we ask for having a good live, for having good health, for having their help, right. |
| G: Ummh. | G: Ummh |
| L: Ummhu, mana ima pilia wasinchispi kanampaq. | L: Uhum, for not happening fights in our house. |
| G: Riki... ichaqa... | G: Right... but... |
| L: Llank' akusqanchispaq maypipas, ankhayna chakra ruwakusqanchis, animalñinchis allin kanampaq. | L: Also for our work, wherever, like this agricultural work that we do in the fields, for our animals to be good. |
| G: Umm | G: Uhum |
| L: Wilatapas lawrachikamushanchisqa purispaqa. ³⁹ | L: Also we light candles for travelling. |

³⁸ By an indexical icon, I refer to a sign that by its resemblance to its object points to it. In this case, the figure of the crucified Christ, because of its resemblance to him as one of his usual representations, points to the actual Christ who we cannot see with our human eyes.

³⁹ Conversation with don Luis. Hapu 2008.

Here, Luis is commenting on the two main pilgrimage sites of the region, which are both rocks with different images of Christ painted on them (Shining Snow has a crucified Christ, Crag has an *Ecce Homo*). They are not God, but they are like him. God lives in *Hanaqpacha* (the world above), while these persons live located in *Pampapacha* (the world of the surface) taking care of Catholic people. Quyllurit'i is associated with apu Qulqipunku and *Wanka* (Crag) is associated with apu Pachatusan (Earth's support). When he says that both are equal, he is saying that both are of the same type: Both are rock shrines associated with mountains, which are the focus of the two most important pilgrimages in the region. This is consistent with other ethnographic settings, such as that reported by Sallnow (1982) where three different Christs, who are the focus of different pilgrimages, are regarded as brothers.

These characteristics of Hapu Catholicism emerge from their social ontology. This makes God a very distant person belonging to the *Hanaqpacha*. Saints, a category that includes *taytachas* (dear father, christs) and *mamachas* (dear mothers, virgins), are inscribed somewhere in the landscape, in *Pampapacha*, due to their very materiality. Saints live in churches and chapels, and Taytacha Quyllurit'i is a rock that lives in Sinaqara, in the altar of his own church. They live inscribed in the animated landscape, not exactly as place-persons but as emplaced persons.

Yet, Saints can have several bodies. The small Taytacha Quyllurit'i who lives in the chapel of Hapu is not a different person than the rock of Sinaqara. All the small Taytacha Quyllurit'i that are escorted by more than one hundred dance groups are multiple bodies of the rock Taytacha Quyllurit'i. Their common personhood is constructed in several ways. One rests in iconicity: The small Taytacha Quyllurit'i resemble the Christ on the rock. Currently, it is an iconic index, a photograph that has a direct causal relation with the Taytacha in the rock. Beyond this iconicity, it is the pilgrimage itself that ensures the contiguity between the small bodies, the rock, and the glacier. The relationship between the rock and the other small bodies of Taytacha Quyllurit'i is reinforced and reestablished through his dancers and his Catholic priests, who collectively ensure that he channelizes the animating power of the Qulqipunku glacier. Most pilgrims acknowledge, through personal experience, to have been benefited by this miraculous power.

However the boundaries between place-persons and these emplaced people are not always clear and in many instances can be blurred ones, with the titles and attributes of ones used for the others. For example, in some fragments of conversations inserted above, Our Father Shining Snow is addressed as an *apu*. Conversely in the following fragment – part of it already inserted above –, don Sebastián associates titles such as *saint* and *virgin* to the Mother Earth:

- | | |
|---|---|
| S: Arí, llapanpas apukuna animuyuq, ispirituyuq,
kaqllataq kay pachamama ispirituyuq | S: Yes, all lords (apus) have animu, have spirit. In
the same way the pachamama has spirit. |
| G: Umhu. | G: Uhum |
| S: Santa Tira Wirhin, Pachamama. Chaypa, kay
apukunaq ispiritun, qhari | S: <i>Saint Virgin Earth</i> (Spanish), Mother Earth.
There, the spirits of these lords are male |
| G: Umhu | G: Umhu |
| S: Qhari phigurapi, apu | S: The lords, in male image |
| G: Umhu. | G: Umhu |
| S: Pachamamaq ispiritun warmi, chayyá chay
lluq'ikampas ríki. | S: The spirit of Mother Earth is female, so, at the
left, yes. |
| G: Riki. | G: Yes |
| S: Ñust'a ⁴⁰ | S: Young fertile woman |

As explained before, the mountains (*apu*) and the plains (*pachamama*) are *yanantin*, mutually constitutive and complementary gendered couples. In a similar way, the male rock *Taytancha Quyllurit'i* has a complementary female rock *Mamacha Kalwariw* working as *yanantin*. This is also evident in other contexts in which a particular Christ is not considered the son of a particular Virgin, but rather, her partner.

Hence, the authority of the Catholic Church is rooted in the recognition that Catholic priests are the appropriate mediators between humans and saints, a parallel to the *paqu*, the appropriate mediators between humans and place-persons in certain contexts. Hapu people, as well as other Quechua communities of the region, do not question the legitimacy of the priest's mediation between humans and powerful emplaced persons. As Allen put it for the pilgrims of Sonqo who, like the Hapu pilgrims, were disinterested in the main processions and masses led by the Brotherhood and the Catholic priests, the role of these actors is important for the success of their pilgrimage: "Sonqo *Runakuna's* de-emphasis on Catholic processions and rituals does not mean that they are not essential to the pilgrimage... The Catholic ritual is part of the whole process of revitalization and renewal effected by the pilgrimage" (Allen 2002[1988]:198-9).

⁴⁰ Conversation with don Sebastián. Hapu 2008.

The Hapu world is reproduced through the presuppositions embedded in the etiquettes of everyday practices, such as the consumption of coca leaves, and in ritual practices, which are nested in each other at diverse levels of complexity. Through the iteration of their poetic forms, the presuppositions are anchored in the syntactic and pragmatic relations of these practices. It follows then that the reproduction of Quechua worlds does not rest in explicit discourses about practice nor do they depend primarily on referential meaning (Mannheim 1991a). Most of the presuppositions at the core of these worlds are situated below the level of awareness, in the domain of *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977).

The cult of Catholic saints follows a similar logic. Similar to place-persons, what in a canonical Catholic discourse would be called images of saints, Christ, or the Virgin are not regarded as icons indexing persons who exist in a different plane of reality or who have an immaterial existence. Rather, at the level of the *doxa*, images are regarded as persons in themselves. While christ and the virgins tend to be regarded as higher in power than other saints, all these beings belong to the same class: material persons enplaced in landscape, usually living in Catholic churches.

Just as the apu and pachamama are the places themselves, saints' bodies are the saints themselves, all of which reside in the material world. In the case of the Catholic people of Hapu, the only saint that they honor and interact with is Taytacha Quyllurit'i, Our Father Shining Snow, who is associated with the glacier apu Qulqipunku, lord Silver Gate. Taytacha Quyllurit'i, the big crag over which an image of Christ has been painted, miraculously mediates the power of the apu Qulqipunku. This mediation is possible through the participation of bear dancers, members of the Brotherhood, and, crucially, Catholic priests. The legitimacy and authority that the Catholic Church maintains rests upon the recognition of these mediating abilities.

God, on the other hand, belongs to a different world, the world above. While everybody is certain of his existence, Catholic people do not interact with him in a daily basis. In contrast with the place-persons, who interact with humans on a daily basis, God seems to be markedly disinterested in human affairs, removed as he is from daily events.

CHAPTER IX

MARANATA PRACTICES AND FORMS OF REGIMENTATION

In order to account for the cultural changes that marshaled the process of conversion to the Maranata church, it would be necessary to conduct a diachronic study of how Hapu was before the presence of the Maranata church and how it was afterwards. I made this exercise in chapter 6 using the ethnographic information from Schlegelberger (1993). From his ethnographic data, I was able to discuss some general patterns of the communal rituals. However, I am unable to describe diachronic changes in terms of daily household practices because I lack such information. As such, in this chapter, I will provide a synchronic comparison of household and communal rituals between Catholics and Maranatas in Hapu.

It is challenging to describe the ways in which the Maranata households differ from the Catholic ones. There is a considerable diversity among both groups. This is, to some extent, more noticeable among Maranata households. Some families are deeply devoted, while others not so much. Some have been Maranata for some months, others for a couple of years, and others for more than ten. Hence, it is hard to generalize about the household practices as if they would follow only one common pattern. The idea that it is possible to find two neatly differentiated groups is a product of the relational construction of these labels.

Rather than trying to construct an ideal type of the Maranata household, in this chapter I will characterize a series of Maranata converts' practices that take place primarily during their church's Sunday worship. Through attention to the communal practices of the Maranata, one might then understand how these practices relate to the mechanisms of regimentation discussed in the previous chapter. Which *kustunri* practices do most Maranata households dismiss? Which seem to continue without much condemnation? This comparison prompts a discussion of the nature of the ongoing

change in Hapu in semiotic terms and how Quechua ontologies are reproduced, challenged, or changed by the presence of the Maranatas.

First, I will describe in general terms the main, observable differences between Maranata and Catholic households. Then I will describe the general structure of the weekly meetings that the members of the Maranata church conduct on Sundays. I will discuss three practices at the core of Maranata church activities: praying, singing, and reading. These descriptions and analysis are meant to illustrate the mechanisms of cultural regimentation that operate in Maranata practices and the consequences of their presence in Hapu.

Differences among Catholic and Maranata households

At first sight and based solely on their overall appearance, it is very difficult to notice differences between Catholic and Maranata houses. Their arrangement, overall configuration, types of items that are to be found inside are basically the same. Hapu houses are made of stones and thatched roofs. The house proper consists of one room that is used mainly at night, for eating, and to stay within only when it is raining a lot. Most houses have a small door and no windows. At one side is the hearth and, above it, the deposit of wood for the fire. Some households cover their floor with thatch, but this is not universal. The beds, which are extended only at night, consist of sheep or llama skins and blankets. The walls have small niches where families place various items such as small tools and utensils.

The leaders of the Maranata church, who enjoy relatively better economic standing in the community, have been making some changes on their houses. This is also true for some affluent Catholics. These changes involve making larger doors, adding glass windows to their houses, and also incorporating self-made or bought furniture, such as beds, shelves, and small tables. Very few purchased expensive outside commodities: only one house in Hapu had a television and DVD player, powered by car batteries. The house belonged to one of the leaders of Yanaruma — harsh critics of the Maranata and vocal defenders of the *kustunri*. When I saw this television in use, it was mainly to

display DVDs of popular regional artists performing *waynu*¹ with *bandurría* and *requinto*.²

In terms of dress, the distribution of tendency to dress with the Q'ero *p'acha* –the characteristic Q'ero cloths – is organized across lines of generation rather than that of being Maranata or Catholic. Older males tended to dress in a *punchu*³, *unku*⁴, or *kalsun*⁵ with more frequency, while younger males tended to wear industrially produced cloths that can be purchased cheaply at any fair. Women, both Maranata and Catholic, dress with the customary black *pullira* skirts made from bought *bayeta* (a type of thick baize) with additions of colorful brocaded motifs at its borders. Older women tend to wear *llikllas* that they themselves weaved while younger women tended to dress with *llikllas* of synthetic fabric purchased in town markets.

As such, in terms of everyday dress, there is not an easy distinction between Maranata and Catholic people. Nevertheless, women of Maranata households have stopped weaving the *puka punchu* and the distinctive Q'ero *llikllas*. These elegant and highly decorated cloths, weaved with aniline-dyed wool or synthetic wool of bright colors, were worn during the communal festivities of Carnival. Since the Maranatas do not participate in these festivities, the women have stopped weaving these pieces. However, Maranata women have not stopped weaving in the distinctive Q'ero style when producing textiles to sell. They no longer use aniline or synthetic wool but rather industrially spun alpaca wool or naturally dyed wool that has a wide range of matte colors in contrast to the bright synthetic ones.⁶ The regional tourist market has a demand for alpaca and naturally dyed weavings. The effort previously put into making elegant garments for the rainy season's festivities is now put into producing commodity textiles. Catholic women make the *puka punchu* and the *llikllas* for the festivities of the rainy season, but also produce weavings for sale — albeit at a lesser scale than their Maranata counterparts. Weaving is the only practice of the *kustunri* that Maranatas do not

¹Waynu is the most popular and widespread Andean musical genre in the country

² Both, *bandurria* and *requinto* are string instruments similar but smaller than guitars. I will elaborate on them further down in the chapter.

³ *Punchu* or *poncho* is garment made of thick woolen cloth with a slit in the middle for the head.

⁴ *Unku* (Qu.) Is a black tunic with no sleeves worn by males that covers the body until up the knees.

⁵ *Kalsun* from Spanish *calzón*. Short pants that cover the legs until the knees.

⁶ As explained in chapter VI, the Regional Direction of Tourism in coordination with the National Institute of Culture send trainers in naturally dyeing wool with herbs and several types of clay.

condemn. This relates both to a positively charged view of increasing economic income for the household and the fact that weaving does not maintain etiquettes that address or honor the place-persons.

However, a contrast between the Maranata and Catholic is evident after first greeting an individual. After meeting someone new, I would offer him or her a handful of coca leaves, or a *k'intu* if the context were appropriate. Catholic people readily accepted these offerings and made a settled expression of great appreciation for them, while Maranata people tended to decline, sometimes excusing themselves, sometimes just stating that they did not practice *hallpay* anymore. As I will discuss in greater detail in the next chapter, the refusal to practice *hallpay* is directly related to its etiquette, which includes expression of respect for the powerful place-persons present in the interaction. Maranata claim that *hallpay* entails adoration to the place-persons, which is forbidden by God. Nevertheless, this refusal to chew coca leaves is not always followed strictly by all Maranata members. The issue is not chewing the leaves but the etiquette of exchanging them. For example, during a long day of walking with a GPS in order to help the leader of the *wikuña chaku*⁷ to make a map of the areas where the vicunas grazed, we stopped to eat. After eating, I started chewing coca leaves. Because I knew he was a Maranata brother, I did not offer him coca leaves but soon he requested some. While he chewed, he did not follow the etiquette for addressing the place-persons.

Nevertheless, the practice of chewing coca leaves is strongly associated with the proper respect that must be performed towards the place-persons. By having engaged in this practice for years before converting to Evangelicalism, this association — as well as the appreciation for the particular taste of chewing coca leaves — is inscribed in the habitus. Several Maranata converts told me that sometimes they miss chewing coca, but their consumption reminds them of the place-persons' presence and the disrespect prompted by chewing coca leaves without previously sharing them with the place-persons. The refusal to chew coca leaves, together with the desire that abstinence produces, work to reinforce the ontological consequences of the coca etiquette. The presuppositions contained in the etiquette work even though the convert might not chew

⁷ The annual capture of vicuñas for obtaining their fiber

the leaves anymore. Such tension seems to be present for those who had engaged in coca chewing on a daily basis for many years in the etiquette of *hallpay*.

Maranata converts likewise condemn the consumption of alcohol. However, it is harder to know if this is strictly followed because, as I mentioned before, most of the alcohol consumption takes place on festive occasions and not in daily life. These occasions are mainly family rituals that involve festivities for the fertility of animals as well as rites of the life cycle, such as the first hair cutting, a ceremony that I was able to participate in several times. I have seen Maranata brothers accepting to participate in the first hair cutting of their relatives and getting drunk together with the rest of attendees. The prohibition of drinking alcohol relates to the prohibition of chewing coca leaves in terms of its strong association with paying respect to the place-persons: the appropriate etiquette implicitly and inherently assumes the personhood of place-persons. When discussed by Maranata converts, however, they tend to emphasize the sinful aspects of alcohol, giving it a negative moral connotation.

The consumption practices of both coca and alcohol are associated with the celebrations of the *kustunri*. They are present in the preparation of food-offerings, the family celebrations for the fertility of the animals, the pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i and the associated celebrations of Kurpus, as well as the communal festivities of the rainy season. Their condemnation, then, from the mouth of the Maranata pastor and community leaders, likewise condemns participation in idolatrous celebrations associated with drunkenness. I heard narratives from Maranata converts themselves that relay how, as part of their conversion, they burned their musical instruments, dancing adornments, and other elements fundamental to the rituals of the *kustunri*.

As it was explained in chapter VII, the Maranata conversions have led to the breakdown of the communal system of staff bearers and its associated rainy season's festivities. Most members of the Maranata church no longer celebrate the fertility of the animals; however, this is not the case for everyone. For instance, while the male llamas belonging to the most affluent and charismatic leaders of the Maranata no longer don the ear adornments that are replaced yearly during the festivity for the male llamas, there are many other Maranata households that continue the tradition of this celebration. While I was unable to participate in a Maranata male llama festivity, certain converts assured me

that they did participate in the celebrations but abstained from alcohol consumption — a surprising fact considering the centrality of alcohol in renewing the llama's strength after the harvest season.

When comparing the changes in ritual practice taking place in other Quechua communities of the region, it seems that Hapu has witnessed a particularly strong condemnation of the *kustunri*. Other communities that have a large Evangelical presence have reshaped rituals honoring the places-person in such a way that Evangelical converts continue participating in them. For example, Catherine Allen (2002[1988]) describes how in many rituals that mediate the relationship between humans and place-persons in Sonqo (Paucartambo), the Evangelical converts have replaced alcohol with soft drinks but maintain the etiquette honoring the places. Beatriz Pérez (2005) reports a similar pattern for the community of Chawaytiri (Pisac), where Evangelicals continue to participate in the system of staff bearers on the condition that they are allowed to perform all the required tasks without consuming alcohol. A similar situation is the case in the community of T'irakancha (San Salvador), where the majority of households are Evangelical but they continue practicing the *kustunri* without consuming alcohol. The Evangelicals of T'irakancha, offered me the following rationale: performing such posts as an Evangelical is not problematic because while they draw a similar distinction between *kustunri* and *religion* they do not associate the former with idolatry. Hence, performing the rituals of *kustunri* is not problematic because they are *just kustunri*, practices that have to be honored because of the inertia of communal life without having strong consequences in the actual religious realm (Salas 2010). This pattern is present elsewhere when for example, missionaries conceptually isolate the realm of religion from that of culture, and attempt to transform only the religious aspects without changing the culture. While culture is assumed to be local and bounded, religion is thought as translocal phenomena. This compartmentalization of social life into different realms is closely related to the work of purification (Keane 2007).

What explains the differences between Maranata condemnation of *kustunri* in Hapu and these other cases where Evangelicals have a more tolerant attitude towards it? The strong opposition to the practices of the *kustunri* in Hapu can be explained due to the particular interest that foreign visitors and philanthropists have in it. Without its strong

condemnation, the Maranata in Hapu might not be able to make a clear distinction with those who are attracted by the discourses of the celebration of the kustunri. While in other communities the kustunri is not the object of special attention coming from outside, this strong attention in Hapu prompts a stronger condemnation of all its practices. This point will be further elaborated in the next chapter.

A Sunday morning in the Maranata church

During my fieldwork, the Maranata households of Hapu would congregate at least once a week, on Sunday mornings. The most enthusiastic church members met twice a week: in addition to Sundays' mornings, they met on Thursday nights. The Maranata had two churches in Hapu, one that was just being built in Hatun Hapu, the ritual-civic center of the community, and the other in Quchamarka, the sector where all but one household was Maranata. Sunday services alternated between each church.

The first time I attended the Maranata service, the brothers – as they refer to themselves – at the entrance readily and warmly invited me inside. There were around thirty people already congregated when I arrived. The church was a sober long room, taller and longer than any house. In contrast with the stones used for household walls and thatch for the roof, the walls of the church were made of adobe and covered with white plaster, and the roof was tin. It featured glass windows, notably absent in the regular Hapu houses. The church was built following architectural patterns from outside Hapu, similar to many other Maranata churches. There was a wooden table on a small and slightly higher proscenium from which the pastor directed the order. On the table sat flowers and two textile-wrapped packages, which I later learned contained raw potatoes. They were the called the *primicia* - the first fruits – and were for the pastor. In front of this table were two sets of simple benches. Women were seated on the benches to the left of the pastor and men on the right. This pattern follows the usual spatial gender distribution in not only Evangelical but also Catholic churches in rural communities in the region.

Around 9 AM, the service started. After the pastor made a brief salutation to all the presents, a young woman led the first song of the service. Three members of the

church played *bandurrias* and *requintos*, guitar-like instruments, with both the musicians and singers at the sides of the table. The young woman led the singing of about six songs and then other members of the church were called up to lead in the singing. The lead singer would announce the number of the song that they were going to sing, which could be found in the printed songbook and which the congregation already knew by heart. The musicians would begin with the melody and then all would join in. Between the songs, or during an instrumental interlude, the leader said “*A su nunri*” (“*a su nombre*,” to his name) and the rest responded “*Luria Yus*” (“*Gloria a Dios*,” Glory to God). While singing, the congregation remained standing, clapping and moving their bodies slightly to the rhythm. While some of the lead singers encouraged a more celebratory atmosphere with expressions like, “*Why are you sad brothers and sisters? You should be happily praising the Lord!*” the congregation maintained a rather serious composure.

After more than half an hour of various hymns, the pastor announced that they should pray to the Lord. This prayer took about five minutes. The director started to pray to God and soon all the rest followed him. While the prayers recalled some tropes of requesting help, begging for forgiveness, or promises of exclusive adoration to God, each one prayed individually, without a settled prayer.

When it was finished, the pastor requested one of the members of the congregation to read a set of Bible verses, after which the congregation exclaimed “*Luria Yus*.” The pastor then discussed the particular verses, explaining them and posing questions about them to the congregation. The reading, explanation, and questioning about the passage followed more than one pattern and was accomplished several times. One of these readings and explanations was framed as the most important moment of the service.

After three or four more passages read and explained, the pastor invited some of the attendees to lead the singing. The musicians and singers played through six to eight songs consecutively. After this set of songs, a moment of prayer similar to the previous one was carried out. Then, the pastor and other church members repeated the exercise of reading Bible passages. The pastor’s explanations always included questions to the audience that would usually remain unanswered. The service culminated with a new set

of songs and a final prayer. When all this was finished, it was already beyond noon and the congregation dispersed towards their houses to have lunch.

Catholic and Maranata ways of praying

Maranata prayer in church differs greatly from the prayers that are done in relation to the saints. I had opportunity to observe these prayers only in the context of the pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i. They were performed during the celebrations of the return of Taytacha Quyllurit'i to the Hatun Hapu chapel. These prayers were not done collectively but only by experts who know them well. In this particular context, they were performed by two persons: the *Arariwa Wayri*, leader of the Wayri Ch'unchu dancers, and the *Ukuku Kapitan*,⁸ leader of the bear dancers. When the Arariwa Wayri performed the prayer, he was holding the Taytacha Quyllurit'i, and the Ukuku Kapitan took a cross from inside the chapel and held it accompanying the Arariwa Wayri. A small, provisional cross, adorned with flowers, marked each of the several stops in the slow procession of the Taytacha Quyllurit'i toward the chapel. The Arariwa Wayri knelt before each cross with the Taytacha in hands and quickly uttered a prayer, which seemed to contain words from Latin, Spanish and Quechua that, for me, was unintelligible. When I asked other persons, they just told me that the *kustunri* was so and that did not elaborate about their semantic content. This type of prayer was uttered again just before the Taytacha Quyllurit'i was to be returned to the chapel, to be left alone for an entire year, as the Arariwa Wayri touched the Taytacha to pilgrims' heads.

According to Schlegelberger's ethnographic account (1993) of Kiku, as well as Núñez del Prado's (2005[1957]) for Hatun Q'ero, there was a post called *Fiscal* or *Kapillaryuq* (the chapel's holder) occupied by a community elder. This elder was in charge of the chapel and knew the prayers. One function of the post was to teach prayers to children during the festivities of *Paskuwa* (Easter). They had to memorize them. This is consistent with Schlegelberger's observations, as well as my own: each was recited from memory stressing the arariwa knowledge of their correct recitation. The formulaic utterance was central though the actual referential content of the prayer seemed to be not

⁸ *Kapitan* from Sp *capitán*, captain

so important.⁹ The effectiveness of these Catholics in pleasing saints depended on an assumption about the existence of a right way to instantiate them. Discussions about the proper way to recite prayers might relate to a challenge toward the authority, prestige and knowledge of a particular person; hence their performance can become a political one and constitute a field of disputes within the community (Keane 1997). However, I did not observe this happening in Hapu. The role of reciting these prayers rested on one's post as dance troupe leader, who had to learn them as he danced year after year until becoming worthy of assuming such the leading role. When I observed these prayers in 2007, don Francisco, a respected member of the community in his fifties who exerted his functions with confidence and easiness, held the Arariwa Wayri office.

The prayer to the saints differs markedly from utterances associated with making or delivering food-offerings. The invocations made during the preparation of food-offerings follow certain tropes and styles of speech, but are clearly understandable and consist of salutations and requests to the place-persons, as opposed to the saints' prayers. The latter are likely to be the consequence of Catholic catechizing efforts that rested on memorization of prayers. The prayers invoked during the return of Taytacha Quyllurit'i are not intended to communicate anything to him, but rather are technical elements necessary to ensure the blessing of Taytacha Quyllurit'i.¹⁰ These prayers, then, are part of the broader mediation that includes several actors (Taytacha Quyllurit'i himself, Catholic priests, bear and wayri ch'unchu dancers) performing particular practices that make the mediation possible.

In contrast to Catholic prayers, Maranata prayers are not settled texts. They do not have to be memorized because they do not follow a pre-established text. The Maranata prayer is a direct conversation between each of the church members and God. Yet within these conversations, there are clearly tropes that most Maranata invoke, among them requests for forgiveness and help, requests for good understanding of the scriptures, and

⁹ For examples of this type of Catholic prayers in other contexts beyond these Q'ero communities, see Pérez 2005. Pérez discusses and transcribes the prayers that have to be said by memory by the new staff bearers when they receive the staff for the community of Chawaytiri (Pisaq, Cuzco).

