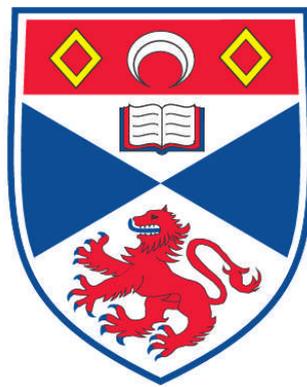


**BETWEEN THE AYLLU AND THE NATION-STATE :
INTERTEXTUALITY AND AMBIGUITIES OF IDENTITY IN SAN
PABLO DE LIPEZ**

Margaret Bolton

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



2001

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**Between the *Ayllu* and the Nation-State:
Intertextuality and Ambiguities of Identity in
San Pablo de Lípez**

By Margaret Bolton

A thesis submitted in accordance for the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts

Department of Social Anthropology
University of St. Andrews

October 2000



Declarations

- (i) I, Margaret Bolton, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100 000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the people and organisations that have helped me with the production of this thesis. First and foremost, my thanks are due to the people of San Pablo de Lípez, whose friendship, hospitality and cooperation made this study possible. In particular, I would like to thank the families of don Alejandro Alejo, don Reynaldo Gutierrez and doña Concha Choque, all of whom acted as my hosts at different times, and who taught me much about life in Sud Lípez.

I would also like to thank the various institutions that have given me financial support during my studies: the Bank of Scotland for a scholarship that paid half my university fees for two years; the University of St. Andrews School of Anthropological and Philosophical Studies for a grant towards my fieldwork; the Gifford Travel Fund for a further grant towards fieldwork, and the Radcliffe-Brown Trust Fund for an award towards the production of this thesis. I would also like to thank my parents who paid my university fees in my first year of postgraduate study.

I owe many thanks to the staff and students of the Department of Social Anthropology at St. Andrews. I am particularly grateful to Roy Dilley who has been a wonderful, encouraging and patient supervisor. Roy's largely 'hands-off' style of supervision allowed me to find my own way, whilst always knowing that he would be there with helpful comments and advice when I needed them. I would also like to mention David Riches, whose constructive comments I appreciated greatly at postgraduate seminars; Lindsey Crickmay, for her help with the Andean aspects of the work; and Joanna Overing for her friendship and hospitality. I also owe thanks to my M.Litt. supervisors: Tristan Platt who gave me much of the initial inspiration for this study and introduced me to a large amount of the ethnographic and historical literature about the Andean region; and Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar who taught me much about good research practices, some of which I hope I have implemented. I must also mention Primitivo Nina who taught me Quechua both in St. Andrews and in Sucre and whose good-humoured lessons made language-learning an enjoyable process. I would also like to extend my thanks to my fellow students in the anthropology department over the years who contributed to the creation of a good working atmosphere and a constructive forum for debate.

I would have found the production of this thesis much more difficult without the support of many friends both in Bolivia and in Scotland. Of my friends in Bolivia, firstly I would like to thank Flavio Zorilla and his family in Sucre for all the help they gave me when I broke my pelvis and also for Flavio's wonderful charango lessons. I would also like to thank Sandra Padilla and Guillermo Ossio, Juan Jorge Laura, Stella Day, Sue Stanniland, Arnaud Gérard, Carlos Serrano, Ruth Velasco, Carlos López, Cassandra Torrico, Phil Green, Gloria Salazar and Vicky Céspedes. In Scotland, among the friends to whom I owe much are Kate and Manolo, Dennis and Marianne, Charlie, Bruce and Natalie, Barry and Emily, William and Ad, and Erika. My flatmate Steve and my neighbour Kate helped me to keep things in perspective during the writing-up stage, and my cats, firstly Spot and more recently Boris and Phoebe, have been perfect companions.

Abstract

This thesis is based on fieldwork carried out in San Pablo de L pez in Sud L pez province, Bolivia. Through an examination of the history of the region, economic activities, ritual and oral histories, it seeks to understand the sorts of relations that have come to exist between a rural Andean group and the Bolivian nation-state and, in particular, the ways in which rural people understand themselves in the face of the state's nation-building activities. The thesis is thus situated within the framework of studies of mestizaje, or of hybridity of peoples and cultures, and of nation-state and Indian in Latin America.

The thesis proposes a model to account for the ways in which contemporary people in Sud L pez understand themselves and others. This takes into account the historical dimension and attempts to avoid reifications of such groupings as 'Indian', mestizo and Spaniard, and of ethnic groups in the more abstract sense. Central to it is the concept of intertextuality, a term borrowed from linguistic theory and literary criticism that derives largely from Bakhtin's ideas of dialogue. Intertextuality emphasises the heterogeneity of texts and the diverse elements from which they are made.

The thesis is concerned primarily with discourses that surround categories of people. In contemporary Bolivia, such discourses include a current official discourse of pluralism and ethnic diversity which, it could be said, is in dialogue with ideas of homogenisation, assimilation of the Indian population, and the mestizo nation that became prominent following the National Revolution of 1952. This dialogue between contemporary discourses can be held to constitute a 'horizontal axis' of intertextuality. A 'vertical axis', which forms the context for the present-day dialogue, is in turn constituted by the discourses and dialogues surrounding categories of people throughout the colonial and early republican eras. The historical focus of the thesis allows a consideration of these past discourses.

The central chapters of the thesis focus on the relation between discourse and material practices. Chapters 5 and 6 show how discourses concerning identity are reflected in everyday life in San Pablo. Chapters 7 and 8 concern ritual, and focus on local and national identity. These chapters start by attempting to divide rituals of the state from rituals of the locality and introduce the idea that people are cast as 'consumers' for rituals of the state, while they are the 'producers' of rituals of their own locality (c.f. de Certeau 1984). Ultimately, however, the chapters conclude that such a division is not as clear as it might at first appear, and that it is not a simple matter to separate productive from consumptive practices and the tactics of consumers from the strategies of producers. The chapters end by suggesting that local people have a greater degree of agency than the initial model allowed, and with the proposition that through ritual they produce a locality (Appadurai 1995) that incorporates belonging to the nation.

The thesis concludes that agency is essential to the process through which the people of San Pablo arrive at an understanding of themselves and the nation-state. Agency enables them to put themselves beyond the categories that others imagine, that is, to adopt a strategy of making themselves indeterminate. Local people may inherit discourses from the past, and are aware of those of the present, but they do not merely adhere to them, nor do they simply rearrange their elements. They may adopt elements from the different discourses that surround them, but in so doing, they transform them.

Table of Contents

Declarationsii
Acknowledgementsiii
Abstractiv
Table of Contentsv
List of Platesxi
List of Maps	...xii
List of Figures	...xii
Chapter 1. Introduction1
1.1 The Province of Sud L�pez1
1.2 The Genesis of this Thesis2
1.3 Issues Raised by this Thesis7
1.4 Research Methods	...10
1.5 How this Thesis is Organized	...13
Chapter 2. Theoretical Perspectives: Ethnicity, <i>Mestizaje</i> and Discourse	...17
2.1 Introduction	...17
2.2 Ethnicity (and its Intersections with Identity and Nationalism)	...18
2.2.1 The Labelling of Ethnic Groups	...19
2.2.2 Social Construction or Primordial Attachment?	...21
2.2.3 Ethnicity and Nation-States	...26
2.3 The Problem of <i>Mestizaje</i> in Latin America	...29
2.3.1 Historical Perspectives on <i>Mestizaje</i>	...31
2.3.1.a <i>Mestizaje</i> as a Counterhegemonic Discourse of Indeterminacy	...31
2.3.1.b <i>Mestizaje</i> as a Discourse of Homogenization and Nation-Building	...36
2.3.1.c The Issue of Cultural Mixing or Overwriting	...37
2.3.2 <i>Mestizaje</i> in Present-Day Latin America	...39
2.4 Approaching <i>Mestizaje</i> through Theories of Discourse	...44
2.4.1 <i>Mestizaje</i> and Intertextuality	...46
2.4.2 <i>Mestizaje</i> and Hegemony	...48
2.5 Conclusions	...50

Chapter 3. Sud LÍpez: The Historical Background to Contemporary

Ambivalence	...	52
3.1 Introduction	...	52
3.2 The View from the Library: Snapshots of the Past	...	54
3.2.1 Historical Sources: The First Pictures	...	54
3.2.1.a Early Writings	...	54
3.2.1.b The Letter of Lozano Machuca	...	56
3.2.1.c The <i>Relación</i> of Luis Capoche	...	59
3.2.1.d Alonso Barba's <i>Arte de los metales</i>	...	60
3.2.1.e Later Sources	...	62
3.2.2 Academic Publications	...	63
3.3 The View from the Archive: Linking the Snapshots	...	67
3.3.1 The Scope of the Survey	...	67
3.3.2 The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries	...	68
3.3.2.a A General Overview of Spanish Activity in the Province	...	68
3.3.2.b The Workforce of the Seventeenth Century	...	72
3.3.2.b (i) The <i>Naturales</i> of LÍpez	...	72
3.3.2.b (ii) Indian Mineworkers From Other Areas: Ethnic Affiliation and Local Integration	...	76
3.3.2.b (iii) African Slaves	...	78
3.3.2.c 'Unattached Soldiers', 'Ore Thieves' and 'Vagrant Indians': López de Quiroga's Adit, the Independent Mining Sector and Challenges to Racial Boundaries in Guayco Seco	...	81
3.3.2.c (i) The Documents	...	83
3.3.2.c (ii) <i>Rescate</i> and <i>Q'aqcheo</i>	...	87
3.3.2.c (iii) Economic Ambiguities	...	89
3.3.2.c (iv) Social Ambiguities: Keeping the Indians in their Place	...	91
3.3.3 The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries	...	93
3.3.3.a Mining Activities in the Province	...	94
3.3.3.b Indians and Miners of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries	...	96
3.3.3.b (i) Mine Workers and <i>Naturales</i> of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Santos Baraona, Blas Quispe and the Importance of Being 'Indian'	...	97
3.3.3.b (ii) The Early Republican Era	...	103
3.4 Conclusions	...	105

Chapter 4. <i>Ayllus</i>, Miners and the Bolivian State: The Political Background to the Thesis	... 108
4.1 Introduction	... 108
4.2 The <i>Ayllu</i> : An absence in San Pablo's Politics	... 109
4.2.1 The <i>Ayllus</i> of the Past	... 110
4.2.2 Present-Day <i>Ayllus</i>	... 112
4.2.3 The State and the Changing Role of <i>Ayllu</i> Leadership	... 115
4.3 National Level Politics	... 118
4.3.1 Political changes under the Sánchez de Lozada government	... 118
4.3.1.a Popular Participation and Capitalization	... 120
4.3.1.b Educational Reform	... 124
4.4 Local Politics in San Pablo	... 126
4.4.1 Locality, State and Authority in San Pablo	... 126
4.4.2 The Impact of <i>Participación Popular</i> in San Pablo	... 131
4.5 Miners' Politics	... 133
4.5.1 Political and Economic Changes in the Mining Industry since the 1880s	... 134
4.5.2 Miners as a Social Group	... 138
4.5.3 Miners' Relations with Other Social Groups	... 143
4.5.4 Miners and Class	... 148
4.6 Concluding Remarks	... 150
Chapter 5. Llamas, <i>Letras</i> and <i>Lawa</i>: Symbols of the Local Community and of the Nation	... 152
5.1 Introduction	... 152
5.2 Community: An Elusive Concept	... 153
5.3 The Year in LÍpez	... 155
5.3.1 The Annual Cycle of Activities in the Late Nineteenth Century	... 155
5.3.2 A Late 20th Century Calendar of Activities	... 158
5.4 Llamas and the Economic Bases of Contemporary Life in San Pablo	... 161
5.4.1 Economic Diversification and Risk Management	... 161
5.4.2 Herding : A Valued Tradition in a Much Changed Present	... 164
5.4.3 Migration and Cash-Paid Employment	... 174
5.5 <i>Letras</i> : The Importance of Being Educated	... 177
5.6 Diet and Cuisine in San Pablo	... 182
5.7 Conclusions	... 187
Chapter 6. The Miners of Buena Vista: Inside and Outside San Pablo	... 190
6.1 Introduction	... 190
6.2 Fieldwork at a Small Mine in the 1990s: The Buena Vista Co-operative	... 190

6.2.1	History of the Buena Vista Mine	... 190
6.2.2	Working in the Mine	... 194
6.2.2.a	Don Reynaldo's Family	... 195
6.2.2.b	A Day in the Mine at Buena Vista	... 196
6.2.2.c	The Economics of Mining at Buena Vista	... 201
6.2.3	The Threat of Eviction and the Mechanisation of the Mine	... 204
6.3	The Mine and the Supernatural	... 208
6.3.1	The <i>Tío</i>	... 208
6.3.2	Metals and Minerals	... 213
6.3.3	The <i>Ch'alla</i> for the Mine in August 1997	... 217
6.3.4	Women in the Mine	... 222
6.4	Gossip in San Pablo	... 226
6.5	Conclusions	... 230
Chapter 7. Doing <i>Waki</i> in San Pablo: Reciprocity Between the Living and the Dead		... 233
7.1	Introduction	... 233
7.2	Reciprocity in Andean Societies	... 234
7.3	Ritual in San Pablo: Communication, <i>Communitas</i> , Performance or Practice?	... 238
7.4	Death in San Pablo	... 240
7.5	Doing <i>Waki</i> before <i>Todos Santos</i> in 1995	... 243
7.6	The word <i>Waki</i> : The Beginnings of a Lexical Investigation	... 249
7.7	Towards an Explanation of <i>Waki</i> : An Interpretation and some Reservations	... 257
7.8	<i>Waki</i> and Discourses of Identity in San Pablo	... 260
7.9	Conclusions	... 264
Chapter 8. Producing Locality in San Pablo: The Festivals for Independence Day and Carnival		... 266
8.1	Introduction: Producing the Locality and Consuming the Nation?	... 266
8.2	Independence Day	... 269
8.2.1	The August Celebrations in San Pablo	... 270
8.2.2	The August Celebration of 1995	... 271
8.2.2.a	The Eve of Independence Day	... 273
8.2.2.b	Independence Day	... 275
8.2.3	Discussion	... 277
8.3	Carnival in Bolivia	... 280
8.3.1	Carnival in San Pablo	... 283
8.3.2	The Carnival Celebration of 1996	... 284
8.3.2.a	The Mining Company's <i>ch'alla</i>	... 285
8.3.2.b	The Start of Carnival	... 287

8.3.2.c	Don Emiliano's Llama Marking Ceremony	...289
8.3.2.d	Carnival Visits in San Pablo	...294
8.3.4.e	The <i>Kacharpaya</i>	...295
8.3.3	'Bad' Behaviour at Carnival	...300
8.3.4	Producing Locality at Carnival	...304
8.4	Conclusions	...308
Chapter 9. Talking about the Past in Sud LÍpez: Shaping, Discourse and Intertextuality in Three Stories about the Colonial Era ...311		
9.1	Introduction	...311
9.2.	The Writing of the Speaking of History: Interpreting the Histories of Other People	...314
9.3	Text, Discourse and Discourse Analysis	...317
9.4	Transcriptions and Translations	...319
9.5	The Three Stories	...321
9.5.1	The Treasures Left Behind by The Spaniards, and Why the Ground Burns in August	...321
9.5.1.a	The Narrator	...321
9.5.1.b	Recording Circumstances	...322
9.5.1.c	The Narrative	...322
9.5.1.d	Discussion	...326
9.5.2	The Landslide at Santa Isabel	...330
9.5.2.a	The Narrator	...330
9.5.2.b	Recording Circumstances	...330
9.5.2.c	The Narrative	...331
9.5.2.d	Discussion	...333
9.5.3	The Story of LÍpez	...337
9.5.3.a	Version 1. Narrator: Don Francisco	...337
9.5.3.a (i)	The Narrator	...337
9.5.3.a (ii)	Recording Circumstances	...338
9.5.3.a (iii)	The Narrative	...338
9.5.3.b	Version 2. Narrator: Don Bruno	...347
9.5.3.b (i)	The Narrator	...347
9.5.3.b (ii)	Recording Circumstances	...347
9.5.3.b (iii)	The Narrative	...348
9.5.3.c	Version 3. Narrator: Don Reynaldo	...352
9.5.3.c (i)	The Narrator	...352
9.5.3.c (ii)	Recording Circumstances	...352
9.5.3.c (iii)	The Narrative	...353
9.5.3.d	Layers of Intertextuality in the Narratives	...356
9.5.3.e	Don Francisco's Story	...361
9.5.3.f	Don Bruno's Story	...364

9.5.3.g	Don Reynaldo's Story	...366
9.6	Intertextuality and Discourses of Power in the Stories	...369
9.7	Conclusion: '...any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations'	...372
Chapter 10.	Conclusions	...375
10.1	Rural Community and Nation-State in Bolivia: The Case of San Pablo de L�pez	...375
10.2	Mestizaje, Intertextuality, Discourse and Power: Theoretical Points arising from the Thesis	...376
10.2.1	Intertextuality and the Historical Dimension of the Study	...377
10.2.2	Discourse and Material Practices	...380
10.2.3	The Question of Power	...381
10.3	Final Remarks	...385
Appendix.	Programme for the Independence Day Celebrations of 1995	...387
	Glossary	...390
	Archival References	...399
	Bibliography	...400

List of Plates

- Plate 1. San Pablo de LÍpez
- Plate 2. The Ruins of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo
- Plate 3. Bell Tower of one of San Antonio's Refineries
- Plate 4. Cerro Bonete: The Sayaq Mallku on whose summit men used to perform sacrifices
- Plate 5. The Alejo Family's Courtyard
- Plate 6. Doña Teodora
- Plate 7. Don Alejo and doña Teodora collecting firewood
- Plate 8. Nineteenth-century ruins at the Buena Vista mine
- Plate 9. Nineteenth-century ruins at Buena Vista
- Plate 10. The campamento at Buena Vista
- Plate 11. Don Reynaldo and Nancy working in the mine
- Plate 12. The Tío at Buena Vista
- Plate 13. The families from Buena Vista on their way back to the mine one night after don Juan's truck had broken down
- Plate 14. Don Marcelino playing lloqullo
- Plate 15. Members of the Alejo family and the monte
- Plate 16. Taking the monte to the cemetery
- Plate 17. The cemetery at Todos Santos
- Plate 18. Silvia dancing in the school's Independence Day production
- Plate 19. Independence Day breakfast for the schoolchildren
- Plate 20. The zampoña band playing for Independence Day
- Plate 21. Listening to Independence Day speeches in the plaza
- Plate 22. Taking a llama to the mining company's ch'alla
- Plate 23. Don Emiliano's enflorimiento de llamas
- Plate 24. Don Sabino playing flute for Carnival
- Plate 25. Bringing Carnival to doña Concha's patio
- Plate 26. The sheep-quartering ritual
- Plate 27. The kacharpaya
- Plate 28. The ruins of San Antonio's church
- Plate 29. Cerro LÍpez, where the Devil was enchained

List of Maps

- Map 1. Bolivia showing location of Sud Lipez
- Map 2. Potosí Department
- Map 3. Sketch map of the aquatic axis
- Map 4. Sketch map of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo
- Map 5. Sud Lipez province
- Map 6. Sketch map of the San Pablo area

List of Figures

- Figure 1 Ritual arrangement used on the final night of Todos Santos
- Figure 2. Ritual arrangement used in waki
- Figure 3. Ritual arrangement for enflorimiento de llamas
- Figure 4. The ayllus that paid tribute in San Pablo in 1841 and the positions of authority therein

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 The Province of Sud L pez¹

Almost anywhere in the Andes mountain range the scenery can be described as spectacular, and the landscape around the small town in the south of Bolivia, where I conducted my fieldwork, has its own stark beauty. San Pablo de L pez is a settlement of only around three hundred people,² but is the capital of Sud L pez province, one of the most sparsely populated areas of highland Bolivia.³ It lies in a flat valley at about 4300 metres above sea level among the mountains of the Cordillera de L pez, which, further south, forms the border between Bolivia and Argentina, and is an offshoot of the Cordillera Occidental, the volcanic chain of mountains that forms the Chilean border. Some of the highest peaks of the L pez mountain range rise close to San Pablo: by climbing a short distance above the town one can see to the west the chain of snow-capped mountains that culminates in Cerro L pez, close to the old colonial mine-workings of San Antonio de L pez; to the south and south-east rise the peaks of Cerro Morokho, Cerro Bonete, so named by the Spaniards for its resemblance to a three-cornered hat, and Cerro Barillyta; while to the east lies the red mountain called Condor Wasi ('the condor's house') and the imposing bulk of Cerro Santa Isabel, another colonial mining site; and to the north is a lesser range of hills that divides San Pablo from Pululus Pampa.

Although the region receives little rainfall, there are numerous streams that descend from the mountain peaks, and there are marshy areas (*cieneegas*) higher in the mountains. These form good grazing land for domestic llamas, and also for abundant herds of wild *vicu a* (relatives of domestic llamas and alpacas) which are highly prized for their fine wool and are becoming increasingly rare in other areas. Occasionally on the mountainsides and on the plains one sees *suri* or * andu*, both local names for the rhea, South America's large flightless bird,⁴ while among the ruins that the

¹ 'South L pez'. The name of the province is sometimes written as I have given it, but sometimes as 'Sur L pez'. 'Sur' is the correct Spanish word for 'south' in mainland Spain, but 'sud' is a variation that is particularly common in Latin America. I could find no official ruling as to the correct name of the province, and in publications and statistics produced by the Bolivian government found that both were used. I have used 'Sud L pez' throughout this thesis for the sake of consistency.

² The 1992 census gives the population of San Pablo as 261, with another 79 recorded for the Buena Vista mine (quoted in *Ministerio de Previsi n Social y Salud P blica* 1993). A separate census taken in 1994, and held in the mayor's office in San Pablo lists 288 inhabitants for both town and mine.

³ The total population of the province, according to the 1992 census is 5826 (quoted in *Ministerio de Previsi n Social y Salud P blica* 1993). Abecia (1952: 107) gives its area as approximately 30 000 km².

⁴ The name 'rhea' covers several species of birds of the order Rheiformes. They resemble the African ostrich, but have three rather than two toes, and are a greyish brown in colour.

Spaniards left behind there are hundreds of vizcacha – rabbit-sized rodents with long tails.

Numerous birds of prey and large carrion birds, some of which I am sure are condors – although they are always too distant to tell for certain – wheel around the sky, and occasionally on the ground one sees an Andean fox, the predator blamed whenever young llamas meet a sticky end.