¹⁰ This is consistent with the overall logic of Quyllurit'i that I developed in the previous chapter. Taytacha Quyllurit'i, the rock as well as his small bodies, is a particularly miraculous mediator of the power of Apu Qulqipunku. Humans can obtain favors through him that might not be as easy to obtain by directly offering food to the glacier.

promises of adoration exclusively him. The following fragment is a small example of one of these prayers:

Ancha munakuq, khuyapayakuq Diosñiyku, yayayku kay pachata, hanaq pachata kamariq chanin, ch'uya santu Diosnillayku, ancha munakuq señorllayku, papayku, tukuylla wawaykikunata munaspa, pipashcha huchallikuyku o watakuyku kontra wawamasiyku, kontra imallapipas señor, perdonaykuwayku panpachaykuwayku, perdonaykuspa, pampachaykuspa señorllay qanyá yachaykuchikuwayku kay ima sumaq simiykimanta, ima sumaq palabraykimanta, gracias señor Diosniy, ancha munakuq khuyapayakuq Diosniyku, graciasta quspa ya chay mañakuyki, rugakuyki, Cristo Jesus salvaqñiykuq sutinpi sutinpi, gloria qanman kachun...¹¹

Highly loved, our [exclusive] permanently loving God. Father, creator of this and the world above. Our [exclusive] only just, pure, saint God. Our [exclusive] very loved Lord, our father. All your children, loving, wherever we [exclusive] commit sins or we [exclusive] tie against our fellow humans, against anything, Lord, forgive us [exclusive], forgive us [exclusive], when forgiving us [exclusive], forgiving us [exclusive] our Lord. Make us [exclusive] know your sublime words. All of your sublime words. Here now make us see this word. Thanks Lord my God. Highly loved, adored, our [exclusive] God, Jesus Christ, our Savior, in your name, in your name, glory be given to you...

When the congregated Maranata pray collectively in the church, the multiple, layered prayers pronounced aloud directed toward God, produce an unintelligible sound that continually increases and can become very loud. This produces at a small scale what Durkheim (2001[1912]) called *social effervescence*, practices that produce a collective and strong emotional experience, fostering a sense of community. They produce also what Turner (1969) called *communitas*: A phase in a ritual in which all the participants are homogenized, when social differences are momentarily erased, in a context wherein each of the members of the congregation can talk in equal footing directly to God.

This individual conversation with God, lacking the institutional mediation of a specialist, points back to the historical emergence of European Protestantism and the individual as the locus of agency and basic unit of society concomitant to the Modern Constitution (Latour 1993, Weber 2002[1905]). However, the collectivity of this form of prayer has effects in building up a sense of community, marking the memory of these emotional experiences of interaction with the transcendent. Furthermore, while these prayers are individual conversations with God, the speaker (as in the example above) addresses God in the name of a collective us. The prayers are spoken from a second person plural that excludes God from the community of humans on whose behalf the speaker prays to him.

Although the Maranata have explicitly condemned the practice of dedicating coca offerings to the place-persons, the Maranata prayer slightly resembles the first dedication

¹¹ A brother's prayer made in his house before sleeping. Hapu 2007.

of coca leaves on a given day in so far that both are direct utterances directed towards non-human agents. Coca chewing dedications often include petitions for the help and care of specific place-persons.

The syntactic relations within the utterances of the Maranata prayers are loose as a product of the flexibility of individual petitions to God. Given this flexibility, the performances of different individuals addressing God are not coordinated but overlapping, the main pragmatic characteristic of this collective performance. These overlapping, uncoordinated utterances produce a sound effect involving a crescendo, a peak of loud requests, and after some moments, a slow and progressive decrease in volume. While each person is engaged within the semantic content of his or her individual requests, the pragmatic relationship of many people requesting at the same time is central in producing strong emotion and the moving experience of interaction with a transcendent agent. As it will be seen in the next section, these sound effect is similar to one produced by the uncoordinated singing of *Q'ero taki*.

***Q'ero taki* and singing in the Maranata Church**

As I stated before, *Q'ero* communities have a rich and distinctive tradition of singing. This distinctiveness is part of the broader set of practices at the core of their fame as the “last Inka ayllu” and has been officially recognized by the Peruvian Ministry of Culture, which declared *Q'ero Taki* (*Q'ero* singing) as Cultural Patrimony of the Nation on March 2011 (Andina 2011). *Q'ero taki* includes many genres of singing, each performed with specific musical instruments. These genres are played in association with certain communal celebrations and also during family rituals (see Holzmann 1986, Wissler 2009).

During the communal celebrations of the rainy season (Chayanpuy, Pukllay and Paskuwa) as well as Kurpus (Corpus Christi at the return of the Taytacha Quyllurit'i), there were gatherings at the sponsors' houses in Hatun Hapu. For several evenings people would gather within these houses of the ritual-civic center of Hatun Hapu, where they

drank corn beer and *tragu* as males played their *tukana*¹² flutes and women sang. When not playing, males also sang and danced energetically. Because each man makes his own *tukana* flute, they are not tuned to specific registers (Wissler 2009:73);¹³ multiple *tukanas* played without coordination produces layers of dissonance. A *tukana* is played while one or more women sing to complement its melody, rather than following the same one. While the *tukana* and the female voices follow the same rhythm, they have different pitch structure (ibid. 92). Hence, this is a context in which many women sing at the same time, neither coordinated in pitch, time, nor in lyrics, as many men play independently their *tukanas*. The context that I experienced in Hapu and Yanaruma are quite similar to those described by Wissler (2009:77) for Hatun Q'ero:

The women and men sang and played simultaneously and continuously, though not coordinated in close heterophony. Women often sang in subgroups of duos and trios, meaning that these groups coordinated the melody in fairly close heterophony within the group, but not with the neighboring subgroup. Quite commonly a woman sang alone, within the texture of other women singing in small groups. The men's *pinkuyllu*¹⁴ playing was completely individual, with every man playing individually (though simultaneously) and not in subgroups. The result was a dense texture of widely-overlapping melodic lines. The boisterous singing, dancing, talking, and drinking continued until early dawn

An observer can follow the melodies of the groups closest to him, but the singing and music from the other subgroups adds layers and layers of overlapping sounds that are only seldom coordinated, mainly during the sustained notes at the end of each of phrase.¹⁵ The music swells as everybody continues drinking. Getting drunk during these festivities is normal and expected. Alcohol along with the dissonant layers of song and

¹² In Hapu this instrument is called *tukana* (from Sp *tocar*, to play) while Wissler (2009) reports that in Hatun Q'ero it is called *pinkuyllu*. They are "end-blown, notched bamboo flutes with an end-plug in the bottom or distal end [...] [They] randomly range from 15 to 70 centimeters long, depending completely on the flute maker's choice according to the piece of *toqoro* or *soqos* [a type of bamboo from the Yunka] he has selected. They always have four rectangular finger holes and no thumb hole. Every man in Q'eros makes his own *pinkuyllu*" (Wissler 2009:72,73).

¹³ "Each *pinkuyllu* is tuned to itself, but to no other man's flute; tuning depends entirely on the length and thickness of the bamboo that is individually selected. In other words, the length and thickness of the selected bamboo are not altered to make tuned sets of *pinkuyllu*" (Wissler 2009:73).

¹⁴ *Pinkuyllu* and *tukana* are the same type of flute. While in Hatun Q'ero they seem to prefer the former name, in Hapu people use the latter.

¹⁵ This Q'ero distinctive way to end the song phrases is called *aysariykuy*, to pull, to elongate. In Wissler's (2009:183). words "aysariykuy: the prolongation on the last syllable of certain phrases, when the air is accelerated and fully expelled, often resulting in a slight rise in pitch at the very end." In the same texts she develops an elaborated interpretation of the function of these elongated ends in relation to the place-persons as a form of reproduction of reciprocal relationships.

the occasional conch trumpet that index the authority of the staff bearers are together fundamental elements in the construction of an overwhelming feeling of Durkheimian *social effervescence* or Turnerian *communitas*. During Pukllay, Paskuwa or Kurpus, these festivities take several days and nights.

These sonic experiences are consistent with mechanisms of semiotic and political regimentation that do not rest in coercive authority or an institutionalized bureaucracy (Mannheim 1991). The apparent “chaos” that a foreigner experiences in these contexts is consequence of practices that successfully reproduce themselves without the need of homogenizing mechanisms of discipline. The overwhelmed sensory experience can only be produced collectively, when a considerable number of people get together. It is impossible to recreate such volume and sonic effect in a family ritual. Likewise, not other practice shows the objective collectivity more viscerally than participation in this form of *communitas*. This production and reproduction of the community, through singing, dancing, eating, and drinking, through producing social effervescence, is conveyed by Wissler (2009:106) in the following passage:

The two times I stood with the women and sang, the exuberance of the men always amazed me. While stomping, they bump into each other inadvertently, often hug, yell, tease, and sometimes even fight verbally and push each other. They allow themselves to be fully drunk, some completely soaked in *aqha*¹⁶ that has spilled down the front of their *ponchos*. In this maximal inebriation they fully play and sing all through the night, for nights on end. This full drunkenness is a desired state for social cohesion and transformation.

When considering the dissonance and *communitas* produced by these festivities, one can find a similarity with Maranata collective prayer. Overlapping sounds, produced almost individually by each of the congregated people, rises and falls as a collective. While they have different intensities, duration, intentionality, and content, the festive Q'ero taki and Maranata prayer practices share the common pragmatic function of producing a powerful emotional and aesthetic experience of the collectivity.

This pragmatic feature, however, is the only commonality between Q'ero singing and Maranata prayers. The Maranata neither sing any of the genres of the Q'ero custom nor play their associated instruments. Rather, they sing *waynu*, or *huayno*, the most

¹⁶ *Aqha* (Qu) Corn beer.

popular and widespread Andean musical genre in the country, which includes many different regional styles. Currently *waynu* is the most widely listened to popular music genre in Peru (Mannheim 1998, Romero 2001). Over the last two decades, many *huayno* singers have become mega stars, congregating thousands of people at each of their concerts as they tour the different cities of the country. Some of these artists use the *requinto*¹⁷ as their instrument. In the highland Cuzqueño provinces of Canchis and Espinar, there are singers who have become increasingly popular at a regional level who play the *requinto* but add the more locally recognized *bandurria*¹⁸ to build up a distinctive sound. With the rise of popular forms of *waynu*, many Evangelical artists also cultivate it. CDs and DVDs of Evangelical artists are relatively easy to find. They are sold together with the more popular, non-Evangelical artists, in any fair of any town. In the city of Cuzco, there are places, such as the *Centro Comercial Paraiso*, where entire kiosks are dedicated to Evangelical *waynu*.

The Maranatas of Hapu sing this type of *waynu* with *bandurria* and *requinto*. To some extent, the adoption of *waynu* musical forms might be interpreted as a declaration of having departed from Q'ero practices. Nevertheless, Catholic families also own CDs of popular *waynu* singers. Car batteries, recharged in the stores of Kulini, provide the electricity required to play these albums in small stereos and to amplify them through loudspeakers.

¹⁷ *Requinto* is the generic name of several stringed musical instrument similar to a guitar but of smaller size. "The requinto guitar (or simply "requinto") exists in several guises, but the most common is the 6-string requinto [...] The requinto teams up with the classical guitar and either the contrabass or guitarron to form the "trío romántico" - a group in which the instruments are tuned in E (classical and contra) and A (requinto and guitarrón). It's always risky to make a generalisation, but South American requintos often have a deep body whereas the Spanish models are often proportioned like a slender guitar" In *The Hampshire Guitar Orchestra*, retrieved November 26, 2011, <http://www.hago.org.uk/guitars/requinto/>. The Peruvian *requinto* "is a small guitar of twelve strings in six courses in unison tuned Si-Si, Mi-Mi, La-La, Re-Re, Fa#-Fa# y Si-Si." In *Músicas del Mundo*, retrieved November 26, 2011, my translation <http://www.musicasdelmundo.org/article.php/20040804202456895>

¹⁸ *Bandurria*: "stringed musical instrument of the lute family, with a design derived from the cittern and guitar. The modern *bandurria* has a small, pear-shaped wooden body, a short neck, and a flat back, with five to seven (but usually six) paired courses of strings [...] The fingerboard has 12 fixed metal frets, and the instrument is traditionally played with a short, hard plectrum. The *bandurria*, which is used in many styles of folk and popular music, was known in 16th-century Spain and traveled to Latin America; it is still used in Peru." In *Encyclopedia Britannica Online Academic Edition*, retrieved November 26, 2011. <http://www.britannica.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/EBchecked/topic/51639/bandurria>. The Peruvian *bandurria*, "although its shape resembles somewhat the Spanish *bandurria* (with 6 double strings), it has in fact only 4 courses. Usually the courses are with double metal strings, but often with 3, 4 or even 5 strings per course, resulting in 8, 12, 16 or even 20 strings in total" In *Atlas of Plucked Instruments*, retrieved November 26, 2011. http://www.atlasofpluckedinstruments.com/south_america.htm

During one of the Maranata services that I attended, the daughter of the pastor was one of the leading singers. Neither the pastor nor his wife were born in Hapu. Accordingly, their daughter dressed with a *pullira* (ample skirt) made of synthetic fabric that overtly indexed her not being Q'ero. Women from towns and urban areas stereotypically wear this type of cloth; all the other Maranata women were dressed in the local fashion, regular *pulliras* made of black *bayeta* (a type of thick baize) characteristic of Hapu women. Before the pastor's daughter started to sing, the three musicians spent some time tuning their instruments. When they were ready, she announced the number of the song, one of the many hymns contained in the Maranata songbook, *Diosninchista Yupaychasun* (Let's praise our God). The book is written completely in Quechua and contains 227 hymns (IEM 1999). Those in the congregation that had the songbook, mostly males, looked for it as the musicians started playing its melody. Most of the songs that are frequently selected — about forty of the more than two hundred in the songbook — are already committed to memory.

Contrary to the customary female style of singing in Hapu but characteristic of many other Quechua singers, the pastor's daughter sang in a high-pitched voice. Hapu women singing Q'ero music do so “in a natural vocal range [that] contrasts to the high-pitched vocal aesthetic that many Andean communities prefer” (Wissler 2009:71). Also in contrast to the Q'ero *taki*, the musicians established the melody for the whole group and the lead singer gave the leading voice for the already settled lyrics written in the songbook. In contrast with the dissonant heterophony of Q'ero *taki*, the Maranata *waynu* singing is coordinated, the lyrics settled, and the melody tuned, reflecting the musical conventions from the broader, popular regional traditions. This coordination and memorization of song highlights their referential semantic meaning, that is, to become objects of reiteration Sunday after Sunday.

These songs were not created by Hapu people but were “woven” (*awasqa*) by members of the Maranata church in relatively close-by Quechua communities of the Ocongate (Pucarumi, Ttinqui, Anccasi) and Carhuayo (Accocunca and Chillihuani) districts. These Maranata *waynus* follow characteristic Quechua poetic structures, including semantic couplets (Mannheim 1998). For example, *waynu* 137 (IEM 1999:137) tends to be sung during every Sunday service.

Munakuq Diosnillay	1	My unique loving God
Khuyakuq Jesusllay	2	My unique compassionate Jesus
Yanapaykullaway	3	Please help us
Khuyapayaykullaway	4	Please be compassionate with us
Kallpaymi chiriyan	5	My strength is becoming cold
Sayk'uyami hamuwan	6	My tiredness is coming
Iñiyami pisiwan	7	My faith is decreasing
Kallpanchaykullaway (IEM 1999:137, my translation)	8	Please strengthen us

The first two verses (1, 2) are a classic semantic couplet that, by keeping the same structure, relates Jesus and God describing them as loving and compassionate beings. Due to their poetic structure, semantic couples reveal conceptual relations between words, matching similar categories with different levels of generality or abstraction (Mannheim 1998).¹⁹ Verses 3, 4 and 8 have the same structure, through which the singer requests help, compassion, and strength from God. Verses 5, 6 and 7, by recurring to the same poetic structure, convey a list of challenges that they face in their loyal relationship with God.

The following song is a favorite and I heard it sung at several of their Sunday meetings. In contrast to the previous song, this waynu does not have clear replicating structures that articulate semantic couplets except in the second and fourth stanzas (see highlights). Nevertheless, the first and the third stanzas are replications of the same structure with minor differences (see highlights) (IEM 1999:164):

Señor Diosnillay qayllay <i>kamuyki</i> <i>Tukuy sunquywan mañaykukuspa</i> <i>Atiyniykita</i> Diosniy quykuway <i>Qanllataña yupaychanaypaq</i>	Lord, my only God, I present myself to you begging with all my essence My lord give me what you can For adoring only you
Dios taytallay yanapaykuway Pisi kallpa wawallaykita Qanlla Diosnillay yuyariykuway Iñiynillayña pisiyaykuqtin	Lord, my only father, please help me Your child with little strength Only you, my only God, remembers me When my faith diminishes
Qanmanmi Diosniy k'umuy <i>kamuyki</i> <i>Tukuy sunquywan mañaykukuspa</i> <i>Atiynikuwan</i> yanapallaway <i>Qan</i> Diosnillay <i>yupaychanaypaq</i>	I bow to you, my God begging with all my essence Only help me with what you can For adoring you, my only God

¹⁹ In this particular case, due to the order of the sequence, the couplet suggests that Jesus presupposes God rather than pointing to the usual Christian theological construction about the consubstantiality within the Trinity. This is a theological point worth of further exploration.

Yanapaykuway señor Diosnillay
 Simillaykita willamunaypaq
 Espirituyki yanapawachun
 Qilqallaykita sut'inchanaypaq

Lord, my only God, please help me
 For communicate only your word
 [hence] your spirit help me
 For explaining your writings

The way in which this song, as well as the previous one, frames the relationship between God and the singers follows tropes that are already familiar with respect to Quechua communities relationships to higher power, as I have discussed in relation to landlords and place-persons (chapter IV): On one hand, the song recognizes the higher power of God and frames it in the trope of the father-child relation. The subordination is stressed by referring to begging, bowing, and adoring him. On the other, it requests the establishment of reciprocal relations. The singers request help, whatever God is able to give, and in return they offer to adore only him, spread his words, explain his holy scripture. This song reproduces the language that many Quechua communities use to relate to external power. Beyond this, the song points to the central importance of the Bible in Maranata practices and relations with God.

But not only the pastor's daughter use to sing in the services. The pastor usually invites other members of the church to lead the singing. When called upon, young single members come in front of the congregation by themselves, but married couples come together to lead the singing. They announce the number of the song, the musicians make a transition toward the new song, and then all start singing this new song. When one singer is through with his or her few songs, another member is called upon and selects a new group of songs. Usually, these cycles feature seven to ten songs consecutively.

The following hymn number 131 is another waynu popular among the Hapu Maranatas (IEM 1999:131):

Turay ñañallay haku purisun	1	My brother my sister, let's go
Diospa siminta willamusunchis	2	We will tell the word of God
Ashka runaraq kawsakushaqtin	3	When many people are still living
Mana Señorta chaskiykuspanku	4	Without accepting the Lord
Diospa siminta willaqkunaqa	5	Tellers of the word of God
Yuraq p'achantan chaskiykusunchis	6	We will accept white cloths
Turay ñañallay ama sayk'uychu	7	My brother my sister do not get tired
Diospa siminta willamuytaqa	8	Of telling the word of God

This waynu was written for a female singer. This is conveyed by the uses of the words for brother (*turay*) and sister (*ñañay*) that index a female speaker. It is the voice of a proselytizer, actively working to spread the word of God and to save people who still live “without accepting the Lord.” Unlike than the previous song, this hymn does not address God but rather the singer’s fellow church members, encouraging them to become active proselytizers. “The word of God” is a reference to the Bible and, like the last song, these lyrics stress the central importance of the Bible in the Maranata church.

Hence, these songs present two different dialogic forms: while some are directed toward God either as a petition, a request, or a plea, others are directed to fellow church members and consist of recommendations and encouragements. In terms of referential content and beyond the strictly theological content, the following themes recur:

The uniqueness of God; that he is the only being that should be adored. The father-child relationship between God and humans. That human life ultimately consists in being servants of God and should follow his orders in a totally vertical way, resonating with the asymmetric reciprocal relations between humans and the landlords of the past and place-persons. That the world where humans live is rife with sadness, loss and suffering. That there is a radical danger in leaving the path ordained by God; the consequence is eternal death and hell. However, if a person follows God’s commandments, then he or she will be rewarded with eternal life in the world above. The need to announce the word of God and convert those humans still living without it. The central importance of the Bible, the word of God.

The settled text and the repetitive character of coordinated lyrics make of these songs the most important mean of transmission of Maranata religious ideas. To some extent songs might be more effective in this regard than the study and explanation of the Bible as it will be explained in the following section.

Reading and explaining the Bible

As it is clear from the lyrics of many waynus, and for Evangelicalism in general, the Maranata church regards the Bible as the essential source of unchallengeable truths (Marsden 2006, Marzal 2002). As the pastor said, “*Qalata Santa Biblia niy, asta*

qallariymanta asta kunan p'unchaykuna rimashan,"²⁰ (*the Holy Bible speaks very clearly from the origins until the current days*). The Bible is central to most Maranata practices and a large part of the Sunday meetings are organized around its reading, study and explanation. These practices are at the temporal center of these meetings and are always framed with song and prayer before and after.

The Maranata of Hapu, like Evangelical converts in many other Quechua communities of the region, use a Quechua translation of the Bible: *Diospa Simin Qelqa* (*Written Word of God*) (SBP 2004).²¹ Given the primacy of the Bible in Evangelicalism and the increasing numbers of Evangelicals among Quechua speakers, this book might be the most read text in Quechua and may be playing a silent but central role in the development of Quechua literacy in the Southern Peruvian Andes. However, the majority of Hapu's Maranata church members struggle to read, both in Quechua and in Spanish.

Most of those who have bibles are males. Only a handful of women out of what is usually fifteen to twenty in attendance would have a bible in hand. Likewise, when the pastor asks individuals to read select verses aloud, most are male — although a young woman might be selected to read on occasion. In particular, the pastor's daughter read often and, as mentioned before, she was a conspicuous outsider.

On one occasion, a pastor from outside of Hapu attended a Sunday service and was offered the floor to read and explain a Bible passage. Simply called the *director*, the visiting *brother* mostly spoke in Quechua but also used some phrases in Spanish. After reading the passages, he both offered explanation and posed questions to get those congregated to answer without too much success. He started with Isaiah 43:7

"Paykunatan ñuqaq llaqtaymi, paykunataqa hatunchanawanpaqmi kamarqani, nispa" (*[God] said, those are my people, those who I created/animated in order that [they] exalt me*). He elaborated on how, even when it was raining heavily, they were exalting God.

²⁰ Conversation with the Maranata pastor. Hapu 2008.

²¹ It was translated by Aurelio Flores, Ricardo Cahuana and Jorge Arce of the Sociedad Bíblica Peruana and William Mitchell of the United Bible Societies, and firstly published in 1988 The United Bible Societies, having the Sociedad Bíblica Peruana as one of its members, is an organization founded in 1946 that has as its main mission the translation of the Bible. According to their web page "translating the Bible remains at the heart of what we do. There are now more than 450 complete Bible translations (30 per cent of which include the Deuterocanon) and each year more are added. Currently, there are Scriptures available in 2,527 of the world's estimated 6,500 languages. Our translation policy ensures we have translation guidelines that are acceptable to the Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox Churches" In *United Bible Societies*, retrieved November 26, 2011, <http://www.unitedbiblesocieties.org/>

Hence, they were his people. He then read Acts 17:24-28 and requested those with Bibles, one by one, to repeat one verse before his elaboration, and so on with the following five verses. The Director's questions remained mostly unanswered. In similar fashion, he read Genesis 1:27, Matthew 22:34-40, and Deuteronomy 30:11. The last one he read in Spanish, "*Este mandamiento que yo te he ordenado hoy, no es demasiado difícil para ti*" (*this commandment that I given you today is not too difficult for you*), and then requested one brother to read it from the Quechua translation. His sermon went as follows:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Director [D]: ... mana sinchi sasachu kay kamachikuy siminkuna, Dios taytanchis kamachikuy siminkuna kashan, manataq karupitaqchu kashan, hunt'ay atiy, hunt'aysiwanchis riki.
 <i>[4 seconds silence]</i>
 D: <i>Cuántos pueden decir hermanos, hermanas</i> hunt'ashankuy nispa?
 Congregation in overlapping statements:
 Amin
 Amin
 Ningunu
 Luria Yus
 A su nunri
 <i>[9 seconds silence]</i>
 D: Kaypi nishan: kay kamachikuypas, kay kamachikuy simiqa manan sinchi sasachu hunt'anaykichispaq, manataq karupichu kashan. Manan karupichu kashan, mantaq sinchi sasachu hunt'ananchispaq, hunt'ay atiy.
 <i>[2 seconds silence]</i>
 D: Dios taytaq atiyinwanqa hunt'asunchis, kaytapas imatapas,
 <i>[4 seconds silence]</i>
 Man: Luria Yus
 <i>[6 seconds silence]</i>
 D: Imapaqtaq Dios tayta kamawaskanchis kayta?
 Man: Munakuyninpi [overlapping with other murmurs that are not easily understandable]
 <i>[13 seconds silence]</i>
 D: Wayqiy, imapaq Dios tayta kamawasqanchis kayta
 <i>[4 seconds silence]</i>
 D: Hatunchananchispaq riki, hatunchananchispaq dios tayta kamawasqanchis kayta, hatunchananchispaq riki? Hatunchananchispaq dios tayta kamawasqanchis kayta.
 <i>[2 seconds silence]</i>
 D: Tukuy ratu hatunchananchispaq.
 <i>[7 seconds silence]</i>
 D: Imataq ñuqanchispa ruwanchis Diospa ñawpaqinpi, imatan ruwasun,
 <i>[8 seconds silence]</i>
 D : Diospa ñawpaqinpi
 <i>[2 seconds silence]</i>
 D : Kasukunanchis, ¿después?</p> | <p>1 Director [D]: ...His orders are not very difficult. There are orders in the words of God. There are orders in the words of God. They are not very far. We can satisfy them. Let's satisfy them, right?
 <i>[4 seconds silence]</i>
 2 D: <i>How many can say, brothers, sisters,</i> [Spanish] I am satisfying [them]? [Quechua]
 3 Congregation in overlapping statements:
 Amen
 Amen
 Nobody [Spanish]
 Glory to God [Spanish]
 To his name [Spanish]
 <i>[9 seconds silence]</i>
 4 D: Here says "this orders, this word orders are not very difficult to satisfy. They are not far. They are not far. Neither they are too difficult to satisfy. [You] can satisfy [them]
 <i>[2 seconds silence]</i>
 5 D: We [inclusive] can satisfy to God Father, this, anything.
 <i>[4 seconds silence]</i>
 6 Man: Glory to God [Spanish]
 <i>[6 seconds silence]</i>
 7 D: What God Father created us for?
 8 Man: Due to his will [overlapping with other murmurs that are not easily understandable]
 <i>[13 seconds silence]</i>
 9 D: Brothers, what God Father created us for?
 <i>[4 seconds silence]</i>
 10 D: For making [him] greater, right? God Father created us so we make him greater. For making him greater, right? God Father created us so we make him greater.
 <i>[2 seconds silence]</i>
 11 D: For making him greater all the time.
 <i>[7 seconds silence]</i>
 12 D: What do we do in the presence of God? What do we do?
 <i>[8 seconds silence]</i>
 13 D: In the presence of God?
 <i>[2 seconds silence]</i>
 14 D: We obey [him], [Quechua] <i>then?</i> [Spanish]</p> |
|--|--|

²² Service at the Maranata Church. Hapu 2008.