A long way to the west, far beyond the chain of mountains by San Antonio de LÍpez, is an area that is frequently visited by tourists following the gringo trail that passes by the highland lakes close to the Chilean border – Laguna Colorada and Laguna Verde – on their way from Uyuni and its salt flats to San Pedro de Atacama, in the Chilean desert. These colourful lakes at about 5000m above sea level are the home of flocks of several species of flamingos, but neither the tourists nor the flamingos reach San Pablo.

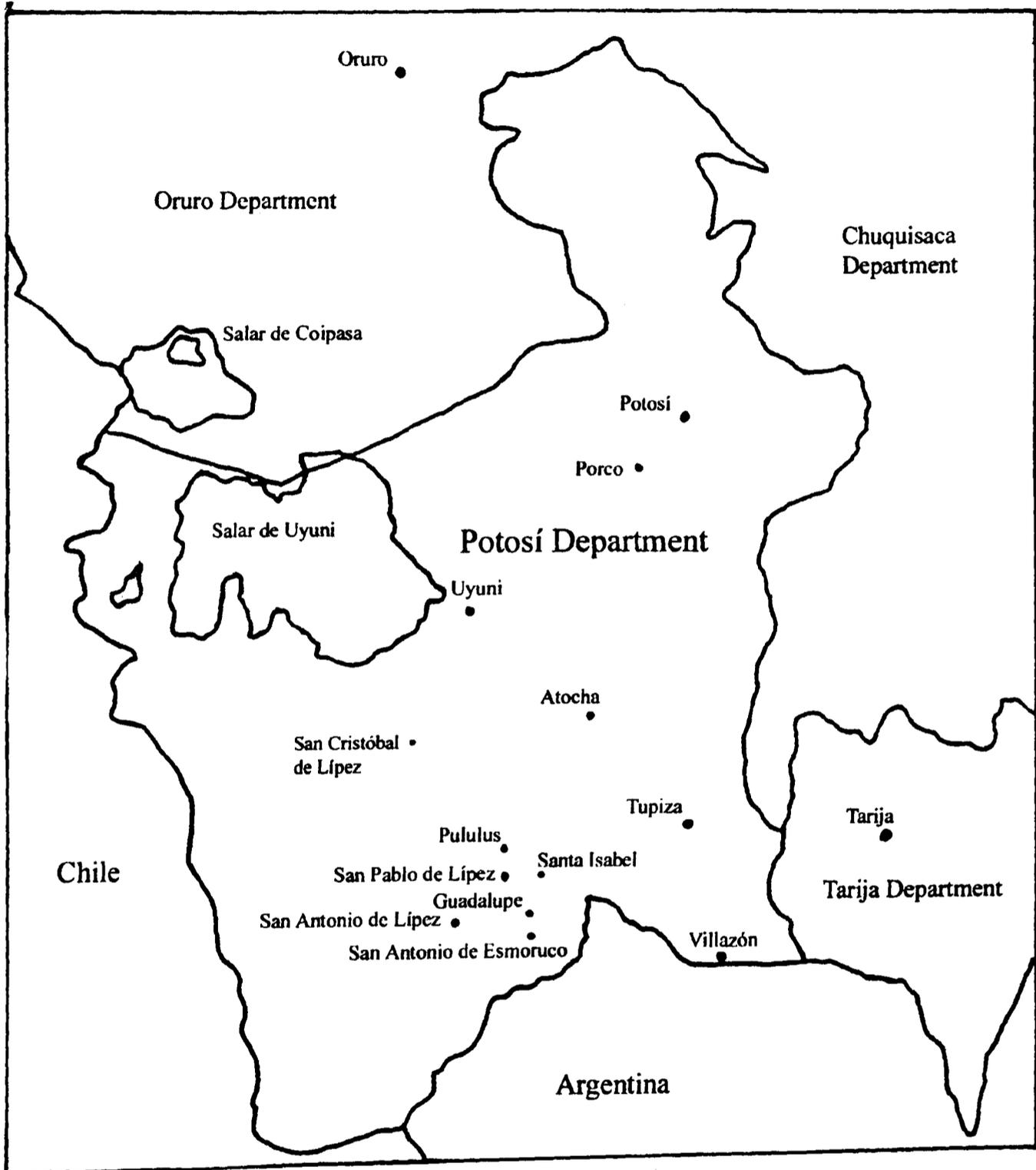
1.2 The Genesis of this Thesis

I had only a few vague notions about where exactly I was going to work when I left to do my fieldwork in Bolivia, but LÍpez was one of the areas I wanted to consider. Having written my M.Litt. dissertation on mining in the colonial period and Andean terminology relating to metals and minerals (Bolton 1993), my aim had been to extend this work into the present. I proposed to carry out an investigation into the anthropology of mining technology: I wanted to elucidate ethnotaxonomies of metals and minerals and to discover the sorts of knowledge that underlies present-day small-scale mining. This project was partly inspired by Heather Lechtman's work on pre-Hispanic metallurgical technology (see, for example, Lechtman 1993) and on the anthropology of technology in general (Lechtman 1977), but also by June Nash's (1979) study of miners in Oruro in the early 1970s, which had been my introduction to ethnographies of the Andean region, and which had inspired me to visit as many mines as I possibly could when I had been in Bolivia previously as a tourist.

My idea was to find a fieldwork site with a long tradition of mining, dating at least from the colonial period, where the principal metal extracted would be silver, since this would tie in with my previous work. In addition I was seeking a rural area, with a reasonably stable population, where Quechua, rather than Aymara, would be the indigenous language spoken, since this was the language I had studied during the course of my M.Litt. At this stage, the potential fieldwork areas I



Map1. Bolivia, showing location of Sud Lipez



Scale: approx. 1 inch to 100 km

Map 2. Potosí Department

had shortlisted were Chayanta, in northern Potosí, Porco, about 30 km from the city of Potosí and rather vaguely, Lipez. On arriving in Bolivia I decided to limit my initial search for a site to the south of Potosí, largely on the basis that most ethnographers had worked in the north of the department, but also on the realisation that visiting potential fieldwork sites was a lengthy process.

In retrospect, the initial project was far too ambitious. It would have required more organisation, and greater financial resources than were available to me. A preliminary visit to Bolivia would have been useful to make contacts, look at possible fieldwork sites, sort out the details of finding somewhere to stay, and also to get some intensive formal tuition in Quechua, beyond the scope of the largely text-based course at St. Andrews. A brief spell in St. Andrews after this preliminary visit would have then allowed me to review and reappraise my proposed fieldwork, and set out for the main stint armed with appropriate language and material resources.

As it was, I spent my first few months in Bolivia searching for a suitable fieldwork site, visiting areas where there were mines in the south of Potosí department – places like Porco, Tacna, Chorolque, Pulacayo and Esmoraca - but finding none of them ideal, mainly because I thought the presence of large numbers of immigrant mineworkers from other parts of the country, due to mine closures elsewhere, would complicate the study. I was finding it difficult just to get into Lipez. I wanted to visit the province, but was frustrated by the lack of transport to an area quite so remote and sparsely populated. I almost gave up, reverting to the idea that I could do a library thesis based on archival documents about the history of mining in the area, when a fellow passenger on a bus told me to speak to the priests in Tupiza. I did, and finally arranged to get a lift to San Pablo de Lipez with Padre Estanislao, a Pole, on his next parochial visit to the province. Since it had taken me so long to get there, I decided that I had better make the best of things and start doing some fieldwork.

From the point of view of my research proposal, San Pablo was in many ways less suitable a fieldwork site than the various mines I had visited. For a start, there was not all that much small-scale mining going on. There was a co-operative mine about five kilometres from the town, but only two or three families seemed to work there, and although people claimed to pan for gold in the rivers, I could see no evidence of anyone doing this.⁵ Exploration work for low grade gold deposits

⁵ This turned out to be an occasional activity that took place in the rainy season in years of high rainfall, when small dried-up channels on the hillsides became filled with water. Sallnow (1982: 212), writing about occasional gold-mining in a community of the Peruvian Andes, also notes that it is an activity surrounded by secrecy, often carried out at night, either by one person alone, or at times by two close kinsmen or trusted friends. I discuss beliefs relating to the metal gold in Chapter 6.

was being carried out by a United States owned company, which was setting up its headquarters in the sub-prefectura (the office of the highest state official in the province), but this sort of mining, with foreign geologists, geophysicists and mining engineers, was hardly what I was looking for, even though a high proportion of the adult men of the town had found temporary employment with the company. Those few San Pableños working as independent miners did not seem to have a great deal to say about the minerals they mined. They seemed much more interested in the prices they would fetch and the vagaries of the international market for metals than about elaborate taxonomies of silver ores, or the uses of metals and minerals in rituals. I also found it difficult to get people to speak to me in Quechua, and thus to help me improve my knowledge of the language, since they were bilinguals,⁶ most speaking Spanish fluently, and the younger generation speaking it more confidently than Quechua, for this was the language of the local school.

The one thing that had made me want to stay in LÍpez, however, apart from the scenery and the wildlife, was a visit I made with Padre Estanislao to San Antonio de LÍpez. We went there so that the priest could make some preparations for the feast of Saint Anthony,⁷ and after some complicated arrangements involving the plaster statue of the saint in the church, he took me to see the old Spanish mining camp nearby. San Antonio de LÍpez (usually known just as LÍpez by local people) is a new village, constructed within the last fifteen years of adobe bricks. Eleven kilometres further up the mountain, at about 4700 metres above sea level, stand the ruins of a much larger, stone built, town. In fact, the ruins are of two towns, the larger of which is dominated by the shell of a cathedral-sized church, on the inner walls of which peeling frescoes can still be seen in places. Mine entrances litter the surrounding hillsides, and further downstream stand the ruins of a chain of ore-crushing mills, like those of the city of Potosí. This was the mining town that for a short period of

⁶ There is a wealth of literature and terminology surrounding situations where two or more languages are in use. Some writers have pointed to problems with the term 'bilingualism', since this covers a wide variety of situations and is in popular as well as technical use. Ferguson (1959) invented the term 'diglossia' to cover situations where, in addition to the dialect of a language used for everyday speech, there exists a highly codified and often grammatically more complex variety, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation; and Fishman (1971: 288) extended this concept to cover situations in which two languages, rather than two variations of the same language, are in use, are of different prestige and are used in different situations, labelling this 'bilingualism plus diglossia'. This approximates to the situation between Spanish and Quechua in San Pablo. I have, however, retained the use of the term 'bilingualism' throughout this thesis.

⁷ This was the feast of Saint Anthony of Padua, the patron saint of another LÍpez community, San Antonio de Esmoruco. As I explain in Chapter 3 of this thesis, I believe San Antonio de LÍpez was named in the seventeenth century after a different saint, Saint Anthony of Egypt, but this seems to have been forgotten by the clergy. I did not realise this until I returned from fieldwork, and so did not get the chance to ask local people if they had any memory of the saint being celebrated on a different date.

time in the seventeenth-century had rivalled Potosí's silver output, and was now all but abandoned and called by local people a ghost town (pueblo fantasma).

Finding such tangible evidence of the province's mining past persuaded me that it was worth staying in Lipez. However, transport being difficult to find, I decided to base myself in San Pablo, where the needs of the mining company ensured that there would be regular transport to the nearest large town, Tupiza.⁸ There was no smaller settlement within easy walking distance of San Pablo: estancias⁹ in the area tend to comprise the out-of-town dwelling of just one family, with only one courtyard plus llama corral, and are often unoccupied for long periods of time. The other communities in Lipez were too far away to walk with the amount of luggage I would need to bring from the city.¹⁰ I therefore persuaded a local family to take me in, and started to join in their day-to-day round of activities – mainly collecting firewood, herding llamas, and preparing meals – and started to become friends with other local people.

Nevertheless, I was not getting the sort of data I had set out to obtain, namely, detailed Quechua accounts of metals and minerals. I was, however, appalled at the suggestion that I should leave and find another fieldwork site somewhere else, like Chayantya, after having started to make some friends among the Lipeños¹¹ and after having received considerable hospitality from them. Besides, even if they did not do nearly as much mining as I had hoped they would, there were other things about them and about the area that were interesting and worth looking at ethnographically. Working in San Pablo provided an opportunity to examine the relationship between an isolated rural community and larger entities such as the Bolivian nation-state, and also between the miners in an isolated co-operative mine and the larger community of Bolivian miners. Such relationships, I was finding, were not straightforward or oppositional, but complex and ambiguous. Previous studies of ambiguity of identity in Bolivia had tended to concentrate on the country's cities.

In the case of Sud Lipez, indigenous forms of social organisation and economic activities must have been disrupted to a large extent by the large-scale mining operations of the Spaniards in the

⁸ The community of San Antonio de Lipez did own a truck, which they had been given in exchange for the gilt altarpiece from the church in the ruined settlement by the nuns of the Convento de Santa Teresa in Potosí, and which eventually was to make regular trips to and from Tupiza. It was, however, out of action at the time when I was starting my fieldwork.

⁹ Sometimes denoted 'hamlets' in ethnographies of the Andean region.

¹⁰ I bought a mountain bike at a later stage, which I used to travel to Santa Isabel and San Antonio de Lipez.

¹¹ To comply with English conventions, throughout this thesis I have capitalised adjectives of pertinence to a place even when these are of Spanish origin, and would not be capitalised in that language.



Plate 1. San Pablo de Lipez

colonial period and by immigration to the region by the various peoples who came to work in the mines in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, the local communities were organised in ayllus,¹² the traditional form of social organisation in the Andes, until about twenty years prior to my fieldwork, when the structures and positions of authority of the ayllus were abandoned in favour of those of the nation.¹³ At this time the system of sponsorship of festivals was also largely abandoned, but did not completely disappear.¹⁴ In fact, I found considerable ambivalence on the part of local people as to where their affiliations lay: to the nation-state, as undifferentiated citizens, or to the locality as indigenous people. There seemed to be times, mainly during festivals, when affiliation to the local entities and to what might be termed 'Andean' values were stressed above those of belonging to the state and national citizenship, while at other times people stressed their 'Bolivianness', and participated in the cash economy as national citizens. I found it hard to classify these people on the basis of the categories that appear in other writers' ethnographies: were they the Quechua-speaking runa who belong to ayllus and whose lives are governed by rules of reciprocity, or were they those variously termed vecinos, mestizos or mistis,¹⁵ whose allegiance is to the state rather than ayllu, who speak Spanish and whose lives are governed by the market and need to earn cash? They used the terms comunario¹⁶ and vecino interchangeably when talking about themselves, and in many ways they were both.

While in the past the activities of the Bolivian state have been unequivocally to encourage the homogenisation of its population, and the formation of an undifferentiated citizenship, the legislative reforms introduced by the Sánchez de Lozada government introduced some ambiguity into this area, making it less unilaterally advantageous to affiliate only to the state and its structures. The reworked National Constitution of 1994 (Republic of Bolivia 1994a), recognised Bolivia as a multi-ethnic

¹² I have given the plural of 'ayllu' as ayllus, even though the '-s' pluralising ending is English (and Spanish) rather than Quechua. Some authors would retain the word in the singular, even when the plural meaning is intended, to avoid Hispanization. I have opted to use the English/Spanish pluraliser for clarity of meaning, and because people in San Pablo also tend to form plurals in this way.

¹³ Two communities in Sud Lípez (Pululus and San Antonio de Esmoruco) retained the office of cacique principal (head chieftain), a position that would have been a rotative office of the ayllu, in their town councils.

¹⁴ For details of festival sponsorship and positions of authority in other areas of Bolivia, see Abercrombie (1998: 368-374) or Rasnake (1988: 175-182).

¹⁵ 'Vecino' – Spanish, literally 'neighbour', but used in many areas to denote people who live in rural areas, but are hispanicized and do not belong to ayllus (see, for example, Isbell 1978: 67, Rasnake 1988: 23-24). 'Misti' is a corruption of 'mestizo', literally 'of mixed blood', and is used to denote the same groups of people in parts of Peru (see, for example, Allen 1988, 24).

¹⁶ Although the correct or standard Spanish term for an inhabitant of a rural community would be 'comunero' or 'comunitario', I use the non-standard 'comunario' throughout this thesis, as this is more widely used in Bolivia, especially by rural people in reference to themselves.

society, and the Law of Popular Participation (Republic of Bolivia 1994b), of the same year, devolved power to local government and gave legal status to Grassroots Territorial Organisations, which could just as well be traditional forms of organisation, such as the ayllus of highland communities, as they could neighbourhood councils.¹⁷ In fact, under the new legislation there was some advantage for communities considered 'indigenous', as they could register their lands as communally held, and thus gain a limited degree of protection from the incursions of outside entities.

I thus decided to change the focus of my research from mining to ambiguities of affiliation, although I continued to work, and spend considerable time, with the miners from the co-operative. These ambiguities in part had arisen from the history of the region, but were also a result of ongoing political changes in the country as a whole, as Bolivia's central government renegotiated its relationship with its constituent departments and provinces. These ambiguities reached into many areas of social life, but those on which I eventually decided to focus were economic activities, ritual and understandings of the past.

1.3 Issues Raised in this Thesis

Although I give a detailed account of the theoretical issues broached by this thesis in the following chapter, a brief outline of its concerns is appropriate at this point. In order to investigate ambiguities of affiliation between a largely indigenous rural population and the Bolivian nation-state, the issues that I have had to confront in this thesis are those that involve contact between different entities, the mixing of different traditions, 'European' and 'Indian', and the process of 'Europeanization' or creolization of the Amerindian populations of the Americas. However, none of the terms, 'contact', 'mixing' or 'creolization' is unproblematic from the point of view of anthropology. All three hinge around the idea of two or more sets of knowledge coming together and presuppose a starting point of things that are 'unmixed' or pure. In the case of Latin America this starting point is generally taken to be 'Indian' and 'European' or 'Spanish'. One of its endpoints is taken to be mestizaje, the mixing of peoples that has become, in so many countries in the region, the dominant ideology of national identity. Another endpoint is a supposedly syncretic

¹⁷ I discuss these legislative changes in more detail in Chapter 4.

blend or mixture of religious beliefs involving Catholic Saints and Andean powers of the landscape in different proportions that is present throughout the Andean region. Both mestizaje and syncretism, however, are predicated on the existence of 'European' and 'Indian' traditions, which, as Olivia Harris (1995: 112) has pointed out, are fictions. Neither colonized nor colonizing populations were ever unified or homogeneous: the Andean peoples at the time of the conquest were no more unified than were the colonizing people of the 'Spains', and not only are today's rural populations of 'Indians' far from homogeneous, but many of today's indicators of 'Indianness' – clothes, music, systems of land tenure and so on – have been shown to derive, at least in part, from European models (*ibid.*).

Various approaches have been employed in anthropological literature to interpret situations involving 'contact' and the new knowledges arising as a result of European colonization and evangelisation. Harris (1995: 114-115) lists six basic theoretical standpoints that different writers have taken on this topic: 1) mixing or creolization; 2) colonization; 3) cultural borrowing; 4) cultural alternation or juxtaposition; 5) imitation; and 6) innovation or creativity. These have all been used to some extent in the existing literature on Latin American societies, each has its own advantages and drawbacks and attribute different degrees of agency to indigenous or colonized peoples.

Mixing or creolization encompasses terms like acculturation and syncretism, and has become unfashionable in anthropology. It is politically neutral, but also tacitly Eurocentric in that it looks, ultimately, at transformations wrought on features of European culture through their transference to colonized lands and through contact with other traditions. By contrast, 'colonization' as a model concentrates on the inequalities of power in the encounter between Europeans and the New World. It takes into account asymmetries between colonized and colonizing populations, particularly in that the colonizers were able to define knowledges other than their own as wrong, inferior or the work of the devil. The drawback of this approach is its assumption that whatever is indigenous is also weak and leaves the colonized population effectively without agency. This is the stance taken by Gruzinsky (1993) in his work on Mexico.

Cultural borrowing attributes more agency to the colonized population: at its centre is the idea of a colonized people who have confronted the challenge of trying to make sense of their view of the world in the light of new systems of knowledge by borrowing elements from those new systems.

This is evident in the work of Tedlock (1983) on the Quiché Maya. An alternative approach that has been adopted by a number of writers on the Andes is that of the juxtaposition, or alternation, of two radically different systems of knowledge, in which both are accepted, but no direct attempt is made to integrate them. This is the approach taken in some of Frank Salomon's work (see, for example Salomon 1982). This again attributes agency and choice to the colonized population.

Imitation, or the self-conscious adoption of an alternative system of knowledge or cultural forms in place of one's own has obvious applicability in the Andean region, particularly in works documenting situations of social mobility, such as that of people who pass from the category of 'Indian' to that of mestizo by rejecting all things 'Indian' in favour of those seen as 'white' or Hispanic. Examples of this are numerous, one example being Harris and Albó (1984: 53) who describe how migrants from the countryside to the mines would cast aside their homespun clothing and cease to speak their indigenous languages.

A model of innovation and creativity, unlike those listed above, is not hinged so critically around contrasted systems of knowledge, but instead gives priority to autonomy and independent agency. While this has the advantage of not reducing indigenous peoples to the passive recipients of an imposed culture, it could be accused of glossing over inequalities of power. This is taken up, along with the idea of cultural borrowing, in some of Platt's work (for example, Platt 1992b) and, together with cultural juxtaposition, in the work of Abercrombie (1998).

To these models of situations of contact that Harris lists, I would add one more that has been taken up in several ethnographies of the Andean region: that of the 'thin veneer'. The basic premise here is that structures of social organisation and religious belief have remained more-or-less intact since pre-Hispanic times, and that the names of Christian Saints thinly disguise the worship of older, pre-Christian deities. This type of approach is apparent, for example in the work of Catherine Allen (1988) and of Billie-Jean Isbell (1978). While this approach has helped to highlight continuities in Andean cultures, in my opinion it has the disadvantage of ignoring the effects of the presence of the Christian religion in the region for five centuries, the sincere profession of the Christian faith by Andean peoples and the adoption of forms of land tenure and other cultural attributes that seem to owe more to European, rather than native, models.

I would class my approach here among those involving innovation and creativity but with some degree of caution. 'Creativity is a problematic term, and I prefer to use the word 'agency'. I would maintain that the people of San Pablo do produce their own *locality* (Appadurai 1995) and ways of understanding the world that are not just those imposed from without by the structures of the state, nor simply something remembered from before the arrival of Europeans in the region. However, in taking this approach, one must remember that asymmetries of power do exist, and that the people of the area do recognise through their actions two separate traditions or knowledges, although these are their own categories and understandings of what is Christian or non-Christian, and what is of the national culture or of the locality.