- [3 seconds silence]
 Woman: Munakunanchis
 D: Munakunanchis
 [3 seconds silence]
 D: Dios taytanchista munakunanchis, riki?
 [3 seconds silence]
 D: *Primer lugar* Dios taytanchis munakunanchis, imawanmi?
 [3 seconds silence]
 Woman: Sunquychiswan
 D: Tukuy yuyayninchiswan, tukuy almawan, chaymanta huq, iman karan? qunqarapuni,
 [3 seconds silence]
 D : Tukuy sunquychiswan. Chayna kasqa riki?Chayna nishan Mateo *trentaydos trentaysietepi*. Manan qunqasunchis chayta
 [5 seconds silence]
 D: Tukuy sunqu, tukuy alma, tukuy yuyaywan dios taytanchista primer lugar munakunanchis riki?
 [3 seconds silence]
 D: Chay hina wayqi panaykuna, ama qunqasunchu dios taytanchista, nuqanchisqa alabayta ama domingollanpichu, aswan sapawanmi chay sikiera semanapi iskay kutillatapas dios tayta palabranta uyarisun
 [4 seconds silence]
 D: Ari chayllawan ñuqaqa wayqi panaykuna kallpachakuykichis aknataq kachun, aknataq kasun
 R: Gloria a Dios,
 [2 seconds silence]
 D: Hina kaqtinga Dios Taytanchis panchiwasun, ñuqapascha nishuta rimaramuni, pantamunipaschá, Dios taytanchis panpachiwachun, hinapas wayqi panaykuna panpachawaykichis, amen.
 [11 seconds silence]
 D: *Hermanos y hermanas discúlpenme*.
 [13 seconds silence]²²
- [3 seconds silence]
 15 Woman: We love him
 16 D: We love him
 [3 seconds silence]
 17 D: We love God our Father, right?
 [3 seconds silence]
 18 D: *First of all* [Spanish], we love God our Father, What with?
 [3 seconds silence]
 19 Woman: With our heart
 20 D: With all our thought, with all soul, then, one, what it was? I forgot.
 [3 seconds silence]
 21 D: With all our hearts. It is so, right? It says so Mathew 32-37. We should not forget that.
 [5 seconds silence]
 22 D: We should love God our Father in the first place, with all heart, with all soul, with all thought, right?
 [3 seconds silence]
 23 D: Hence, brothers and sisters, do not forget God our Father. We should not praise him only Sundays. More than one, at least twice a week should listed the word of God Father.
 [4 seconds silence]
 24 D: Yes, only with that brothers and sisters I am strengthening you, in this way, It is in this way.
 25 R: Glory to God
 [2 seconds silence]
 26 D: It be so. That God our Father forgive me. I have been talking too much. Maybe I made mistakes. That God our Father forgive me. You as well, brothers and sisters, forgive me. Amen.
 [11 seconds silence]
 27 D *Brothers and sisters, forgive me* [Spanish].
 [13 seconds silence]

The Director's explanations and questions consistently failed to engage the attendees. They are either answered with formulaic answers, such as *Glory to God* or *Amen* (3, 6, 25) or with plain silence (1, 9, 12, 13, 17, 22). He received direct answers in very few instances (8, 15, 19). This is particularly evident when he asked if the attendees considered themselves to be following God's commandments in an appropriate way (2). Only one congregant responded with the apparently correct answer, *ningunu*, nobody. This is followed by silence for nearly nine seconds as the Director awaited others to agree with the lone voice. There was a clear disconnect between expectations: What the Director expected by way of response during his sermon and what the congregation expected to be expected to say.

On the other hand, this particular moment might have not been well understood by the Hapu Maranata because part of it was said in Spanish. This Director, not being from

Hapu, included the occasional Spanish word or phrase within his discourse (2, 14, 18, 27). This might simply be how people talk in his church, but it might be interpreted as a performance of a higher proficiency in Spanish. This is stressed when using Spanish in his last farewell to the congregation (27).

Due to the lack of response from the congregation, the director ended up answering his own questions. The interaction was never fully fluid and relaxed. For example, on line 7, he asks a question and receives several overlapping answers (8). He did not receive the answer that he expected and then, in a more imperative tone, repeats the question (9), which is received with silence. After a pause of four seconds, he offers the answer that he was looking for, which was related to the Isaiah 43:7, the verse that started his sermon. After a long silence (11), his next question (12) is again answered with silence.

This is not an exceptional interaction but tends to be typical of when even the Hapu pastor himself asks questions. The following is another short example of this type of interaction, when the pastor was explaining Ezequiel 18:30.

Imakunatan Siñur Dios prometekun, imatan
ñuqanchispaq, kay igleshapaq, Diospa llaqtanpaq
prometewanchis, wayqiykuna, panaykuna,
tapuyukuy
[9 seconds of silence]
Manachu intinrinki? ²³

What Lord God promised to us? To this church?
What does he promised us, God's people?
Brothers, sisters, I am asking you.
[9 seconds of silence]
Don't you understand?

The role of leading the reading and explanation of the Bible is not only given to people like the director from a different community or the Hapu pastor, but is also expected of any brother or sister. This is done in a rotational way. Because a high proportion of the congregation is not literate, not all can assume this role. Those who read do so with great difficulty and slowness. Reading aloud – or in silence – did not used to be part of their daily practices.²⁴ Among those who are charged with this role, some read more fluidly than others. Likewise, church members tend to have an easier time with the Quechua rather than Spanish texts. However, reading Quechua has its own difficulties. Quechua words can receive many suffixes. Then, some words can end up having six or

²³ Pastor's discourse in a Maranata service. Hapu 2008.

²⁴ Furthermore, the teaching of reading and writing in the local school has only very limited result. Reading and writing are still being taught in Spanish to Quechua speaking children. Additionally, the teachers assigned to this school – and to similar ones – are not present all the academic year and make all the efforts to find schools that are closer to urban areas.

seven syllables, thus becoming harder to read than those with just two or three. Long words such as *wasinkumankama* or *waqyachillaqkupuni* are particularly challenging to read. Regular Maranata readers usually make two or three attempts, advancing one syllable before reading it completely. Difficulty in reading has consequences for following and understanding the content, and thus many have a hard time explaining the passage. This is not surprising, considering that the practices of bible study are neither exercised during daily life nor were they necessary in their pre-conversion social life.

The following example help to better illustrate the difficulties that recent Maranata converts have when trying adapt to the practices of Bible study. Humberto, a young church member in his early twenties, was charged with explaining the first chapter of the book of Job. He had to prepare for this the previous week. Standing in front of everybody, he read the first three verses (Job 1:1-3) with difficulty. These first verses described Job as a good and rich man that served God, detailing how many sons and daughters he had, as well as the number of sheep, camels, oxens, and donkeys that he owned. After reading the passage, he elaborated on how good and rich Job was, stressing the many animals that he had — a harsh contrast with the richest Hapu family (seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred oxen and five hundred donkeys).²⁵ For his questioning section, Humberto called out congregants by name and asked them to recite the exact number of different animals that Job had. For those that did not remember the correct number, they had to stay standing until he finished asking all of his questions. After his finishing remarks, he thanked the church and went to his place among the rest. This type of exposure – to stay standing up – for those who could not answer the targeted questions is not exclusive to this case but a practice that is done with each pre-arranged reading and discussion of a Bible's passage.

While Humberto was in charge of explaining the whole first chapter he covered only the three first verses and hence his discussion and questions about the reading focused only in how Job was a just and rich man and how many animals he owned but did not address the tests under which God put him and the endurance with which Job

²⁵ This points out some characteristics of discourse within Quechua languages ideologies. Quechua oral narratives emerge according to pragmatic relations between those involved in the conversation as well as in relation to where this conversation is taking place in relation to the neighboring landscape (Mannheim and VanVleet 1998). This might also have been in place in Humberto's focus regarding Job's animals.

faced God's will. Immediately after Humberto finished his intervention, the pastor thanked him, called upon some other brothers and asked them to read other select verses from Job 1:6-22, which depicts how Satan killed Job's sons and daughters, his servants and his animals but Job nevertheless remained praising God. The reading was slow and difficult. Then the pastor elaborated about the verse and asked rhetorical questions, which he routinely answered himself.

Humberto performance in his task reading and discussing the first chapter of Job shows some of the difficulties that the Maranata brothers and sisters face when they are in charge of these leading positions. Weekly hearing the reading and explanations of the Bible at the Maranata church does not seem to be a very successful method for transmitting knowledge that the pastor and the more enthusiastic Maranatas are familiar with.

Transmission of knowledge and production of hierarchy

Reading and explaining the bible, as well as asking questions about its passages, are practices that instantiate forms of transmission of knowledge and authority, largely absent in the practices of the *kustunri*. While knowledge and meanings are embedded and reproduced in the poetic structure of *kustunri* practices, in the Maranata church the ultimate authority of knowledge is contained in the entextualized narratives of a book (Silverstein and Urban 1996). However, for a large portion of the church's members, this knowledge is totally mediated by those who know how to read.

Even those who know to read might lack the requisite knowledge or skills to be recognized as a figure of authority. Particular Bible passages are privileged to convey certain points. The more enthusiastic Maranata converts are fond of citing crucial Bible verses when stressing certain points or making particular assertions in conversation. This is an art that not only requires reading skills but also continued and repetitive practice. Only a few members of the church are devoted to the point that they were honing these skills. The majority is not nearly so invested; most converts find it hard — and to some extent embarrassing — when they are called to read or explain Bible verses before the whole congregation.

These practices then produce a hierarchy between, on one hand, those who know, read, teach and ask questions; and on the other, those who listen, learn and are requested to answer questions. The politics of knowledge are crucial in the hierarchical organization of the church and in its overall legitimacy. Reading the Bible organizes a hierarchy among the members of the church according to their literacy. Such claims on knowledge and literacy are then reproduced and aligned with the dominant narratives of modernity. Higher levels of formal education makes someone more modern than other, and hence formal education produces legitimated hierarchies (Degregori 1991, Montoya 1990).

The hierarchy established by levels of literacy is also gendered. Several women who did not know how to read told me, with evident sadness, how much they would like so as to access to this knowledge without the mediation of somebody else. Since most families choose to educate sons rather than daughters, these ideas around literacy reproduce the gender hierarchies already present in Quechua communities of the region (De la Cadena 1995, Stephenson 1999).

The practices associated with Bible study follows the pattern in which knowledge is transmitted and reproduced in a school system. The format echoes that of a teacher (the pastor, the director) and students (the congregation), the teacher's exposition and explanation, and the students' answers to a quiz or test. It uses techniques of public embarrassment – such as having to remain standing when unable to answer a question correctly – as a form of discipline to enforce and improve the expected performance of the congregation. Furthermore, this format explicitly places those who are literate in the position of the discipliner on a rotating basis. The mechanisms for fostering a sensibility and acceptance of what constitutes legitimate knowledge are intertwined with the construction of a particular notion of authority.

Hence, through these processes of discipline, conversion to the Maranata church should also be seen as a process of conversion towards the modern subject. These forms of regimentation are deeply associated with the dominant narratives of modernity. As Keane (2007) has argued, there is a clear similarity between Protestant missionary proselytizing – and in this case conversion to Evangelicalism – and the drive for conversion that characterizes the moral narratives of modernity.

These disciplinary mechanisms embedded in the practices of Bible study are not a total novelty for Hapu people. After all, most if not all of Hapu had experienced quite similar or harsher mechanisms of disciplining and punishment when they attended the primary school that was established in the community during the 1970s. As in many other Andean communities, Hapu invested large resources in getting a school that would ensure their children to learn the language of power and its reading and writing technologies (Degregori 1986, Montoya 1990). Nevertheless, the four years of relative daily attendance at school, conducted solely in Spanish, did not make them fully literate. Beyond learning some Spanish, and reading and writing it at very elemental levels, the school had another impact: As several scholars of the Andes have noted, the school carried the usually implicit, though sometimes explicit, discourse of insurmountable hierarchy between the Spanish world of reading and writing over the oral world of Quechua. The school reinforced over and over that its students' language, practices and knowledge were essentially inferior to those of the Spanish speaking world (Rama 1996). This hierarchy was conveyed in ways that Quechua children were already used to dealing with: Engrained in daily practice, embedded in the punishments for speaking Quechua, transmitted without necessarily being explicitly explained, with symbolic violence that was also accompanied by physical abuse (Ames 2002, 2009, Ansi3n 1986, Degregori 1991, Montoya 1990).

Nevertheless, having Quechua as the language of the church is certainly a positive step towards regarding one's own language as worthy of God's words; as I mentioned before, the Quechua translation of the Bible might be the most important text in strengthening a still weak Quechua literacy (see De la Piedra 2010, Zavala 2002). Yet the mechanisms that are the foundation for the Maranata transmission of knowledge are not present in most Quechua practices. Bible study is focused on the semantic meaning of the text's reading followed by the pastor's explanations. This departs from those Quechua practices analyzed in the previous chapter in which syntactic and pragmatic relations are the main mechanisms at play in the transmission and reproduction of ontology, ideology and knowledge. Most Hapu converts to the Maranata church have difficulties with practices that do not follow the basic logics of their everyday and ritual practices. The silences, the difficulty reading, the failed expectations between most congregants and the

church leaders all speak to the semiotic disconnect between mechanisms knowledge transmission that converts are used to in their daily lives and those inherent in Bible study practices during Sunday services.

The pastor of the local church acknowledges these difficulties openly. While doing so, he reproduces a hierarchy between an external space to Hapu, closer to the lettered city, and the inferior status of Hapu people. People outside Hapu are more “prepared” because they can understand the written text more easily. Referring to Maranata people in towns around Ocongate and the city of Cuzco, he claims:

Chaytan runaqa hap'iyushanku, chaytan runaqa intinriru mastan, mana kikin kaqtaqa. faaacillata runaqa intinrin. Ñuqanchistaq mana allin kaqtaqa facillata entindisunman. Chiqaq kaqtataq ichaqa mana intindiya atinchu. Maytan ñuqa qhipapipas inlishapi sapa jueves tarde memorizacionkunata apamunankuta munani.²⁶

Those people are grasping, those people are more knowledgeable. Not like here. That people understand eaaasily. We would not understand it that easily. That is true, cannot understand. Hence, in the future I want to carry out memorization each Thursday evening in the church.

Just as the Catholic forms of prayer in Hapu seem to have been the product of a proselytization that sought to transmit knowledge through prayer's entextualization and memorization, the pastor believes that memorization can improve how Hapu converts understand the written text. To a degree, the Maranata service confronts the same challenges that Catholic missionaries and priests confronted in years long ago, that is, how to erase knowledge that is embedded and reproduced in the pragmatic and syntactic relations of daily and ritual practices.

Obviously, Catholic efforts of evangelization are a far cry from contemporary Maranata proselytizing. The Maranata do not convert as part of a mandatory state policy and these conversions do not have the colonial compulsory characteristic of previous Christianization. While the pastor and the charismatic leaders of Quchamarka exert authority and maintain a hierarchical advantage over most converts, the church is in principle and in practice an organization made by its members and for them.

Ingrained in the recognition of the difficulties that Hapu people have in dealing with the written text, there is an acknowledgement of an inferior status, an articulation with the dominant narratives of modernity and its concomitant ideologies of social hierarchy. Hence the practices of reading and explaining the Bible are successful in the

²⁶ Conversation with the Maranata pastor. Hapu 2008.

pragmatic production of hierarchies. Literacy produces hierarchy by being a way of understanding the Bible, of being able to connect directly with the word of God.

* * *

The main differences between Catholic and Maranata daily practices are related to chewing coca and performing its etiquette. More associated with ritual contexts, both at the family and community levels, is the Maranata refusal to consume alcohol. These two prohibitions are intimately related to the rejection of family rituals and *kustunri* festivities and are rationalized as a moral condemnation of the consequences of drunkenness and the idolatry of honoring the place-persons. I noted that the prohibition and refusal to consume coca leaves, in practice, has the unintentional consequence of the presuppositions of Quechua ontology. Refusing to chew coca, after having practiced this ritual for years ironically indexes the presence of the place-persons and the convert's refusal to pay honor to them.

Bible study, though hailed as the central mechanism for reaching Maranata converts, might be the least effective mechanisms through for acquiring the teachings of the new church. While there are particularly passionate readers of the Bible, this is not the main practice through which new church members are exposed to the core ideas of Evangelicalism. Reading and explaining the Bible are rather mechanisms that successfully produce hierarchy. This hierarchy is strongly aligned with dominant narratives of modernity present in the region, which articulate the regional sociocultural hierarchies.

In contrast to Bible study's ineffectiveness, praying and singing seem to be the most effective practices for the project of indoctrination of the Maranata. The poetic structure of communal praying more deftly engages converts through experiencing the transcendent during the Sunday services. In contrast with formulaic Catholic prayer, Maranata prayer is a deeply emotional and strong communicative act. It is central in the construction and reproduction of the certainty that God is not a far away being in the *hanaqpacha* – the world above – but actually a close person who is proximate to the problems, dilemmas and challenges of daily life. This type of conversational prayer

highlights the immediacy and readiness of God to listen to his children. It converts God from a disinterested being to a permanent presence in daily life.

Likewise, singing is also important. Due to the entextualized character of these songs and their coordinated performance, they work as carriers of stable referential meanings. By force of repetition, people end up learning the most popular church songs by memory. Additionally, these songs follow Hapu taste for the regionally popular *waynu* with *bandurria* and *requinto* and, as such, might be the most important mechanism for transmitting ideas about how the world is and the relationship between humans and God.

All these Maranata practices follow a pattern that purposefully departs from *kustunri*. Most of these practices are in sharp contrast with their correspondent *kustunri* practices. Then, to be Maranata in Hapu is, to large extent, to leave behind the distinctive practices of being Q'ero (but to continue to be Quechua in a more generic sense).

I do not know what the future paths that these changes in practices might take. A view from the dominant ideologies of modernity might read these changes as part of the teleological fate of Hapu to convert, not only to Evangelicalism, but to “modernity”: A process read as an inevitable but deferred erasure of indigenous practices and assimilation to the dominant Spanish speaking worlds. In actuality social processes take unknown paths and teleologies do not make for good social analysis. For example, one could scarcely imagine that the Yanaruma people, who had been Maranata for years, might reconvert to the practices of the *kustunri* as was explained in chapter VII.²⁷ In the same vein, it is difficult to know if Hapu's converts will continue to have difficulties with the service's practices, particularly the reading and explanation of the bible, and how these difficulties will shape Maranata ritual practice in the future. Through the evolving of these tensions it is emerging a distinctive Quechua way to be Evangelical that, as in the case of Catholicism, will carry the imprint of Quechua mechanisms of semiotic regimentation and its concomitant worlds.

²⁷ The Yanaruma return to practicing the *kustunri* could be seen as unacceptable, similarly to Rendón Willka's return to his community in the novel *Todas las Sangres* by José María Arguedas (see chapter II). Most of the social scientists present in a famous round table on the novel held in Lima in 1965 found absurd and implausible the description of an urban migrant who returned to his rural community with new knowledge acquired in Lima (such as literacy) but who continued to honor the place-persons (see Rochabrún 2000).

CHAPTER X
MARANATAS AND CATHOLICS NEGOTIATING
NARRATIVES OF MODERNITY

This chapter is devoted to analyzing how both Catholic and Maranata people negotiated the interlocking narratives of modernity that are produced in the city of Cuzco and more broadly in the Peruvian public sphere. I discuss how Maranata converts relate to the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy. First I will explore the reasons behind the Maranata condemnation of *kustunri*, and its relations to their construction of a sense of moral superiority. Then I analyze how Maranata conversions are guided not only by the desire to improve their lives but also by actual evaluations of God's interventions and their view of a historical realignment of social relations between God, the place-persons, and human beings. The next section considers the ways that Maranata converts challenge but also reproduce the dominant narratives of modernity built upon derogatory discourses about indigenous peoples.

I will then move to discuss the reasons that the Catholic, and specially the people of Yanaruma who returned to the practice of *kustunri* after being Maranata, have to keep practicing the *kustunri* facing the Maranata criticisms. I discuss how their return involves an evaluation of the indexical traces left by non-human agents intervening in the world. The chapter ends with a discussion about how those who practice the *kustunri* react to and criticize the Maranata claims to moral superiority. Associated to this later point, this section also discusses how the Yanaruma and the other Catholic deal with the dominant narratives of modernity.

Maranata narratives of conversion and the condemnation of *kustunri*

Most of the conversion narratives that I heard were brief and followed a relatively clear pattern. Before, there was drunkenness, domestic violence, and disregard of children's care and education. After becoming Maranata, there is no more drunkenness, no more violence, good care of children, and hence, life is better. The following fragment of a conversation with Felicitas, who was in her mid-thirties and whose family was one of the first converts to evangelicalism in Hapu, offers a short example:

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: Imayna maranataman tukuranki? | G: How did you become Maranata? |
| F: Ñishu machaq kaspera | F: There was too much drunkenness |
| G: Qan? | G: You? |
| F: Aha, ñishu maqanakuq kaspera | F: Yes, there were too many fights. |
| G: Imarayku | G: Why? |
| F: Machaspa ispusuy maqawaqtin. Haykupurayku. | F: Being drunk, my husband beat me. Because of that [we] entered. |
| G: Kaypi? | G: Here? |
| F: Hapupi, phista kaqtin | F: In Hapu. When there was a festivity. |
| G: Uhm | G: Uhm |
| F: Phista kaqtin, karnawalkuna kaqtin | F: When there was a festivity, when carnival. |
| G: Aha | G: Uhm |
| F: Chaykunapi machaspa | F: In those occasions being drunk |
| G: Machaspa puriran | G: Went around drunk |
| F: Aha, kunan mana machapuykuchu | F: Yes, now we [exclusive] do not get drunk. |
| G: Mana ni imatapis | G: Not even a little? |
| F: Mana ni imatapis, allin kawsaypi kapuyku | F: Not at all. We have a good life. |

The following is another fragment of a conversation with Nicolas, who was in his late thirties when we talked. He was also one of the first converts to Evangelicalism in Hapu. This conversation took place during a break from the work of harvesting potatoes in his fields, accompanied by his children:

- | | |
|---|--|
| N: Ñuqaqa Maranatamanqa kay Kristu yupaychaqqa haykurani, haqhay p'unchay ñuqa mana allin runa karqani, kisas machayuspa maqanakuq. | N: I become Maranata in order to honor Christ. Those times I was not a good man. Being drunk I even used to fight. |
| G: Ríki. | G: Really? |
| N: Wawaytapas, warmiytapas machaypi abandunaq runa, intunsis akhna runa kashaqtiymi, chay Ivanhiliu Yuspaq kamachikuyñin hamurqan, chay machayqa manan allinchu, machaypiqa runaqa ch'usaqyanmi, machayqa abadunakuymi, ankaq simita uyaripaymi, kasukuspa ñuqa kay ivanhiliu Kristu qatikuytaqa chaskikurqani, i luiku chay qatikusqay uhumanta, | N: Being a person who abandoned [myself] in drunkenness, I also [abandoned] my children, my wife. When I was such kind of person, this gospel, God's order, came to me. That drunkenness was not good. People in drunkenness are finished. Drunks abandon. When I listened these words, when I paid attention to this gospel, I received the directions of Christ. And then [I became] directed from |

¹ Conversation with Nicolás. Hapu 2008.

manapunitaqmi kunankama machapunichu,
mana ima mana. allintapas wasiypi
wawaykunawan warmiywan
maqanakuyypiñachu kani kunanqa ashwan
allintaña purini ¹

inside and certainly never until now I got drunk
again. Nothing. Also in good way, in my house,
I do not anymore beat my children, my wife.
Now I walk in very good way.