1.4 Research Methods

I did not live in San Pablo for the whole of my fieldwork period without interruption. My first visit to San Pablo was in June 1995, and I finally left the area in August 1997. During the intervening period I conducted my research through visits of between 6 weeks and 2 months to the province, punctuated by breaks of one or two weeks either in Potosí or Sucre. There were exceptions to this: between June and August in 1996 I worked continuously in the National Archive of Bolivia in Sucre, in October of the same year, I flew to Britain to present a paper at the AHILA conference in Liverpool,¹⁸ and in the early months of 1997 I broke my pelvis and had to return to Britain once more for three months to recuperate. Although these breaks were interruptions to my fieldwork, working in this way enabled me to spend a longer overall period in my fieldwork area than is often the case, and, in particular, allowed me to see a number of political developments of which I would not have been aware had I, for example, stayed continually in the province for a one-year period. The breaks also allowed me time for reflection, to take stock and to make plans for subsequent visits.

While in San Pablo I had lodgings with local families. In the town of San Pablo, for much of the fieldwork period, my hosts were the family of don Alejo and his wife doña Teodora; I also had a room 5 km away at the Buena Vista mine, where I stayed with the family of don Reynaldo, the leader of the Cooperativa Lípez Ltda., and his wife, doña Felisa; and towards the end of my fieldwork I also stayed for a short while with the family of doña Concha, a local shopkeeper, and her

¹⁸ XI Congreso de la Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanistas Europeos (AHILA).

husband don Carlos. Living with local families enabled me to participate readily in household tasks and activities such as herding and collecting firewood and edible plants, and also made me aware of tensions and feuds between the different families of the locality. Having a base in the town enabled me to participate in its festivals and rituals, and having a room at the Buena Vista mine enabled me to go underground with the miners and to participate both in mining work and in the breaks from work, when miners are most voluble and have time to sit, chat and answer questions.

Spanish and Quechua are the two languages of the community, and although I used both during my fieldwork, I spoke more Spanish than Quechua. This was largely due to my relative proficiency in the two languages. As I mentioned above, my Quechua tuition at St. Andrews was largely text based, and had left me far from fluent. Local people, the majority of whom had a good command of both languages, tended to address me in Spanish for ease of communication, and also, I believe, as the result of a desire to appear educated.¹⁹ I did take some additional Quechua tuition during the period when I worked in the National Archive in Sucre, and my proficiency did improve as a result. In retrospect, it would have been better to have had this tuition before starting the fieldwork, and, perhaps, to have worked in one of the other LÍpez communities, such as Santa Isabel, where Quechua is more unambiguously the language of day-to-day interaction. I did at times make recordings in Quechua, of stories, for example, and made transcriptions of these recordings in the field with help from a local person.

Most of my data was collected through informal interaction rather than through formal or structured interviews. I would sometimes note down the points I found most important while talking with informants, but more often I did this after the conversation had taken place in the privacy of my room. I had with me a tape recorder, but used it on relatively few occasions. The reasons for this were that I found the presence of a tape recorder compromised the informal relationships I had with the people I knew, and people often expressed reluctance when I suggested making recordings. The recordings I did make were usually when I had heard an interesting story or description, and then asked permission to record it, and did so subsequently. I did not make any clandestine recordings, partly through recognition that clandestine recording is problematic methodologically, and has been criticised as a form of exploitation of those researched by more powerful researchers, although the

¹⁹ For my comments on education and its role among San Pableños, see Chapter 5.

same criticisms could be raised against noting the main points of conversations without the prior consent of the persons involved. There were, however, also practical considerations: it was difficult to operate a recorder while keeping it hidden. Even when I made planned recordings, noises like the rustling of plastic bags (of coca leaves) tended to obliterate speech, and, in any case, I had difficulty keeping a recorder in working order in San Pablo, where there was always so much red dust in the air, blown by the wind from the mountain Condor Wasi.

Throughout my fieldwork, my relationship with the company exploring for gold around San Pablo was ambivalent, as was that of many San Pableños also. I remain indebted to its employees for lifts from Tupiza to San Pablo and back again, and also for the numerous meals to which I was invited in their camp. I was even employed by the organisation for a while, when they accepted my proposal to write a report about the locations of mines in Sud Lípez in colonial times. This contract funded not only the period of archival work for this thesis, but also the latter part of my fieldwork period. I did, however, have misgivings about the operation. Should workable deposits of gold have been found, that would have signalled the start of a large-scale mining operation in Sud Lípez. From an environmental perspective alone, this would have been worrying enough: the sort of mining in which the company is involved is not so much digging a hole in the ground and extracting minerals, as demolishing a hillside and putting it through a processor. On returning to St. Andrews I found that one of the reasons for its interest in Bolivia was the fierce opposition from environmental pressure groups it has faced in the United States.²⁰ There were, however, other reasons for my unease that concerned more the Lipeño population. It was not until some time after my arrival in the province that I learned that the company's take-over of its main exploration site, the Lipeña mine situated in the skirts of Cerro Bonete, had not been entirely peaceful, but had been opposed by the community of Santa Isabel. There was also a time during my period of fieldwork when the company threatened to evict the co-operative miners from the mine at Buena Vista. I deal with these matters in more detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis. I was somewhat relieved when the company's geologists let it be known that they had found nothing worth exploiting, and when I left the province in August 1997, the company was also preparing to pull out of the area.

²⁰ Trade and Environmental Database (TED), <http://gurukul.ucc.american.edu/TED/bolgold.html>.

In my writing I have retained the prefixes ‘don’ and ‘doña’ before the names of people in San Pablo. While this might seem unnecessarily cumbersome, to remove the prefixes and use Christian names only seemed to me rather artificial. After all, I had always addressed San Pableños as ‘don Alejo’, ‘doña Concha’, ‘don Ramón’, and so on, and had come to consider the prefix as part of the name. In Andean rural communities, the titles ‘don’ and ‘doña’ are not only a mark of respect bestowed on full adult members (that is, on married people), but also denote affection. For written Quechua I have attempted to follow the guidelines of the official alphabet recognised by law in Bolivia (Law no. 03820-4-2-288-83 of 1983 and Supreme Decree no. 20227 of 1984). I have, however, retained the Spanish spelling of loan words from that language, and indeed for the word Quechua itself.

1.5 How this Thesis is Organised

Following this introduction, Chapter Two of this thesis reviews the two main theoretical issues raised by issues of ambiguity of identity or affiliation; namely ethnicity and mestizaje in the Americas. The chapter opens with a review of the theoretical approaches that have been taken to the topic of ethnicity, together with a review of the relevant literature. It then moves on to a similar summary of the body of literature that concerns mestizaje in the Americas, starting with historical approaches to the topic, including some of the theoretical models for the new cultural forms that have arisen there, and ending with a review of some relevant contemporary ethnographic studies. The final section of the chapter outlines the approach I am taking here, which is grounded in discourse analysis, where I have taken discourse to be constituted by not only extended samples of spoken or written language – as the term is used in linguistics – but the different ways of structuring social practice. Discourse is therefore the site of ‘management of meaning’ (Holy 1994: 4) through which factors such as ethnicity, identity and power relations are generated, transmitted and received. Central to my analysis here is the concept of intertextuality.

Chapter Three is nominally concerned with the historical background to the thesis, that is, it concerns the Sud Lípez area in Colonial and Early Republican times. The chapter opens with a review of the scant published sources concerning the province: a few texts dating from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, plus a handful of recent scholarly works that make some

mention of the area. The bulk of the chapter, however, is a summary of the three months of archival research I carried out in the National Archive of Bolivia, and hence reviews a large amount of material that has not been commented upon previously. Although this involves a very brief exploration of a huge quantity of documents, which deserve a far more detailed study, I have decided to include this since much of the material covered by the documents is of direct relevance to the topics under discussion. One important point that emerges from the documentary evidence is that ambiguities of affiliation, and people who transgress various sorts of official categories, have been present in the area for a very long time.

Chapter Four deals with the political background to the thesis, that is, it reviews the political matters that affected the lives of people in San Pablo during the time of my fieldwork. Rather than limit this to the legislative changes I have summarized above – changes to the national constitution and the introduction of the Law of Popular Participation – I also discuss local level politics. I start by examining a significant absence in contemporary San Pablo, the ayllu, and discuss what is meant by the term and what ayllu membership entails, before moving on to discuss politics and roles of authority in present-day San Pablo. Following this, I include a brief discussion of the politics surrounding Bolivia's mining population – since this is of direct relevance to those involved in mining in and around San Pablo – and of miners as a social group.

Chapter Five is the first of five ethnographic chapters. It offers a preliminary introduction to the lives of some of the people of San Pablo and the various economic, and other, activities in which they participate. I focus much of my attention on one particular activity, llama herding. After comparing the seasonal pattern of activities in the nineteenth century ayllus with that of present-day San Pablo (now that llamas are of much less economic importance and journeys of exchange to the valleys of Tarija and Tupiza have become much more rare than before) I ask whether herding is not an activity that encapsulates what it means to be San Pableño, a symbolic expression of community that refers not so much to something of overriding economic importance in the present, but to a valued past and gives a sense of continuity of tradition even in a much-changed present. The chapter ends with a brief look at two further areas which give rise to ambivalence, or through which identities are negotiated and contested. These are education and cuisine.

Chapter Six switches attention to the Buena Vista co-operative mine and the families who work there. It explores both the daily lives of these co-operative miners and their relationship with the people of the nearby town. The loyalties of these people are not merely split between locality and nation, but are also to a national community of mineworkers, and this has at times caused problems between the mine and the town. The problems arising from the presence of the mining company, La Barca, in the area are also explored more fully in this chapter.

Chapters Seven and Eight both focus on ritual. After a brief review of ritual theory, Chapter Seven looks at rituals surrounding death, and at one ritual that is a private and local event, waki. During this ritual, people enter into a reciprocal relationship with the dead. The chapter ends by suggesting that there is a division between rituals of the locality and rituals of the nation-state, and that this hinges around whether the people involved act as 'producers' or 'consumers' – whether they are the orchestrators of the rituals, and hence through them 'produce' their own locality (Appadurai, 1995), or whether they consume that which has been produced by others, particularly by the nation-state. This is the theme that Chapter Eight takes up. This chapter looks at two festive events, the celebrations for Independence Day and those for Carnival. While Independence Day is nominally a festival of the nation-state, Carnival is one that strongly concerns belonging to the locality. However, on closer inspection, things are not that simple. Matters that are more concerned with the locality and the local landscape than with the nation enter into the Independence Day celebration, while Carnival, as well as being a festival that involves marking animals and affirming the boundaries of the community, is also a festival at national level, and it is with this national festival that the co-operative miners identify. I tentatively conclude that both festivals involve, as Appadurai (1995) would put it, the production of locality, but that this locality incorporates belonging to the nation-state, but on terms set out by the community, as San Pableños.

Chapter nine looks at San Pableños' understanding of the past, and considers three oral histories all about the colonial era, the 'Time of the Spaniards'. While the focus of the previous chapters could be said to be 'discourse' in the general sense of the different ways of structuring knowledge and social practice, this chapter focuses on actual instances of spoken language. The focus here is on their interdiscursivity: on the ways in which different discourses enter into the narratives. Some of these discourses concern belonging or identity, some the individual

preoccupations of the narrators; but a further feature is the ‘double-voicedness’ of some concepts that enter into the stories. These concepts have have different meanings in the context of Christianity from their local or ‘Andean’ meanings, differences of which the narrators are no doubt aware. My conclusions to the study are set out in Chapter 10.

I cannot claim that this is an exhaustive study about ambiguities of affiliation and mestizaje in Sud LÍpez. It is limited and partial. In retrospect, there are two areas in particular that I perhaps should have made the subjects of separate chapters. These are language use and gender. Both of these enter into the work at various points, but could perhaps have done with more undivided attention. Bilingualism and the relation between Spanish and Quechua in the Andes has, however, been the subject of several previous studies (see, for example, Harvey 1987, 1991, Yraola 1995). Gender is a topic that has lately come to the fore in discussions of mestizaje (see, for example, de la Cadena 1995), and gender roles were clearly up for negotiation during my stay in San Pablo, during which it was apparent that several young women of the community had aspirations that were far different from those that might be expected for women in an isolated rural community in Bolivia. In some cases this had come as a direct result of the presence of the foreign mining company. Although this is touched upon in Chapter 5, it is a topic that is worthy of a longer discussion, and possibly future fieldwork in the area.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Perspectives: Ethnicity, *Mestizaje* and Discourse

2.1 Introduction

As I have already stated in the Introduction, this thesis is concerned with ambiguities of identity or affiliation in San Pablo de Lípez; with the observation that people who live there sometimes wholeheartedly claim membership of the Bolivian nation-state, prioritise their participation in the national economy, and the bureaucratic apparatuses of the state that are present in their locality; but at other times, or in other contexts, they appear to temporarily forget or suspend this belonging to the nation-state and give priority to local forms, such as those of local rituals. I emphasise that there is an ambivalence of affiliation here: the people of San Pablo do not embrace everything of the popular culture of the nation-state all of the time, but neither do they seek to separate themselves from it as an 'ethnic enclave'. The situation is hence more complex than that Stutzman (1981:46) describes for Ecuador, where he sees ethnicity as an idiom of disengagement from the struggle over the control of the state apparatus, with ethnic groups being composed of people who do not accept the goals of 'national culture'. It is perhaps closer to that described by Frank Salomon (1981: 165), again writing from Ecuador, for the Yumbo dancers of Quito who oscillate between adherence to urban Catholic and nationalist values in everyday life, and their assumption of the roles of lowland shamans 'beyond the reach of state or church' in costumed dances. The thesis, hence, is concerned with relationships between nation-state and more-or-less indigenous people, with ethnicity and identity, and, in the Latin American context, with mestizaje, a Spanish term with the literal meaning of 'miscegenation', but which has come to stand for both biological and cultural mixing of the different peoples that have come to inhabit the Americas since European colonization.

Anthropologists and historians working on the Americas have taken a variety of different approaches to problems of ethnicity, identity and mestizaje. In this chapter I aim first of all to consider some of the theoretical problems that surround ethnicity and identity in general, before moving on to review the approaches that have been taken to mestizaje in the Americas in

anthropological and historical literature. Having addressed these topics, I move on to discuss my approach to the issues, focussing on discourse theory and dialogue.

2. 2 Ethnicity (and its Intersections with Identity and Nationalism)

The term 'ethnicity' has been current in the social sciences since the late 1960s, when it came to be used in preference to, and often as a covert synonym for, labels such as 'tribe' or 'race' which had become unacceptable due to their ideological implications (see, for example, R. Cohen 1978). Despite its widespread use, however, it has remained a murky and ill-defined concept, the subject of countless arguments among academics, a concept that, many would argue, only makes sense in terms of relativities, and which borders on politically contentious areas. It is this ill-definedness that has prompted Richard Fardon, in describing ethnic terms, to employ Nietzsche's metaphor of pockets 'into which, now this, now that, now several things at once have been put!' (Nietzsche 1977: 153, quoted in Fardon 1987: 170). Rather than attempt to add my own definition of ethnicity to the ever-expanding list, I shall start this section with one with which I am in broad agreement, but shall use this definition in order to highlight and discuss issues that remain in contention, or that I would want to clarify or contest.

In her study of kinship, class and gender among California Italian-Americans, Micaela di Leonardo introduces her approach to ethnicity with the following paragraphs:

Ethnicity is a phenomenon of state societies (those with organized government), involving labelling, from within or without, of particular populations as somehow different from the majority, and of their members as genealogically related to one another. The members may not necessarily *be* related to one another, nor do they necessarily behave differently from the majority: it is the labelling itself, the cultural process, which is crucial to the construction of ethnicity.

This labelling, the mutual process of identity construction, happens at ethnic boundaries, and both affects and is affected by the economic and political positions of groups. Ethnic groups, however, may either coincide with or crosscut class divisions. Ethnicity is both cognitive and economic, and as economies alter, so do ethnic boundaries and ideologies.

(di Leonardo 1984: 22-23)

The elements of this definition that, in my opinion, require some critical examination are: a) the labelling of ethnic groups, b) the statement that ethnicity is a construct and c) that ethnicity is a

phenomenon of state societies. The first of these elements both reminds us of anthropology's former complicity with colonialism and forces us to consider what is meant by 'belonging', the second leads us into the area of the 'circumstantialist/primordialist controversy' (see, for example, Gil-White 1999), and into more recent debates on the construction of social reality and contextual knowledge, and the third leads us into the area of ethnicity and power relations.

2.2.1 The Labelling of Ethnic Groups

The idea that ethnicity involves the labelling of groups of people immediately raises the question of who does this labelling, and leads us to consider that the labelling of people can be based on criteria decided by people outside a particular culture, including anthropologists, or on the indigenous definitions of groups of people themselves and their immediate neighbours: that is, it has *emic* and *etic* dimensions. Both of these dimensions are present, and have been emphasised to different degrees in anthropological writings.

Tonkin *et al.* (1989:12) find that the etymology of the term 'ethnicity' provides an apt commentary both on terms that try to delimit human groups and, by extension, on the anthropological enterprise itself. The term derives from the Greek word ethnos, which, in its earliest recorded use, served to describe undifferentiated groups of either people or animals, as opposed to groups of people who shared a culture, origin or language. At a later stage, it came to be used to describe groups that were in some way 'other' to mainstream society; groups of people whose location or conduct put them outside the sphere of Greek social normality (*ibid.*); and in New Testament Greek, to describe people who were non-Christian and non-Jewish, a use that is almost synonymous with that of barbaros, used to describe people who spoke unintelligible languages and were lacking in 'civilization'. The roots of the term 'ethnicity' hence could be considered to reflect a general tendency of terms used to describe people, to distinguish between 'us' and 'them', or between 'self' and 'other', and its retention in anthropology as symptomatic of a tendency to 'other' non-Western societies. In other words, it is a residue from the colonial past of the discipline. Tonkin *et al.* argue that the adoption of terms derived from ethnos into the English language, for instance, 'ethnology', 'ethnography', 'ethnic' and 'ethnicity' retains this idea of 'otherness' and

‘difference’, and that it is no accident that these same terms have found their way into the language of anthropology, a discipline predicated on the idea of difference (*ibid*: 15-16).

While anthropological writings of recent years have moved away from the idea that ethnicity is something that is fixed, and can be objectively defined from the outside, to the definitions and categories used by social actors, in my opinion, there is still a tendency to employ ‘ethnicity’ when writing or speaking about groups of people who are in some way ‘foreign’ to what is considered mainstream in our society. By contrast, the word ‘identity’ is used when the group is recognised as ‘closer to home’ or ‘more like us’: in Britain, we might use ‘ethnicity’ or ‘ethnic group’ to describe immigrants from the Indian sub-continent resident in Manchester or any other major city (and include within this group their descendants born in Britain), but we do not so often refer to Scottish and Welsh ‘ethnicities’, but prefer to speak of these as ‘identities’. Used in this sense – that there are common features, on the basis of which people may associate themselves, or be associated by others, with groups or categories defined on a basis of oppositions and relativities – the word ‘identity’ fulfils much the same function as ‘ethnicity’ but is a more neutral term, unburdened by the ‘us/them’ division.¹ The labelling of minority groups perceived as different by a majority population leads us in the direction of power relations and the nation-state, topics which are discussed below.

Moving away from labels imposed from outwith a population to those imposed from within, to the definitions and criteria considered important by social actors themselves to their identities, brings us to consider the related idea of ‘belonging’, a notion that Ricoeur (1981: 243-244) locates in the domain of ideology. Rather than consider ideology as a false representation, in Marxist formulations propagated by a dominant class, which functions to conceal commonalities that the propagator has an interest in not recognising, Ricoeur sees it in broader terms. While not denying the presence of the negative characteristics generally associated with ideology, connected with domination and the hierarchical aspects of social organisation, Ricoeur’s point of departure is a much more general definition: that ideology is linked to the necessity for a social group to provide an image of itself, and to represent and to realise itself. Ideology is hence primarily a means of social integration. According to Ricoeur, ‘all objectifying knowledge about our position in society, in a

¹ The word ‘identity’ does, however, have its own ambiguities: it can refer to properties of uniqueness that make one person different from all others, as in ‘self-identity’ or the cognitive notion of the sameness of the self through time, ‘selfhood’. Like ‘ethnicity’, identity can also be used in a more essentialist or reified sense, as an attribute or essence which an individual or group has of itself.

cultural tradition and in history is preceded by a relation of *belonging* upon which we can never entirely reflect'. We belong to a history, a class, a nation and a culture before we can have any critical distance from these groups or traditions (*ibid*: 243) and this belonging is a pre-understanding that precedes all objectifying knowledge that we belong and are historical beings.

While Ricoeur's ideas form a useful point of departure when considering self-ascription, Moore has expressed reservations about his understanding of the bases of power and domination (Moore 1990: 116). While I have no problem with the idea that belonging and identity are part of ideology, I find his concept of belonging rather too close to that of a primordial attachment: the history, class, nation and culture to which we belong appear rather too much as concrete entities, when I would rather see them as fluid and subject to change. This conflict between primordialism and constructivism has long been part of the debate surrounding ethnicity in anthropology, and is discussed in more detail in the following section.

2.2.2 Social Construction or Primordial Attachment?

In the definition with which I started the discussion about ethnicity, Micaela di Leonardo stated that ethnicity is a cultural construct, a position with which I am in broad agreement, but with certain reservations. However, before examining the constructivist, or circumstantialist, position and the basis on which we might think of ethnicity as a cultural construct, it is worth taking a look at primordialist models of ethnicity and examining why an appreciable number of academics continue to promote a primordialist or essentialist approach to the topic in the face of the currently dominant postmodernist emphasis on the negotiation and contestation of boundaries and identities.

Primordialist approaches to ethnicity can be divided into two categories: those that concentrate on ethnicity as a biological phenomenon and those that see it as a product of culture and history. The former are possibly the least interesting, and most easily dismissed. Although such approaches make use of the terminology of sociobiology, they come close to treating ethnicity as a synonym for 'race', a term that, as Tonkin *et al.* (1989: 14) point out, has been studiously avoided by academics as a result of revulsion at the results of racial doctrines in Europe in the 1930s and 1940s. However, while academics in the social sciences and humanities have been reluctant to make use of the term 'race' because of its ideological implications, present-day biologists are questioning whether the

biological use of the term serves any useful purpose, and whether divisions frequently considered racial among human beings are genetically determined and therefore 'real'.