This follows a pattern common to many different contexts of conversion beyond Hapu, the Quechua communities, and even Peru or Latin America. Conversion to Evangelical or Pentecostal churches is usually characterized by a radical change in the lives of the converts marked by an encounter with a transcendent agent. This focus on a rupture with the past, in creating a boundary between now and then, associated with moral change, have all been registered by scholars (Meyer 1998, Robbins 2007, Schieffelin 2002, Smilde 2007).

This radical break with the past involves a rupture of social relations with certain people. To break with the past's wrongful practices, beliefs, and ignorance involves a departure from those that still hold those beliefs and continue to live in ignorance (Meyer 1998). As Keane (2007) points out, both the moral narrative of secular modernity and the narrative of religious conversion are structurally similar. Both render the past as the period before the radical rupture, when practices prevented any improvement of the present state. "[T]he past, in the narrative of religious conversion as much as in that of secular modernity, is the world of alien gods and those who maintain relations with them" (Keane 2007:131). Maranata converts make claims of moral superiority similar to those who claim or tacitly assume to be part of the "modern" world. Hence, the hierarchical opposition between modern/traditional becomes to some extent iterated by fractal recursivity over the opposition *Maranata/Katuliku* in the context of Hapu (Irvine and Gal 2000). Through such narratives, converts make claims of moral superiority in relation to the Catholic people who, we must assume, by cultivating the rituals of the *kustunri* are lost in drunkenness, beat their partners, and live a morally perilous life.

During my fieldwork, I lived in Don Luis' Catholic household. We drank alcohol only on special occasion; daily life does not involve drinking. It only happens when there is a family or a communal ritual. During my stay in Hapu, I consumed much more alcohol than the average Catholic because I participated, as a guest or as a godfather, in many more family rituals than is usual. As opposed to other Andean communities, agricultural work is not so clearly associated with alcohol consumption (see Harvey

1993). Alcohol consumption is strongly associated with ritual occasions. Drunkenness is allowed, practiced, and celebrated, in any kind of rituals. Drinking is fundamental to the reproduction and experience of the community at play in the rituals of the rainy season. As in other communities in the Andes, drinking on these occasions is almost mandatory and it is expected that people will be totally drunk in these rituals (Harvey 1993, Huarcaya 2003).²

The most problematic facet of alcohol consumption in Hapu, and in most other poor, rural Andean communities, is the quality of the alcohol consumed. Hapu people consume two types of alcohol: aqha and tragu. Aqha is corn beer produced by the family that is sponsoring a communal festivity and some of the family rituals. While twenty years ago people cultivated their own corn in order to be able to produce aqha, when they lost their access to the *yunka* of Kiku, they had to start buying or bartering corn in order to make their aqha.³ Aqha is healthy when compared to tragu. Decades ago, tragu was sugar cane alcohol but today it is a totally different product. Tragu is based on industrial alcohol, a poisonous alcohol unsuited for human consumption. Pure sugar cane alcohol is almost impossible to find in Cuzco due to the cheap price of the industrial one. Most sugar cane alcohol is already mixed with industrial alcohol. Tragu is consumed dissolved in water (one measure of alcohol and three or four of water) in order to drink it. However, it is the cheapest alcohol that is sold in any small store anywhere in rural Peru. To the best of my knowledge, there has not been any serious effort from the state health authorities to address this public health issue.

The boundedness of alcohol consumption to ritual practice – that actually limits to a considerable extent the socially appropriate contexts for alcohol consumption and inebriation – makes Maranata criticism of drunkenness directly linked to a criticism of the practices of *kustunri*. The following is a fragment of a longer conversation I had with Toribio, one of the Maranata's charismatic leaders. We were discussing why the *phallcha*⁴ songs, sung mainly during Carnival festivities, would be offensive to God.

² For discussions about drunkenness in the Andes see Saignes and Salazar-Soler 1993.

³ See chapter V

⁴ *Phallcha* (Qu) *Gentiana luteomarginata*. This red gentian grows at high altitudes close to the high mountain passes. It blossoms during the rainy season (January, February, March). Its flowers are used for the celebration of the male llamas called *phallchay* during the rainy season and just the festivities of *pukllay* (Wissler 2009:65). During this celebration flowers of *phallchay* are thrown over the male llamas.

- G: Imaraykuchá Dios phiñasqa kanmanchu?
T: Nusi ima rayku, mana kustunripunichá mana agradanchu pay Diosman
G: Ummh.
T: Aha
G: Ichaqa chaywan ñuqa mana convencidochu.
T: Kay, kay pacha, kay pacha kustunri.
G: Aha
T: Machaykunawan, anchhayna ñishanchis hina riki imaymana, imaymana huchawan riki, chay phallchakuna taki kashan riki, imaymana hucha, kunanpas, imaraykutaq chay runa wañushan
- G: Uhum
T: Chay machayunku tumaspa riki, chay phallcha takikun
G: Umhu.
T: Y chaymantataq chay phallchata, tumaspa, chaymantataq kay warminkuta maqayunku
G: Mmm
T: Silusanayukunku, imaymanata karahyanayukunku, khayna, aqhayna larp'inayukunku, anchay, anchay huchawan kushka kumparasqa, chay taki chay kasuwan mana agradakunñachu
G: Ummh
T: Umhu.
G: Ichaqa ñawpaq mana chaypi karan, mana wañusqa runa karan karnawalpi, icha karan siemrepuni karan.
T: Ñawpaq awisisqa karanyá manaya chhayna sapa phistallachu
G: Ummh.
T: Aha, kunan imaraykutaq karnawalpi wañupun, pashkuwapi wañurapullantaq
G: Ummh.
T: Ashkha irqichakunapas wañushallan, Yanarumapi riki.⁵
- G: But why would God be angry [if you sing the gentian flower song?]
T: I do not know why. *Kustunri* definitely does not please God
G: Ummh
T: Yes
G: But, I am not totally convinced by that
T: This, this world, this world's *kustunri*
G: Yes
T: This song of the gentian flowers is accompanied with drunkenness - we [inclusive] said so, right? - with all sorts of sins, right?, even what sort of sins! Why even that person has just died?
G: Uhum
T: They get drunk, right, while singing that gentian flower song
G: Umhu
T: And then, [singing] that gentian [song], drunk, they beat their women.
G: Mmm
T: They become jealous of each other, insulting each other from anything. This, that! In that way they go along together with sins. This song, along with these problems, is not pleasing anymore.
G: Ummmh
T: Umhu
G: But, before, there have never been, there, there had not been dead people in carnival, or always have been?
T: Before, sometimes there were, but not like this, in each festivity.
G: Ummh
T: Aha, now why one death in Carnival, and [another] death in Easter?
G: Ummh
T: A lot of children also are dying in Yanaruma, right?

In this fragment, Toribio does not condemn the song in itself; it is drunkenness and its moral consequences that are associated with God's displeasure. One argument is that all the practices of the *kustunri* are condemned by God due to this association with drunkenness and morally regrettable behavior (beatings, infidelity, and jealousy). Such negative consequences are highlighted by then recent local events, for instance, the

These flowers are associated to fecundity of animals in the whole region (see Mannheim 1998:404). These flowers are indexes of the time in which they blossom (the rainy season that allows agricultural products to grow) and the high pastures where they grow close to the mountain peaks. These phallcha songs are part of the Q'ero repertoire of song genres to be sung in the celebrations of the rainy season (Wissler 2009).

⁵ 2008 04 08 R09_0034c Toribio

deaths that happened in Yanaruma in association with the celebration of *Pukllay* and *Paskuwa*.⁶ Toribio claimed that, before, there was not a pattern of deaths in each festivity and that this might be due to God's chastisement of the Yanaruma who had converted to Maranata but went back to practicing the *kustunri*. He also relates these events to the deaths of infants, associating drinking with abandonment of proper childcare, another recurrent theme in Maranata condemnation of *kustunri*.

Also associated with the radical lifestyle changes conversion is also related to discourses about cleanliness and hygiene.⁷ Consider the discussion of the pastor, elaborating about how humans are the house of God:

Diospaq espiritumpa q tiyakunan wasi, chay wasitaq, mantinisqa kanan, chay wasi kanan límpio, imaynan ñaqha rimashanchis riki, huq wasiqa kanan, *presentable*, huq wasiqa kanan yachakuna hina, huq wasiqa kanan, suma q allchasqa, arí, nispa nin riki, chayqa, anchay hina material wasi riki, piru ñuqanchismi, espirituwalmintisya kakunanchis, suma q, imaraykuchus, Dios tiyakun, mana kuwalkirachu riki, ñawpaqtarí, piqpa tiyanantaq suqunchis karqan, manan allin ispiritukuna tiyaran, riki.⁸

The house of God's spirit. That house has to be maintained, be clean. What are we talking about? A house has to be presentable [from Spanish], a house has to be like the houses of those who know, a house has to be well ordered. Yes, it says so, right? Then, as a material house, right?, but it says that we have to be spiritually beautiful. What it says so? Because God lives [in us], not anyone, right? Before, who had lived in our heart? The bad spirits lived [inside us], right?

Hence, one important element in the Maranata claim of moral superiority is that life is better without alcohol consumption and the associated morally regrettable behavior such as fights between community members, domestic violence, jealousy, betrayal, lack of care of children and also a life of dirtiness. *Kustunri* is bad because it is associated with drunkenness and the condemnable practices around it. This type of claim is backed up with Ephesians 5:18.⁹

Sometimes, but rather infrequently, Maranatas referred to economic reasons for refusing to drink alcohol and cultivating the *kustunri*. The *kustunri* communal celebrations work with a logic that involves cyclical redistribution of a household's accumulation, which is associated with competition and the creation of status. When converts refused to participate in the festivities as staff bearers, they certainly did not

⁶ See chapter VII.

⁷ This resonates with don Sebastián's claims that Hapu people live in a dirtier manner than those who already know how to speak Spanish. See chapter V, section "Talking about social hierarchies with two Hapu men."

⁸ Discourse of the pastor in a Maranata service. Hapu 2008.

⁹ "And do not get drunk with wine, for that is dissipation, but be filled with the Spirit" (New Standard American Bible).

have to endure the economic burden of the *Pukllay* and *Paskuwa* festivities. Maranatas claim that instead of wasting resources in festivities, they would rather spend their money on their children's education. In the similar way, other Maranata converts criticize how their parents lived in poverty:

<p>Mamitay papay hallpaq karan kukata, hinaspa huq killapaq rantikunku kinsa libra kukata a trinta suliswan huq uwihawan, hinaspa papay, mamitay aknalla hallpanku, huq uwihawan rantispa,¹⁰</p>	<p>My mother my father were chewers of coca. Then, one month they bought three pounds of coca with thirty soles with one sheep. In that way my father, my mother chewed coca, selling sheep.</p>
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While some research has stressed this kind of economic arguments as the driving reasons for Andean conversion to Evangelicalism (e.g. Barreda 1993, Cárdenas 1997, Olson 2006), in Hapu's case, this is not a prominent theme in the Maranata discussion of conversion but simply a consequence of having decided to live a better life, something that includes economic aspects but goes beyond them.

However, *kustunri* is not bad just because its practices are associated with sinful acts. Consider Toribio's condemnation of the consumption of coca leaves.

<p>T: ...manapuni asta kukatapas hallpapunichu. G: Ummh, ichaqa kuka mana allinchu? T: Arí, imaraykuchus kuka mana allin G: Imarayku. T: Simpri kay pachapi riki, kukawanqa simpri, kukachawanpuni imapis riki, kay pacha kaqman sirwikun riki G: Riki. T: Imataña nanki chaypas kay pacha kaq apukunamanpas, tirakunamanpas, may puqyukunamanpas, wayllakunamanpas, shinpri, shinpri kukachawanpuni riki shinpri kukachallawanpas haykullanpuni. G: Ummh T: Yirwaya kakushampas kuka piru anchay kasuwanya ñinku, ñisqa kapun kay naqa, kukaqa mana, kay mal, mal ispirituq platanmi kuka G: Mal ispirituq? T: Umhu. G: Imata mal ispiritu. T: Chay mal ispirituqa kan kay, kay pachapi imaymana runakunata tintashan G: Aha. T: Anchaykunayá G: Mal ispiritu kukata munan. T: Chay, chay, chay kukawampuniyá sirwikun ríki</p>	<p>T: ...I do not even consume coca anymore. G: Ummh, but is coca bad? T: Yes. Why it is said that coca is bad? G: Why? T: Always in this world, right, certainly always with coca, right, [they] serve this earth, right? G: Right. T: In this way, this earth, also to the lords [mountains], the lands, the springs, the prairies, always, always, with coca, right, always, [they] always enter with coca. G: Ummh T: Coca is an herb, but they say that with it [they] are noticed, saying that, coca is the dish of the evil spirit. G: Evil spirit? T: Umhu G: What is evil spirit? T: That evil spirit exists in this world, in many different ways tempts people. G: Aha T: In those ways. G: The evil spirit likes coca. T: [He/she] serves always with this coca</p>
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¹⁰ Conversation with Julián, a Maranata convert. Hapu 2007.

¹¹ 2008 04 08 R09_0034c

G: Uhmhu.
 T: Chayyá chay supaypaq platun ñisqa
 [...]
 T: Nusi, mana chay, mana allinta imataq kay pacha sirwiymachay, chay kustunri tusuykuna anchayyá idulu sirwiykuna, idulu, idulu aduraykuna riki.
 G: Aha.
 T: Anchaykunayá
 G: Mana munanchu
 T: Mana chay, mana allin kaq, chay mana allin kaqmanta t'araquychis ñuqapi iñispan qispisqa kankichis ñispa ñin, ríki, bibliapi, chayraykuya mana anchay kukata hallpaykuñachu¹¹

G: Uhmhu
 T: That is the dish of the devil
 [...]
 T: I do not know. It is not good to serve to this earth, that *kustunri*, the dances, those attentions to idols, the adoration of idols, right?
 G: Aha
 T: Those things
 G: Do not like
 T: That is not good. That is not good. In this way we are separated. For me, as it is said, we are safe believing - right?- in the Bible. That is why we [exclusive] no longer chew coca leaves.

Felicitas offered a similar explanation of why the Maranata people should not chew coca leaves while she acknowledges that some of them keep doing it.

F: Imaraykuchus, mana allimpaqpuniyá chay kukaqa riki, akllakunapaq, imapaq chayraykuwan?	F: Why it might be? This coca is not good at all. For choosing [them]. What for, for what reason?
G: Akllakunapaq?	G: Choosing them?
F: Tiraman paganapaq, kukapuniyá ríki	F: To pay the earth, definitely coca, right?
G: Ríki	G: Right.
F: Anchayraykuyá mana akulliykuchu	F: That is why we [exclusive] do not chew coca leaves.
G: Ni huq Maranata kukata hallpashanchu?	G: Don't even one Maranata chew coca?
F: Mana hallpashanchu, wakinqa mana kasukuqqa hallpashanyá ¹²	F: Do not chew coca [but] some do not obey and keep chewing coca.

Some of the members of the church assured me that the places association with the evil spirit, *Satan* or *Supay*, and the prohibition to chew coca leaves is written in the Bible. Others acknowledged that the Bible does not mention directly coca leaves or the practices of the *kustunri*, but they take Exodus 20 as a key text that explains clearly God's position in relation to the practices of the *kustunri*:

G: Maypin nishan mana allinchi, Dios mana chayta munanchu	G: Where it is saying that it is bad, that God does not like that?
T: Bibliapi q'ala rimashan	L: The Bible speaks clearly.
G: Ríki.	G: Right?
T: Aha. kashan, Iksudus vintipi ñishan	T: Yes. It says in Exodus 20.
G: Éxodos veinte	G: Exodus 20
T: Aha	T: Yes.
G: Awir qhawasaq	G: I will check.
T: Aha, Iksudus vintipi ñishan; ama kay pachapi Diuskunata yupaychaychischu ñishan, ama kay pacha Diuskuna Diosñiyuqchu kaychis, ashwampas sapallan hanaqpacha Diusta aduraychis. ¹³	T: Yes. Exodus 20 says that we [inclusive] should not honor Gods of this earth, Those gods of this earth are not our [inclusive] God. There is only one God in the world above that we [inclusive] adore.

¹² Conversation with Felicitas, a Maranata convert in her early forties. Hapu 2008.

¹³ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

Exodus 20:3-5¹⁴ is central in the discourse of the Maranata against the practice of the kustunri, particularly against the practices of worshipping Catholic images beyond Hapu, such as the pilgrimage to Dear Father Shining Snow. Exodus 20:3-5 refers to idols in terms of iconic representations that are easily translated to the images of saints, as in the following fragment of my conversation with Felicitas:

- | | |
|---|---|
| F: Chay santukunaqa chay Quyllurit'i imahin | F: Those saints, that Shining Snow [are] images |
| G: Chay Quyllurit'i hina? | G: Like that Shining Snow? |
| F: Aha, imahin kashan riki | F: Yes, there is an image, right? |
| G: Riki | G: Right. |
| F: Yuspaq imahinñinya chay kashan riki mana
chiquaq Yuspunichu ashwampis runaq ruwasqan
kashan riki | F: There is a God's image, right, not true God but
only made by humans, right? |
| G: Aaah | G: Aaah |
| [...] | [...] |
| F: Anchay imahin, anchayllapiyá paykuna kriyinku,
chayllataya paykuna nanku, Yus kasqanpaq
hap'in kay pachapin Yusñinchisqa chayman
risun ñispa kurakunapis ñinku na, wakin
wawankunatapis riki, pantachishanku ¹⁵ | F: They only believe in that image. In that only
way they, saying, let's go there to our God of
this world, God is there. The priests also say,
and they make their children to be mistaken. |

Here, Felicitas is not talking of *image* (*imahin*) in the sense of a sign that resembles its object by virtue of having directly or concretely some of its qualities (Mitchell 1986, Peirce 1955[1902]). This semiotic notion is in tension with another meaning of *imahin* (image) that she seems to be deploying. An *imahin* would be a human made artifact that is not a person. Here, there is not a tension between iconicity and personhood, representation and presence (Belting 1994). Rather, the fundamental disjuncture between Catholic and Maranata positions is that, for the former, the saint (as a material thing) is a person, whereas for the Maranata, it lacks personhood, it is an inanimate object or, at least, it is not powerfully animated. This becomes clear when she states, “they only believe in that image... they say ‘let’s go there to our God of this world.’”

Similarly, when Maranatas discuss the evil spirit associated with the place-persons, they seem to be following a separation between the materiality of the places and an immaterial agent. This notion is already present in the way that God and Satan are

¹⁴ “You shall have no other gods before Me. You shall not make for yourself an idol, or any likeness of what is in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the water under the earth. You shall not worship them or serve them; for I, the LORD your God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children, on the third and the fourth generations of those who hate Me” (New Standard American Bible).

¹⁵ Conversation with Felicitas. Hapu 2008.

framed as immaterial agents. The conflict between God and the places can only be due to the relation of the places with Satan, the evil spirit. The undoubted personhood of the places that involves their materiality is aligned with an immaterial evil spirit. Hence, the food given to the places is also consumed by the evil spirit.

While Maranatas challenge the idea that saints are persons, they do not question the certainty that places are persons. Places – as Toribio put it, mountains, plains, springs, and prairies – are not made by humans. Exodus 20:3-5 is usually read in combination with Revelations 21: 8, which explicitly mentions those who prepare food-offerings for the place-persons: “But for the cowardly and unbelieving and abominable and murderers and immoral persons and sorcerers and idolaters and all liars, their part will be in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.” (New American Standard Bible). In the Quechua translation of the Bible, *sorcerers* are equated with *layqa*, that is, as *paqus* who know how to give offerings to the place-persons in order to harm other human beings, thereby producing disease, misfortune, or death (Sociedad_Bíblica_Peruana 2004).

As such, these prohibitions provide two grounds for the moral superiority of the Maranata. On one hand, alcohol has negative effects and is linked with many sins, such as domestic violence and lack of proper attention to children. On the other hand, alcohol consumption is deeply associated with the practices of the *kustunri*, which are ultimately acts of worship of false gods and of agents aligned with the enemy of God, Satan. This latter rationale is at the core of the condemnation of the consumption of coca leaves and the provision of food to the place-persons. Both ideas are interrelated and are backed by Bible quotations. Hence, these claims of moral superiority are sanctioned by the command of an insurmountable, immaterial agent, understood as more powerful than all places that he created. Before elaborating more on the power assigned to the Bible, I will discuss how Maranata converts create a strong sense of factuality for their new understanding of the world.

Conversion and change

The present social order that includes different non-human persons is understood as contingent and a consequence of relatively recent changes. As Toribio claimed when we were talking about the gentian flowers song, “God no longer likes this song”. In this claim, he suggests that at some moment in the past, God liked the *phallcha* song and the practices associated with it. Toribio is pointing to changes in God’s and the places’ behavior, as well as changes in the ways the *kustunri* is practiced.

I noticed this sense of change in many interactions with Evangelical converts. Celestino, a Maranata convert who was then a member of the Directive Board of the community, mentioned his process of conversion during one of our conversations. He recalled how, as part of conversion’s requirements, his family’s entrance into the church involved a public burning of their clothes for dancing Qhapaq Qulla for Our Father Shining Snow, their carnival clothes, their musical instruments, and all objects associated with the *kustunri*. “Aren’t you sad?” I naively asked him, this man who was still regarded as the best *pitu tukaq* — traverse flute player — by the Catholic people. “Why would I?” “For burning those instruments of your parents’ ways?” “No,” he replied with a smile.

When I asked a similar question to Toribio, he had a similar attitude. He pointed out that this is actually a different time and there is no reason to be sad by the lost of the *kustunri*. In the following fragment, I even wound up recurring to the trope of the Inka heritage in my attempt to stress the sense of losing something valuable when deciding to stop practicing the *kustunri*.

G: Ichaqa qankuna mana llakisqa kanki chay
kustunrikuna ñawpamanta awiluykikunamanta,
chinkapunqa?

T: Manan, manan

G: Chay *herencia* ñawpamanta
awiluykikunamanta, inkakunamanta

T: Mmm, manapuniyá imatañayá llakikunapaqpis,
manañataq kaypi imapas ñawpa hinañachu
kashan chayri

G: Riki?

G: But aren’t you sad that the ancient *kustunri*,
your grandparents’ *kustunri* will be lost?

T: No, no

G: The inheritance from the past of your
grandparents, of the Inkas.

T: Mmm, definitely not, why should that make me
sad? Because, here, now, nothing is like it was
before.

G: Really?

T: Aha, manañayá, ñishanitaq manan kargu ruwaqpas ñawpa hinañachu ruwankupas, uma huqarinallapaña¹⁶

T: Yes, not anymore, and I am saying, those who assume festivity posts do not carry them out as before. Only for raising the head [i.e. just for boasting]

Now, the practice of the *kustunri* is done only for “raising the head,” for being ostentatious and insolent in front of others. It follows that, before, in the time of the grandparents, when God did not condemn the *kustunri*, it was practiced in a different way. How is this certainty about historical change constructed? What does it entail in terms of the places’ and God’s agency?

Besides the narratives of conversion that I already discussed, there are other ways in which people talk about conversion, based instead on the evaluation of certain events as indexes of the intervention of non-human agents. Consider the following cases:

Celestino converted in the first years after the turn of century. His wife became very ill and hence, he told me, he consulted with many *pampamisayuq*.¹⁷ He went all over; spent a lot of money on coca, alcohol, ingredients for the food-offerings, and payments to the *pampamisayuq*. “*I went one after the other... they just made me waste money. My wife was worse and worse. They just wanted to drink it all. I just was giving money for them to get drunk.*” Celestino was desperate. Without knowing what else to do to save his wife, he went to see the Maranata pastor. The pastor offered to pray for her in the Sunday meeting. Celestino went and prayed with them to save his wife. She improved and later totally recovered. Celestino and his family became Maranata.

Toribio was one of the most noticeable and charismatic leaders of the Maranata, and son of a highly recognized *pampamisayuq* who was an important leader of Hapu two decades earlier. As he claimed, before converting, he was a *pampamisayuq* himself:

T: Ñuqa tukurani Maranataman, imachus ñuqa arí kaypi, ankay kay pachapi apukunaman, tirakunaman, ñuqa allin kuka qhawaq karani.
G: Riki.
T: Umhu, hinaspa ñuqa...
G: Paqu karanki.

T: I turned to be Maranata, How I was! Here, in that time I was a good looker of coca, to the lords [mountains], to the fields.
G: Right
T: Uhum, then I...
G: Were you a *paqu*?

¹⁶ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

¹⁷ *Pampamisayuq*: It is a composed word. Pampa (Qu) plain, surface / Misa (Qu hispanism from *Mesa*): Table. The translation would be *the holder of a surface table*. This is another term used to refer to a *paqu*, a person who knows how to give complex food offerings to the places in order to cure illnesses, propitiate their protection and good will. *Pampamisayuq* is opposed to *Altumisayuq*, *the holder of a high table*. *Altumisayuq*, in contrast to *Pampamisayuq*, can talk directly with the places without the mediation of coca leaves.

¹⁸ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

- T: Paqu karani hinaspa ñuqaq animalñiy karan pisichalla
G: Ya.
T: Pisichalla. Mana papay, mamitay irinshata qupuwanku. Uwihata, llamata, wakata, pisi hukñinkachata, ishkeyñinkachata aqhna
G: Riki.
T: Chaychakuna ayna paqushani, paqushani apukunaman pagaspa, tirakunaman pagaspa, kuka qhawaqmampas huq larukunata purishanipuni, Q'ero, Kikuta paquman purishani
G: Riki.
T: Akhnashaspalla ñuqaq kayñiypi, sunquypi pinsarapuni, ñuqa rantini riki uwihawan kukata, rikaruta uwihay, llamawan rantini kukata paqunapaq, kaq paqumá pagallanitaq llamata qulqita. Hinaspa chayllapi ñuqaq pinsamintuy hampuwán, mihursuna kanman, manaña imatapas ruwapuymanchu, tirmampas, apumampas manaña pagapuymanchu chayqa mihur animal tukukapunmampis, chay disishunñiy haykupuwaran ñuqaman.
G: Ríki.
T: Aha, mana rindipuwanachu k'ata ni kuka rantisqayman, ni tragu rantisqayman, traguta shimpri paqupas manaya, munanku traguta allinta sirwiyusqa, ankayna sigaruta. Kukata allinta sirwiyunki chayyá allinta paqurisunki. Mana hinaqa manayá. Imataq. Manataq pagullapas kanchu chayqa astayá imata ruwa, ruwaririn.
G: Riki
T: Yanqallanta
G: Aah.
T: Chay mana ni uwihaypas mirapunchu, ni llamaypas mirapunchu, ni wakachaypas mirapunchu. Anchayllapi disiyuy, disiyuy kapuwaran. ñuqaq umaypi pinsamintuy sunquypi, mihur ashwan chay rilihiunman haykukapusaq. Chaypiqa ashwan mana imatapas ruwasaqchu chayqa. Mihur ashwan, mana animalñiyuq kapusaq ñispa
G: Ummh.
T: Pinsakurani.
G: Umhu
T: Anchay kundishunllawan haykupurani chay maranatanaman, iwanhillistaman¹⁸
- T: I was a *paqu*. Being so, my animals were only few
G: Uhum
T: Only few. My father, my mother did not give me inheritance. Very few. Only one or two lambs, llamas, cows. Only so.
G: Right
T: With only these few I was going to *paqus*. Paying to the lords [mountains], paying to the fields. I also was always walking to the lookers of coca, always walking to *paqus* of Q'ero, of Kiku.
G: Uhum
T: When I was doing so, I thought, deep inside me. I buy, right, coca for the sheep, ingredients [for making offerings] for my sheep, for the llamas, I buy coca for the *paqu*. I also give money, llama for paying the *paqu*. Then, in that moment, my thought returned to me. It might be better if I would not do anything for the fields, for the lords [mountains], I will not pay anymore. Then it would also be better that the animals were definitely gone. That decision came to me.
G: Uhum
T: Yes. [the animals] did not produce the slightest [benefit] for me. Not even for buying coca, not even for buying alcohol. The *paqus* always wanted to be well served with alcohol, with these cigarettes. [If] you serve well coca then [they] do well their job for you. If not so, not. And then [if] there is no payment, then they do whatever without any care.
G: Right?
T: Totally in vain.
G: Aah
T: That did not make increase neither my sheep, nor my llamas, nor my little cows. Only at that point I had my desire. In my head, my thought, in my essence, it will be way better; I will enter in that *rilihiun*. Then, in it, in a better way, I will not do anything. It will be much better. I will not have animals, saying.
G: Ummh
T: I thought
G: Umhu
T: With that certainly I entered to be Maranata, to Evangelicalism.

Toribio, then, made a disclaimer about being ostentatious – *what would be the purpose of lying?* he asked – and started to recount how many animals he had: thirty cows, forty male llamas, and almost twenty alpacas, one of the wealthiest in Hapu.¹⁹

In both narratives, the power of God over that of the places is demonstrated in actual events. In Celestino's case, the healing of his wife convinced him to enter to the church. In Toribio's case, he was rewarded with an increase to his herd sizes after entering the church. Both tried to please the places by giving offerings to overcome serious difficulties and did not receive anything in return. In both cases, they recurred to an alternative agent, mediated by the Maranata practices, in order to solve the situation. In both cases, the problems were solved and both became committed to the God of Evangelicalism.

Because a person interacts with countless places throughout her life makes it perennially possible to find a relatively sensible explanation or reasonable uncertainty of why some places might be angry and punish someone with certain misfortune. If beyond explanation, these reasons might be too complex or the capriciousness of the offended places beyond the interpretative skills even of an experienced *paqu*. Other misfortunes might be caused by places that had been given particularly seductive food in order to damage someone, and the *paqu* consulted to neutralize this damage might have not been as skillful as the evil *layqa* who did the damaging offering. As in Azande witchcraft or in Western medicine, the explanations for misfortunes and failures do not challenge the principles that organize the system but refer to the complexity of the situation or the skills of the specialists involved (Comaroff 1978, Evans-Pritchard 1937).

The cases of Celestino and Toribio illustrate how Evangelicalism offers an alternative explanatory framework beyond the resources of the *kustunri* for dealing with misfortunes. Both Celestino and Toribio found the solution to their problems through the alternative path of recurring to God through Maranata practices. Their narratives have a matter-of-factness to them, a plain and almost self-evident evaluation of the consequences of the intervention of powerful non-human agents.

¹⁹ The average in Hapu is around three or four cows and ten male llamas (and similar quantity of females) per family. Usually each family has also around twenty sheep. Beyond four families nobody else has alpacas.

As I mentioned before, Maranata converts do not have any doubt about the agency of the places. What has come into question is who the most powerful non-human agent is, who to recur to in cases of misfortune. For the Catholics, God is an agent disinterested in human affairs and daily activity, though the places do observe with interest; for the Maranata, God becomes the center of their religious worship. Converts are sure about the higher power of God in relation to the places and to some extent, but not always, their moral alignment.

There are other visions that reconcile the Hapu past and the cultivation of the *kustunri* with the Maranata present through a historical narrative. As Celestino and Toribio expressed in their narratives, either contemporary *paqu* are ineffective at garnering the favor of the places or the places are refusing to help their human children due to obscure reasons beyond human understanding. This situation contrasts sharply with previous times, when the places favored Hapu and gave them good harvests and animals. Toribio deploys a narrative of loss: not only did the places favor the Hapu elders, who knew well how to serve them, but Hapu people also displayed stronger markers of indigeneity (such as male's braids):

- | | |
|---|--|
| T: Kuka qhawaq, allin karan papay. | T: My father was a good coca looker. |
| G: Ichaqa ima rayku pay allin karan apukunawan, pachamamawan, kunan manaña. | G: But, why he was good with the lords [mountains] and the mother earth, and now it is no longer possible? |
| T: Nusi, imaynan karampas ñini ñuqa chayta, pinsakuni imaynatan paykuna allintachá sirwiranku, nusi pi, manaya chayta, papaypa machulaypa nata, chay imaymana paqkuyñinta ñuqayku, ñuqapis disiyakuni chay pay hina ruwasaq ñispa, yanapakuni, manapuniyá | T: I do not know. I also ask myself how it was then. How they served really well? I do not know. The way we [exclusive] do the practices of <i>paqu</i> are not the same way than my father, the old ones, did them, I also desired. I said, I will do just like him, I helped, but definitely [it is] not [the same]. |
| G: Mana, | G: No |
| T: Manapuniyá, manapuniyá imatapas. | T: Definitely not, definitely not anything |
| G: Y ñawpaq imata pasaran, Dios mana paykunawan tiyaran, mana kushka ripuran, mana allin kawsan karan ñawpaq? Icha. | G: But what happened before? Didn't God live with them? Didn't they walk together? Was not a good life before? Or... |
| T: Nusi allinmi karan, allinmi machulaypis karan riqsiniraqmi machulaytapas. | T: I don't know. It was good. My old ones were good. I still knew my old ones. |
| G: Aah. | G: Aah |
| T: Aha, yuraq umayuqmi karan [...] qhipapi simp'ayuq karan. | T: Yes. They had white heads [...] They had a braid in the back, |
| G: Hayk'aqmi? | G: When? |
| T: Unayña, chay machulaykunayá | T: Long ago, our [exclusive] old ones. |
| G: Aah, qan qhawaranki? | G: Did you see [them]? |

²⁰ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

T: Aha, rikuraniraqyá
[...]
G: Ummh, ñuqa pinsashani; sichus ñawpaq allin kawsaran apukunawan, riki pachamamawan
T: Umha.
G: Imarayku kunan manaña.
T: Umhu, nusi pi, imaynan kanpis chay ñuqapis chayta pinsani. Mana. antis imanaqtinmi allinta, paykuna apukunaman sirwispa karanku, pruduktukunapas kusicharanku allinta, animalkunapis karan, imaynapin paykuna chayta ruwaranku ñispaya ñuqa pinsani, manaya chayta atiykuñachu kunan.²⁰

T: Yes, I still saw [them]
[...]
G: Ummh, I am thinking. If before people lived well with the mountains and the mother earth
T: Umha
G: Now, why that is not the case anymore?
T: Umhu, well, I do not know, I also think, how is that? Why before it was good? When they were servers of the lords (mountains), they harvested good products, there were animals. I say, I think, how did they do that? Now we [exclusive] cannot do that anymore.

This narrative renders the circumstances and practices of the past as an appropriate, effective, and ultimately successful way to live in society. While this is a historical narrative that does not address, for example, why the places might allowed the exploitative hacienda regime to thrive or any other negative aspects of the past, it nevertheless does reconcile the past practices of the kustunri with the Maranata present for the converts.

I turned to discuss how there were people who actually practiced the kustunri and were doing well with their animals, particularly in Yanaruma, where there were a couple of families who clearly had accumulated more wealth than the average family:

G: Ichaqa huq runa kunan pachamamakunata servishan, riki.
T: Aha, aha, piru manapuniña riki allinchi.
G: Mana allinchi kashanchu?
T: Manaya, manaya allin.
G: Imata pasan paykunawan
T: Nusi, manayá don Juanpas sirwikushanpunichá riki
G: Ríki sirwishan.
T: Sirwishan piru manataq allintachu animalpas kashan riki...
G: Mana ashkha animal.
T: Pisi, pisi, pisichalla ríki.
G: Maranata runa ashwan ashkha animal kashan?
T: Aha, Wirnawi kashan ashkha
G: Y Yanaruma runa mana, mana animalniyuq?
T: Manapuni paykunapis.
G: Mana.
T: Mana, pisilla,
G: Y don Marianu.
T: Pay ichaqa, paypa ichaqa, antismantapas paykunaqa karampuniyá paqucha, llamanku. Karampuni asta papan kachiran.
G: Ummh.

G: But other people are currently serving the mother earths, right?
T: Yes, yes, but definitely it isn't good anymore.
G: Is it not good?
T: No, it is not good.
G: What happen with them?
T: I do not know. Isn't don Juan always serving? Right?
G: Yes, he is serving
T: He is serving but his animals are not good, right?
G: Not very many animals.
T: Few, few, just few, right?
G: Do Maranatas have much more animals?
T: Yes, Bernabé [the pastor] has a lot.
G: And Yanaruma runa? Don't they have animals?
T: They do not have at all
G: No?
T: No. They have only few
G: And don Mariano?
T: But he already had since before, always had have alpacas, llamas. He always had. His father gave to him
G: Ummh

T: Papanyá allin paqu karan²¹

T: His father was a good *paqu*

As Toribio himself accepted to some extent, there are people who have many animals and who still practice the *kustunri*. There were two or three families that had noticeably larger herds than most people, who were also *paqu* and charismatic leaders of Yanaruma.²² There are also some Catholics who only have a few animals; but that can also be shown for Maranata converts.

While the existence of people that own many animals in Yanaruma challenges Toribio's claims, for him it is quite obvious that the contemporary practice of *kustunri* is qualitatively different from how his elders practiced it. Now, these practices are not only ineffective but they are not practiced properly, particularly in Yanaruma:

T: ... chay *kustunritapas* manañayá ruwanku, *kustumri* ankhayna ñawpa sumaq munayta *rispitanakuranku*, *napayunakuranku* *amarapisima* ñispa *sumbriruta* qhawa, qhawa *apaqaruspa*(*huqarispa*. *aqhaynallamantaraq* *napaynakuranku*, *sumaq rispitanakuy*, *kunanqa* *manaya* chay Yanarumapi *kustunritachu* *ruwanku*, *qasi* *uma huqarinallapaqñayá*, *manañayá rispitudachu* *ruwanku*, *imatañayá waliqta* *ruwanku*.

G: *Imarayku?*

T: *Yanqa*, *ñuqa kargu ruwaq kani*, *khayna*, *aqhayna*, *akhnallatañayá ruwanku manañayá rispituwan*.²³

T: ... also they do not practice that *kustunri* anymore. Before, they respected the *kustunri* in a very beautiful way. They greeted each other saying *amarapisima*²⁴, taking the hat off gazing to each other. In such way they used to greet each other, with gracious respect. Now in Yanaruma they do not practice *kustunri* in that way. Only for raising [their] empty heads. They do not have respect anymore. What such things would be valuable for?

G: *Why?*

T: *In vain*. I am responsible of the office. In this way, in that way. Now they only do in such ways, without respect.

According to Toribio, the Yanaruma have lost certain qualities essential to the practice of the *kustunri*, qualities that were closely related to the service of the community and that had to be carried out with a constant performance of humbleness or respect. He disqualifies the Yanaruma practices, claiming that they are performed only in order to gain status. He accuses the office holders as using the *kustunri* exclusively to accumulate status, referring to ostentatious claims about what the Yanaruma people might do.

²¹ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

²² See chapter VII.

²³ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

²⁴ *Amarapisima*: Old fashioned formal greeting, from Spanish *Ave María Purísima* that refers to the virginity of Mary (Blessed Highly Pure Mary).

This wrongful practice of the *kustunri* is then associated with the sad events that had happened in Yanaruma during the festivities of the rainy season.²⁵ These deaths, however, were not due simply to the wrongful and currently ineffective practice of the *kustunri*. They are also read as an obvious evidence of God's anger with Yanaruma people and those who promote the festivities. These deaths are read as God's punishment of the Yanaruma for their return to the *kustunri* and betrayal.

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: Ichaqa runakuna chay Yanaruma runa mana munanchu riki, maranatakuna. | G: But, the people of Yanaruma do not like the Maranata, right? |
| T: Aha, paykunapis karanku, ñawpaq ñuqa manaraq, ñuqa Maranata kashaqtiy, Yanarumaqa llipichanku karanku Maranata | T: Yes. Before they also were [Maranata]. When I was not yet one, all people of Yanaruma were Maranata. |
| G: Así? | G: Really? |
| T: Chaymanta Diusta burlakusqankumantayá kunan kastigupi kashanku riki. | T: Then due to their mocking of God, now they are being punished, right? |
| G: Imata | G: What? |
| T: Klarupi, chaypi haykunkutaq Maranatan chaymantaqa llusqirunkutaq chayqa ishka yu kay nú? | T: Of course. There entered to the Maranata [church], and then they got out. They have two faces [they are hypocritical], don't they? |
| G: Ummm. ichaqa kastigashan | G: Uhhh. But, is [God] punishing [them]? |
| T: Kastigashan | T: [Is] punishing |
| G: Dios? | G: God? |
| T: Klarupi kunan imaynataq kashanku sapa phistapi runata sipinakushanku | T: Of course, now, many things are happening. Each festivity they are killing people. |
| G: Ummh, riki? | G: Ummh, really? |
| T: Karnawalpi sipirunku huq runata, kunan pashkuwapi huq runa wañurapushan. | T: One person was killed in carnival. Now in Easter other person died. |
| G: Riki | G: Right |
| T: Qhayna wata pashkuwapi, pashkuwa pasaruychata wañupullantaq huq. ²⁶ | T: Last year, in Easter, just when Easter ended, one died. |

Toribio added that it was different to live in sin if one does not know the right path; it was worse when people decided to continue as idolaters even though they knew which the right path was. This explained why God was punishing them when they were actually carrying out their idolatrous practices and the sinful acts associated with them. Furthermore, Toribio claimed that *kustunri* practice in Yanaruma was intended to please the foreigners arriving to the village and to monopolize on the benefits of the apuyu that these foreigners offer.

- | | |
|---|---|
| T: Chay turismoraykuyá Yanarumapipas ruwashankuqa riki. | T: Because of that tourism, they are doing in Yanaruma, right |
| G: Ummm. | G: Ummm |
| T: Turismoraykuyá chayqa, turismuqa, manayá | T: That is because of tourism. They do not |

²⁵ See chapter VII.

²⁶ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

²⁷ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

- | | |
|--|--|
| paykunaqa analisisanchu riki, kaykunaqa
ankhaynapunichá antispis karan ñawpapis,
ñispaya ñipushanku riki | analyze anymore, right? Now it is like that. I
already told you how it was before, right? |
| G: Riki | G: Right |
| T: Aha, manañayá urihinaltañachu kustumbritapis
turista, turistapaqpis ruwanku. ²⁷ | T: Aha, <i>Kustunri</i> is not original anymore. They do
it for the tourist |

A similar claim from Felicitas explains that the Yanaruma left the Maranata church purely out of monetary interest. The return to the *kustunri* would be motivated by exactly the same reasons that some Hapu people go to the city to work as paqu.

- | | |
|---|--|
| F: Yanarumapis karan Maranata | M: [The people] in Yanaruma were Maranata as well. |
| G: Maranata karan? | G: Were Maranata? |
| F: Aha, hinaspa kutipunku, mana [...] qulqi sunqu kayñinkupi | M: Yes, then they came back [...] their essence is about money |
| G: Imayna qulqi | G: How money? |
| F: Paqupi qulqita tarinku masta riki, Qusqupi paqupakuspa, hampipakuspa, tiraman pagaspa riki | M: They look above all for money as <i>paqu</i> . Feeding the earth, healing, working as <i>paqu</i> in Cuzco, right? |
| [...] | [...] |
| G: Ichaqa imata pasaran kutimunampaq, kutimunankupaq | G: But, what happened for they to come back [to the <i>kustunri</i>] |
| F: Chay paqupaquyayá naran apuyun, paykunata ingañapun hinaspa, ama ashwan maranatañachu kapusun, karguta ruwapusun ñispa ñipunku | M: For those paqus mmm support. They deceive in this way. Do not become Maranata anymore. They said, let's do the posts. |
| G: Ummh | G: Ummh |
| F: Chayqa, gringukuna, amigukuna amiwu, hamuwasunchis hinaspa qulqita quwasunchis ñispa ñipunku ²⁸ | M: They said, those gringo friends will come to us then they will give us money. |

Economic interest is at the core of their refusal to do the communal festivities in Hatun Hapu but carry them out at Yanaruma, and is the real motivation for their efforts to become a different legal community. The practice of *kustunri* then, particularly in Yanaruma, becomes all the more condemnable: far from how the customs were practiced in previous generations, its current iteration hinges on commodification.

Hence, for the Maranata, the radical rupture with the past experienced in personally through the conversion is inscribed in a broader historical change that goes beyond human beings. This is a broader change in the relationships between human beings, God and the place-persons. In past generations, Hapu got on well by practicing the *kustunri* and honoring the places; now the practice of the *kustunri* is useless. The places seem to have shifted their relationships with humans and no longer listen to them. God, who used to be far from humans, has refocused to quotidian affairs. These changes

²⁸ Conversation with Felicitas. Hapu 2008.

not only legitimize the relationship between the Maranata people and their forefathers, projecting the responsibility for these changes as shifting alignments of non-human agents, but also stakes higher moral status over those still confused and practicing the *kustunri* out of ignorance or, even worse, out of greed.

The Maranata are not deeply concerned with the reasons behind these changes. However, they have experiential evidence for these shifts, indexes of the intervention of non-human agents. The tragic deaths during the festivities of *Pukllay* and *Paskuwa* in Yanaruma are the most recent confirmation of the will of God and his higher authority over the place-persons that were being honored in Yanaruma.

Moral superiority and social hierarchy

Key in all the ways that the Maranata claim moral superiority – and hence higher social status – is their reliance on the Bible. The Maranata consider the Bible to be the source of unquestionable knowledge provided by God. This heavy reliance on the Bible, their constant reference to it, and to its study constitutes important elements in their implicit claims of social hierarchy. Those who read the Bible are not blind.²⁹ The Maranatas' certainty in their moral superiority is a very powerful ideological weapon. It allows them to feel and claim moral and social authority not only over the Hapu Catholics but also over communities beyond Hapu and even the region. For example, they openly question the Catholic priests who have been present in the region for centuries, pointing out how these priests had the option to offer access to the Bible but never did.

The stress on a direct study of the Bible makes Evangelicalism morally superior to the practices associated with these priests that kept them ignorant and blind, leaving them to live wrongful lives. Felicitas puts it very bluntly, framing priests as idolaters who do not understand the Bible.

G: Y sacerdote, kurakuna
F: Paykunapis pantashankupuniyá riki, santa
palabrata hap'inkuraqtaq Diospaq kasqanta
hinaspa mana intindinkuchu riki

G: And the priests?
F: They also are totally wrong, right, even
though they are holding the saint word of
God, being for God, they do not understand

²⁹ See chapter V, section “Talking about social hierarchies with two Hapu men.”

³⁰ Conversation with Felicitas. Hapu 2008.

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: Ríki | G: Really? |
| F: Manaya intindinkuchu | F: They do not understand. |
| G: Imarayku paykuna mana intindinkuchu | G: Why they do not understand? |
| F: Manaya, manaya paykunata santu ispiritu nanchu, kallpachan, yanapanchu, manataq paykuna siñur Diospaq qilqanta kriyinkuchu chaywan, paykunaqa hap'inku ima ñinkutaq chay nata tikshunariyu riki yachanapaq | F: No, no. The Holy Spirit does not help them, does not animate them, and they do not believe in the writings of Lord God that they hold, and they do not hold that, that dictionary, right, in order to teach. |
| G: Aha | G: Aha |
| [...] | [...] |
| F: Mana kriyinkuchu, mana kurakunaqa kriyin kriyinkuchu, ashwampis pakanku paykunaqa mana sutinchankuchu mana anunshankuchu | F: They do not believe. The priests do not believe. Rather they are wrong. They do not announce, do not say [his] name. |
| G: Imata paykuna kriyinkuchu, imapi, kriyinku | G: Who do they believe in? |
| F: Santukunapiyá paykunaqa kriyinku riki ³⁰ | F: They believe in saints, right? |

Another aspect of these claims to moral superiority is that they give the Maranata the necessary confidence for proselytizing. Just as the narratives of modernity impose a moral imperative for converting the non-modern, the Maranatas of Hapu have a moral imperative to convert the idolaters into members of their church. For example, in one long conversation with one Maranata devotee, we were talking about how the church came to Hapu, but as the conversation developed he had me read some passages of the Bible and then comment on them. After making me read Isaiah 1:18³¹ in Quechua, and commenting a bit on it, he told me:

- | | |
|---|---|
| J: Y, papa, qan manaraq Yusta chaskikushankichu, anchhayna runakunatan nin. | J: And you, father, haven't you already give yourself to God? In that way [the text/God] talks to people. |
| G: Riki | G: Right. |
| J: Aha, huchallapiraq qan kashanki, ³² | J: Yes, you are still [living] in sin. |

Juan, a bit older than me, addressed me asking if I had converted already, implying that it was the obvious path to follow. But he did so by attributing the responsibility of this claim to the text and thus to God. He spoke ambiguously. In the first sentence, he addressed me directly, using a kin term – *papa* (*father*) - as an honorific. With this, he attributed me with a higher social position despite the fact that I was younger than him and a single man without family. This higher social position then only could be attributed because I was a Spanish speaker from the city. Then he shifts the responsibility towards the text, framing the question that he just made as if it would be purely an exegesis of the text I just had read. When I acknowledged his claims by saying,

³¹ “Come now, and let us reason together,” says the LORD, “Though your sins are as scarlet, they will be as white as snow; though they are red like crimson, they will be like wool” (New American Standard Bible).

³² Conversation with Julio. Hapu 2008.

riki (right), he then affirmed how I was still living in sin, and started recommending me to read the Bible and come to their Sunday meetings so I could convert. He was able to make this claim constructing successfully certain indeterminacy over who had the ultimate responsibility of the things that were being said (Irvine 1996).

Claims on moral superiority can be made in relation to broader segments of the regional society. Their confidence in the truthfulness of the conditions in which we are now living gives them the certainty of a moral superiority over, say, people of Cuzco who believe in the power of places or saints. The following are fragments of a discourse of the pastor after he had read Joshua 24:15,³³ where he addresses some issues of conversion:

Imaynan Qusqu katiralpi thutarapusqa karan, riki, kunanqa yaqachá wakmanta alcharunku diosta, riki, taytachata, mamachata, thutarapusqa. Kay kunan ñuqanchis riqsikuyninchis Diosta mana haykaqpas ni thutanqachu ni ismunqachu. Manan wayqiy panay asta itirnu itirnu
[...]

Maytan pantachiqkuna kashan kay p'unchaykama astawan ichaqa kaypiqa tranquilo kashanchis. Huq laru llaqtakunapis sinchi pantachaqa kashan nishupuni pantachiqpuni kashan.³⁴

How in the Cuzco's Cathedral there were those moth-eaten [gods], right? Now one more time they are restoring god, right? The dear father, the dear mother is moth-eaten. Now we know that God neither would be moth-eaten nor rotten. No my brother, my sister, [God is] eternal, eternal.
[...]

There are those who are mistaken even until now. However here we are quiet. In other places there are communities/towns that are very mistaken, definitely they are totally mistaken.

Reading the Bible gives the pastor authority to claim how the people of Cuzco, who mistakenly worship the saints housed in the Cathedral, are lost. He builds his rhetoric upon news about the restoration of important [images of] Christs, Saints and Virgins that were carried out in the last years and were publicized in the regional media. The reliance on certain passages of the Bible makes him able to claim that those formally educated and rich Spanish speaking people that live in the city are just lost, mistaken and do not know the truth that they, the Maranata, actually know.