In biological terms, a race is a subspecies, a subdivision of a species that is marked off by geographical localization and particular gene frequencies that reveal themselves in physical traits. That there is sufficient genetic variability among human beings to constitute subspecies, and that the division of a species into subspecies serves any useful scientific purpose are assertions that are facing increasing challenges from biologists (see for example Stephen Jay Gould 1980: 233). In this light, the concept of 'race' has little or no scientific basis. As Cope (1994: 50), who refers to Gould, has pointed out in his analysis of the diverse plebeian society of colonial Mexico City, although genetic differences cause differences in physical appearance, genes do not sort human beings unambiguously into separate categories, and the amount of physical variability between human beings makes any attempt to create boundaries between different 'races' rather arbitrary.

Other writers with primordialist leanings have seen ethnic sentiments as effectively an extension of the sentiments of kinship, and that the propensity to favour kin over strangers is a predisposition of the human species. For example, Grosby asserts that 'primordial' sentiments are felt towards co-ethnics because of who they are categorically (often co-biological descendants from a primary group) rather than through interaction with them, and posits a species-wide tendency to make such classifications, and to form groups on the basis of these classifications. Membership of these groups influences the conduct of individuals (Grosby 1994: 168). This is basically the position that is also taken by Pierre van den Berghe (1981) who has worked on ethnicity in Peru.

Closely allied to, and overlapping with, the primordialist position on ethnicity is the idea of essentialism, which would argue that one's ethnicity implies an inalienable essence. This is an idea central to ideologies of nationalism. While many anthropologists would dismiss essentialism as being contrary to mainstream cultural relativism, and, in the case of ethnicity, object to it on the basis that it attributes an unchanging nature to something that is a historical product of human and other forms of agency (Herzfeld 1996: 188), Herzfeld has outlined the contexts in which anthropologists, particularly those working with minority populations involved in political struggles for resources (along with others such as feminists), have brought about a revival of the essentialist position in certain contexts (*ibid*: 189-190). This is a point to which I will return below.

It should not be ignored, however, that many of the social actors that anthropologists study are themselves essentialists: this is certainly true of the Andean region, where even a short stay in the countryside will highlight one basic division that the people themselves make – between those that are of the area and those that are not. Gil-White (1999), similarly notes from research in a multi-ethnic area of Mongolia that the recognition of ethnicity by social actors is largely primordialist, and makes the point in favour of primordialism that, as anthropologists, we should listen to what those we study have to say on the issue. In similar vein, Herzfeld (1995: 125) makes the point that we, as anthropologists, have taken so much care to reject our own earlier essentialist conceptions of society that we are strangely disquieted to confront such conceptions as objects among the people we study. However, while we may not subscribe to such ideas, we cannot afford to ignore them, as they represent the views of social actors.

The circumstantialist position on ethnicity encompasses viewpoints, which sometimes overlap, that could be described as constructivist and instrumentalist. Constructivist approaches, themselves by no means uniform, have tended to concentrate on boundaries between groups of people, the negotiation of identities and the situational quality of ethnicity, while more instrumentalist approaches are grounded in functionalism and see claims to ethnicity as tied to political manoeuvrings, particularly on the part of elites engaged in the pursuit of advantages and power. In the instrumentalist view, ethnicity is created in the dynamics of elite competition within boundaries determined by political and economic realities (Brass 1985).

The constructivist position could be said to have arisen from a general dissatisfaction with the tendency of anthropology in earlier years to label groups of people and to attribute to them distinctive cultures that became largely reified. The move towards a constructivist position coincided with a shift from an objectivist emphasis on group membership as decided by others, such as anthropologists, to a more subjective focus on the use of labels by social actors themselves, a move shared by some of the primordialists, as outlined above, but which, in the constructivists' case preceded a very different line of reasoning. Fredrik Barth's (1969) introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, was a pioneering work in this tradition, and emphasised the situational character of identity, the different processes involved in generating and maintaining ethnic groups and the maintenance of boundaries between them. In Barth's formulation, an ascription is ethnic when it

classifies a person in terms of his or her basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his or her origin and background (*ibid*: 13). Ethnic groups, however, are not based on the occupation of exclusive territories, or a particular way of life, or a once-and-for-all recruitment, that is, they are not objective or fixed entities, but are subject to continual expression and validation, and the boundaries between them are frequently crossed by individuals and groups (*ibid*: 21). In Barth's formulation, it is hence necessary to pay attention to the elements that social actors recognise as the basis for their boundaries.

Groundbreaking though it was in its day, Barth's essay has been subject to criticisms in more recent years on the basis that the structural features it presents – in the form of terms like 'group', 'category' and 'boundary' – still tend towards reification, that is, to suggest fixed entities (R. Cohen 1978: 386). Cohen sees ethnicity as something more fluid, situational and associated with multiple identities, 'a set of sociological diacritics which define a shared identity for members and non-members.... a series' and 'a series of nesting dichotomies of inclusiveness and exclusiveness' (*ibid*: 386-387). Harvey (1999: 223) has taken a similar view in considering Indian and mestizo identities in Peru. Commenting upon what she sees as a common Andean desire to be simultaneously Indian and mestizo, categories that social theorists would wish to make mutually exclusive, she sees a problem with the metaphor of the construct in that it tends to render static the process of social interaction. She adds that constructs are always partial, and the knowledge needed to make sense of them is contextual: there is always something else that can be revealed from a different perspective (*ibid*: 214).

Dilley (1999: 30-31), commenting generally on the use of constructs in anthropological theory, finds circularity and contradictions inherent within the constructivist position which, when taken to its extreme, turns in on itself and collapses into a form of individualistic essentialism. His argument starts from the premise that human beings actively engage in the social construction of reality. If we take this stance, then we can say that phenomena do not exist without being meaningful, and it is only through attributing meaning to them that we in fact constitute them as phenomena. However, if meaning is context dependent, then what is the context for this attribution of meaning, which cannot be any aspect of reality since this comes into being only through our process of meaning making? One way out of this impasse is to argue that the necessary framework is derived in some way from

the essential condition of being human, however this takes us to a position of essentialism against which the constructivist stance was posited in the first place.

On a much more practical level, a further criticism that has been made of approaches that view ethnicity as a construct, is that the view that particular groups have constructed (or invented) their histories or identities, can be understood to imply that these identities are therefore inauthentic, and this in turn can be politically threatening to minority groups engaged in struggles for rights or resources with more powerful nation-states. Some activists and anthropologists have advocated a sort of 'strategic essentialism' which parallels that proposed by some feminist theorists as a political response to male-centred definitions and practices (Spivak 1989: 127). For example, Lattas (1993), writing about Australian Aborigine resistance to white European cultural domination, sees Aborigine attempts to their locate culture in their bodies as an attempt to embody the knowledge that is the basis of their identity, so as not to have themselves and their culture totally appropriated by Whites.² These Aborigine attempts to embody their ethnicity have led to accusations of 'black racism' from white intellectuals, but in Lattas' view, this sort of '.... essentialism operates as a strategy of resistance in a context where what the colonising 'other' cannot appropriate from you is your own body and where therefore the internalisation of your culture into your body becomes a means of preserving and owning the basis of your own identity' (*ibid*: 259). This sort of strategic essentialism has entered into current debates about mestizaje and indigenous peoples in the Americas, as I shall indicate below. It does however leave theories of ethnicity in a sort of theoretical impasse where neither essentialism nor constructivism, is unproblematic, and the position taken up by many writing today might be described rather indeterminately, as anti-anti-essentialist.

My position is that ethnicity is something that is interactional and relational: it is both negotiated and contested. However, I am wary of the metaphor of construction and its tendency to reify the ideas of groups and boundaries, when the situation on the ground can turn out to be much more fluid and ambivalent. I am also cautious of losing sight of the categories of the social actors themselves and of their essentialist understanding of their own ethnicity.

² An example given by Lattas is the remark of an Aboriginal woman to a white academic that 'You just wouldn't understand [traditional culture] because you're not Aboriginal' (Lattas 1993: 259).

2.2.3 Ethnicity and Nation-States

The third element from our initial definition that deserves some discussion is the relation between ethnicity and the nation-state. While Barth's formulation of ethnicity involves cultural contact and the idea that ethnicity is constructed in opposition to those perceived as 'other', it does not focus exclusively on minority groups, nor is any specific role given to the state. To di Leonardo, by contrast, the role of the state is central, as is the idea that ethnic groups are minority populations 'somehow different from the majority' (di Leonardo 1984: 22-23). Note, however, that di Leonardo does not write of ethnic groups as minorities opposed to ruling majorities: her definition encompasses more diverse situations – those of minority groups that are not economically, politically or culturally marginalized, such as ethnic Catalans in Spain, or groups of Japanese or German settlers in Latin America, as well as those usually considered marginalized, such as the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Nevertheless, an element of ethnicity, which it is important to understand, is its political and conflictive dimension within nation-states.

The origins of many of the present-day nation-states of Europe can be traced back to the political formations of the dynastic realms of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (P. Anderson 1979: 14-17). Nevertheless, the modern nation-state, as we understand it today, and the associated idea of nationalism – that people can be divided into 'nations' and that each of these should constitute a separate political unit, or state – has its origins in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with the emergence of new independent nations, for instance, in the Americas, and in the writings of German Romantic philosophers. Rather than being taken as a self-evident feature of the modern world, since the 1980s the existence of the nation-state has been subject to considerable theoretical scrutiny. Gellner (1983) has argued that the rise of the nation-state and nationalism were linked to the process of industrialisation in western Europe, and the consequent requirement for a culturally homogeneous workforce, produced through mass schooling. A different and less positivistic approach, which has found more favour within the anthropological community, has been taken by Benedict Anderson, who places more emphasis on the 'new' nations emerging from the ruins of European colonies in the Americas, and who concentrates on nationalism as a form of 'political imagination': his definition of the nation is 'an imagined political community - and imagined as both limited and sovereign' (B. Anderson 1991: 6). The community of the nation is

imagined because its members will never meet most of their fellow members, yet will harbour the idea of some sort of commonality with them. Anderson argues that membership of the imagined community of the nation was made possible originally through a combination of capitalism, print technology and shared language which aided the creation of reading communities. In more recent years mass media communication could be considered to have taken over from print, and to have led to the formation of 'broadcast communities' based on radio and television broadcasts received simultaneously across the nation. It remains to be seen what effect recent phenomena such as e-mail and the internet have on national imagined communities, since these cut across national frontiers, yet involve similar communities of users, readers, shoppers or communicators.

Fardon links the growth of nationalism and the acceptance of the nation-state as an international norm with what he terms the 'ethnic revival' and argues that these have created forms of national and sub-national distinctions that differ significantly from those of earlier eras (Fardon 1987: 177). From his viewpoint, it is the presence of the state that has given rise to the conditions under which 'ethnicity' as a phenomenon has crystallised: groups within a state draw upon the idea that ethnic identity furnishes for them an argument for rights that the ideal of nationhood guarantees. Fardon thus sees a congruence between the world order of nations within the United Nations and ethnic groups within a state: nation-states partition the world, and it is expected that ethnic groups should do the same within the national territory.

Other writers have taken a different route to similar conclusions. Some have construed ethnicity as a non-acceptance of the goals of national culture (Stutzman 1981: 46), and ethnic groups have been described as interest groups competing for resources, who mobilise language, ritual and other aspects of culture in order to do so (Urban & Sherzer 1991: 4). However, as Urban and Sherzer point out, the manipulations of ethnic groups presuppose that they accede to state sovereignty - that they organise themselves within the bounds and structures of the state or states concerned, although their ultimate aim might be to overthrow the regime in power, or to achieve some form of autonomy. Hence, situatedness within a state is a key aspect of ethnicity.

In the context of the nation-state, ethnic discourses are inherently discourses of resistance: of resistance to the notion of citizenship of the nation. While the liberal notion of citizenship encompasses persuasive and high-minded ideas about equality and rights, these ideas also suggest

sameness or homogeneity between citizens or their interchangeability. Liberal governments, adhering to the ideals of citizenship have striven to make their citizens equal and interchangeable, for instance, in legislating that all should pay taxes in the same manner, or possess rights to property on the same basis. This obviously impacts on groups of people living within the national boundaries but who wish to live differently, for example, by possessing communal, as opposed to individually owned lands.

While the relevance of a discourse of homogeneity and citizenship is clearly pertinent to present day discourses of mestizaje in Latin America, as I discuss below, to illustrate this point I shall use an example from the Andes in the final decades of the nineteenth century. In an article that specifically links liberalism with ethnocide, Platt (1984) presents us with an analysis of Indian resistance among the ayllus of northern Potosí to the introduction of a register of landholdings (catastro) and the replacement of tribute by a new property-tax based on landholdings, at the hands of would-be liberal reformers anxious to civilize and make citizens of Indian ayllu members. These reforms were resisted by ayllu members, since they not only threatened the end of collective land tenure of ayllu lands, and hence the very existence of the ethnic groups themselves, but also negated what the ayllu members understood as a pact between these ethnic groups and the state, in which the payment of tribute guaranteed the rights of ethnic groups to retain their lands as corporate entities, with a limited margin of autonomy. Whilst they acceded to state sovereignty, they wished to continue to do this as 'Indians', that is, as less than full citizens, and hence deserving of special treatment (Platt 1984: 6-7). There followed a series of Indian uprisings, culminating in the *War of the Castes* in 1899, an early example of the sorts of ethnic conflict that characterized the twentieth century.³

³ Guillermo Lora (1977) locates the civil disturbances of 1898 and 1899 in a wider national context: the events unfolded amid struggles between liberal and conservative factions of the country's ruling white elite, and, in particular arguments over whether Sucre (conservative) or La Paz (liberal) should be the capital of the republic and whether Bolivia should be ruled by a federal or a central government. Lora does not discuss in detail the motivation of Indians who took up arms at this time, but acknowledges that their agenda was different from that of whites and mestizos, and that their concern was with the retention of their lands and the reclamation of lands usurped in the colonial era (Lora 1977: 62-66). In this case the ayllu of northern Potosí succeeded in retaining communal tenure of their lands, and to this day, pay tribute to the Bolivian state.

2.3 The Problem of *Mestizaje* in Latin America.

In Latin America, questions of ethnicity become embroiled with the problem of mestizaje, or hybridity of peoples and cultures, that has preoccupied historians and anthropologists alike. At one level, this preoccupation stems from the visually obvious physical diversity of people in these countries, from their linguistic diversity, and from the apparent mixing of Spanish and indigenous cultural elements in Latin American society. Mestizaje, however, also has a negative side, since it concerns the social inequalities in Latin American societies, which are linked to perceived degrees of indianness and non-indianness.⁴ This is not a straightforward matter of obvious phenotypical differences, but a complicated and tortuous area of discourse managed by different groups in Latin American society, involving not only the colour of one's skin or parentage, but such factors as language, dress, economic status, social class, dwelling place and social relations. Categories are not rigid, and boundaries are porous and shift constantly. Related to this is the problem of what it means to be, or not to be, an Indian in the various Latin American countries. This whole discursive area is clearly relevant for the situation in San Pablo de Lípez, where people are ambiguous over their relation to the state, as undifferentiated mestizo citizens, and to the locality, as indigenous people: this is an ambiguity that is not easily separable from questions of status, power relations, class and inequality. It is perhaps 'as a site for thinking through the construction of social inequality' (Hale 1996a: 2) that academic writing and consideration of the problem of mestizaje can be of most use.

A variety of approaches have been taken to the subject. One obvious division is between those historical works that deal with categories of people and cultural forms in the past and those that deal with present-day discourses, categories and inequalities. Historical works relevant to the general theme of mestizaje cover a wide range of separate, but related, topics that range, on the one hand, from those of intermediate categories of people in the Colonial and Early Republican eras and the appearance of new identities in the Americas to, on the other, issues such as colonialism and the appearance of new or intermediate religious forms, discourses of nationalism and liberalism. Examples include the work of Gruzinsky (1993) and Cope (1994) on Mexico, and Abercrombie (1996), Bouysse-Cassagne (1996, 1997) and Barragán (1990) on the Andes. Relevant ethnographic

⁴ I have used the term non-indianness here to cover the variety of categories that have been opposed to 'Indian' in different parts of Latin America, and in different periods of history: these have included 'español', 'criollo', 'blanco' and 'mestizo'.

works have looked at the political relations of different groups *vis-à-vis* the nation-state, the ways in which discourses of class, gender and ethnicity are inter-related, and the ambiguities of affiliation experienced by people living in Latin America. Among these we can list Seligman (1989, 1993) and de la Cadena (1995) on Peru, Gill (1994) and Buechler & Buechler (1996) on Bolivia, Stutzman (1981) and Salomon (1981) on Ecuador, and Hale (1996b) and Diskin (1991) on Central America. Nevertheless, there are many works that combine both contemporary anthropological and historical perspectives: the works of Gould (1996, 1998) on Nicaragua, Abercrombie (1991, 1992, 1998) on Bolivia and de la Cadena (1996) on Peru fall into this category.

Cutting across the temporal divide among academic writings on the subject run two main conceptually contradictory approaches to mestizaje. Some writers have seen it as a liberating force that breaks down colonial and neo-colonial categories of ethnicity and race and acts as a counterhegemonic discourse of indeterminacy: through indeterminacy individuals can escape the ethnic and racial categories of social control. Abercrombie's (1996) work on the eighteenth-century q'aqchas of Potosí takes this point of view, as does Bouysse-Cassagne's (1996) study of mestizo identity and miscegenation in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries. Others have taken the view that mestizaje is an elite discourse of national unity, an official discourse of nation formation and homogenisation that denies colonial forms of racial/ethnic hierarchy and interpellates all within the national boundaries as equal and hybrid 'citizens'. As discussed above, this sort of homogenizing discourse whilst predicated on the notion of equality, marginalizes and denies recognition and authenticity to groups within the nation-state that do not share the goals of the nation, that is, to ethnic groups, or indigenous peoples. This is the stance taken by Gould (1993, 1996, 1998) in his work on Nicaragua.⁵

Among those works that seek explanations for the cultural phenomenon of mestizaje, there is a further divide. There are some who argue that the social phenomena we see today are almost

⁵ Although I have used works on both Central America and the Andes in this section, I do not wish to imply that the processes of, and discourses surrounding, mestizaje are and have been identical in the two regions. There are similarities between the areas, but there are also differences: both regions were subject to Spanish colonial rule, but the regions had different forms of social organization before the arrival of the Spaniards, there were local administrative differences under the colonial regime, and the two areas were affected differently by the demographic collapse that followed the arrival of the Europeans and the new diseases they brought with them. The manners in which the independent nations have developed following independence has also not been identical, and it is notable that most academic works that emphasise mestizaje as a homogenizing discourse concentrate on Central America, whilst most that emphasise its liberating qualities concentrate on the Andes. This difference may be due, in part, to the theoretical orientations of the analysts involved, but also, perhaps, something of the nature of the political regimes in the various nation-states.

exclusively colonially imposed forms, and that these have progressively and conclusively displaced indigenous forms even in areas that today seem to us the most authentically indigenous. This is the stand particularly of Gruzinsky (1993) on Mexico. As a counter to this, there are others who argue for cultural resistance and take the view that, outside the major towns and cities, Spanish forms are merely an overlay or thin veneer covering a surviving and coherent indigenous cosmology. An example of the latter would be Bastien (1978).

2.3.1 Historical Perspectives on *Mestizaje*.

This section attempts to review some of the approaches that writers have taken to issues involving mestizaje in different historical periods. I start with a brief mention of sixteenth-century European attitudes to the colonized population of the Americas, and then discuss in more detail the issue of the categorization of people in the colonial era. For this I rely largely on the works of three authors who take the first conceptual approach to mestizaje that I outlined above: that it is a counterhegemonic discourse of indeterminacy. I then briefly examine the emergence of homogenising discourses of national unity and the mestizo citizen in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and finally I look at the issue of cultural mixing, and the various explanations that have been offered for the emergence of new cultural forms in both the colonial and republican eras.

2.3.1.a *Mestizaje* as a Counterhegemonic Discourse of Indeterminacy

The arrival of Europeans in the Americas in the sixteenth century occasioned the early meetings of European and Amerindian peoples and the consequent and necessary efforts by each to reach an understanding of the other. This has been better studied and analysed from the point of view of the European than from that of Amerindian peoples no doubt on account of the greater availability of source material.⁶ Mason, looking at early European representations of the ‘other’ encountered in the New World, draws parallels between the European perceptions of the ‘savages’ found there and the ‘internal other’ of Europe’s ruling classes of the time: the savage of the

⁶ Pagden, for example, cites the reaction of Arawak people to Europeans, whom they were reported to take to be ‘sky visitors’ and of the Inca taking Europeans to be viracocha. Pagden glosses the term viracocha as ‘supernatural being’, but its exact derivation remains uncertain. Cuni Raya Vira Cocha features in the Huarochiri Manuscript, a testament of Andean religion from early seventeenth century (Salomon & Urioste 1991: 9ff), but the identification of the European invaders with the deity, having apparently arrived in fulfilment of prophecies of his return, could well have been a case of the Spaniards hearing what they wanted, or were disposed, to hear.

Americas was equated with the mythical Wild Men and Wild Women of European myth, and with those excluded socially from European society such as witches and the mad (Mason 1990: 41). The 'others' of both Old and New Worlds were characterised by traits such as cannibalism and excessive sexual appetite. At worst the savage of the New World was a creature whose humanity was questionable: we need only consider Shakespeare's New World savage Caliban, whom the 'old world' characters of *The Tempest* describe by terms such as 'monster' and 'mooncalf' (Shakespeare 1989: 65, 79 etc.). At best, the savage 'other' was more or less on a par with Europe's own subaltern classes,⁷ with slaves, women and children; with those not considered capable of representing or speaking for themselves (Mason 1990:60).

In spite of the attitude of colonizers to the colonized that I have outlined above, due in part to the sexual imbalance of the colonizing Spanish population in the Americas, unions between Spanish men and Indian women were frequent, and were sometimes legally sanctioned by marriage, but often not. In the early years of colonization, there were in fact several prestigious unions between prominent conquistadors and women from the families of Inca and Aztec nobility (see, for example Hemming 1983: 269 for the Andean case). Cope (1994: 14) points out that the offspring of conquistadors were frequently biological mestizos, but that, initially, these would have been absorbed into either Spanish or Indian society, depending on whether, or not, they were recognised by their Spanish fathers: the European settlers of the time seemed less concerned about the colour or race of their offspring than they were about their legitimacy, and many recognised their children of mixed blood as heirs. However, many biological mestizos were not recognised by their European fathers, and mestizo status became associated, at least in the eyes of the European elite, with illegitimacy.