These judgments also can be made in relation to professionals who might be regarded as occupying one of the highest positions on the social ladder organized through levels of formal education. In this passage for example, Toribio openly criticizes an archeologist from the National Institute of Culture who seemed to have been criticizing the Maranata and defending Q'ero kustunri.

³³ "If it is disagreeable in your sight to serve the LORD, choose for yourselves today whom you will serve: whether the gods which your fathers served which were beyond the River, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land you are living; but as for me and my house, we will serve the LORD." (New American Standard Bible).

³⁴ Discourse of the pastor in a Maranata service. Hapu 2008.

- G: Kay chay mistikuna, allinta edukashun kashan riki...
- T: Mana paykunaqa Dios kanampaq pinsankuchu, sulaminti kay apupi, pachamamapi, anchayllapiyá kriyinku
- G: Ummh.
- T: Diustaqa manaya riparankuchu, Diosñintaqa
- G: Imaraykuchá.
- T: Piru ñuqa ñini inisipi (INC) llank'aq na Roberto
- G: Aha
- T: Pay ñín, kaypacha, hanaqpacha kamaq ñispa, chay kaypacha, hanaqpacha kamaqri pítaq riqsichiwayyá ñispa ñini.
- G: Riki
- T: Manaya yachanchu [...] tapuniyá ñuqa
- G: Y?
- T: Piru manayá yachan.³⁵
- G: Those mistis who have good education, right...
- T: They do not think in God [but] only in this lord [mountain], in the mother earth. They believe in such way!
- G: Ummh.
- T: Clearly, they do not care about God.
- G: Why that might be?
- T: But I said, that Roberto who works in the National Institute of Culture.
- G: Aha
- T: He said, this world organizes the world above. I said, who made you think that this world organizes the world above.
- G: Right
- T: Clearly he does not know [...] I asked [him].
- G: And?
- T: But clearly he does not know.

In this same frame, he criticized the people of Hatun Q'ero, many of whom go to Cuzco to offer their services as *paqu*. He referred to Q'ero people in their late teens who go to Cuzco claiming to be *paqu*. But what Toribio most enjoys pointing out is how the people of the city can be so naïve to believe that these young Q'ero could be *paqu*. If this were true, he went on, these Cuzqueños must believe that Q'ero people are born as *paqu*, a notion that was obviously nonsensical.

- T: Mana yachaspa qulqita ganankuraykulla ingañakunku
- G: Chay mistikuna
- T: Mistikunataq chayta kriyinku, arí paykuna Q'iruqa yachanku, disdi irqinkumanta yachanku ñispa, manaya hinachu.
- G: Ima rayku qan pensashanki misti runakuna Qosqopi chayta munan
- T: Chayta kriyinku riki
- G: Imaraykuchá
- T: Nusí, paykunapis chiqaqtapuniyá kriyinku
- G: Riki
- T: Kay pacha apupi, chhayna tirakunapi kriyinku chayqa paykunapis ñinkuchá riki, ñuqa ñini chay kaqpaq, Qusqu runa sunsusuna kanman ñispa
- G: [laughs]
- T: [laughs]
- G: Riki?
- T: Qusqu runa sunsu kriyinku paykuna disdi q'urukunapas paqullaña kanapaqchu imaynataqri mana, chaypi ingañachikunku, qulqinkuta rigalanku ñispa, wakinyá allinta
- T: Without really knowing they are fooling [people] only for earning money.
- G: Those mistis
- T: And the misti believe that, yes, they say, the Q'ero know. Since they are children know. It is not like that!
- G: Why do you think that the misti people in Cuzco like that?
- T: They believe so, right?
- G: Why that might be?
- T: I do not know. They really believe that it is true.
- G: Really?
- T: They believe in the lords [mountains] of this world, in those earths. So they say, right? Because of that, I say, people of Cuzco seem to be dumb.
- G: [laughs]
- T: [laughs]
- G: Really?
- T: The dumb people of Cuzco believe that since childhood already they would be *paqu*, In that way [they] fool them. They waste their money. Some do well; some are only children that

³⁵ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

ruwan, wankinqa yasta irqikunaqa
yachanmanchu manaya, riki.³⁶

would not really know, right?

Maranata converts in Hapu refuse to play the role of “guardians of the tradition,” of being the “keepers of ancient knowledge” that urban imagination, state institutions and the New Age practitioners and industry have imposed over them. Being Maranata in Hapu is to refuse to occupy the place that the Spanish speaking elites and the foreigners have constructed for the Q’ero people. This was expressed by the surprised reactions of several acquaintances in Cuzco when I told them I was trying to understand Evangelicalism in a Q’ero community. It is very common in intellectual and artistic circles in the city to comment with disgust, apprehension, or concern on the presence of Evangelicalism in Quechua communities and even more in a Q’ero one. One of the representatives of an NGO working in Hapu told me bluntly that in the other four Q’ero communities, there were no evangelicals anymore – a claim that is not accurate at least for Kiku – and that only in Hapu “it was still remaining to take out that nail.” The use of a nail as a metaphor for Evangelicalism points to an alien, damaging, and violent intrusion of something that should not be there. It also implies that there is an external agency that will take care of that “problem,” as if this presence was not a decision taken by some Hapu people themselves. This rejection to the Maranatas was also present in most of the foreign visitors to Hapu, who tended to view Evangelicalism as an essentially negative influence that promoted individualism; part of the encroachment of foreign fundamentalism and capitalism in those places where non-Western traditions of relationship with the earth have been preserved so far.

In these attitudes, there is an implicit refusal to acknowledge that Q’ero people are capable of making decisions about their own lives and profess any religion they might like. It shows that, for many people, the Q’ero are not valued for who they are but for their role as keepers of certain cultural practices that should not disappear. There is also a running suspicion that the Q’ero were deceived and are being manipulated by interests of foreign missionaries. Hence it is also negated the possibility that they by themselves decided to convert and that they have the agency for making this religion their own, to shape it in their own terms as they have done with many other cultural forms before.

³⁶ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

By refusing to remain as keepers of the tradition, they challenge the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy. While they claim access to literacy and maintain a text as the ultimate source of truth, they not do so by shifting to Spanish but within the frame of their own language. This is relatively new in the region. For most of the Republican history, to be literate was to be literate in Spanish; to read meant to read in Spanish. The level of hegemony is so strong that the efforts to build Intercultural Bilingual Education have been weak, inconsistent, and have not given the Quechua speaking parents the certainty that it would actually be good for their children so far as school is understood mainly as the way in which children can learn Spanish. Logically, most Quechua parents refuse bilingual education proposed in those terms (García 2005). The case of the evangelical cults constitutes a set of practices in which Quechua is the vehicle for accessing the word of the most powerful agent of the universe. That is no small achievement.

On the other hand, there are aspects of the process of conversion to the Maranata church that contribute to the reproduction of the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy. Since the Maranata claims to moral superiority articulate a trope similar to that of modernity, they frame those who cultivate the *kustunri* as incapable of recognizing the changing historical moment, then they are anachronistic, belong to the past, and remain morally inferior. The Maranatas construct an inferior *other* by cultivating their practices in opposition to those of the *kustunri*.

It should be noted that while Hapu's Maranatas construct their moral authority in dialogue and alignment with the narratives of modernity that articulate derogatory discourses regarding indigenous practices, those who practice the *kustunri* — and particularly the people of Yanaruma — negotiate their own social position in relation to the narratives of modernity that romanticize the indigenous past and celebrate contemporary indigenous practices.

Refusing to leave the *kustunri* and returning to its practice

I arrived in Hapu with the help and hospitality of don Luis and his family. He was a *paqu* that I knew years before in Cuzco and who lives with his family in Raqch'i. His

family did not have tight relations with the Yanaruma families and it seemed to me that he had not had the best relationship with them, despite the fact that his sister's husband's father was from Yanaruma and one of his wife's sons – from a previous marriage – lived there. I went in pilgrimage to Quyllurit'i with the group from Hapu because one of the sponsors was don Luis's sister's family. Thus, from the beginning, I was affiliated with a Catholic family that was critical of Yanaruma. Raqch'i Catholic people were angry at Yanaruma people because the latter were carrying out the communal rituals in their own sector, leaving the few Raqch'i Catholic families in even more fragile position in their attempts to continue practicing *kustunri* in Hatun Hapu in a context of an overwhelming majority of Maranata families.³⁷

Even though I was living with a Catholic family, it was not difficult for me to get to know several Maranata families and have long conversations with them about various facets of life. This was the case because most of the children that I taught in the primary school were from Maranata families. Additionally, the Maranata warmly welcomed me when I showed up one day for their Sunday meeting.

Conversely I could not really get to know the Yanaruma people very well. They perceived that I was closer to the Maranata and the other Catholics and were relatively suspicious of me. This social distance was reinforced by the geographical distance between where I lived and Yanaruma. While I had to walk to the Hatun Hapu primary school on a daily basis and along the way got to know other families, Yanaruma was relatively off hand, high and difficult to reach and come back in the same day. Nevertheless, I decided to visit Yanaruma and stay there during the festivity of *Paskuwa* (Easter) at which point I was able to talk with many people and get to know them better. While I spoke with several Yanaruma, I did not manage to a build strong corpus of recorded interviews.

Yanaruma are very conscious of foreigners' interest in their *kustunri*. Hence, they request those who want to observe or participate in their communal rituals to contribute to the sector's funds. They are very clear that they want a contribution for the common good of Yanaruma and that it would not be distributed to the whole community. Consistent with this attitude, they have constituted the *Asociación Ayllu Yanaruma* as a

³⁷ See chapter VII.

legal entity and have an explicit discourse of maintaining the *kustunri* and framing it as the inheritance of the Inka.

However, just some years before most Yanaruma people were Maranata converts. How this change can be explained? In a similar fashion to the case of Celestino, relatives' disease and death are mentioned as causes for the realignment of Yanaruma's religious affiliations, from Maranata back to Hapu Catholicism. According to several narratives, in the early 2000s, when almost all families of Yanaruma were Maranata, three people got ill: A young woman in her twenties, a middle-aged lady in her forties, and a middle-aged man. They did not improve and died relatively close in time. These three people were related to hail from influential families of Yanaruma, the families of two charismatic Maranata leaders who were close relatives and owners of large herds of animals. While they were ill, the members of the Evangelical church prayed and prayed for their health to improve but this did not have positive results. Some of the persons whom I talked with claimed that the pastor actively discouraged their relatives from looking for a *pampamisayuq*'s help and placating the offended places that might have been consuming these people as punishment due to lack of food-offerings. Other people told me that they did the offerings anyway but the places might have been too angry or that they were done too late. What is recurrent is how accounts from Catholic individuals framed the deaths of these relatively young individuals as an evidence of the limited power Maranata prayer, and worse, that the Maranata had actually irresponsibly provoked the anger of powerful places. The close relatives of the dead questioned the effectiveness of Maranata prayers in obtaining grants from God. The fact that these were young people reinforced the certainty that this was the places' punishment.

This is the explanation that Toribio offers in relation to how Yanaruma people left the Maranata church:

G: Imarayku paykuna llusqiran Maranatomanta?
T: Nu si. Paykuna llusqinku
G: Imata pasaran
T: Paykuna Segundo si, ispujan Maranata kashaspa wañukapuram
G: Aah.
T: Chaymanta huq ñuqaq tukayuymi kashan Irnistu, kashallantaq Yanarumamanta paypa siñuran wañupullantaq, anchay kundishunllawan, manan

G: Why did they leave the Maranata (church)?
T: I do not know. They left.
G: What happened?
T: They, the woman of Segundo died while she was Maranata.
G: Aahh
T: Then, my namesake Toribio. His wife, who was from Yanaruma, also died. In that situation, they said, there is no God. This is

³⁸ Conversation with Toribio. Hapu 2008.

- kanchu Yusqa chaychu, khaynata ispusanchistas
riki wañuchin chayqa, hina kachun ñispa ñipuranku
- G: Aaaaah.
- T: Aha, mana paykuna tukuy sunquwanchu iñiranku
riki
- G: Aha.
- T: Pisillata, riki, chayqa na, pruybapuran, chiqaqtachu
kay waway ñuqapi sunqullikun manachu, ñispa
riki.³⁸
- why our wives have died. They said, that is
what happened,
- G: Aaaaahh
- T: Yes, they did not believe with all their
essence, right?
- G: Aha
- T: Only little, right? Because of that [God] tested
them. He said, is it true that this my son has
me in his heart, or not? Right?

The relatives of the dead quit the Maranata church and strongly criticized its power and its pastor. Both the force of their accusations as well as the networks of kinship and reciprocal relations became quite effective. As an outcome, all people of Yanaruma returned from being Maranata and to the *kustunri*. This shift had the full support of a respected paqu of Yanaruma who never had converted and held considerable charismatic authority. This paqu had become close friends with a musicologist living in Cuzco, who was also a researcher and practitioner of highland Quechua and Amazonian ways of relating with non-human agents. As explained before, he was key in connecting Hapu people with other foreign philanthropists interested in the Q'ero *kustunri*. These foreign visitors were usually opposed to the presence of the Maranata church, precisely because of the Maranata opposition to the *kustunri* practices.

The return to the practice of the *kustunri* was promoted by these foreign actors. In the following fragment, the Maranata pastor comments about the presence of the musicologist and the consumption of *Ayawaska*³⁹ – a hallucinogenic widely used in Amazonian indigenous practices (Dobkin de Rios and Rumrill 2008) – among the Yanaruma people.

- G: ..., qué ha pasado en Yanaruma?
- B: Sabes qué ha pasado, tres personas han muerto, pero con las enfermedades diferentes enfermedades, por ahí nomas, ellos pensaban como somos, por ser Maranatas eso nos está pasando, así dijeron, pensando en eso.
- G: Entonces ¿han dicho esto no vale y han vuelto a la costumbre?
- B: Bueno, han conocido con un amigo y con él han practicado *ayawaska*
- G: ¿*Ayawaska* han practicado?
- B: Han practicado, y ahora creo que están siguiendo hasta ahora
- G: ¿En Yanaruma?
- G: ...And what happened in Yanaruma?
- B: You know what happened? Three people died but with different illnesses. Just then, they thought, this is happening to us because of being Maranata, They said so, thinking in that way.
- G: Then, have they said, this is not worth it and hence they have returned to *kustunri*?
- B: Well, they have known a friend, and they have practiced *ayawaska* with him.
- G: Have they practiced *ayawaska*?
- B: They had practiced, and even now I believe they are still doing so.
- G: In Yanaruma?

³⁹ *Ayawaska* (Qu) The dead's rope, the dead's vine. *Banisteriopsis caapi*.

⁴⁰ Conversation with Bernabé, Maranata pastor. Hapu 2008.

- B: En Yanaruma.
 G: ¿Y eso les ha convencido?
 B: Si, entonces como es *ayawaska* no se que estarán haciendo, debe ser una droga esto
 G: ¿Si?
 B: De repente conoces ¿no cierto?
 G: Si, es una planta de la selva.
 B: De la selva dicen, pero tomando esa *ayawaska* lo han visto, dice lo ven una fantasma, cómo será eso ¿no? como en sueños será, no sé cómo será eso. Dice que ven leones, serpiente, algo, animales [...] Pero siempre dicen así, pero siempre ven ellos tomando esa *ayawaska* algo demoniaco, satánico.
 G: ¿Y por qué satánico?
 B: ¿Por qué será?
 G: Osea ¿qué cosa es lo satánico?
 B: Satanás pues, no cierto el Satán, el espíritu maligno, sus símbolos, el serpiente, los león, de repente los sapos, o las culebras. A los animales, pues, algo, malos se ve, y cuando se ven, se comen a la gente dice, esos animales.⁴⁰
- B: In Yanaruma
 G: And that has convinced them?
 B: Yes, then with *ayawaska* I do not know what they might be doing. It might be a drug.
 G: Yes?
 B: You might know it, right?
 G: Yes. It is a plant from the rain forest.
 B: They say from the rain forest. But drinking that *ayawaska* they see, it is said they see a ghost, how that would be, right? It might be as in dreams. I do not know how that might be. It is said they see lions, serpents, animals [...] Dogs, always they are saying so. But they always see things drinking this *ayawaska*, something demonic, satanic.
 G: And why is that satanic?
 B: Why it might be?
 G: But, what is satanic in that?
 B: Satan of course, Satan, right? The malign spirit. His symbols, the serpent, the lions, maybe the toads or the serpents. They see those animals that are bad, and, it is said, when they see those animals, those animals eat people.

Some people in Yanaruma have commented with me on the impressive visions that they experienced with *ayawaska* and nobody denies that these sessions took place. While I am not sure if these sessions were fundamental in the Yanaruma return to the *kustunri*, it seems clear that their relationship with foreigners were somewhat relevant for their return. The path leading to Yanaruma can bypass the other sectors of Hapu, and the foreigners that visit Yanaruma go there without seeing any other sectors of the community. The strong commitment that Yanaruma people claimed over the continuation of the *kustunri* relates to the encouragement and sympathy that these foreign visitors had for the maintenance of the *kustunri*. This is why the Maranata accuse the Yanaruma people of being interested in just the money of the foreign visitors.

The process of returning to the *kustunri* demonstrates a similar attitude when interpreting the indexicality of non-human agency. The three deaths were interpreted as a clear intervention by the places and an indication of the limited power of the Maranata God.

Another illustrative example is that of my compadres, Isabel and her husband, who lived in Raqch'i. Isabel's husband wanted to become Maranata and had been attending the Maranata meetings for some time. However, Isabel did not want to be

Maranata, she wanted to remain Catholic. Isabel was the daughter of a paqu, the only one in Hapu that works directly with a travel agency. Isabel herself could be considered a paqu. As part of her husband's efforts to make her want to join the Maranata church, she also attended their Sunday meetings and thus became familiarized with the language of the Maranata. However, she never ended up convinced by the superior power of God over the places:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I: Satanas mas kallpayuq chaytaqcha, ñashi, ñuqapas kumpari nisayki riki iñipuni hina, iñipurani hinaspa chunka llamay chichu karan, llipichan tukurakapun, chayqa ñuqa satanaswan kumphurmi karani.</p> <p>G: Riki.</p> <p>I: Hinas animalñiy miraran</p> <p>G: Ummh.</p> <p>I: K'intukuytapas, q'alata yachashani.</p> <p>G: Riki</p> <p>I: Animalpaq, chayqa chayta mana Satanas munaranchu kunan iñinayta, kunan mana iñipunichu,</p> <p>G: Ummh, pin, na?</p> <p>I: Chayqa mas atiyñiyuq riki.</p> <p>G: Riki.</p> <p>I: Supay ríki, Satanas ríki</p> <p>G: Supay?</p> <p>I: Aha, Satanas</p> <p>G: Aaah.</p> <p>I: Aha, Yus Taytanchismanta t'aqarapuyllapi yasta animalñiyku uhumpita chayqa nani, allinta ñuqa yachani, napaq animalpaq dispachu ruwayta.</p> <p>G: Uhum.</p> <p>I: Chayya ñuqa mirachirani.</p> <p>G: Riki.</p> <p>I: Aha.</p> <p>G: Chaymanta, chayrayku dispachuta apukunapas, pachamamapas chay, chay paykuna Satanaspawawan?</p> <p>I: Uhum</p> <p>G: Ríki.</p> <p>I: Wawan</p> <p>G: Mana Diospa wawanchu?</p> <p>I: Mana, mana.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>G: Apukuna satanaswan kashan?</p> <p>I: Satanaspuniyá</p> <p>G: Y Satanas mana millaychu.</p> <p>I: Manayá millaychu katulikupaqqa</p> <p>G: Ah!</p> | <p>I: Satan has more strength. I <i>compadre</i> will tell you this, I believed [in God], definitely I had faith but then ten of my llamas were pregnant and all of them died. Then I am satisfied with Satan.</p> <p>G: Aha</p> <p>I: Then my animals multiplied.</p> <p>G: Ummh</p> <p>I: I know exhaustively how to offer special sets of coca leaves</p> <p>G: Right</p> <p>I: For the animals. Hence Satan does not like that current believe [in God]. Now I do not believe [in God].</p> <p>G: Ummmh, who,...</p> <p>I: Then more powerful, right</p> <p>G: Right</p> <p>I: Supay, right. Satan, right?</p> <p>G: Supay?</p> <p>I: Aha, Satan</p> <p>G: Aaah</p> <p>I: Yes. Only by separating from God our father, already our [exclusive] animals [healed]. I know very well how to do offerings for the animals.</p> <p>G: Yes</p> <p>I: So, I make them reproduce</p> <p>G: Really?</p> <p>I: Yes</p> <p>G: Then, because of those offerings to the lords [mountains], the mother earth. Are they offspring of Satan?</p> <p>I: Yes</p> <p>G: Really?</p> <p>I: His offspring</p> <p>G: Aren't they offspring of God?</p> <p>I: No, no.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>G: Are the mountains with Satan?</p> <p>I: Definitely with Satan</p> <p>G: And isn't Satan awful?</p> <p>I: Definitely [he] is not awful for Catholics</p> <p>G: Ah!</p> |
|--|---|

I: Aha, katulikupaqqa waqakuqtinchispas, uyarillawasunyá.⁴¹

I: Yes. When we [inclusive], Catholics, call [him], [he] surely listen to us.

Isabel, guided by the same attitude of positivist evaluation of non-human agency, remained certain that the places are more powerful and that it would be bad for her to align herself with God. Due to her exposure to Maranata practices, she has reframed many Maranata claims within her own explanations about the world. For her, Satan is a powerful agent that seems to be morally ambiguous. Like other non-human agents, Satan would be good or bad depending on the way one relates with him; to some extent the same could be said about God. Maranata people live honoring God, who is in the world above, and Catholic people honor the places, which form the world of the surface and are offspring of Satan. In this fragment, the ontological principles remain solidly present while Isabel assimilates at the ideological level the new ideas she has heard from the Maranatas. This fragment is a clear example on how the planes of ontology and ideology can be analytically differentiated. This can also be seen in her re-elaboration of other the key points stressed by the Maranata, as their insistence in the spiritual (immaterial) nature of God. Because God is an invisible spirit, she claims that Satan, being the opposing force of God, certainly is also a spiritual, invisible, agent opposed to him

G: ... Dios mana kuisiqachu kashan satanaswan

G: ... God is not happy with Satan

I: Mana, ñishutas maqanakushan

I: No, it is said that they are fighting a lot

G: Ummh.

G: Ummh

I: Yus Taytanchispas, ispiritu, ispiritullayá kashan, manaya khayna runa hinachu runapipas kashallantaq, imayna satanaspas, ispiritu kashan anchhaynallataqyá Yus taytanchispas ispiritu kashallantaq.

I: God our Father is spirit, only spirit. He is not like these people. In people also is existing. And how is Satan? Is a spirit in the very same way in which that God our Father is definitely only a spirit.

G: Riki.

G: Right

I: Aha, chay maqanakushanku.⁴²

I: Yes, they are fighting each other

Isabel's rendering of the relationship between God, Satan, and the place-persons is a particular, contextual construction of a cosmic order prompted by my questions (Mannheim and Vleet 1998). While other Hapu people might share this framework, I did not hear a similar elaboration from anyone else. Consider the scheme that might be extrapolated by my conversation with don Luis, who did not have the same direct exposure to the Maranata discourse but who nevertheless constructs his being Catholic in opposition to what it is to be Maranata. In a different way than Isabel, he claims that the

⁴¹ Conversation with Isabel. Hapu 2008.

⁴² Conversation with Isabel. Hapu 2008.

Catholic people do not need to interact directly with God but just to behave within some basic moral principles to maintain his good will; in contrast, human beings must necessarily interact with the places that allow life to exist on a daily basis. Hence, don Luis does not mention Satan in his basic structure of the cosmos.

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: Y kaypi Diosta mana nishuta sirwinki, ríki. | G: Here, you do not serve God too much, right? |
| L: Ummhu | L: Ummhu |
| G: Icha sirwinkichu | G: Or do you serve [him]? |
| L: Mana, nuqaqa. | L: Not me. |
| G: Dios mana phiñasqa kashan? | G: Is not God angry? |
| L: Mana, imamanta phiñakunman;
maqanakuyman, silusanakuyman, u millayta
wawayta chiqniyman, iihq pilia, pilia kayman
anchay ichaqa Yus phiñakunman riki? [...]
Ichaqa, runamasiyta, sumaqta yanapanay,
pipis, mistipas kachun, qullapas anchay, pipis
hamuchun wasiypi mihuna haywarinay,
imallapas. | L: No. Why would he be angry? If I would fight,
would be jealous, or I would horribly fight with
my sons, if there would be fights, then God
would be angry, right? [...]
I graciously help my fellow human beings,
anyone, being <i>misti</i> also <i>qulla</i> , I give food,
something, to anybody who comes to my
house. |
| G: Ummhu. | G: Ummhu. |
| L: Imachá wasinchispi kan hina haywana, chayqa
ashwanta, siñur Yusuninchispa yanapawan y
apupas yanapawan. | L: I give whatever there is in our house. Hence
Lord [<i>señor</i>] our God helps me and also the
lords [<i>apus</i> , mountains] help me. |
| G: Ríki. | G: Right |
| L: Ummhu...sumaq voluntas, kariñu phaltanchu
ríki. | L: Ummhu ... good will, affection isn't lacking,
right? |
| G: Umhu | G: Umhu |
| L: Chaylla ñuqaqaq, mana imapas. Yustaqa
wahakunichu ñuqaqa | L: It is like that for me. Nothing more. I am
certainly not calling God. |
| G: Ummm. | G: Ummm. |
| L: Apuwan ñuqaqa kawsani. | L: I live with the lord [mountain]. |
| G: Riki | G: Right |
| L: Pachamamawan. ⁴³ | L: [And] the mother earth. |

The Catholics who continue cultivating the *kustunri* do so because it is effective for interacting with the place-persons as this is evident in everyday life. Their experience teaches them that there is no good practical reason to shift towards Evangelicalism. Hence, Catholic people do not have any discourse in relation to a change in the relationship between the place-persons, God, and human beings, as Celestino and other Maranatas mentioned explaining their narratives of conversion. The schemes that Isabel and Luis propose demonstrate how they are produced contextually, depending on the types of interaction and different types of dialogues that they had with the Maranata. These schemes bring the evidence they see in their daily lives and in dramatic events – such as that of death of young people – to bear on whether or not it is worth it to convert

⁴³ Conversation with don Luis. Hapu 2008.

to Evangelicalism or if it is better to return to the cultivation of the *kustunri*. These evaluations go hand in hand with expectations produced in the dialogue with foreign visitors that have high regard for Q'ero *kustunri*. As discussed previously,⁴⁴ given the perceptions about the opulence in which these foreigners live and the eagerness with which they want to observe or register their *kustunri*, there are also high expectations regarding the potential *apuyu* (support) that they can give out of their endless resources as retribution for the registering of the *kustunri*. To keep practicing the *kustunri* or to return to practicing it is not only evaluated by the evidence of the daily life or tragic events but also encouraged by the expectations of creating a strong relation with foreigners that live in a world of opulence. Key in this latter point is their relationship with the Inka.