Scholarly works dealing with the system of government imposed by Spain on the Americas are numerous, and those works concerned with cultural and biological mixing (such as, Cope 1994 and Abercrombie 1996) show how this system led to uncertain legal status for the growing population of illegitimate mestizos, not absorbed into Spanish or Indian society. Spanish rule in the American dominions⁸ was based on the principle of an absolute division between Spaniards and Indians:

⁷ I have the use of 'subaltern' here as more-or-less synonymous with 'dominated' as it has come to be used, for example, in the writings of Mason, and of others such as Spivak. Note, however, that the term is of military origin, and is used to refer to officers of inferior rank, who stand between the common soldiers and the elite.

⁸ I have used the term 'dominions' rather than 'colonies' to describe American territory under Spanish rule, since, as Pagden (1990: 91) has pointed out, these territories were not considered colonies, but discrete parts of the crown of Castile. I have, however, made use of the adjective 'colonial' in a more general sense to describe the situation in the Americas under Spanish rule.

government was based on the establishment of separate ‘republics’ for Spaniards and Indians, and on the maintenance of stability in each (Cope 1994: 3, Abercrombie 1996: 76). Indians were governed at a distance, through native lords who retained local authority, and, notably, were held responsible for the collection of tribute payable to the Spanish crown – payment of tribute was one of the hallmarks of being an Indian in colonial society (see Chapter 3 of this thesis for an expansion of this theme). Spaniards and Indians resided in different spaces, Indians on encomiendas⁹ or later in reducciones¹⁰ and Spaniards in the new Hispanic cities. Members of each republic were forbidden from dwelling within the territory designated for the other. Hence, Indian workers in the new cities were not supposed to share space with Spaniards, but were housed in separate parishes on the outskirts of the towns.¹¹ This regime held no place for those belonging to neither of its two parts: mestizos, whose very existence was an anomaly, were associated with vice and disorder, and were perceived as a threat to the fabric of society (Cope 1994:15, Bouysse-Cassagne 1996: 98).¹²

To us, unions between Spanish men and Indian women suggest stereotypes of conquering man and conquered woman, where the man is conqueror both of the land and the woman, and the woman must either be the victim of rape, or a traitor to her people. Bouysse-Cassagne (1996), however, sees in these colonial unions a discourse of choice and liberation. Rather than concentrate on the legalistic discourse of Spanish men concerned about the legitimacy of their offspring, she sees this early mestizaje as almost always the result of a biological and social choice made by Indian women: to bear either legitimate or illegitimate children with Spanish fathers, and hence to create a new

⁹ Grants made to Spaniards in the early years of the conquest. In theory, encomiendas did not provide title to land, but only a right to collect reasonable tribute from a group of Indians through their ‘natural lords’ (Abercrombie 1998: 150).

¹⁰ New towns established by Spanish administrators for the Indian population to facilitate, among other things, their instruction in the Christian doctrine.

¹¹ Of course, this was not a hard and fast division: Spaniards required household servants, who necessarily dwelt in their masters’ houses.

¹² Cope, writing on colonial Mexico expands on this theme. He considers that, in addition to the dichotomy between Spaniard and Indian in colonial society, in the imagination of the colonizers, the Hispanic republic of the colony was also composed of two parts, Spaniards, and those of mixed blood. This was a hierarchical scheme, with Spaniards occupying the privileged position, with the groups perceived more or less as shown below:

White	mixed blood
Old Christians	New Christians
legitimate	illegitimate
pure blood	impure blood
honourable	infamous
law-abiding	criminal
rich	poor
noble	plebeian
non-manual workers	manual workers

Of course, as Cope has emphasized, this was an idealised scheme: not all people of mixed blood were relegated to lowly occupations, and not all Spaniards held prestigious positions (Cope 1994: 19).

mestizo society rather than reproduce Indian society under Spanish domination (*ibid*: 99). In spite of the disadvantages incurred by indeterminate status and Spanish prejudice, for Indian women faced with the biological and social choice of fathers for their children, Bouysse-Cassagne considers that the disadvantages of mestizaje were outweighed by opportunities for social betterment in the colonial order, and freedom from the Indian tribute: in her analysis, for Indian mothers, the bearing of, often illegitimate, mestizo offspring is revealed as a strategy for enhancing these children's lives. This strategy effectively eroded the dual regime, carving out in society a third space, a space for mestizos between those of Spaniard and Indian (*ibid*: 98-99).

However adamant the Spanish authorities may have been on the subject of an absolute division between Spaniards and Indians, this is not to say that their understanding of 'race' coincided with nineteenth and twentieth century notions of race based on biological criteria. Theories of race may have had their origin with colonial encounters starting in the fifteenth century, but Eurocentric 'scientific' theories were not fully developed until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Abercrombie has pointed out that the two most important distinctions made in the Spanish dominions involved nación (nation) and buena policía, ('orderly and proper life habits'), and that Spaniards of the colonial period were distinguished from Indians on the basis of what were decidedly ambiguous criteria (Abercrombie 1996: 76). Buena policía was something that Spaniards were considered to possess, while Indians were not, unless it had been instilled upon them by Europeans: they lacked the proper customary life habits in which Christianity could take root. It was in order that the Indian population could be taught buena policía that the viceroy Toledo ordered that they should be resettled into new orderly towns based on the Castilian grid-pattern, where they could receive instruction in the Christian faith from a parish priest. The term nación (nation) encompassed ideas of lineage, territory, custom and language, and distinguished as much between the various nations of the Spains (such as Basque from extremeño) and the different sorts of Indian (such as indios lipes from indios asanaques) as it did between the more general categories of Spaniard and Indian. This concept led to anomalies not only with the growing population of mestizos and other persons of mixed category, who lacked a definite place of origin, but also with Spaniards born in the Americas (criollos), detached from any peninsular nation, and Indians born in Hispanic cities, likewise detached from their origins (Abercrombie 1996: 75).

While those of mixed blood were an anomaly between the 'pure' races of Indian and Spaniard and were associated with vice and disorder, the sistemas de castas¹³ that were developed between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries both in the Andes and in Mexico placed mestizos and other mixed racial categories in a system of ranked hierarchy between Spaniard and Indian, with black African slaves¹⁴ occupying the very lowest position. These were attempts to provide both category and social position for those of the growing interstitial colonial population, and racial groups were ranked in theory according to their proportion of Spanish blood. The usual seventeenth-century format in Mexico was of around seven groups:¹⁵ Spaniard, castizo, morisco, mestizo, mulatto, Indian and black African (castizos were of Spanish and mestizo parentage, and moriscos were the products of unions between Spaniards and mulattos) (Cope 1994: 24). It is against this background that both Cope and Abercrombie write, taking the line that through transgressing categories individuals could escape the limitations of their positions in colonial society. While many previous historians regarded Spanish hegemony in the provinces as sustained ideologically through the hierarchical casta system, Cope considers that ethnic identity in colonial Mexico was a site of confusion and contention, and that non-Spaniards pursued their own ends, which were often contradictory with those of the Spanish elite, in terms of social mobility, group solidarity, and self definition (Cope 1994: 5). It is this confusion, contention and contradiction between categories that Abercrombie has taken up in his discussion of q'aqcheo (informal mining) in eighteenth-century Potosí, where he discusses how informal miners transgressed casta categories, at the same time as the Spanish elite were concerned to return all those not considered Spaniards to the category of lowly Indians, whatever their biological origins (Abercrombie 1996). In these works, both Cope and Abercrombie point out that the boundaries between castas were relatively porous, and that classification on purely biological grounds was an impossibility.

¹³ Casta was a colonial reworking of an old Spanish term for lineage (see Pitt-Rivers 1971: 234). Although casta can be translated by the English 'caste', I have avoided using this term here because of its inevitable association with the classifications, rules and boundaries of Hindu society (Quigley 1995), which bear little relation to those of the Spanish colonies of the Americas.

¹⁴ African slaves were brought to the Americas to serve in a variety of occupations. Further discussion of this group, and in particular of the presence of African slaves in Lipez in the seventeenth century, follows in Chapter 3.

¹⁵ This number varied, however, with geographical area and historical period.

2.3.1.b *Mestizaje* as a Discourse of Homogenization and Nation-Building

The conceptual approach to mestizaje as a discourse of homogenisation and nation building starts to emerge in works that deal with the emergence in the early nineteenth century of the new nations of Latin America. The background to the Independence movements, in the form of the discourses of successive generations of American-born Spaniards seeking independence from Spain from the seventeenth century onwards, have been analysed by Pagden (1990). It is in these discourses that we first encounter ideas of citizenship and national unity, from the mouths of criollos (that is of people of Spanish descent, born in the Americas) rather than people of mixed or Indian descent. Leaders of the independence movement, such as Simón Bolívar, were jointly inspired by ideas of the 'liberal nation', imported from Europe, the philosophy of Rousseau and the barriers that prevented their social advancement in peninsular Spain. Bolívar wished to create a new kind of nation of free men held to be equal in the sight of the law (Pagden 1990: 141).

The attitude of the new criollo regimes towards the indigenous sections of their countries' populations, however, was more pragmatic than idealistic. For the case of Bolivia, Platt (1982) has analysed the changing discourse of the national government towards the indigenous population of the ayllus of northern Potosí, where, in spite of early intentions to abolish the status of 'Indian', the government soon realised that the Indian contribution to the economy, through tribute payment, was indispensable, and so retained it. When more concerted liberal efforts to abolish the status of 'Indian' and incorporate ayllu members as national citizens took place these were seen as attempts to abolish the privileges of 'Indian' status and were resisted by the ayllu members as has already been discussed in Section 2 above (see Platt (1982, 1984)).

Discourses of national unity and the mestizo citizen took root in the Central American countries, such as Nicaragua, as Gould has described. Popular nationalistic leaders, such as Sandino, propagated a discourse of unity, and used the term mestizo as an all embracing category to oppose that of ladino, a term still used in Central America, which covers in different contexts, all that is Hispanized and not Indian (Gould 1996: 7-9). In Central America, as in Mexico, mestizaje became an official discourse, sanctioned by government, and it effectively denied the existence of indigenous peoples. In Bolivia, however, this sort of unifying and homogenizing political discourse did not really become prominent until the National Revolution of 1952. Revolutionary nationalism

then sought to unite the people into one harmonious nation, free from class domination, but by so doing, like the discourses of mestizaje in Mexico and Central America, attempted to negate all forms of ethnicity that might lend a distinctive identity to different groups of people (Gill 1994: 38). In Bolivia, however, I would argue that the success of such a discourse has been limited: the neutral term campesino (countryman) may have been substituted euphemistically for indio, and rural children receive an education in which membership of the nation-state is constantly underlined; but the old distinctions based on ambiguous criteria of race, language and social class still continue to exist in the popular imagination.

2.3.1.c The Issue of Cultural Mixing or Overwriting

Some authors have been more concerned with a historical treatment of the mechanisms that have produced the mestizo cultures of Latin America than with either biological mixing or social control, and while some have analysed the adoption of Spanish cultural forms by the indigenous population others have examined the adoption of indigenous cultural elements by the 'white' and mestizo sectors. This brings us back to some of the issues raised in the Introduction to this thesis in Section 1.3, and the problem of what exactly can be considered to be either 'indigenous' or 'Spanish', and of the relationship between the two categories. While the problems, at least in the Andean region, of taking either 'indigenous' or 'Spanish' as pure or unmixed starting points have been noted above, social actors do distinguish between what they consider to be between Christian and non-Christian practices, that is between what they consider to be 'European' and what they regard as 'indigenous'.

In an analysis of the urban dynamics of La Paz in the nineteenth century, Rosanna Barragán employs a model of cultural borrowing and creativity. She considers the adoption of some indigenous elements by the more European sectors of Bolivian society,¹⁶ and examines the emergence of a new mestizo identity by using Barth's ideas of boundaries between ethnic groups. She sees mestizaje more as a result of the continual interaction of indigenous and Spanish worlds than as one of racial mixing. In her analysis she proposes that the result of this continual interaction

¹⁶ She points out that, unlike in the more westernised Latin American countries, the nineteenth-century upper and middle classes of La Paz continued to understand Aymara, to perform certain rituals with pagan characteristics and to profess belief in non-Christian deities such as Ekeko, a god of plenty.

and mutual interference has been neither the fusion of the two groups, nor the absorption of one by the other, but the adoption of some indigenous elements by the more European sectors of the population, and that of European elements by the indigenous sector. Both European and indigenous groups continued to exist in the urban environment, with persistent cultural differences, albeit with negotiable boundaries, but their interaction also resulted in the emergence of a new mestizo identity, less stable and with even more porous boundaries than either of the two original groups (Barragán 1990: 231-236).

The theoretical standpoint of 'borrowing' features again in Bouysse-Cassagne's elucidation of the mutual influences of both Christian and Andean traditions in the legends of the lacustrine deity Tunupa (Bouysse-Cassagne 1997). She not only points out, criticising her own earlier writing (Harris and Bouysse-Cassagne 1988), the fallacy of assumptions that such myths are wholly indigenous, but also the dangers of assuming that European ideas about Christianity at the time of colonization were orthodox and homogeneous. In her view, it was the heterodox nature of the European Christian tradition, founded not only in the Bible and teachings of the Catholic church of the time, but also in popular hagiographies and local European myths, that aided the elaboration of a new myth in the Andes. This in turn incorporated local Andean elements (*ibid*: 196). While Bouysse-Cassagne highlights the European contribution to the legend, she does not deny the existence of some elements of, or congruence with, local Andean tradition.

Gruzinsky takes a much bleaker view, from the point of view of the probability of the survival of local indigenous forms. Taking colonization as a model, he looks at the emergence of Mexican mestizo culture, which he considers to contain survivals not from pre-Hispanic times, but of European thought from earlier eras. He considers that the Europeanization of the indigenous population was not a smooth, linear process, but one that continually readjusted its aims to the changing currents of thought in Western Europe. This led to a sort of phase lag, or to overlappings of realities, for, as Gruzinsky writes, '...no sooner were the Indians won over to baroque Christianity than they were all at once summoned to embrace the 'civilization' of the Enlightenment, before liberalism or Jacobinism proposed other models to them, before a "made in USA" society of consumption revealed its showcases' (Gruzinsky 1993). Gruzinsky's model of the emergence of 'Latin American' cultures centres around juxtapositions, the indeterminate and the temporary –

states of continual change that challenge the notions of coherence and continuity fundamental to much of social theory. It is this very indeterminacy, the existence of contradictory traits and decontextualization, however, which he regards as having been favourable to the birth of new cultural features that we might label mestizo (Gruzinsky 1993: 282-284).

2.3.2 *Mestizaje* in Present-Day Latin America

Those works that deal with the broad topic of mestizaje in present-day Latin America, while still generally speaking following one or other of the two conceptual approaches that I indicated earlier – of mestizaje as liberating force or elite discourse – that I indicated earlier, have looked at the subject from different angles. Some have examined the political relations of different groups *vis-à-vis* the nation-state, while others have examined the ways in which discourses of class, gender and ethnicity have become inter-related, and yet others have examined the ambiguities of affiliation experienced by people living in Latin American countries.

Those writers concentrating on the political implications of mestizaje have largely continued to follow the line that it is an elite and homogenizing discourse of national unity. Their works have explored the position and in some cases the political mobilisation of indigenous people in the face of official attempts to interpellate them as hybrid citizens and thereby to deny them recognition as groups with distinct identities which may have different goals than those of the nation-state. Stutzman's (1981) study of mestizaje in Ecuador as an 'all-inclusive ideology of exclusion' follows this line, as does Cervone's (1996) study of ethnic conflict and the rise of Indian movements in the same country. This has also been the line of several writers on Central America, such as Gould (1996, 1998) on Nicaragua, whose work has already been mentioned.

If we return to di Leonardo's definition of ethnicity with which we started the discussion, it should come as no surprise to find that there is a relation between so-called 'racial' status and social class in Latin American countries. She points out that ethnic boundaries alter with economic relations (di Leonardo 1984: 22-23), and we could say more generally that ethnicity has components that are both discursive and economic.¹⁷ Some of the more interesting works on the topic that have

¹⁷ That is, it is neither a purely economic relation, as class is in the Marxist sense of the word, nor is it purely discursive. Cervone (1996: 14) has proposed the term 'claste' to cover the relationship between 'race' (or 'caste') and class in Latin America, which is perhaps closer to the Weberian notion of 'status groups' - groups

been published in recent years deal with the intersection of both ethnicity and class with a further social construct: gender.

We can see the origins of a gendered discourse of race in Latin America, perhaps, in the early attitudes of European colonisers to the Amerindian population: as Mason points out. Indians were considered to be on a par with 'subaltern' groups in European society (which included women) (Mason 1990: 60), and it is but a short step from there to the discursive emasculation or 'feminisation' of Indian men. Gould has charted this feminisation into early 20th century Nicaragua, when the violent subjugation of the Indian communities led to an image of Indian men as frightened and effeminate, which opposed that of the Indo-Hispanic (that is, mestizo) 'race', portrayed as virile. Notably, virile images of pre-conquest Indian warriors were appropriated by the mixed/Indo-Hispanic groupings and dissociated from contemporary Indians (Gould 1996: 19).

Several analyses of contemporary 'race'/class/gender relations in the Andes have focused on the region's cities, and in particular on the women market vendors Peru and Bolivia (for example, de la Cadena 1996, Seligman 1989, 1993, Buechler and Buechler 1996). These women are usually described as cholas, a label that implies they are neither mestiza (synonymous with middle class in the Andean countries) nor Indian, but situated somewhere in the middle ground and bridging the gap between the two, and in some cases may be rural migrants, although to make such a generalisation would be to make an absurd simplification of a complex category.¹⁸ Most studies of chola women emphasise not only the flexibility of boundaries, but also the changing and processual nature of ethnic attribution and give positive or negative assessments of the status of such women.

De la Cadena looks at changes, through the course of the twentieth century, in the discourses of Peruvian intellectuals towards these women who, in different ways, formed objects of sexual obsessions for the male elite. For indigenistas of the early twentieth century, who preached of a grandiose Inca past, morality was linked to biology and to racial purity: Indian women were to be

sharing similar life-styles, consumption patterns and notions of honour – than to class in the strictly economic sense.

¹⁸ Seligman has traced the historical roots of the term chola and its pejorative use from colonial times when, like the more general term mestizo, it had connotations of illegitimacy, and of undermining the purity of the castas and of cultural and economic privilege (Seligman 1989: 697). The masculine form of the label, cholo, is universally considered insulting. The feminine form chola, or more usually with the diminutive ending cholita, is used far more frequently, and although slightly patronising is also a term of endearment – and when cholita is used by young men of young women it also has connotations of attractiveness and sexual availability. The use of chola and cholita by market women themselves can be considered a turning-around, or inversion, of a negative label: they present themselves, and are perceived by others generally as strong, successful, combative and worldly-wise.

admired, so long as they remained chaste and rural, while mestizaje was repudiated, and the women who traded in Cuzco's markets, neither white nor Indian, were considered both immoral and unhygienic and became the targets of city 'cleansing' campaigns (de la Cadena 1996: 121). From the 1930s onwards, however, for neo-indianistas, no longer interested in racial purity, the sexual attractiveness of chola women became a central feature: such women were perceived as sensual and erotic, and were envisaged as playing a central role in the creation of a new invigorated mestizo society, notably, as the sexual partners of the same elite men (*ibid*: 127). Needless to say elite male perceptions of women market vendors are far from the ideas these women hold of themselves: the present-day market women whom de la Cadena interviewed emphasised the hard working nature of their occupation, and their position as women who demand the respect of others. Ultimately, de la Cadena takes an 'optimistic' view of their position, these women, by taking up the label 'chola', rebuke colonial stigma and present an image of success that 'broadens the scope of indigenous culture, removing it from the implications of historical wretchedness' (de la Cadena 1996: 137).

Linda Seligman(1989, 1993) takes a less positive or optimistic view of the status of Cuzco's present-day cholas. Her analysis concentrates on the ill-definedness of the present-day category, and she uses of the concepts of cultural and power brokers from the writings of Richard N. Adams and Eric Wolf to explain their position. According to Adams, 'Power brokers link units or actors at different levels where the difference in power is such that the inferior has no real chance to confront the superior' (quoted in Seligman 1989: 698), while Wolf writes:

Janus-like they face in two directions at once. They must serve some of the interests of groups operating on both the community and national level, and they must cope with the conflicts raised by the collision of these interests. They cannot settle them, since by doing so they would abolish their own usefulness to others.... The study of brokers can provide unusual insight into the functions of a complex system through a study of its dysfunctions.

(Wolf 1965: 97-98)

Although Seligman's view of the position of market women is not so bleak and pessimistic as Wolf's of mestizos in general¹⁹ she points out that their social category of chola is both constructed and

¹⁹ In *Sons of the Shaking Earth*, Eric Wolf writes of the mestizos of Mexico and Guatemala:

consciously manipulated by all Peruvians. It is a category that can only exist contextually in relation to the other socially created categories of Indian and mestizo. She also points out the limitations to the position and power of market women that are imposed by the economy and the penetration of capitalism into the peasant mode of production: chola market women are at the same time necessary to the mestizo economy, and a threat to the mestizos who perceive them as Indians, yet see them as a threat to their own commercial ventures. The chololas may seek upward mobility, but their fulfilment of these ambitions is limited by economic factors such as the need to maintain links with rural producers (Seligman 1989:719).

The life history of one particular market vendor in La Paz is taken up by Buechler and Buechler in *The World of Sofia Velazquez*. This work again emphasizes the in-betweenness of the status of chola vendors, but also the flexibility of boundaries: the woman, Sofia, takes up the profession of market vendor, and adopts the typical chola dress of bowler hat and pollera (wide skirt) because this will enhance her professional status, but her success as a vendor also depends on maintaining compadrazgo (fictive kinship) and kinship ties to producers in the surrounding countryside (Buechler and Buechler 1996). Like de la Cadena, the authors' view of chola status is ultimately a positive one: they take a constructivist stance towards ethnicity, with much emphasis on the ongoing nature of the process. Categories are constantly being deconstructed and reformulated, not only as events are experienced, but also as they are re-experienced through narration, writing and reading. In their view, ethnic/class identities are not merely reactive to dominant models, but are proactive and created to suit changing circumstances.