Dealing with Maranata claims of moral superiority.

Both the Yanaruma and the Catholic people from Raqch'i would criticize Maranata people on moral terms. Catholic people deploy a criticism that is common in many contexts where there are conflicts with converts to Evangelicalism in the Andes and elsewhere (Magny 2009, Smilde 2007): Evangelicals cannot live up to the standards they claim they live. In the words of Isabel:

- | | |
|---|---|
| G: ... Maranatakuna allinchi? Mana allinchi. | G: ... [Are] the Maranata good? Aren't they? |
| I: Mana allinchi. | I: They are not good |
| G: Imarayku? | G: Why? |
| I: Mana rimaspa, manaya kunplinkuchu | I: They do not comply what they say |
| G: Piwan? | G: With whom? |
| I: Yus taytanchis, sasa Yus taytanchis sirwiyqa
mana machanachu, mana ima millaypas
rimanachu, chaytayá mana kumplinkuchu | I: [With] God our father. It is hard to serve God
our father. Do not get drunk, do not talk bad
things, those things they do not comply |
| G: Aah, paykuna mana kunplinkuchu | G: Aah, they do not comply |
| I: Manaya kunplinkuchu, mana runamasinkuta
munakunkuchu imachu chayqa manaya, riki,
windishillantaqchu. | I: They do not comply. They do not like their
fellow human beings. Because of that they are
not blessed. |
| G: Aha? | G: Really? |
| I: Aha, ni animaltapas windishun nishani chayqa,
animal, mihuy, qulqi, anchay ququyyá chayqa
Yuspa ququynin kanman ríki. | I: Yes. That is why their animals are not blessed. I
say, [if they would comply] God would have
given [them] animals, food, money. |
| G: y apukuna ima imayna kashan paykunapaq. | G: And how are the lords [mountains] with them? |
| I: Phiñasqa kashanku riki apukunaqa | I: The lords [mountains] are angry, right? |
| G: Phiñasqa. | G: Angry |
| I: Ríki, maranatapaqqa, phiñasqa. | I: Right, angry with the Maranata |
| G: Ríki. | G: Right |

⁴⁴ See chapter VI.

I: Aha, mana payman imatapas ñi pachamamanpas sirwinkuchu, ñi apumampas sirwinkuchu chayqa phiñasqa.

I: Yes, there is nothing for them. They neither serve the mother earth, nor the lords [mountains], then [they are] angry.

Isabel does not challenge the ideas that God is being able to bless people and allow their animals and their crops to be fruitful and fertile. The difficulty with God is the moral standards imposed by him, that become too difficult to follow appropriately. The same opinion is expressed in a harsher way by Demetrio, a young leader of Yanaruma who is a former Maranata convert.

D: ... rezan un rato pero eso no recuerdan, salimos en la Iglesia, en la iglesia estamos rezando todo ¿no?, estamos hablando de cosas buenas, salimos de la Iglesia, ahí estamos hablando de otro, de este, de aquel.

D: ... [They] pray for a while but they do not remember that. We got out of the church. Within we have talked good things, right? When we got out of the church they are talking about others, about this one, about that one.

G: Chismes

G: Gossip

D: Ese está tomando, ese está caminando con otra señora, ese está hablando, eso no es ser Maranata, total mal, para mi es total.⁴⁵

D: This one is drinking, that one is walking with other woman. That one is speaking. That is not to be Maranata. For me that is totally wrong.

In this portrait, Maranata people are not just victims of an unmeetable moral standard, but are hypocritical on a character level. They would be *iskay uya, two faces*, praying hypocritically inside the church and criticizing each other just when they get out of it. This kind of criticism, voiced mainly by Yanaruma people, is powerful because it is based on experience. They claim to actually know what it is like to be Maranata and that it is not a worthwhile endeavor.

Additionally, one does not have to assume that all Maranata converts live exemplary lives, in their own terms, far from any consumption of alcohol, coca leaves, or other more worldly behavior. I participated in many family rituals with Maranata converts whom their Catholic relatives invited insistently; they ended up as drunk as anybody else present. Even though these groups are defined geographically to a certain extent,⁴⁶ previously established kin relations do cross current religious affiliations: Catholic people had godparents who had become Maranatas as well as the other way around. In many cases, previous closeness with Catholic families made some Maranatas

⁴⁵ Conversation with Demetrio. Hapu 2008.

⁴⁶ As discussed in chapter VII. Section “*Ayllu*, reciprocal relations and factionalism”

unable to refuse invitations and ended up not only drunk but also implicitly paying respect and honoring the places.

In another expression to disqualify the Maranata, the Yanaruma decided to no longer participate in Hatun Hapu's communal rituals. The Yanaruma people accused the Maranata that, while they condemn the practices of the kustunri, they want to have access to the apuyu given by foreigners who arrive in Hapu actually interested in the kustunri. The logic of criticism was simple and powerful: *Turistas* came to Hapu and gave *apuyu* because of the kustunri, hence if Maranatas refused to practice the kustunri and condemned it, how could they expect to get benefits from the *turistas*? As a result, just as the Maranata accuse Yanarumas of greed so too does the accusation fly in the opposite direction.

This accusation of greed is also placed as the main reason behind the Maranata refusal to assume the posts of staff bearers in the communal rituals. Being that these rituals are ways to redistribute resources within the community, this refusal is read as a refusal to share with the community and a refusal to be part of community. The Yanaruma refer back to this when they themselves are accused of dividing the community for no longer participating in Hatun Hapu's communal rituals.

In a context of rumors about the presence of miners trying to enter into the territory of Q'ero communities, Demetrio told me that the Maranata were interested in the miners entering in Hapu out of crude monetary interest. While I was interested in knowing about his opinions regarding the attitude of the mountains towards the miners, he was more interested in expressing his opinions regarding the attitudes of the Maranatas about the miners.

G: Y los apus dejan así nomas que entre la minería?

D: Claro, ahora los hermanos incluso están interesados.

G: Pero, y ¿los apus están dejando eso?

D: Si no respetan a la pachamama la tierra, los Maranatas no respetan a la tierra, solo rezan con los evangelios, entonces no respetan la tierra.⁴⁷

G: And the lords [mountains] would leave mining to enter [in Hapu] just like that?

D: Of course. Now even the brothers are interested.

G: But, the lords [mountains] are allowing that?

D: If they do not respect the mother earth, the earth. The Maranatas do not respect the earth. They only pray the gospel; hence they do not respect the earth.

⁴⁷ Conversation with Demetrio. Hapu 2008.

As discussed in chapter VII, with so many conversions, the post system was broken as the established way that the community could reproduce itself. As such, the Yanaruma responded by claiming that the Maranata had broken the community and forced them to move their communal festivities to Yanaruma, that in Hatun Hapu, the Maranatas would show dismissive attitudes towards those who wanted to continue the communal celebrations. Demetrio, the young Yanaruma leader accused the Maranata of wanting to convert the community land into private properties – a notion that I find hard to believe but that is associated to the Maranata rejection of communal celebrations. In the same way that some Maranata idealized the ways in which communal rituals were celebrated in the past, the Yanaruma people tend to do so but within a different type of claims. In Demetrio’s words:

Antes era... cómo era la comunidad, tranquilo, vivíamos, fiesta hacíamos, en Hatun Hapu, donde nos juntábamos, comíamos, tomábamos chicha, ahí estaba, feliz no, pero ahora nada, total. Los Maranatas lo han malogrado todo, peor va a ser pe, triste.⁴⁸

Before ... how it was the community! Peaceful. We lived; we had our festivities in Hatun Hapu. All we got together there, eat, drink corn beer. There, we were happy, right? But now nothing. The Maranata have wasted all. All will be worse, sad.

That Yanaruma has outsider allies, and that public discourse in elite circles in Cuzco praise the Q’ero kustunri, make the condemnation of the Maranata church stronger. While I have discussed the ways in which these celebrations are entangled and reproduce the dominant ideologies of social hierarchy, it has nevertheless launched an emergent sense of cultural/ethnic pride among some in Hapu, and clearly among the Yanaruma. Each new visitor is to some extent a reaffirmation of this certainty of the high value of the kustunri. Each visitor or state representative that arrives tends to be someone that harks on how they should not let their kustunri disappear, that it is the heritage from the Inka, that it is unique in the world and truly beautiful.

In the following conversation Isabel and Pascual, her husband, talk about their cultural pride, the Inka heritage and their commitment to its preservation. We were celebrating the first hair cutting of one of their children and Isabel was singing some of her repertoire of Q’ero taki. After she ended singing *wallata* I asked:

G: Imarayku, ichaqa wallata huq pisqu riki, chay quchapi tiyan, ichaqa imarayku payman

G: Why – the *wallata* is a bird, right?, that lives in those lagoons – but why do you sing to it?

⁴⁸ Conversation with Demetrio. Hapu 2008.

⁴⁹ Conversation with Isabel and Pascual. Hapu 2007.

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| | takinki? | | |
| I: | Ñawpakunan, inkakunaq takirqanku | I: | The old ones, the Inka sang [it]. |
| G: | Ima? | G: | What? |
| I: | Mana ñuqayku yachaykuchu imapaqchá
takiyku, imaynachá kakun, mana, ñuqaykuqa
inka runaq saqisqanta mana qunqaspalla
takiykuqa. | I: | We [exclusive] do not know what we sing,
how it was, no, We [exclusive] sing the
heritage of the Inka people [so] it is not
forgotten. |
| P: | Ñuqayku manaya chinkachiyta munaykuchu | P: | We [exclusive] do not want it to get lost. |
| G: | Riki | G: | Right. |
| P: | Ari, kaqtañ ñuqayku takitapas mana
chaykunata qunqayta munaykuchu, kaqlataq
siguinanta munayku ⁴⁹ | P: | Yes, we [exclusive] sing this. We do not want
that it is forgotten. We [exclusive] want that it
continues in the very same way. |

Another expression of the claims about the Inka past occurred quite explicitly during the celebrations of Paskuwa in Yanaruma. During the singing, drinking, and dancing at night, Yanaruma men proudly mentioned the names of some Inka sovereigns: *Yawar Waqa*, *Wayna Qhapaq*, and *Pachakutiq*, mixed with claims such as *Inka Q'ero!* Among Yanaruma people, there is an explicit expression of pride in associating themselves with the Inka. While this pride is built up over their own narrative traditions, this explicitness is also encouraged by their relationship with foreign friends who admire and praise the maintenance of their *kustunri*, and restate how they are heirs of the Inka.

These discourses about their own distinctive practices are associated, at least for some of the community's Catholics, with their becoming a source of an important monetary income during their seasonal travels to work in Cuzco as *paqu*, and in their sales of weavings. It is also understood as a possibility to obtain some support in order to improve their living conditions from the rich visitors interested in the *kustunri*. Yanaruma, for example, has launched their own primary school with the help of foreign philanthropists, and hence Yanaruma children no longer have to walk the long distance to the Hatun Hapu school on a daily basis. They have also constructed a couple of trout-raising ponds and get some supplies – such as coca or corn – for their communal festivities. Additionally, some young leaders of Yanaruma, due to their strong association with philanthropists that are committed to the preservation of indigenous practices, are able to migrate from Hapu to the town of Ocongate. One foundation has purchased some land where they were in the process of creating an alternative school, a center for indigenous medicinal knowledge as well as a training center for “ecological ayllu.” Some of the key personnel that work or that were able to live there are family members of some of Yanaruma's most charismatic leaders. Through the celebration of the Inka past, these

families are able to migrate to Ocongate in their attempts to improve their living standards.

While the Maranata project negotiates with the narrative of modernity that stresses the derogatory aspects of being indigenous, the Catholic people and particularly the Yanaruma people are negotiating with another narrative of modernity: one that romanticizes the Inka past and frames contemporary indigenous culture, and particularly Q'ero custom, as relics of that glorious history. In contrast to the Maranata, the Yanaruma people do not refuse to be framed as keepers of ancient knowledge but embrace that framing with enthusiasm. They see the possibility of better futures by practicing the *kustunri* and accommodating the external demands of authenticity, performance of Inkaness, and radical otherness. While framed as an effort to maintain the *kustunri*, these preservation efforts and the ongoing celebration of Inka heritage is actually part of a transformation in the *kustunri*.

But this is not an easy game. While Yanaruma people do attempt to improve their living standards by accommodating the public and private heritage industry, this preservation effort rests on the performance of a radical otherness that is deeply emplaced in Hapu lands. As it was mentioned before, racial/ethnic hierarchies are profoundly geographical (Cánepa 2007, Orlove 1993). Hence, Yanaruma people's attempts to take advantage of an increased monetary income can endanger their aura of authenticity, especially if they migrate to urban centers. Their symbolic capital, to use Bourdieu's category, depends in performing a radical otherness inscribed in their cloths, their houses of stone, their Quechua monolingualism, and their subsistence agriculture in Hapu and not somewhere else.

In contrast with other groups in the Andes that were able to gain monetary income due to the performance of their ethnicity, such as the Otavalans (Collredo-Mansfeld 1999, Huarcaya 2011), the Q'ero do not yet control the know-how or resources to directly negotiate with their potential clients for the practices of their *kustunri* in the US and Europe. While Otavalans' ethnic pride was constructed through their transnational migration and the appreciation of their indigeneity in Europe, put into sharp contrast against the discrimination that they faced in Ecuador, the Q'ero are starting to build an ethnic pride through the visits of these foreigners and the influence of the New Age

tourism demand in Cuzco. It remains to be seen how long it will take for them to directly control the monetary exchanges for their services, how that will change their relationship with the Hapu place-persons, and how they will be able to negotiate and maintain the aura of authenticity that is at the core of what is demanded from them.

In the short term, the structural role that the Q'ero play in the broader regional politics of race and culture might benefit some of Hapu people but it will come at a cost. These people will remain cast as living evidence to reinforce the narratives of modernity that maintain the hegemonic social hierarchies of the region. Though while this may well be the case in the short term, the growing sense of cultural pride may take many different paths; Q'ero does not necessarily have to be trapped by the dominant ideology of social hierarchy.

In the following fragment, don Luis elaborates that a person who is ethnically *runa* would be able to stay as a *runa* even when acquiring a high command of Spanish. While his claims would be hardly imaginable for a middle-class Spanish-speaker from the city, it is possible for don Luis, who earns his monetary income by working as a *paqu* in Cuzco dressed in his Q'ero clothing. Even though this fragment could be read in a way that he might be answering what he thought I wanted to hear, it is also obvious that this claims point to the fact that he and other Hapu people can imagine futures that depart from the dominant ideologies produced in the city.

- | | |
|--|--|
| G: Ichaqa sichus huq runa, allinta yachan, allinta ñawinchan, aah, runalla qhipashan icha manachu? | G: But, if a <i>runa</i> knows well, reads well, then, does [he/she] stay as <i>runa</i> , or not? |
| L: Mana, allinyá riki, runapuniyá kirashan, piru allinta, riqsin, yachan, liyiytapas, iskriwiytapas, q'alata yachan, piru runa kashan kirakushallan, ashwan allin. | L: No. It would be certainly good staying <i>runa</i> . But it is better that a <i>runa</i> stays as such [while] knows well to read to write, knows very well all that. |
| G: Ammm. | G: Ammm |
| L: Kunan ñuqa irukasqa kayman allin irukasqa riki. | L: If now I would be educated, well educated, right? |
| G: Riki. | G: Right |
| L: Hinaspa ankay p'achaywan churakushallayman. | L: I only would dress with these my cloths, in this very same way. |
| G: Riki | G: Right |
| L: Piru anchhayna purispaqa palabray kanman rimapakunaypaq, imapaq riki, wakinqa aywisis mana Qusqupipas intindinkuchu runasimita. | L: Hence when traveling I would have words in order to talk, for anything, right? Some in Cuzco do not understand the language of the <i>runas</i> . |
| G: Ummhu. | G: Ummhu |

⁵⁰ Conversation with don Luis. Hapu 2008.

L: Anchaypiqa kastillanuwan kutichikunaypaq
kaymanñayá, riki?
G: Riki.
L: Ankhayna p'achallayuqpas
G: Riki⁵⁰

L: In that way, I already would be able to answer
in Spanish, right?
G: Right.
L: With these clothes.
G: Right.

In the same tone, don Luis is very explicit in his allegiance to the Hapu ways instead of shifting towards what he regards as *misti* ones – such as the younger males wearing more and more manufactured cloths. While within the dominant ideologies, to become literate is equated with jettisoning one's indigenous practices don Luis' statements propose that monolingual Quechua speakers can learn to read and write Spanish well but nevertheless maintain their distinctive ethnic cloths and keep practicing their *kustunri*. With considerable differences, this is the same process that Marisol de la Cadena (2000) has pointed out in relation to *indigenous-mestizo* people in the city of Cuzco: Urbanites of rural background who refuse to be labeled as *indios* and call themselves *mestizo* while they keep honoring their indigenous practices.

While in many quotidian situations and in other conversations, don Luis complained about how hard life was in Hapu and how people in the city live in abundance, he refused to answer my blunt question about which is the better way of life; rather, he simply gives an affirmation to the ways that he has always lived.

G: Imata pensashanki, imata ashwan allin, misti
hina tiyanapaq? Icha runa hina tiyanapaq?
L: Mana, ñuqaqa hasta wañunaykamapas ayna
runa hinallapuni tiyashasaq.⁵¹

G: But what do you think? What is better? To
live as a *misti* or to live as a *runa*?
L: No. Of course I will live in this very same
way, as a *runa*, until I die.

It is hard to know how things might change in the future and the paths that Hapu people, human and non-human, will take. In this complex scenario, they seem to have some possibilities for better futures that, together with other regional processes at play, might help destabilize the hegemonic narratives of modernity present in the region.

* * *

The processes of conversion and reconversion in Hapu have not entailed a dramatic change in their basic ontological presuppositions. At least it is hard to point to a clear ontological difference between Maranatas and Catholics. Both Catholics and

⁵¹ Conversation with don Luis. Hapu 2008.

Maranatas are certain about the personhood of God as well as that of the place-persons. Not one Maranata I talked with thought relevant to challenge the personhood of the place-persons in order to convert. Conversion rather was explained due to a change in the allegiances of place-persons, God and humans as well as the proven ineffectiveness of old Q'ero practices.

Hence, when Hapu people narrate their experiences of conversion, they tell about their examination of the behavior of non-human agents. Deaths of relatives, illness, fertility of sheep or llamas, and productivity of crops were important elements to evaluate the advantage or disadvantage of maintaining their reciprocal relationships with the place-persons where they lived or to start a new alliance with God.

Evangelical discourse of conversion and salvation has close structural similarity with that of narratives of modernity. Both appeal to a radical rupture that differentiates hierarchical periodicity; both offer freedom and redemption from a slave-like status; both establish a moral hierarchy between those who have converted and those who remain prisoners of their false beliefs (Keane 2007).

Converting to the Maranata church implies a radical rupture with all the practices of the kustunri, which are framed as essentially related with a sinful life, a source of conflicts, domestic violence, poverty, and even death. In this frame, cultivating Hapu kustunri is equated with an inferior social status. Through this equation, to convert to Evangelicalism is also to gain distance from the stereotypes associated with Indianess. Crucial in the construction of this higher social status is access to the ultimate source truth, contained in a book. Improving one's status is thus related to improving one's literacy and the type of knowledge that is accessed through it, a claim that was largely negated to those who were illiterate in Spanish before Evangelicalism's arrival.

However, not all aspects of the conversion to Evangelicalism reproduce and reinforce the social hierarchies. The use of the Bible in Quechua is an important element through which Evangelicals are actively contributing to create and increase Quechua literacy. This contributes to reclaim the language as a literate one, which can open new possibilities for the production and use of written Quechua texts in the future.

Furthermore, becoming Maranata in a Q'ero community also challenges the dominant stereotypes that have been imposed over Q'ero people. Maranata converts

refuse to accept the role of being the keepers of Inka wisdom and to be living remnants of the past. In so doing, Maranata converts challenge the dominant narratives of modernity that celebrate the indigenous past while also reinforcing the association of indigeneity and poverty.

People who decided to remain Catholic and those who returned to the *kustunri* after having converted to Maranata also conform to some extent to the dominant narratives of modernity, but in different ways. They also claim moral superiority over Maranata people: Maranatas are accused of being hypocritical gossipers, of not being able to comply with the standards of virtue they proclaim. However, the most serious accusations seem to be that of stinginess. Maranatas are portrayed as interested only in their own advantage and disinterested in community's wellbeing.

By assuming and appropriating the discourses produced about Q'ero people in Cuzco and beyond, they conform to the role of heritage's caretakers. This embodiment of the stereotype as authentic heirs of the Inka thus contributes to the reproduction of ideologies that perpetuate indigenous people not being fully considered as Peruvian citizens.

While this is the consequence in terms of the reproduction of the regional narratives of modernity, this path is also envisioned by some as a way to improve their living standards by obtaining new sources of monetary income as well as it contributes to the emergence of a particular ethnic pride. Hence, the cultivation of the *kustunri* and the celebration of its preservation is a way to launch processes of change, attempts to overcome poverty.

CHAPTER XI CONCLUSIONS

Derogatory and celebratory narratives of modernity

Over the last decade, discussions about racial/ethnic discrimination have become increasingly visible in the Peruvian public sphere. This tells of a long and slow process through which social hierarchies are becoming less rigid and vertical. While before these hierarchies could not even be mentioned, the very existence of a public debate tells about a gradual move from doxa towards heterodoxy. Several processes have contributed to this scenario. Among them are the increased mobility and migration from the highland Andean countryside to Lima and other cities, the slow erosion and ultimate collapse of the highland hacienda regime which was marked by the 1969 Agrarian Reform, the universal vote and elections of local governments established by the 1979 Constitution, the expansion and improvement of the road system, and the expansion of formal schooling.

Although these processes have been dramatically changing the Peruvian social landscape, there is still a long way to go toward a more equalitarian society. Racial/ethnic hierarchies are reproduced in daily life, in all social interactions across class, culture, and language. Recent notorious events have shown how strong these ideologies are. For example, shocking Limeño economic elites, neoliberal opinion-makers, and the middle classes who benefited from recent years of economic growth, the 2011 general elections saw the rise of Ollanta Humala, a candidate that under the flag of the *Partido Nacionalista* (Nationalist Party) offered to reform neoliberal policies, promote State intervention and control, prioritize an agenda of social programs and equality, and watch out for the interests of the communities directly affected by transnational corporations.

Beyond the actual regime's commitment to these promises, the election clearly spoke of a country witness to, on the one hand, constant economic growth and booming investments in mining and other extractive industries over the last decade, and, on the other, an increasing inequality in income and an explosion of social conflicts around extractive industries. These higher levels of poverty and the areas where these conflicts occur have clear geographical and racial/ethnic distributions. As it was noted previously, the poorest populations live in rural indigenous communities (Trivelli 2006).

After the first-round vote won by Ollanta Humala and Keiko Fujimori – former president Fujimori's daughter –, Peruvians had to choose between what the Nobel Prize winner Mario Vargas Llosa had termed “cancer versus AIDS”: on the one hand, an outdated nationalist radical, who would destroy economic growth and democracy, and on the other, the comeback of the corrupt and authoritarian mafia that had governed the country during the 1990s and that offered to maintain the neoliberal regime.

In the second round, Keiko Fujimori, won in Lima with 56%, while Ollanta Humala won in all of the highlands and the Amazonian regions. The strongest support for Humala's nationalist alliance *Gana Perú* (Peru Wins) came from the Southern highlands where his triumph was overwhelming (he won with 75% in Cuzco and 78% in Puno). At the national level, Humala obtained 51.5% versus the Fujimori's 48.5%. *Gana Perú* won the election despite loud and blatant demonization by all possible means, including use of faked “evidence,” launched by the most important Limeño media, painting apocalyptic futures if Humala was elected.