In a further study of the chololas of La Paz, Lesley Gill has moved away from their role as market women to consider them as domestic servants.²⁰ She explores the ambiguities of mistress/servant relations - a case of the exploitation of women by women - where a mistress may treat a servant 'like a daughter', but controls her wages, and may also expect to control her morality. She notes,

... disinherited by society, the mestizo was also disinherited culturally. Deprived of a stable place in the social order, he could make only limited use of the heterogeneous cultural heritage left to him by his varied ancestors.
(Wolf 1959: 238)

Wolf's discussion is couched in gender-specific language referring only to men. Notably, much of the literature surrounding mestizaje in the Andean countries concentrates on women. Very few writers on the Andes would take quite such a pessimistic view of such a notoriously feisty group as the (female) chola market vendors of Bolivian and Peruvian cities.

²⁰ As I found during my visits to La Paz, almost every prosperous family employs at least one empleada (maid), usually attired in chola dress to cook and clean in the house.

however, that the position of servant women *vis-à-vis* the men of their class/ status group is often better than that of their white employers which is more bound by patriarchal restrictions. As Gill states Aymara women servants ‘elaborate an alternative version of femininity that implicitly challenges dominant concepts of ideal womanhood’, that is, those concepts of womanhood held by the ‘whiter’ upper and middle classes (Gill 1994: 103). Where Gill differs from Buechler and Buechler is over the implications of wearing chola dress, the pollera. While Gill understands the pollera to imply that a woman is ‘more humble and less available’ and points to instances of pollera clad women being insulted in public places and treated as second-class citizens (*ibid*: 107-108). Buechler and Buechler point more to the ‘protective clout’ of the pollera, which is symbolic of a network of like-minded, and similarly attired women (Buechler and Buechler 1996: 221).

Many ethnographies of the Andean region, most notably those written in the 1970s and 1980s, have tended to imply the existence of a quite rigid divide between ‘Indians’ (often termed runa or comunarios) and mestizos (often termed vecinos). This is particularly the case with those concerning rural areas (see, for example, Isbell (1978) or Allen (1988)). This is also the divide upon which Gose (1994) fixes his attention, seeing the difference between the types of reciprocal work ayni and mink’a (see Chapter 7 of this thesis) as fundamental to this divide. This approach became problematic for me when I started fieldwork in San Pablo, where I found it impossible to categorise people in this way, or to see any sort of clear divide, except between locals and temporary residents. I have found more useful those works that focus not on clearly demarcated categories, but on ambivalence, ambiguity and indeterminacy. Among these I would place Salomon’s (1981) work on yumbo dancers in Quito, de la Cadena’s (1995) study of discourses of ethnicity in the community of Chitapampa in Peru, and Harvey’s (1999) discussion of cultural constructs, using as an example the case of bilingualism in Ocongate, Peru.

Salomon focuses on certain Quichua-speaking²¹ men in the city of Quito. For most of the year, these men work in the city, amidst a population that scorns everything held to be ‘Indian’ and adhere to the values of nationalism and urban Catholicism, yet, on certain festive occasions, these same men assume the roles of lowland shamans, or yumbos. Salomon suggests that this ‘yumbo complex’ makes particular sense to people whose lives have brought rural-indigenous and urban-Hispanic

²¹ Quichua is the highland Ecuadorian variant of Quechua.

experiences into sharp-juxtaposition (Salomon 1981: 164). De la Cadena looks at a small rural Peruvian community, where, unexpectedly, differences between individuals and, notably, between men and women were framed in ethnic terms (de la Cadena 1995: 30). Her essay challenges not only the notion of a bi-polar ethnic divide, but also the often assumed complementarity of men and women in Andean society. She further contrasts the views of outsiders to the community with those of insiders. Harvey, again writing on a Peruvian community, in challenging the objectifications of ethnographic monographs, and in particular the cultural construct model, notes the common desire of Andean people to be both Indian and mestizo, and thereby to embrace both individualist and collectivist socialities (Harvey 1999: 223).

I have found the approaches I have outlined above that emphasise flexibility, ambiguity and ambivalence to be the most useful in trying to understand the lives of people in San Pablo de LÍpez. It is with ambiguity in a rural setting that this thesis is concerned. In trying to understand the situation of people in San Pablo, two approaches suggest themselves, neither of which I find particularly satisfactory. The first would be to see San Pableños as marginalized and relatively powerless in the face of the apparatuses of the nation-state, being compelled in the face of homogenizing discourses of national unity to assume mestizo identity, since the state fails to recognise them as an indigenous group (see Chapter 4). The second would be to suggest that these people continue to construct and to manipulate their identities to their own advantage, largely in order to break out of the sorts of racial stereotyping associated with state control, and to seek social and financial advancement. I find the problem with the first approach to be that it denies agency to the people in question, while the second glosses over the very real disadvantages with which they find themselves faced, in terms of power relations, and also makes them appear inauthentic as people belonging to their area. This thesis is concerned to find ways in which people use indeterminacy to escape racial stereotyping, within the constraints imposed on them by situatedness within a state, and yet retain affiliation to their place of origin.

2.4 Approaching *Mestizaje* through Theories of Discourse

The approach I have taken to ethnicity and mestizaje in this thesis makes use of concepts that have been taken from theories of discourse, literary theory and the philosophy of language. Some

phenomena that I examine are obviously textual in nature – archival documents dating from the colonial period, transcriptions of myths and snatches of conversation – but others are not. They are rather phenomena that, in my opinion, have an expressive or communicative component, such as rituals. To classify these under the generalised heading of ‘discourse’, then, requires a somewhat broader definition of the concept than that usually employed in linguistics, where ‘discourse’ refers to extended samples of either spoken or written language, and my use of the term here is more along the lines suggested by the work of Foucault where it refers to different ways of structuring knowledge and social practice (Fairclough 1992: 3). A useful working definition is that of Holy, for whom discourse comprises socially constituted communication which leads to the production of a set of ‘texts’, and that these texts need not be written or spoken, but may be constituted through other means of expression (Holy 1994: 4). For Holy, discourse is the location of continuity and change, or the locus of ‘management of meaning’, through which culture, identity or ethnicity and power relations are maintained, transmitted, generated and received (*ibid*: 5).

By treating some non-linguistic phenomena as discourse I do not intend to imply here that I fully subscribe to the ‘culture as text’ metaphor. This approach, as exemplified by the anthropological writing of Clifford Geertz (for example, 1973) and the theoretical outline provided by Paul Ricoeur (1971, 1991), has been criticised in a number of ways: Moore (1990: 115) questions whether Ricoeur’s theory deals adequately with the reception of texts by the audiences for which they are produced, Friedman (1987) criticises the ‘flattening’ effects of the textual metaphor, Dilley (1999) sees the increasing focus on texts by interpretative anthropologists as having left context comparatively unexamined, Howard-Malverde (1997: 7-8) sees the use of the textual metaphor in Geertz’s writing as superfluous to his ends and Harvey (1997), in focussing on memory, questions whether textual models can account for alternative interpretations of past events that challenge hegemonic histories yet are never articulated or made public. All I mean to imply by using discourse theory when discussing non-textual practices is that these practices have an expressive or communicative element, and that those on which I focus seem to express something about the identity of people in Sud Lípez.

An approach to discourse theory that I have found useful is that set out by Norman Fairclough (1992), which he situates in the middle ground between those linguistic approaches that focus

exclusively on texts, and the more abstract and theoretical approaches such as that of Foucault, whom he criticises for omitting from his writing ‘real instances of people doing, saying or writing things’ (Fairclough 1992: 57). Although Fairclough formulated his methodology for looking at discourse and social change in Western society,²² I consider that much of his approach is of a general nature and see no problem in transposing it to the analysis of discourse elsewhere. Although he makes use of much of the same terminology as Foucault, Fairclough owes much of his theoretical inspiration to Bakhtin and Gramsci, and two theoretical concepts that occupy key positions in his work are intertextuality and hegemony.

2.4.1 *Mestizaje* and Intertextuality

Two concepts that I have found useful for looking at mestizaje have their origins in the writings of Mikhail Bakhtin that are generally classified under the headings of literary theory and philosophy of language. These concepts are dialogism and intertextuality, two terms, which, although associated with Bakhtin’s work, were not invented by him, but by later academics in order to characterise his approach to discourse and dialogue. Dialogism surfaces in Bakhtin’s work both in his discussions of instances of language use in the novel (particularly in the novels of Dostoyevsky) but also as a quality of language in a more general sense. It suggests not only the idea of dialogue between speaking or writing subject and addressee, but also ‘double voicedness’, the presence of two distinct voices in one utterance (see Vice 1997: 45). As Vice explains, dialogism, in its literary sense, involves the ‘creation of meaning out of past utterances, and the constant need for utterances to position themselves in relation to one another’ (*ibid.*).

Michael Holquist has expounded the more generally philosophical side of Bakhtin’s concept. For him, dialogism is an epistemology that seeks to explain human behaviour through the use that people make of language. This approach has its roots in Kant’s argument that there is an unbridgeable gap between the mind and the world, and proposes that our sources of knowledge about the world are based in dialogue. As Holquist (1990:18) writes, ‘In dialogism the very capacity to have consciousness is based on *otherness*. This otherness is not merely a dialectical alienation on its

²² Fairclough focuses in particular on the democratization and technologisation of discourse, and the commodification of social domains and institutions that do not produce commodities in the narrow economic sense (Fairclough 1992: 200).

way to a sublation that will endow it with a unifying identity in higher consciousness. On the contrary: in dialogism consciousness is otherness. More accurately, it is the differential relation between a centre and all that is not that centre'. This sort of approach has obvious resonances with the problem of mestizaje in the Andes, where, as has already been stated, the various social/racial categories are only meaningful in relation to one another: mestizo identity presupposes the existence of 'others', both 'Indian' and 'Spanish' as guarantees of its own meaning. As Harris (1995a: 112) has pointed out, a discursive insistence on mestizaje, both at the level of the individual and of the nation, reproduces the category of 'the Indian' that it consciously seeks to deny.

Intertextuality is a term introduced by Kristeva (1986: 37) but which owes its inspiration to Bakhtin's ideas of dialogue. It describes how discourse is made up of words already spoken by others, which are re-uttered and projected towards future discourses: as Bakhtin writes, 'there are no neutral words' (Bakhtin 1989: 293), there are always previous and authoritative utterances that set the tone for what is said:

This is why the unique speech experience of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances. This experience can be characterised to some degree as the process of *assimilation* - more or less creative - of others' words (and not the words of a language). Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including creative works) is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of "our-own-ness", varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate.

(Bakhtin, 1986; 89)

As Kristeva explains, intertextuality is a three-dimensional process with horizontal and vertical axes. The horizontal axis is that of dialogue, of the interaction of speaker and addressee, or that of a written text with those that precede and follow it: an example that Fairclough gives is the way that speaking turns in a conversation both incorporate and respond to the turns which have preceded them, and anticipate those that are to follow (Fairclough 1992: 103). The vertical axis is the way in which a text is oriented towards an anterior or synchronic corpus, which forms its context: those texts to which it is linked historically. In summary, intertextuality entails an emphasis on the heterogeneity of texts, and on the diverse and often contradictory elements of which they are made.

In Kristeva's words it is 'the sum of knowledge that makes it possible for texts to have meaning' (quoted in Culler 1981: 104).

I have found the notion of intertextuality useful in two ways. One use is in looking at ambivalent terminology and concepts that surface in some of the myths told in Sud Lípez. Here I am referring, for example, to words that can be used that refer to both 'Christian' and 'Andean' traditions, or local understandings of these. Storytellers are aware of the two traditions, and use the terminology ambiguously. This is one of the themes of Chapter 9. Here I prefer the term 'intertextuality' to either 'polysemy' or 'polyvalence', to describe such ambiguities, since it conveys better the historical dimensions of ambivalence: that present-day ambiguities of meaning are themselves the result of a dialogic process that has been in progress for several hundred years. I also find the notion of intertextuality useful in looking at more general concepts, such as the social categories of Indian, mestizo and cholo. We can think of present-day discourses of identity as the result of a dialogue that began with the encounter between sixteenth-century 'Spaniard' and 'Indian', continued throughout the colonial era between Spanish designated categories of people and also the ways in which those classified as 'Indians' and as belonging to the various intermediate groupings understood this categorisation. Often, as the following chapter makes clearer, these categories revolved around illegitimacy and the payment of taxes rather than our present-day understanding of race. This dialogue continued through the republican era and still operates to this present day. In my opinion, this sort of dialogic understanding of ethnicity provides the sorts of flexibility and ambivalence that we need to understand the process of mestizaje in the Andes, and avoids the sorts of reification, both of groupings such as 'Indian' and 'Spaniard' and of ethnic categories in the more abstract sense, towards which other analyses are inclined.

2.4.2 *Mestizaje* and Hegemony

Finally, I want to consider discourse and its relation to power. For Foucault, discourse is inseparable from considerations of power; in fact, the overall impression he gives is one of people helplessly subject to immovable apparatuses of power (for example, see Foucault 1979). Fairclough, while taking on board many of Foucault's concepts and definitions, is critical of his treatment of this subject. For him, Foucault exaggerates the extent to which people are manipulated by power, and

gives insufficient weight to the possibilities of resistance and social change (Fairclough 1992: 56).²³ Social change, its relations with discursive change, and the evolution of power relations is a particular focus of Fairclough's work. He proposes a dialectic relation between discourse and social structure: discourse may be shaped and constrained by social structure, but it also contributes to both reproducing and transforming society. In the course of his focus on change, he makes use of Gramsci's concept of hegemony, the power over society as a whole of one economically defined class, in alliance with other social forces, which is never more than an unstable equilibrium: Gramsci rejected the classical Marxist formulation that reduced government by the state to coercion, and instead understood the supremacy of one class over another as achieved through the construction of alliances and the winning of the consent of the dominated classes (Pellicani 1981: 31-32). Fairclough relates this unstable equilibrium to the configuration of elements that make up a text; that is, its intertextuality, or articulation of prior texts and discourses (Fairclough 1992: 93). For him, the relation between the two is important, as textual innovation is constrained by power relations, but, at the same time, discourse itself is both a site of hegemonic struggle, and the rearticulation of orders of discourse is one stake in this struggle.

Parkin (1982: xlv-xlvi) has a subtly different emphasis on the subject of discourse and power: while he draws attention to the limits of the 'society as text' metaphor, in that it does not deal adequately with constraints to interpretative freedom, he seems to prefer the metaphor of 'society as discourse'. For him, power, rather than simply having a material basis, stems from unequal access to semantic creativity, and includes the capacity to objectify others and to make acceptable new modes by which this may be done. This is, in effect, the view that language does not simply reflect non-linguistic structures of power, but itself fashions subordination. The difference between the approaches of Fairclough and Parkin is in essence that between the approaches of Foucault and Derrida. While Parkin, like Derrida, seems to claim that all is discourse, and is not anchored by reference to the outside world, Fairclough, like Foucault, would assert that while communities do share a common discourse, with its own rules, there is still an outside world that exists independently of discourse and can shape its form. It is this latter approach that I prefer.

²³ See also de Certeau (1984: 47-49) for further criticism of Foucault on this issue.

Whether one takes the optimistic view that mestizaje is a liberating force, and a discourse of indeterminacy, or the bleaker outlook that it is a discourse of homogenisation propagated by elites, its linkage with issues of power is unquestionable. It is an area of discourse that is managed by the different groups that comprise society, Bolivian society in the specific case under consideration in this thesis, and this management involves both innovation with respect to one's own identity and being objectified by, and in turn objectifying, others. It is a site of hegemonic struggle where people, or groups of people, invent or re-invent themselves, putting themselves outside the systems or objectifications that others devise, creating what we might term 'interstitial' groupings. However this innovation is constrained by relations of power: hegemonic groups attempt to either put those seen to be escaping back into their place (as was the case with informal miners in Lípez in the seventeenth century – see Chapter 3) or invent new categories to handle them (as was the case with the castas discussed earlier in this chapter), and thereby maintain their own hegemonic position.

While on the subject of discourse and power in the Andes, the linguistic situation should not be forgotten. In San Pablo de Lípez, the situation is of bilingualism. There, as in other parts of rural Bolivia, Spanish is still the language of external power, of dealings with people from outside, the church, law and education, while Quechua is the language of the home, although parents nowadays may prefer to speak to their children in Spanish. As Harvey (1999: 217) has pointed out, in this situation, each language stands as context for the other: to speak in one language is always implicitly not to speak in the other. Hence, language use itself is also a site for the negotiation and contestation of identities.

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed some of the literature surrounding the theoretical issues central to this thesis - ethnicity, and mestizaje in the Americas – and has outlined the approach I am taking to the topic, through discourse theory. To recap some of the main points covered here, I have noted that the people we as anthropologists study are frequently essentialists, in that they see pertinence to their place of origin as fundamental to who they are, and something that is not negotiable. The people of San Pablo de Lípez fall into this category. Although we cannot afford to ignore their views, as social actors, we do not necessarily have to subscribe to them: after all, what people say and what

they do are often different, and, as outside observers, who can never become insiders in their formulation, we can see ways in which identities and ethnicities are negotiated and contested, boundaries become blurred or disappear, and groups rise in prominence or lose their salience.

Situatedness within a state was identified as one of the key features of ethnicity as a phenomenon, and it is at the level of interaction between a local group and the nation-state that a great deal of negotiation and contestation is likely to take place. This is obvious in cases that involve struggles for rights and resources between local groups and larger entities, when what constitutes an ethnic group, and what does not, is of primary importance. It is also, however, a key factor in less openly confrontational situations: as noted above, categories such as 'Indian' and mestizo only make sense in the context of the groups that constitute the nation.

The approach to ethnicity and mestizaje that I have chosen is grounded in discourse theory. By taking this approach, I seek to avoid making categories of people, designated as such by the local groups themselves or by outside interests, appear to be fixed entities, which they are not. The focus on intertextuality highlights the ways in which these sorts of categories depend on each other, and it also emphasises their relationships through historical time. Focussing on power and hegemony, on the other hand, highlights the constraints on peoples' agency and innovation.

Having looked at the literature surrounding ethnicity and in particular that surrounding mestizaje in Latin America, in next two chapters I move to a more local level, and consider first the historical background of the Sud Lípez area, as seen mainly through archival documents dating from the colonial period. Following that, I move on to consider the political background to the thesis, situating my fieldwork in Bolivia, and more particularly in Sud Lípez of the 1990s.

Chapter 3. Sud LÍpez: The Historical Background to Contemporary Ambivalence

3.1 Introduction

Although this thesis is concerned primarily with society in contemporary Sud LÍpez I chose to include a chapter on the historical background to the province for three initial reasons. Firstly, I thought rather vaguely, some background information about the written history of the region would be helpful in situating the ethnographic material in its wider historical context. I was also aware of the lack of attention that LÍpez has received from academics writing both history and ethnohistory of the Andean region. To date there have been published two articles that deal with reports of the province from the sixteenth Century;¹ half a chapter of a book dealing with the mining activities of the Potosí-based, Galician mining entrepreneur, Antonio López de Quiroga, at San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo in the seventeenth century;² one article dealing with the calendars of activities in the different *ayllus* of LÍpez in the nineteenth Century;³ and a handful of other articles that make some mention of LÍpez along with other geographical areas, or devote a brief paragraph or two to the region.⁴ Most of the archival material relating to the province hence remains relatively untouched. My final reason for including this chapter, however, was that studying history was the excuse I used on numerous occasions to explain my presence in San Pablo to local people, and this was something about which at least some of them wanted to know more: my friends don Reynaldo and don Francisco were both fascinated by the photocopies of archival documents I brought to show them, and don Reynaldo proved far more adept at deciphering seventeenth and eighteenth-century handwriting than I had been at my first attempts! I left behind in San Pablo a collection of copies of

¹ Martínez C., José Luis. 1995. "Papeles distintas palabras quebradas. Las informaciones sobre LÍpez en el Siglo XVI", in Ana María Presta (ed.) *Espacio, Etnias, Frontera: Atenuaciones políticas en el sur del Tawantinsuyu Siglos XV-XVIII*, Sucre, Antropólogos del Surandino (Ediciones ASUR 4), 285-317; and Fernández, Jorge. 1978. "Los Chichas, los lipes y un posible enclave de la cultura de San Pedro de Atacama en la zona limítrofe argentino-boliviana", in *Estudios Atacameños*, no. 6 pp. 19-35.

² Bakewell, Peter. 1988. *Silver and Entrepreneurship in Seventeenth-Century Potosí: The life and times of Antonio López de Quiroga*, Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press.

³ Platt, Tristan. 1987a. "Calendarios tributarios e intervención mercantil. La articulación estacional de los ayllus de LÍpez con el mercado minero potosino (Siglo XIX)", in Harris, Larson and Tandeter (eds.): *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos: Estrategias y reproducción social siglos XVI a XX*, La Paz, CERES.

⁴ See, for example, Martínez C., 1992.

some of the documents that seemed particularly relevant to the community, hastily bound between plastic covers by a photocopying shop in Sucre, but would like, at some time in the future, to present to those people who acted as my hosts some sort of work dealing with their history, which would also provide some evidence that my stay with them actually produced something.

Nevertheless, on starting to write, and to take a fresh look at the archival material, a subtly different enterprise emerged, and the history of the province started to appear much more relevant to the general theme of this thesis than I had initially thought. The ethnographic chapters of this thesis are all, one way and another, about people who transgress or fall between the categories that mainstream, city-based Bolivian society and ethnographers presuppose: rural 'Indian' and urban mestizo. Likewise, much of the archival material is concerned with the interstices, with the gaps between different categories of people and with the people who fill them.

Much of the archival material from the province is concerned with two categories of people, 'Spanish' and 'Indian', although the problems with such terms have already been noted in the introduction to this thesis and in the previous chapter, and these problems come to the surface in the LÍpez documents. In colonial times, these categories had more to do with a person's occupation, dress and the sorts of taxes he (or she) paid, as they did with the colour of a person's skin, or parentage.⁵ While Indians paid tribute to the Spanish crown, at either the higher rate for originarios (the natives of a place – those classed as having ethnic affiliation with the areas where they were living) or the lower rate for agregados or forasteros (both terms denoting 'strangers' - those living in one place, but with affiliation to an ethnic group located elsewhere), Spanish residents of the colonies paid alcabalas, a sort of valued added tax on commercial transactions (from which Indians were theoretically exempt), tithes on their crops and livestock, and those involved in silver production paid a percentage of their production to the Spanish crown.⁶ Inevitably there were people who transgressed these categories, and came to occupy interstitial areas, and there were also those who sought to maintain a distinction when this conferred on them an advantage: these identities were not fixed rigidly, but were the results of colonial dialogues, and at times were actively produced in response to specific economic and social situations. A brief look, such as this, at the ways in

⁵ As Larson writes: 'Until the mid-nineteenth century, Indianness was still predominantly a juridical and fiscal category inscribed in colonial (or neo-colonial) policy, law and ideology; it did not fully crystallize into a biological or class category until around the turn of the twentieth century.' (Larson 1995: 35).