When the unofficial first-round results were released, a large proportion of Limeño middle-class youth, which considered Humala as an inevitable path towards a monstrous left-wing dictatorship, expressed its frustration with transparent, crude, and blunt racism. Facebook walls captured an impressive register of violent stereotypes against highland Peruvians, who were accused of ruining the country due to their resentment, ignorance, irrationality, and brutishness. The Facebook account *Vergüenza Democrática* (Democratic Shame)¹ exhibited claims such as, “for our disgrace, we are infested with Indians in Peru,” a claim that likened *Indians* to vermin. Some simply

¹ Vergüenza Democrática <https://www.facebook.com/VerguenzaDemocratica> . Accessed on February 8, 2012.

called for the elimination of those who lived in certain region of the country: “Please, eliminate all Peruvians who live in Huancavelica, Huánuco, Junín, Lambayeque!!!!” And other just used Indian as an insult: “We are fucked up thanks to the Indians, all this *Indiada*... I will get the fuck out of this shitty country...” Then, a few elaborated on diatribes, mixing several stereotypes: “We have to clean up the bestiality done by our poor friends of the rural and far away areas who out of disinformation and ignorance, for bad experiences and social abandonment, are stopping progress.”

It is not difficult to connect such expressions to the crimes committed during the period of political violence in the 1980s and 1990s, as reported by the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR 2003): According to the 1993 Census, only 20% of the Peruvian population had Quechua as their mother tongue; however, 75% of those killed during the period of political violence had Quechua as their mother tongue. Most of them were poor rural Quechua speakers. As the President of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission said in the presentation of the Final Report:

El insulto racial -el agravio verbal a personas desposeídas- resuena como abominable estribillo que precede a la golpiza, al secuestro del hijo, al disparo a quemarropa. Indigna escuchar explicaciones estratégicas de por qué era oportuno, en cierto recodo de la guerra, aniquilar a esta o aquella comunidad campesina o someter a etnias enteras a la esclavitud y al desplazamiento forzado bajo amenazas de muerte (Lerner 2003).

The racial insult – the verbal aggression to dispossessed people – resounds as an abominable refrain preceding beatings, a son’s kidnapping, or a point blank shot. It is indignant to have listened to strategic explanations of why it was opportune, at a certain point in the war, to exterminate this or that peasant community, or submit entire ethnic groups to slavery and forced displacement under death threats.

Discrimination against indigenous peoples is thus clearly prevalent, not only in this particularly notorious context but also widely present in everyday interactions. My dissertation research elaborates on how this discriminatory practices and discourses are articulated in and through narratives of modernity. The first type of narratives of modernity that articulate and legitimate these discriminatory practices are those stressing derogatory stereotypes of indigenous peoples and construct an understanding of indigeneity as essentially alien to modernity.

However this is not the only way in which narratives of modernity construct and legitimate hierarchies. There are other narratives of modernity that articulate celebratory discourses of indigenous people by exalting their pre-Hispanic heritage which also contribute to the reproduction of existing social hierarchies. These narratives, appealing to romantic nostalgia rather than to the celebration of progress, are more prevalent in

Cuzco because of the city's history as the seat of the Inka Empire, which in turn is closely related to the development of the area's regionalist nationalism. These celebratory discourses of a particular construction of indigeneity reinforce and further legitimize the narratives of modernity that depreciate contemporary indigenous peoples. The swelling popularity of the Inka heritage industry abets the construction of notions of authenticity for contemporary indigenous peoples that denies their coevalness, renders them alien to modernity, and essentializes them geographically in the far away highlands while projecting them into the past. These narratives of modernity contribute to valorizing indigenous people and practices essentially as remnants and relics of a glorious past, to be preserved as national treasures. These narratives of modernity that celebrate the Inka past are at the core of the strong Cuzqueño regionalist nationalism and are fundamental for the hegemonic character of the ideologies of social hierarchy produced in the city.

The Cuzqueño obsession with representing Inkaness and authentic indigeneity is fundamental for the reproduction of the social hierarchies and inequalities prevalent in the region. This aspect of regionalist nationalism is reinforced, in particular, by the expansion and growing import of the tourist industry. The proliferation of New Age discourses in Cuzco further reinforces the idealization of what authentic indigeneity consists of. It has reshaped the notion of an essential, pre-modern indigeneity, confined outside the contemporary urban landscape of "modern" Cuzco as the keepers of ancient knowledge demanded by the tourist industry.

These celebratory and derogatory narratives of modernity are two sides of the same coin. The same person might, in varying social contexts, given particular frames, engage in one or the other. Invoking a particular instantiation of these narratives is to draw a boundary and impose a hierarchy between the two sides. There are different ways in which this boundary can be marked. Symbolic or physical violence is more likely to be used when there is ambiguity in the attribution of hierarchy and hence a possibility that there be room for contestation. When differences of economic status, ways of living, or languages and accents are too highly noticeable, the hierarchy does not need to be reinforced violently but tends to be reinforced by paternalism. This is why bilingual people, whom don Sebastián characterized as "those brothers who already know to speak Spanish," mistreat and insult Hapu people when they travel to the city of Cuzco, while

urban elites and tourist entrepreneurs discriminate against them through rather paternalistic practices. While the former tend to deploy narratives of modernity that stress derogatory stereotypes of indigeneity, the latter deploy those that stress the celebration of indigenous authenticity.

Celebratory narratives of Inkan heritage are at the core of the regionalist pride and sentiment. To criticize these discourses or criticize the Inka is ultimately understood as an index of being anti-Cuzqueño and warrants accusations of having a colonialist perspective. Likewise, the rhetorical structure of these narratives tends to unwittingly dismantle attempts at advancing political affirmations of indigeneity. I have heard several instances wherein activists invoke the Inka past in order to legitimate an indigenous political agenda and end up reproducing the same equations of time, geography, and authenticity embedded in the dominant narratives of modernity.

Nevertheless, the reader should not conclude that these celebrations of indigenous history cannot be redeployed to challenge the established social hierarchies. As with any other political project, an indigenous political agenda cannot be devoid of some type of essentialisms. As experiences of those involved in the Bolivian and Ecuadorian indigenous movements demonstrate, essentialist discourses are almost inevitable in the process of constructing a political movement (Lucero 2008). What I intend to highlight rather is that, in contemporary Cuzco, certain discourses that mean to advance indigenous political causes recur to narratives that wind up reproducing the established social hierarchies. While there are certainly Quechua political interventions and actions in the region (see De la Cadena 2010, García 2005), if an indigenous political movement is going to coalesce in and around Cuzco, it would have to challenge the hegemony articulated by the interlocking narratives of modernity – the celebratory and the derogatory – and thus challenge the established regionalist nationalism.

We all are savages: Multiple worlds and partial connections

This dissertation is not concerned in defining who might or might not be framed as “modern” people. It should suffice to say that to be modern is an unachievable project, always doomed to failure due to the very nature of semiotic mediation (Keane 2007,

Latour 1993). It should be clear that all humans are savages in so far all we inhabit our multiple worlds as ‘bricoleurs’ playing within the range of our particular ontological presuppositions (Derrida 1978, Lévi-Strauss 1966). I have focused on illustrating how narratives of modernity constitute powerful ideological machines that construct hierarchy. *Modernidad*, as used in the Peruvian public sphere, is an ideological sublime, an empty signifier, a nodal point fundamental for reproducing the hegemonic hierarchies. They make unimaginable, for example, a social world wherein a Spanish speaker might have lower social status than a Quechua speaker.

While there are no modern people, I acknowledge that there are modern worlds. These are worlds constructed over the unquestionable certainty that the modern constitution corresponds with reality, that is, that the nature/culture divide and its moral consequences neatly describes and adheres to how the world is. Due to the very impossibility of achieving settled boundaries between inanimate objects and human agents, any modern world coexists with other worlds that do not follow the modern constitution. This does not occur only through the infinite and constant emergence of hybrids, but also through the presence of peoples who live in worlds that do not adhere to the modern constitution, worlds constructed through different ontological presuppositions. Furthermore, people who see themselves as “modern” do not necessarily live constantly within modern worlds, as in many frames their practices openly breach the modern constitution.

As it was already explained, this dissertation does not try to characterize the regional society of Cuzco as composed by two distinct, bounded social groups isolated from each other. These worlds, which are not only two, rather coexist within the same space and they are not geographically confined. Furthermore, while people in the region live through different ontologies they share a long history of quotidian and constant interactions. As De la Cadena (2011) elaborates, this has as a consequence that these worlds interpenetrate each other at different levels. There worlds coexist in a web of partial connections (Strathern 1991), of different levels of familiarity and knowledge of practices emerging from different ontologies.

Due to the long history of their coexistence and sustained interaction, people living in these worlds have a strong familiarity with practices emerging from other

ontologies, though they might not fully understand their internal workings – both in abstract and embodied terms –and can even systematically misunderstand them. For instance, most urban Spanish speaking people know that a food-offering is given to the mountains in order to request favors or to heal. Some participate in these practices and might be able to closely follow their internal logics while others might not be able to fully do so. Some, for example, do not know that these offerings are basically food. Others still conceive these practices as obscure techniques for addressing supernatural “mountain spirits” that can only be performed properly by an authentic indigenous paqu, and hence approach them through the frame of magic. While these are different ways to relate to these practices, most urban Spanish speaking people – even those who regard themselves as modern – acknowledge in discourse or in practice the effectiveness of food-offerings when properly done.

Each of Cuzco’s worlds – those of the minority, who were socialized within the frame of the modern constitution, and those of the majority, who came up in non-modern worlds – are partially co-present in their counterparts, they interpenetrate each other. Modern and non-modern worlds are deeply interconnected and cannot be isolated. This is true for the supposedly most authentic indigenous communities, such as the Q’ero communities, as well as for urban Spanish speaking urbanites who rarely get out of the city or only do so by plane. This is the case across class lines, geographical divisions, occupation, subsistence and monetary economy, literacy and illiteracy (see ØDeggaard 2011 for the city of Arequipa, and Stensrud 2011 for the city of Cuzco). Quechua worlds are thoroughly present in urban Cuzco and Spanish speaking ones in the rural spaces.

Social interaction across ontological divisions happens continuously and everywhere. Ontological difference does not hinder social interaction in many practical contexts, for example, buying or selling in the market, and thus goes unnoticed in many cases. There are some other interactions wherein incompatibilities between worlds become apparent, for example, when mountains are invoked as political actors disrupting notions of modern politics (De la Cadena 2010).

It is through these constant but partial understandings that are permanently at play between inhabitants of different worlds that hegemony can emerge. As it is shown in the dissertation, Hapu Maranatas deploy narratives of modernity that are very much aligned

with those produced in the city, however they do so from their own ontological position. Hegemony emerges articulating different worlds through, in this case, narratives of modernity, which do not contradict up front the ontological presuppositions of the Hapu worlds. For example, the idea that formal education produces legitimate social hierarchies does not contradict Hapu ontologies. This idea can be reproduced from a Hapu ontological position without major problem. Hence, ideologies that articulate hegemonic social arrangements across worlds can do so only when they do not contradict basis presuppositions of the worlds involved in a particular society. Only so can an ideological cluster such as the narratives of modernity present in the region of Cuzco can be negotiated across ontological differences without being entangled in the contradictions or reframing to such extent that it ends up transformed and eventually neutralized.

Quechua ontologies and Maranata conversions in Hapu

This dissertation outlines some principles that articulate Quechua ontologies by analyzing the practices that mediate the relations between humans and the landscape in the region of Cuzco. Relatively recent research on Quechua kinship (Leinaweaver 2008, Van Vleet 2008, Weismantel 1995) has shown how Quechua sociality is constructed through varying levels and patterns of provision of food and cohabitation. I show how the relationships between humans and place-persons are constructed through the same principles present in the construction of human relatedness. Place-persons are providers of food through the fertility given in their very materiality. Their materiality also gives shelter and residence to human beings. Human beings acknowledge this fundamental relationship with the place-persons by respectfully offering food in daily life and on ritual occasions.

Humans and place-persons emerge relationally through social interactions. Human lives and bodies, constructed through food which also constructs their sociality, ultimately belong to the place-persons. Humans, and the place-persons where humans live and work, are mutually co-present in each other. Together, humans and place-persons constitute an *ayllu*, the Quechua notion of a social unit beyond the household.

There are clear hierarchies in this society, where humans depend on and live under the often capricious decision-making and behavior of the place-persons.

This social world is reproduced through the presuppositions embedded in the etiquettes of everyday practices, such as the consumption of coca leaves, and in ritual practices, which are nested in each other at diverse levels of complexity. Through the iteration of their poetic forms, the presuppositions are anchored in the syntactic and pragmatic relations of these practices. It follows then that the reproduction of Quechua worlds does not rest in explicit discourses about practice nor do they depend primarily on referential meaning (Mannheim 1991). Most of the presuppositions at the core of these worlds are situated below the level of awareness, in the domain of *doxa* (Bourdieu 1977).

The cult of Catholic saints follows a similar logic. Similar to place-persons, what in a canonical Catholic discourse would be called images of saints, Christ, or the Virgin are not regarded as icons indexing persons who exist in a different plane of reality or who have an immaterial existence. Rather, at the level of the *doxa*, images are regarded as persons in themselves. While christ and the virgins tend to be regarded as higher in power than other saints, all these beings belong to the same class: material persons enplaced in landscape, usually living in Catholic churches.

Just as the apu and pachamama are the places themselves, saints' bodies are the saints themselves, all of which reside in the material world. In the case of the Catholic people of Hapu, the only saint that they honor and interact with is Taytacha Quyllurit'i, Our Father Shining Snow, who is associated with the glacier apu Qulqipunku, lord Silver Gate. Taytacha Quyllurit'i, the big crag over which an image of Christ has been painted, miraculously mediates the power of the apu Qulqipunku. This mediation is possible through the participation of bear dancers, members of the Brotherhood, and, crucially, Catholic priests. The legitimacy and authority that the Catholic Church maintains rests upon the recognition of these mediating abilities.

God, on the other hand, belongs to a different world, the world above. While everybody is certain of his existence, Catholic people do not interact with him in a daily basis. In contrast with the place-persons, who interact with humans on a daily basis, God seems to be markedly disinterested in human affairs, removed as he is from daily events.

The Maranata converts in Hapu do not follow suit concerning the role of God in daily life. The Maranata are constantly invoking God. Maranata prayers and songs address him directly to request help, support, guidance, and compassion. The evangelical converts have thus introduced a radical change in the conception of God and have also introduced the prominence of another non-human agent: Satan. By insistently referring to these beings as spirits, God and Satan are clearly distinguished from the place-persons and saints. In contrast to place-persons or to saints, God and Satan do not have a materiality, existing outside of our existential plane. Maranata converts stress the impossibility of seeing God, as he is a spirit belonging to the world above. The same is true of Satan.²

This realignment of the role of God and the many references to Satan are inscribed within an ongoing dialog within the common Hapu ontological frame. From this dialog, different understandings of the relationships between humans and non-human agents have gained traction among both the Maranata and the Catholic. The conflict between Maranata and Catholic people has had an impact on the displacement of notions that were previously fundamental on the level of doxa towards ordodoxy and heterodoxy (Bourdieu 1977). For instance, how the place-persons relate to humans is now open to contestation and debate. However, neither Maranata nor Catholic people doubt the places' personhood. Hapu's Maranata and Catholic share a common ontological ground against which their conflicts are launched and negotiated.

Conversion, cooperation and non-human agency

The presence of the Maranata in Hapu confronted the whole community with certain options to choose. Whether it was an active decision or a passive one, the people of Hapu were forced to decide whether to convert to Evangelicalism or to remain Catholic. There are several factors involved in this process that I will briefly summarize.

One first element to consider is that these conversions should not be understood as individual decisions. While in urban contexts, certain fragility of kinship networks have

² While classic ethnography in the Andes locates Satan as belonging to the inner world -- *uhupacha* --this concept was noticeably absent among the Maranata of Hapu.

been associated with a higher likelihood of conversion (Smilde 2007), in social contexts such as the rural Andes this is hardly the case. The subsistence economy in the rural communities such as Hapu depends on a high level of cooperation between households as well as specific networks of patron-client relations. If converting to Evangelicalism involves a prohibition against coca and alcohol consumption, then a household cannot simply convert in isolation: the consumption of these substances is concomitant with the practices that mediate all types of cooperation among households (Pærregaard 1994, Spier 1995).

Current distributions of religious affiliations along residential lines in Hapu show how co-residence in/with some places is deeply linked to networks of cooperation and asymmetric reciprocity. Places of residence, kinship relations, and networks of cooperation organize different clienteles around charismatic leaders who are simultaneously heads of relatively wealthy households. These leaders are known either to be effective paqus or exemplary Maranata brothers. Part of their charisma and economic standing is considered an outcome of their special relationships with the place-persons or with God.

When charismatic leaders and their closely-related families convert, they end up fostering the conversion of their clientele. This is illustrated by the near total conversion of Quchamarka to Evangelicalism or the total Yanaruma conversion to Evangelicalism and their subsequent return to the practice of kustunri. Hence, if a household is within a cooperative network led by a charismatic figure, it is likely to follow that leader's decision. This should not be understood as a mechanistic change but as a series of factors that involve recognition of authority, acknowledgement of non-human agents' blessing as well as a certain level of economic dependence.

When offering their reasons to remain Catholic, to become Maranata, or to return to the practice of the kustunri, the people of Hapu typically explained their experiences and decisions through an examination of the evidences of non-human agency. Deaths of relatives, illness, fertility of sheep or llamas, and productivity of crops were important elements to evaluate the advantage or disadvantage of maintaining their reciprocal relationships with the place-persons where they lived or to start a new alliance with God.

There is a constant evaluation of how non-human persons are behaving which informs how individuals might choose to align themselves accordingly.

Negotiating narratives of modernity

Patterns of residence, networks of cooperation, and evaluations of the indexicality of non-human agency shaped and informed the decisions to convert to the Maranata Church. But what was the allure of becoming Maranata in the first place?

As I hope become clear in the chapter X, this allure emerged because of the structural similarity between the Evangelical discourse of conversion and salvation and the narratives of modernity that articulate the social hierarchies in the region. Both appeal to a radical rupture that differentiate hierarchical periodicity; both offer freedom and redemption from a slave-like status; both establish a moral hierarchy between those who have converted and those who remain prisoners of their false beliefs (Keane 2007).

In contexts like Hapu, the Maranata church offers one of the few possibilities to perceive oneself as taking a path that will improve one's own social standing. This is consistent with a broader regional pattern: in rural communities that are more articulated with the broader society – using indicators such as proximity to main roads, markets, and strong networks of relatives living in cities – Evangelicalism tends to be less successful than in communities with fewer opportunities for social mobility (see Salas 2010). People of rural communities that are closer to urban centers and that have strong migrant networks can find ways to attend high school which may lead to a technical institute or a university career, as well as a chance to increase one's monetary income by working within the informal economy of towns and cities. Since this is not the case in Hapu, Evangelicalism proffers a chance to improve one's social status through practices and discourses aligned with the dominant narratives of modernity, in a context of very few possibilities of migrating, changing economic activity, or continuing study in a town or city.

Converting to the Maranata church implies a radical rupture with all the practices of the *kustunri*, which are framed as essentially related with a sinful life, a source of conflicts, domestic violence, poverty, and even death. In this frame, cultivating Hapu

kustunri is equated with an inferior social status. Through this equation, to convert to Evangelicalism is also to gain distance from the stereotypes associated with Indianness. Crucial in the construction of this higher social status is access to the ultimate source truth, contained in a book. Improving one's status is thus related to improving one's literacy and the type of knowledge that is accessed through it, a claim that was largely negated to those who were illiterate in Spanish before Evangelicalism's arrival.

However, it should be noted that not all aspects of the conversion to Evangelicalism reproduce and reinforce the regional social hierarchies. The use of the Bible in Quechua is an important element through which Evangelicals are actively contributing to create and increment Quechua literacy. Part of the same process involves the printing of songbooks and proselytizing pamphlets. To become literate in Quechua is to reclaim the language as a literate one, which can open new possibilities for the production and use of written Quechua texts in the future. To access God's words in Quechua elevates the status of the language as worthy of expressing ultimate truths.

Furthermore, becoming Maranata in a Q'ero community also challenges the dominant stereotypes that have been imposed over Q'ero people. Maranata converts refuse to accept the role of being the keepers of Inka wisdom and to be living remnants of the past. In so doing, Maranata converts challenge the dominant narratives of modernity that celebrate the indigenous past while also reinforcing the association of indigeneity and poverty. Evangelical converts are thus not well regarded by many urban Spanish-speakers in Cuzco because they are refusing their relegated duty of preserving indigenous authenticity. Similar is the case of New Age practitioners or philanthropists. The Maranata presence blatantly breaks the illusion of authentic Inka wisdom, supposedly isolated from global processes in the remoteness of Q'ero communities.

People who decided to remain Catholic and those who returned to the kustunri after having converted to Maranata also conform to the dominant narratives of modernity, but in different ways. By assuming and appropriating the discourses produced about Q'ero people in Cuzco and beyond, they conform to the role of heritage's caretakers. This embodiment of the stereotype as authentic heir of the Inka thus contributes to the reproduction of ideologies that perpetuate indigenous people not being fully considered as Peruvian citizens.

While this is the consequence in terms of the reproduction of the regional narratives of modernity, this path is also envisioned by some as a way to improve their living standards by obtaining new sources of monetary income as well as it contributes to the emergence of a particular ethnic pride. Hence, the cultivation of the *kustunri* in the context of New Age admiration can become a way to overcome poverty. If Hapu and Q'ero people managed to control the networks that would allow them to directly reach their clients, then they might be able to dramatically heighten their money-making capacity. While that scenario currently seems difficult, it is certainly not impossible. Q'ero people might foster their ethnic pride with unquestionable evidences that the place-persons are favoring them and bringing wellbeing to their households. In an imagined future of increased economic income, Q'ero people would face the challenge of maintaining their authenticity – associated with a harsh, subsistence agricultural life that is the source of their fame – while at the same time having the resources necessary to migrate to cities.

Evangelical conversion and Quechua worlds

Maranata people in Hapu narrate their conversions by referring to a radical change in their lives, not only at the individual level but as aligned with a broader change in the arrangement between place-persons, God, and human beings, creating a radical rupture with the past. This periodic division is inscribed within their ongoing ontologies, that is, the rupture did not entail a noticeable ontological change.

While I agree with Robbins (2007, 2010) that, to a certain extent, anthropologists have had a tendency to stress continuity rather than change and to question the accuracy of testimonies from people experiencing a radical rupture in their lives, his analysis might be confusing different semiotic domains. The case of Hapu demonstrates that the sphere of religion is not the same than that of ontology. The process of converting to Evangelicalism in Hapu entails the appropriation of, or at least negotiation with, the notion of religion as a social field. This supposes certain a level of compartmentalization of social life associated with modern worlds: the religious realm of the Sunday services would be independent of that of the communal formal political organization. Yet, these

processes occur within a context of ontological stability. The radical change does not disrupt embodied premises of how the world is and one's relation to it.

. Ontological stability does not preclude radical religious conversion. What it speaks to is a particular Quechua Evangelicalism inscribed in local ontologies. This is not uncommon in the study of religious conversion. As many authors have reported about Evangelicalism in indigenous communities, there is a noticeable process of indigenization of Evangelical practices (e.g. Andrade 2004, Bastian and Bottasso 1995, Swanson 1994).

Narratives of modernity can be deployed from an ontology that is not inscribed in the modern constitution. These narratives emerged together with the modern constitution and the construction of a criteria of social classification understood as a divide between those who saw themselves as modern and those who were accused as remaining trapped by their false beliefs. Being this a principle of social differentiation, it does not map over clear cut social groupings but it is rather deployed and negotiated in social practice. Furthermore, it is necessary to stress that, in many instantiations, these narratives do not necessarily hinge on the nature/culture divide or to the work of purification. Their rhetorical structure does not need to refer to the work of purification in order to be effective. They work as mechanisms for producing hierarchy through rupture, periodization, and attribution of moral superiority at an ideological level. That is how Maranata converts in Hapu can deploy the rhetorical mechanisms of modernity's narratives from an ontology that differs from the modern constitution. And this is also how narratives of modernity can articulate hegemonies across different worlds.

Paths to take

Further research is necessary on the historical changes in Quechua ontologies. Is the ontological model sketched in this dissertation applicable to pre-Hispanic and colonial times? How has the enduring presence of Catholic institutions affected Quechua ontologies? While there have been recent efforts to understand these processes (Gose 2008, Ramos 2010), it is necessary to question the influence of the modern constitution and its concomitant ideologies of kinship in the academic analysis. I suspect that the 16th

century Spanish ontologies overstated claims about ancestors and blood lines, distorting our understandings of historical Quechua ontologies. This might entail a reexamination of colonial sources in order to extrapolate and surmise historical changes in Andean ontologies. Additionally, it would be fruitful to examine the ontologies of other contemporary Quechua communities beyond the region of Cuzco.

Hapu and the other Q'ero communities could hardly be referred to as a “common case” among the rural Quechua communities in the Southern Peruvian Andes. On one hand, these communities are relatively less articulated with the broader society in terms of ease of transportation and presence of urban migrant networks. While most communities in the region have relatives who live in the cities of Cuzco, Lima and beyond, and are located in closer articulation with the main road system, this is not the case of Hapu or the other Q'ero communities. On the other hand, those communities that show characteristics similar to the Q'ero in terms of migrant networks and closeness to main roads typically do not have similar fame of pristine authenticity that Q'ero communities have.

Hence, in order to show a more nuanced picture – always inevitably partial – of the processes currently at play in the Cuzco region, it would be necessary to include other case studies of rural Quechua-speaking communities that can be located as having more general characteristics. This would allow certain assessments of the particularity of processes taking place in Hapu and how different communities negotiate their experiences with tourism and the rise of Evangelicalism. Since typical comparisons across these communities takes as their fulcrum the varying degrees of assimilation or “acculturation” to the dominant, Spanish-speaking culture, a comparison of ontologies across the Andes would allow for a discussion of cultural diversity in and between Quechua communities in a more situated and thorough context.

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