⁶ This percentage of silver production was set at one fifth in the early days of colonization, but was reduced to a tenth in the eighteenth century.

which identities have been negotiated and produced in the past is thus helpful in considering identities and the broader process of mestizaje in the present.

Before starting to consider the archival material, I begin this chapter by taking a brief look at the relevant material that has been published on Sud LÍpez to date, starting with the handful of published historical sources from the colonial era, and then progressing to those few academic publications that I have mentioned. I then move on to a discussion of archival material from LÍpez, held mainly in the National Archive of Bolivia, in Sucre. Most of this material is in the form of legal documents, and concerns colonial mining activities in the area. Inevitably, most of the voices heard in these documents are Spanish, but there are times when Indian voices too are heard; sometimes through entering into financial transactions with Spaniards, but also in making complaints to the Spanish and Republican authorities in which they attempt to negotiate their status, sometimes by seeking to maintain their financial advantages as Indians, and at others by trying to appropriate the advantages conferred on Spaniards and mestizos. Rather than concentrate on the activities of the colonial mine owning elite, which is in itself worthy of considerably more historical treatment than it has received to date, my aim here is, hence, to turn my attention to the other people who were present in the province, and in particular those who comprised the workforce in its mines.

3.2 The View from the Library: Snapshots of the Past.

3.2.1 Historical Sources: The First Pictures.

3.2.1.a Early Writings

Spaniards started to become interested in the barren, mountainous and sparsely populated province of LÍpez⁷ in the second half of the sixteenth century, although the imposition of colonial administration seems to have proceeded rather less rapidly here than in other areas. It is the various published writings of early colonial Spaniards that provide us with our first glimpse of the province

⁷ Throughout colonial times, LÍpez was a much larger province than present-day Sud LÍpez, comprising most of the area now occupied by the provinces of Nor LÍpez, Sud LÍpez, Daniel Campos and E. Valdiviesa, although the extreme south-western part of present-day Sud LÍpez would have been considered part of the Atacama region. In this chapter, in the interests both of brevity and of relevance to the project of this thesis as a whole, I concentrate on the southern part of the region, on the area around San Pablo, San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo and Santa Isabel de Nuevo Potosí.

at this time, although most of these writings are notably from the pens of scribes and administrators based in the larger colonial towns, who had not actually been there themselves, but reported the testimony of those who had, giving us what Martínez has termed ‘distant views’ of the region (Martínez C. 1995: 288).

The province is mentioned by the scribe Juan de Betanzos,⁸ writing from Cuzco in the late 1550s, in relating the deeds of the Inca rulers before the Spanish invasion: Betanzos mentions a journey by Topa Ynga Yupangue (the spelling given in the published transcription for the frequently more Hispanized name of the ruler Tupac Inca Yupanqui) from the coast of what is now northern Chile to the Collao (the southern quarter of Inca territory, that now forms Bolivia), passing through a province called Llipi, seemingly already part of the Inca empire, where he writes:

...y ansi caminó por sus jornadas y vino a dar a una provincia que llaman Llipi en la cual provincia halló que la gente della era pobre de comidas y los mantenimientos della eran quinua tostada que es una semilla blanca e muy menuda e algunos papas y los edificios de sus casas eran cubiertos con unas palos fofos que son corazones de unas espinas de madera muy liviana y muy ruin y las casas pequeñas y bajas y gente muy ruin lo que estos tenían eran minas de muchos colores muy finas para pintar y de todas los colores que nosotros tenemos y ansi mismo poseían tanto de ganado y ansi mismo en aquella tierra muchos avestruces y los naturales destos poblezuelos bebían de xagueyes y manantiales muy pequeños a estos mandó que le tributasen de aquellos colores y de aquellos ganados e ansi lo hicieron...

(Betanzos [1557] 1987: 164)⁹

Although Betanzos’ view of Lipez was certainly distant and most likely based on the hearsay evidence of the Indian nobility of Cuzco, he does seem to be describing somewhere that could easily be Nor Lipez, which is famed for its quinoa production, and where the cactus wood that Betanzos describes can also be found in plenty.

⁸ Juan de Betanzos – a sixteenth-century chronicler, possibly Galician, who was one of Pizarro’s interpreters and one of the first colonists to study Quechua. He married an Inca princess who was the sister of the Inca Atahualpa (Esteve Barba 1992: 514-517)

⁹ ‘...and so he continued his travels and came to a province named Llipi, in which he found the people to be poor of foodstuffs, since their diet consisted only of toasted quinoa, which is a very small white seed, and some potatoes, and the buildings of their houses were covered with porous sticks which are the hearts of cacti, and a very light and shabby wood. The houses were very small, and the people very shabby, but what they did possess were mines of very fine pigments for painting, which gave all the colours that we have here, and they also had much livestock. There were also many ostriches [sic] in that land, and the natives of those little settlements drank from small wells and springs. He ordered that they should pay tribute to him in the form of pigments and livestock, so that is what they did...’

Garcilaso de la Vega (1976 [1617]: 205), in his history of the Incas, written at the beginning of the seventeenth century, mentions a province called Lipes, and has it being conquered and added to the Inca empire, along with four other provinces in the Collao, during the time of the Inca Yahuar Huacac (rendered in Spanish as 'Llora Sangre', meaning literally 'Weeps Blood'). It need hardly be mentioned that there are problems in viewing the testimony of Spanish or Hispanized scribes about the Inca past as history as we understand the term: Zuidema prefers to see Inca myths as reflecting the structures and preoccupations of that society, which were reconstructed as a genealogy by authors of the colonial era, and also points out, in the case of Garcilaso, that his account was written a full 75 years after the Spanish invasion (Zuidema 1990: 45).

3.2.1.b The Letter of Lozano Machuca

Betanzos probably finished writing his history in 1557, and only a few years later, in 1561, the province is mentioned in a document relating the repartimientos and encomenderos¹⁰ of the viceroyalty of Peru, in which an encomienda consisting of 'Cochabilca and Lipis' is granted to Hernán Nuñez Seguro and Francisco de Tapia (Hampe 1979: 83). However, the most extensive published document from this era to deal with Lipez is a letter written in 1581 by the Factor de Potosí, Juan Lozano Machuca, to the Viceroy of Peru, Don Martín Enriquez, in which it is apparent that by this time Spaniards were beginning to take an interest in the province on account of its mineral wealth (Lozano Machuca 1992 [1581]).¹¹ Lozano Machuca's account of Lipez, like so many of the other works available to us, is not based on first-hand experience, but reports the testimony of others: in this case that of Pedro Sande, whom he had sent to the province with the task of draining some of its flooded mines, which Lozano Machuca states to have been registered some ten years previously, but to have been abandoned due to the harshness and emptiness of the land (*ibid*: 30). The factor ends his letter by casually calling the viceroy's attention to Sande's qualifications for the job: it turns out he was the engineer who ordered the construction of the reservoirs above the city of Potosí that supplied water to the city's ingenios (ore crushing mills).

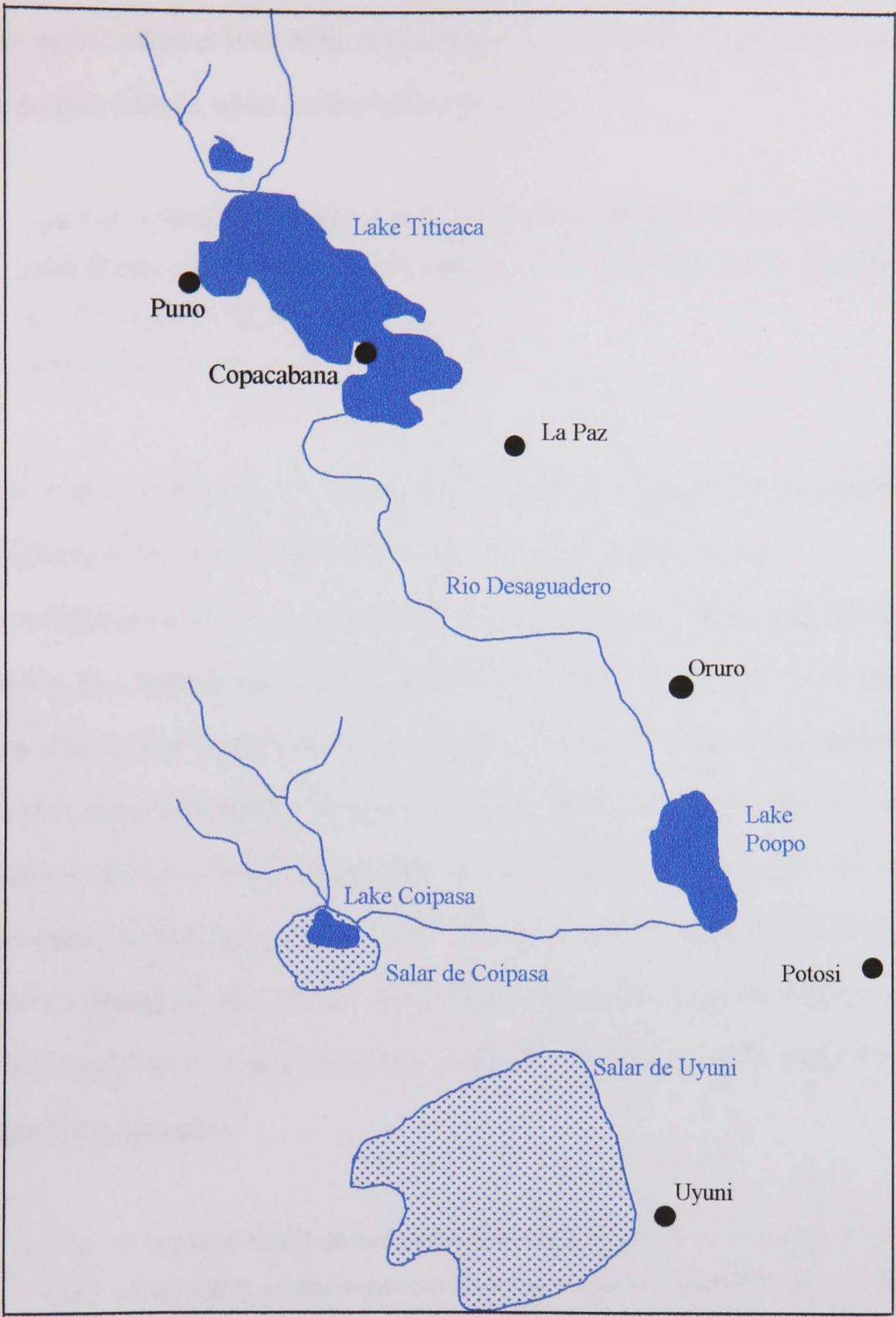
¹⁰ Repartimientos were divisions of the viceroyalty of Peru, made by the Spanish crown for tax purposes. Encomenderos were the recipients of encomiendas. For encomiendas see Chapter 2 note 9. For a brief but informative discussion of the system, see Hemming 1983: 145-147.

¹¹ I have used here the transcription by J.M. Cassasas C., published in *Estudios Atacameños*, vol. 10, rather than the earlier version published in 1885 by Jimenez de la Espada, because of its greater accuracy.

Sande appears to have carried out quite an extensive survey of the province: in addition to having drained mines and discovered new veins of silver, he makes quite detailed comments about the Indian population. The letter notes the presence of around 4000 Aymara 'still to be reduced',¹² divided in scattered settlements. Some of these bear names that are easily recognisable today, such as Colcha, site of the present-day capital of Nor Lípez, Colcha-K, and Queme, probably San Pedro de Quemes, just to the south of the Salar de Uyuni, again in Nor Lípez. More interestingly, from the point of view of this study of Sud Lípez, is the letter's assertion that in the vicinity of Cerro Escala, where the ingenious Pedro Sande discovered nine veins of silver, there were four villages, named Pololo, Notuma, Horomita and Sochusa, said to be of 'indios urus', with a joint population of 1000. Present-day Escala is to the north of San Pablo, beyond the community of Río San Pablo, and is still the site of mineralogical exploration (by foreign companies in the late 1990s). It is also to the north of the community of Pululus, and Pololos was the name of the nineteenth-century ayllu in which the population of San Pablo was included according to the censuses of the time.

The label Uru is in many ways problematic: it was applied in colonial times to groups of Indians living in the vicinity of what has become known in the ethnohistorical literature as 'the aquatic axis' (see, for example, Wachtel 1990: 350, Harris and Bouysse Cassagne 1988: 227), considered to include the Azángaro River, to the north of Lake Titicaca, Lake Titicaca itself, the Desagaudero River, the outlet from the lake, Lake Poopó, the Lacajahuira River, and Lake Coipasa, to the north of the Salar de Uyuni (see Map 3). The Indians living in these watery regions, were said by neighbouring Aymara populations to have lived from fishing, hunting and gathering, rather than agriculture, and were considered by their Aymara neighbours to be inferior, on account of this lifestyle, and to be of low intelligence (Wachtel 1990: 350). As Wachtel points out, however, the situation of the Urus was more complex than the Aymara would have it, and the name Uru was a false label that hid different social groupings and lifestyles (*ibid*: 306). Both Wachtel and Fernández (1978: 23) see the term Uru principally as a derogatory category used by the Aymara population to refer to the diverse groups who may have been the remnants of a pre-Aymara population of the region. Wachtel, nevertheless, drawing on his ethnographic experience with present-day Chipayas,

¹² That is resettled in towns (reducciones), in keeping with the Spanish idea of orderly living, and where they would be easily accessible for evangelization by the single priest assigned to the province. See, for example, Saignes 1995: 168 and further discussion of reducciones in Chapter 4 of this thesis.



Scale: approx. 2 cm to 100 km

Map 3. Sketch map showing the aquatic axis

in the region of Lake Coipasa, sees many ethnic and linguistic similarities between the different Uru groups, but is sceptical about the pertinence to them of the 'Urus' identified by Lozano Machuca in the Lípez region. (Wachtel 1990: 598). It may be that in this case the label Uru was used on account of these people's lifestyle, which Lozano Machuca describes:

Demás de los cuatro mil indios referidos habrá en este repartimiento otros mil indios urus, gente pobre que no siembren ni cogen y se sustentan de caza de guanacos y vicuñas y de pescado y de raíces que hay en ciénegas que las llaman coroma.

(Lozano Machuca 1992: 31)¹³

People from the San Pablo area still collect from the marshy areas not a root, but an alga, which is called llullucha in Quechua (rather than coroma), and which is added to soup.

Lozano Machuca labels the Aymara population of the province as 'indios lipés' and goes on to explain how they, although comparatively wealthy, avoided paying full tribute to the Spaniards by claiming to be Urus, who were taxed at a lower rate on account of their poverty, a strategy which Platt (1987) suggests continued to be successful into the nineteenth century, when the entire Indian population of Lípez was charged tribute at the rate for foráneos (a further term for outsiders), rather than the higher rate for originarios (natives).¹⁴ He continues by commenting on the mineral wealth of the area, claiming that throughout the whole district Indian houses contained furnaces for refining silver, and that all occupied themselves with mining and refining silver from mines in locations unknown to the Spaniards:

Asimismo en todo el distrito de los Lipes, en las casas y rancherías de los indios hay hornillas de fundir y afinar plata y muchas guairas por los cerros y todos en general se ocupan de beneficiar y sacar plata, y no se sabe de las vetas de donde se saca, lo cual se sabría con facilidad si la dicha tierra se poblase y hollase de españoles.

(*ibid.*: 31)¹⁵

¹³ 'In addition to the four thousand Indians to which I have referred, there will be in this repartimiento a thousand Uru Indians, poor people who neither sow nor reap, and who sustain themselves by hunting guanaco and vicuña and from the fish and the roots that grow in marshes, that they call coroma'.

¹⁴ Martínez is sceptical of this argument, drawing attention to evidence of groups of Urus who 'became' Aymaras in colonial times as a means of social ascent. For my comments on the lack of originarios in the 19th Century and the fiscal 'double-bind' in which the Lípez Indians at the time found themselves, see Section 3.3.3.b (i) below.

¹⁵ 'Similarly, in all the Lípez district, in the houses and homesteads of the Indians there are small smelting furnaces, and many guairas (wind furnaces) on the hillsides, and generally everybody is employed in the task of

3.2.1.c The *Relación* of Luis Capoche

A further account, and another distant view, of the province of LÍpez is given by the Potosí mine and refinery owner, Luis Capoche, in his *Relación general del asiento y Villa Imperial de Potosí...* written in 1585, and probably based largely on the account of Lozano Machuca - whose death, shortly before the time of writing, the author notes (Capoche 1959 [1585]: 134) - or perhaps on first hand information from Pedro Sande himself. There are, nevertheless, some parts of Capoche's account that resemble that of Juan de Betanzos, although it is questionable whether the author would have had access to this source. Capoche describes a land that is inhospitable in the extreme, being almost uninhabitable:

Es fría y seca, y siempre corren recios vientos. Lluève poco y es inhabitable, sino fuera por la bárbara nación de que está poblada, por ser gente sin ningún concierto ni policía. Tiene sierras altísimas de perpetua nieve y llanos que son unos salitrales sin ningún fruto ni hierba. En las faldas de sus sierras están las poblaciones de sus indios, que se mantienen de raíces y quinua y algunas papas, sin otro mantenimiento.

(Capoche 1959 [1585]: 127)¹⁶

He goes on to state, like Lozano Machuca, that the indigenous population of the province is divided between Aymaras and Urus, but gives the population as 3000 in total, of which half are Aymaras and half Urus. Capoche states that there were ten ayllus in LÍpez, 'like lineages and families', each one with its [cacique] (chieftain) principal and with its membership divided between two lesser caciques. Since Capoche does not give any sources for his information, it is difficult to know whether he is repeating oral information passed to him by someone who had been in the province, like Pedro Sande, or whether he is extrapolating from forms of social organisation familiar from other areas of the Andes, and projecting these upon the people of LÍpez.

refining and extracting silver, and it is not known where the veins of silver are that they mine, something which could be known easily if Spaniards were to tread and to populate this land.'

¹⁶ 'It is cold and dry and there are always severe winds. It rains very little and it is uninhabitable, save by the barbarous nation, which populates it, who are people with no order or government. It has extremely high and permanently snow-capped mountains, and plains that are salt-flats, where no plants can grow. The Indian dwellings are located in the foothills of the mountains, and these Indians keep themselves by eating roots, quinoa and a few potatoes, with nothing else'

On the subject of mines, with which Capoche was most concerned, he mentions, like Lozano Machuca, that the indigenous population was involved in mining and refining and, like Betanzos, mentions the mining of mineral pigments, in particular a blue pigment 'that is outstanding for painters' (*ibid*: 129).

A piece of information that probably came from his own personal knowledge as a mine and refinery owner in Potosí concerns the Indians from LÍpez who visited, or worked, in the city of Potosí itself. He writes:

Comúnmente asisten en esta villa setenta u ochenta indios con un capitán, y de su voluntad se alquilan y mingan para pagar sus tasas, que cobran los oficiales reales. Tienen su asiento en la parroquia de Santiago, sin ser sujetos a las capitanías, y sin éstos hay otros muchos indios que vienen para vender un género de ropa que allá hacen y harina de quinua, y colores y plumería de muchos avestruces que se crían en su tierra.

(*ibid*: 129)¹⁷

These Indians were not subject to the Potosí mita,¹⁸ but appear to be present in the city of their own free will, in order to earn cash to meet tribute payments. There is, nevertheless, archival evidence from a slightly later date that calls the voluntary nature of their presence in Potosí into question.¹⁹

3.2.1.d Alonso Barba's *Arte de los metales*

Although the mines of LÍpez, under Spanish direction and ownership were at their most productive during the second half of the seventeenth century, I do not know of any published historical sources dating from this time. However, shortly before the upturn in mineral production, probably in the 1630s, the parish priest of San Cristóbal de LÍpez, situated between the Salar de Uyuni and the southern mountain range, the Cordillera de LÍpez (see Map 2), was the metallurgical

¹⁷ 'There are usually seventy or eighty Indians who attend this town with their captain, and of their own free will they hire themselves as mingas (free labourers) to pay their tribute, which the royal officials charge them. Their place of residence is in the parish of St. James, but are not subject to the (mita) captains, and apart from these there are many other Indians who come to sell a particular sort of clothing that they make, quinoa flour, pigments and the feathers of the many ostriches [sic] that breed in their land.' Their 'captain' (capitán) would have been an Indian authority, probably charged with raising the group's tribute. The mita captains were Indian authorities responsible for recruitment for the Potosí mita (see note 18 below).

¹⁸ mita (from Quechua, mit'a - turn) - the system of conscripted labour for the mines of Potosí, established by the Viceroy Toledo in 1573. (See, for example, Cole, 1985). Capoche lists the communities that were subject to the Potosí mita of his time (Capoche, 1959 [1585]; 136-139).

¹⁹ See Section 3.3.2.b (i) below, and Bakewell 1984: 165.

specialist, Alonso Barba, author of the classic silver refining text *Arte de los metales* (Alonso Barba 1967 [1640]). Alonso Barba makes various references to the mines of Lipez in his work, including the first published mention of mines in the vicinity of San Pablo: he mentions the mining settlements of Santa Isabel, Cerro Bonete, Esmoruco, Kanquegua (probably a mis-spelling of Jaquegua) and Nuevo Mundo, which he claims was discovered during his time in the province (although archival references to San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo do not start until about 1648). Barba also mentions a blue stone called pedra lipis, possibly the source of the blue pigment mentioned by Capoche.

Barba, being interested in mines and metallurgy, writes little about the indigenous population of Lipez, but does recount one story that has resonances in the oral histories of present-day Lipeños, of a mine known as ‘Los Encomenderos’. He narrates:

No tiene menos fama la mina que llaman de los Encomenderos en la provincia de Lipez: tiene este nombre porque de ella se dice sacaron los indios en años pasados mucha cantidad de plata con que despacharon contentos a España a los hermanos encomenderos, de sobrenombre Tajios, después de los cuales, esta rica provincia se incorporó entera a Larona.

(Alonso Barba 1967 [1640]: 49)²⁰

People in Sud Lipez today tell the story of how they purchased their province from the Spaniards for the price of six fanegas²¹ of gold. They also speak of having seen a document stating this, which mentions the Viceroy Toledo (Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of Peru 1569-1581). When I was in San Pablo, no-one was sure where this document was kept, or possibly did not want to show it to an outsider, and my host, don Alejo, declared that it was something that belonged to the people of the area, and had nothing to do with any of the authorities (he was most emphatic that it was no concern of the sub-prefecto!).²² Alonso Barba, however, gives no location for the mine, so it is quite possible that it was in a different area of Lipez altogether. Nevertheless, in a story that I had always considered separate from that of the six fanegas of gold, people in San Pablo do tell of how there

²⁰ ‘The mine they call “Los Encomenderos” in the province of Lipez is no less famous: it bears this name because it is said that the Indians extracted from it, in bygone years, a large quantity of silver, with which they sent home contentedly to Spain the brothers, of surname Tajios, who were their encomenderos. After which this rich province was incorporated in its entirety with Larona [La Corona?]

²¹ A fanega is a grain measure, the exact size of which varies between the countries of the Hispanic world. 1 fanega = 1.58 bushels in Spain, 2.57 bushels in Mexico, and 3.89 bushels in the southern cone of South America.

²² One comunario suggested to me that the document might be held by the Federación de Campesinos del Sur (the Peasants’ Union) in Uyuni.

used to be a mine in the area, called Q'ara Punku (q'ara - naked, peeled or unaffiliated, punku - door), which was formerly depicted in a stained glass window in the church, and which, they insist, was for the benefit of the people of the area, and did not belong to the Spaniards. With the refurbishment of the church, this window, like the mine it depicted, has since disappeared, and it is tempting, but speculative, to identify it with the mine Alonso Barba mentions.

Some support for the substance of the Lipez story is provided by Abercrombie, who recounts how, at the end of the sixteenth century, the area around K'ulta (now Canton Culta in Oruro department) was declared uninhabited by representatives of the Spanish Crown, and put up for auction, and that the indigenous Asanaqi lord of the area possessed sufficient wealth in the form of llamas and alpacas that he was able to purchase it back for his ayllu, a deed recorded in a document that is still guarded by an elder of the community (Abercrombie 1991: 102). As has already been noted, one of the encomenderos of Lipez in the sixteenth century was listed as Francisco de Tapia, and although the published edition of Alonso Barba's work gives the name as Tajios, this could well be a transcription error: the late 18th century chronicler of the province of Potosí, Pedro Vicente Cañete y Dominguez cites Alonso Barba on this point, but notably gives Tapias as the name of the brothers rather than Tajios (Cañete y Dominguez 1952 [1791]: 237). If the purchase of the area took place during the incumbency of the Viceroy Toledo, this would have been between ten and twenty years after the encomienda was granted, so the original recipients of the grant could well have still been in its possession.

3.2.1.e Later Sources

On the subject of mines, Cañete, writing nearly a century after large-scale mining came to a standstill in the province, gives no information that does not come directly from the pages of Alonso Barba's work. He does however devote a short section to the animal wealth of the province in the form of vicuñas and chinchillas, which, he recommends, could be managed and exploited commercially (Cañete y Dominguez 1952 [1791]: 240-241), and at a separate point notes that the Indians of the Lipez and Atacama regions regularly paid their tribute in fish and vicuña skins, for which new laws required the exchange rate to be fixed annually (*ibid.*: 344-345). He also mentions

the involvement of Lipeño Indians in the production of gunpowder and sulphur, but finally sums them up as ‘a miserable people’²³ (*ibid*: 241).

Published sources from the nineteenth century include a brief mention in Dalence’s *Bosquejo estadística de Bolivia* of abandoned mines at San Antonio, Jaquegua, Moroco, Santa Isabel, Buena Vista and San Cristóbal (Dalence 1851: 75), and the shareholders’ reports of three mining companies, one based at Santa Isabel, one at Buena Vista and one at Mesa de Plata (San Antonio de Lipez), that attempted to revive the Lipez mining industry during the silver boom in the latter part of that century. The most interesting of these is the *Relación* written by Demetrio Calvimonte in 1885 prior to the commencement of work at Mesa de Plata by the Compañía Lipez, and in which he describes the ruins of the seventeenth-century mining site at San Antonio, noting the presence of the ruins of 34 *ingenios* (refineries or ore crushing mills) bearing great similarity to ruins in the city of Potosí and of many dwellings, and notes that indigenous people of the area were still able to extract silver from the bed of the river that ran past these ruins (Calvimonte 1885: 21). Since I discuss elsewhere Calvimonte’s further comments on the indigenous people of the area (Chapter 5) and the reports of the mining company, Compañía Esmoraca, that worked at Buena Vista near San Pablo (Chapter 6), I do not propose to treat them in any further detail here.

3.2.2 Academic Publications

As I have already mentioned, there are, to my knowledge, two publications that deal with sixteenth-century Lipez: Fernández (1978) and Martínez C. (1995). Martínez continues a theme developed in an earlier publication (Martínez C. 1992): the use of language by Spanish colonisers in the various documents they produced; documents which have now become the meagre sources from which ethnohistorians work. He is concerned to apply the same sort of criteria to the use of language by Spaniards that ethnohistorians working on the Andes generally apply to instances of native testimony, where Andean ethnocategories are treated as the expression of a particular way of understanding the world.

In the earlier work, Martínez postulated that spatial metaphors entered into descriptions by Spaniards of native peoples: taking documents relating to the Atacama region (northern Chile),

²³ ‘...pero, de todos modos, es una gente miserable’

Humahuaca (northern Argentina) and to a lesser extent LÍpez, he notes the frequency with which descriptions of 'Indians' as 'warlike' (de guerra) or 'rebellious' (rebelados) coincide with descriptions of territory (tierra) that is 'rugged' (aspera) and 'uneven' (fragosa), while land that is 'peaceful' (pacífica) is also 'plain' (llano), so that the characteristics of the people are projected onto the land. Although his argument is set out convincingly, it is difficult not to wonder whether he could have got his initial observation, that the land is described as rugged when the Indians are warlike, the wrong way round. At least where I was based in Sud LÍpez, there is no need to consider a description of the land as uneven and uncultivated, or wild, as in any way figurative. Could it not equally be the case that Spaniards might attribute characteristics of the land to its inhabitants, and describe the scattered, population of this rugged and wild land as uncivilized or 'warlike'?

In the second article, Martínez (1995) turns his attention to LÍpez, and to the various documents that concern the province dating from the sixteenth century, held in the archives of Sucre, Potosí, Buenos Aires and Seville. He questions the ascription of the name 'indios lipes', which Lozano Machuca among others uses, to the inhabitants of the region, and notes that the equivalence between a territory and its inhabitants is a Hispanic, rather than indigenous Andean relation. On further consideration of the documentary evidence, Martínez suggests that rather than there being one or two (with the Urus) ethnicities in the province, as Lozano Machuca suggests, the situation is likely to have been much more heterogeneous, with a variety of different ethnic groups dispersed over a wide area.

A slightly different conclusion is reached from a similar starting point by Fernández (1978). Like Martínez, he believes 'indios lipes' to have been a category of Spanish, rather than indigenous invention. Fernández, however, believes that the Aymaras reported by Lozano Machuca were recent arrivals in the LÍpez area, colonising the lands of poorer ethnic groups, and that the Urus or Lipes were the original inhabitants. He points to archaeological evidence, in the form of ceramic vessels, that link these pre-Aymara groups, along with similar populations in neighbouring Chichas and Humahuaca, to the Atacama region, as a possible enclave of the culture of San Pedro de Atacama.

Moving abruptly from the sixteenth to the latter half of the seventeenth century, Bakewell's (1988) work on the life and times of Antonio López de Quiroga, is an impressive work, that deals with a historical period that has been largely ignored to date by historians of mining in the Andes,

and includes half a chapter on the activities of the Galician-born mining entrepreneur at the LÍpez mining centre of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo. Although, as has been noted above, Alonso Barba claims that silver was discovered at Nuevo Mundo during his time in LÍpez (i.e. in the 1630s), mining at the site really took off in the 1650s, but López de Quiroga did not become involved until the 1670s, after an initial boom in silver production had already taken place, and when flooding had become a major problem in mine workings. López de Quiroga, as well as owning mines at the site, financed the construction of an adit (socavón)²⁴ for the joint purposes of draining the existing flooded mines, and of making deeper deposits of silver available for exploitation. The construction of the adit led to a second boom in silver production at the site.

Bakewell's book is the only published work to date that deals in any detail with mining activity in the province of LÍpez during its most productive years, but it does not come anywhere near giving a complete history of colonial mining either in the province as a whole, or at San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo. Neither does it deal with the social consequences of the construction of the adit on the mining population of the region (which I discuss in Section 3.3.2 below). However, the book was not written with this aim: its perspective is largely that of Spanish mining entrepreneurs, and the chapter concerning LÍpez is about the financial activities at the site of one man, and one who never actually went there. It is largely based on the records of a legal case brought against López de Quiroga by his engineer and foreman, Alonso Ruiz, over the conditions of his contract (ANB Minas t. 60 No. 2), which goes into considerable detail about the adit's construction. I suspect that Bakewell, like López de Quiroga, has not visited the ruins of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo, since he writes eloquently of the 'great plain' of LÍpez (Bakewell 1988: 84). Although this is a reasonable description much of Nor LÍpez, the mining camp where López de Quiroga invested his money, in present-day Sud LÍpez, was the site I visited with Padre Estanislao on my first trip to the area, and was built on the side of a mountain at 4700 metres above sea level!

The final historical work concerning LÍpez is Tristan Platt's (1987a)²⁵ article on the nineteenth-century articulation of the calendars of indigenous activities of the ayllus of LÍpez, from Llica and Tagua in the north, through San Cristóbal, to San Pablo in the South, with the mining market of

²⁴ A horizontal, or near horizontal tunnel from the surface into a mine, which is built to intersect a vein of mineral.

²⁵ Also published in English in an abridged version as 'Ethnic Calendars and Market Interventions among the *Ayllus* of Lipes During the Nineteenth Century', in Larson and Harris (eds.) 1995.

Potosí. The article reviews a large number of prefectural documents of the Department of Potosí, held in the archive of the Casa Real de la Moneda (Royal Mint) in the city of Potosí, along with the reports I have mentioned above from nineteenth-century mining companies operating in the region, and it aims to make cultural sense out of the ambivalence of the ayllus to market participation.

In addition to the seasonal rhythms of ayllu livestock management (and agriculture in the northern regions) and tribute collection, the Indian population of the time was also involved in seasonal work in mining settlements and, most significantly, in supplying transport by llama caravan to and from the mines. However, commercial mining concerns in the region, such as the Compañía Esmoraca, operating at Buena Vista near San Pablo (see Chapter 6), were unable to secure reliable transport for their minerals from mine to their refinery in Sud Chichas, despite offering the Indians very favourable terms and conditions (Compañía Esmoraca 1886: 7). Platt shows that ayllu economic activity was governed less by profit incentives than by a commitment to trading partnerships in the maize producing valleys. To ignore these relationships would have jeopardised ayllu access to the resources of temperate regions at favourable rates of exchange, so that participation in market activities would only make sense at certain times in the agricultural calendar.

These few academic publications together with the historical publications discussed, provide us with a few snapshots of life in Lipez in different historical periods, but, like snapshots, they frame and isolate certain happenings without showing what links them, or what lies beyond the frame. While it seems unlikely that further study of the scant sixteenth-century material would advance our knowledge of the pre-Hispanic populations of the region much beyond the works of Martínez and Fernández, which already, it could be argued, show confusion between categories of people, the same cannot be said for the following centuries, for which there exists a wealth of archival material. Nothing has yet been published about the early part of the seventeenth century in Lipez, before mining at San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo took off; as I have mentioned above, and shall discuss below, the construction of López de Quiroga's adit had significant social consequences at San Antonio; nothing has yet been published on Lipez in the eighteenth century, when fiscal categories of people become confused, and even Platt's (1987a) nineteenth-century study misses a 'double-bind' in which Lipez Indians found themselves at the start of that century over the ways in which they were taxed, and perhaps, in isolating particular moments from a larger whole, presents the Lipez

ayllu as rather more homogeneous than they were. The survey of archival material that follows is inevitably incomplete, and the material is certainly worthy of much more detailed attention, but my aim in the section that follows is to elucidate some of the links between the isolated pictures that we have seen so far.

3.3 The View from the Archive: Linking the Snapshots.

3.3.1 The Scope of the Survey.

Most of the documents held in the National Archive of Bolivia are expedientes de minas, the collected and assorted papers that result from legal cases concerning mines, which are generally disputes over mine ownership or over payments of different sorts, although occasionally there are more interesting cases, such as that of a murder of a mine worker by his supervisor (ANB Minas t. 131 No. 6). For a few years escrituras notariales (notarial documents) are available, which deal with the more day-to-day legal business of the area: the sale of goods, letters conferring power of attorney, details of debts and sworn statements. There are also more occasional documents that directly concern the Indians of the province: a declaration of their ill treatment in the bakeries of Potosí; complaints by the Indians about the government of the corregidores; and disputes about chieftainships (cacicazgos). A reading of these documents helps to link together the isolated snapshots we have seen so far, although the overall picture is still far from complete. I have only worked systematically through the holdings of one archive, and to carry out a complete investigation would involve working in several others, and a great deal of detective work, that would probably take a year or more to complete.²⁶

As I have stated in the introduction to this chapter, I am not particularly concerned here with amounts of money invested by Spanish entrepreneurs, quantities of silver extracted from LÍpez mines, disputes between the provinces of LÍpez and Chichas about the jurisdiction of mining sites or

²⁶ There almost certainly are documents relating to LÍpez in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, where I have not had the opportunity to work. Other possibilities would be Lima, the seat of the Spanish viceroy, and Potosí, where the lack of documentation in the Casa Real de la Moneda makes only longer periods of study likely to bear fruit. Some documents are probably held in smaller towns, possibly in San Cristóbal, the former capital of LÍpez province, and there are probably more documents to be unearthed in ecclesiastical archives. Censuses of the Indian population in colonial times are held in the Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, in Buenos Aires, which I have not visited. I have not included in this chapter any information on the 20th century, since to have done so would have involved an extended period of work in the archives of Potosí, and possibly those of the state mining company COMIBOL.

even the political manoeuvrings of the various Spaniards involved in mining in Lipez. I am more concerned with matters that relate to different categories of people as defined by the colonial regime, and the points where these are linked to the economy of the region. This prioritising has to a great extent influenced the layout of this archival section. For convenience, I have divided the survey into two sections, the first dealing with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the second with the eighteenth and nineteenth, although this division is arbitrary and artificial. For each period I give a brief summary of colonial (and early republican) activity in the province, which mainly concerns mining, before moving on to discuss the various groups of people present in Lipez at the time. In the first section I have made a further division between a general discussion of the mining workforce and a more detailed one of the informal mining sector that arose in the second half of the seventeenth century partly as a result of the construction of López de Quiroga's adit. In the second section I centre the first part of the discussion around diverse documents that are ultimately linked by a common theme, that of 'Indian' as a fiscal category, and the sorts of taxes for which people included in that category are liable, and then move on to discuss tribute payment under the early republican regime of the nineteenth century. These sorts of categories still have repercussions for those designated 'Indians' today, as the ayllus of Potosí department that still remain continue to pay tribute to the Bolivian state.

3.3.2 The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

3.3.2.a A General Overview of Spanish Activity in the Province

I have found only two documents in the National Archive that date from the sixteenth century, and these are dated nearly ten years before Lozano Machuca's letter, the period that the Factor de Potosí gives for the commencement of mining work there (Lozano Machuca 1992 [1581]: 30). The picture that these two documents give of Spanish activity in the province is very much the same as that given us by Lozano Machuca: Lipez is a frontier province, where a few Spaniards are starting to engage in exploratory and speculative mining activities. The earlier document (ANB EP Bravo 1572: 458v-462) details the formation of a mining company by two investors based in the city of La Plata (the earlier name of Sucre), one of them a lawyer, Corvalán de Robles, and a man called Juan

García, who is the discoverer of three mines in the Cerro de Pallicocoro in the province of Lípez. The two men in La Plata are clearly providing capital, while Juan García is to find Indian labour and take the mines into production. The second document is a letter empowering the priest 'resident at the mining site of the indios lípez', Juan de Mondragón (mentioned by Lozano Machuca in his letter) to register mines in the names of two canons from the city of La Plata (ANB EP Bravo 1573: 475-476).

Documents concerning the province are almost non-existent for the next fifty years, although it can safely be assumed that Spanish mining activity there increased slowly. We learn that in 1611 there was a dispute over the jurisdiction of new mines discovered at San Vicente (in present-day Sud Chichas province) between the corregidor (magistrate) of Lípez and his opposite number in Chichas (ANB Minas t. 52, no. 4), and from 1615 there is a letter from the President of the Real Audiencia de las Charcas requesting that the discovery of some mines in Lípez, claimed by one Diego Romano, be checked out (ANB Corr. No. 1201a).

In the late 1620s, however, we get some more information about mining activities from a lawsuit about a mine in the Cerro de Santa Isabel del Nuevo Potosí (present-day Santa Isabel) (ANB Minas t. 55, no. 1). The case concerns two miners, Alonso de Ortega and Miguel de Mendicaval, who, having made some initial investigations at the mine, which, we learn, had been worked previously and abandoned by another Spaniard, Francisco de la Torre, acted in accordance with the law and went to the nearby ingenio (refinery, or ore-crushing mill) of San Antonio de Padua de Esmoruco (present-day Esmoruco) to register their claim to an abandoned mine with the corregidor, before beginning work. However, according to the testimony of Francisco de la Torre, who was still working at Santa Isabel, the corregidor then decided to dispossess the two Spaniards and allocate the mine to his own friends, and with this aim, arrived at Santa Isabel with fourteen or fifteen men armed with rifles and pistols. The legal case was brought by the two dispossessed miners, and ended successfully for them with the restitution of their mine.

A picture of considerable Spanish presence in the area emerges from the lawsuit described above, and this becomes more apparent from documents that date from the early 1640s. By this time Spanish mining in Lípez has become firmly established and we learn that there were four refineries in the south of the province, some of the names of which have survived as names of towns of the

area: the Ingenio de San Pablo el Primer Hermitaño (Saint Paul the First Hermit – a third-century saint who lived in the Egyptian desert (Farmer 1978: 317)) was owned by Domingo Fuertes de Sierra; the Ingenio de Guadalupe was owned by Juan de Oruesagasti, the son-in-law of Miguel de Mendicaval one of the miners in the Santa Isabel dispute; the Ingenio de San Antonio de Padua de Esmoruco was owned jointly by Juan Gutierrez de Bohorquez and Hernando Ximenez; and the Ingenio de Rosario, by Domingo de Unda. There is no present-day town of Rosario, but the ingenio could well have been at the site of later ruins, near where the road from San Pablo to San Antonio de López meets that to Buena Vista.²⁷

By this time López appears less of a frontier province: the owners of mines and refineries are accompanied by their wives and other female relatives and, as we have seen, the Spanish families intermarry, have the occasional dispute, incur debts and have money owed to them. Perhaps one effect of the isolation of the province was to encourage gambling among the Spanish residents, for we have, dating from the year 1643, two declarations from residents of San Pablo made before officials of the Holy Inquisition that they will no longer play cards for, as one, Antonio Ramirez Moreno, declares ‘Through having played so much at cards and at dice I have caused myself much damage and loss’ (ANB EP t 137: 184-184v). In each case a hefty fine is to be imposed should the declarant break his word.

Towards the end of the decade of the 1640s, however, the main centre of mining activity starts to switch from the San Pablo area to the new mines of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo. We learn from a document of 1647 that investors at the new site included Domingo Fuertes de Sierra the owner of the San Pablo ingenio, and Juan Gutierrez de Bohorquez from Esmoruco (ANB Minas t. 56 No. 4: 268-268v.). In view of the connection with the San Pablo entrepreneur, it seems likely that the new mining site would have been named after Saint Anthony of Egypt, for according to the hagiographies, Saint Anthony met Saint Paul the First Hermit (the saint for whom San Pablo was named) in the desert, and after his death is purported to have buried him with the help of two lions (Farmer 1978: 19-20).

²⁷ This site is named as Rosario in one of the documents produced by the nineteenth-century mining company, Compañía Esmoraca (Compañía Esmoraca 1886: 10). A comunario from Pululus, however, once told me that Rosario had been a former name of that town.

The document from which we first learn of Domingo Fuertes de Sierra's involvement at San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo is one of a series that tells of some disturbances that took place in the province which surround the man named by the corregidor, Alonso de Carrión Cabeza de Vaca, to act as his deputy during his many absences in Potosí. The name of this man was Ignacio de Azurza, and the document mentioned above is a letter to the Real Audiencia complaining about him, signed by fifteen mine and refinery owners in the province. There seems to have been a serious enmity in particular between Azurza and the owner of the San Pablo Ingenio, which was noted by a priest, Fr. Martín de Melendez, who visited the province (ANB Minas t. 56 No. 9: 506). The cause of this enmity is not immediately obvious, but may have had something to do with regional antagonisms brought from mainland Spain, reminding us that Spaniards did not see themselves as a homogeneous category, but as members of the different naciones of the *Spains*, where nación was a vague term that incorporated ideas of lineage, territory, custom and language.²⁸ There is some testimony that mentions attacks on Extremefios and Gallegos in San Antonio in 1648, and mentions Ignacio de Azurza recruiting and arming 'his countrymen' in Potosí, although at times these are variously Biscayans, Portuguese or criollos (American-born Spaniards)(ANB Minas t. 56 No. 9: 467-479, and 653-679). Several outbreaks of violence follow (ANB Minas t. 57 No. 1), but the disturbances end when Ignacio de Azurza is killed resisting arrest in 1650, and his rival Domingo Fuertes de Sierra is banned by the viceroy from returning to Lipez (ANB Minas t. 57 No. 19).

The sorts of documents we find from the following years are the sorts that would be expected from a thriving mining community: disputes about the sale of goods, legacies, or the confiscation of property by the authorities. During these years Bakewell estimates that the production of Lipez mines was responsible for a large proportion of the output of the district (as opposed to the city) of Potosí (Bakewell 1975: 99, 1988: 86), and reports treasury officials at Potosí telling the viceroy in 1655 the production of district mines for that year had outstripped that of the mines of Cerro Rico. The figures given by Bakewell show that the production of the district mines fell sharply in the decade of 1660, and with the exception of a brief and dramatic rise in the years 1671 and 1672, did not rise again until towards the end of the 1670s, when the benefits of the adit constructed by

²⁸ These sorts of antagonisms had already led to violence and gang warfare in the city of Potosí in the 1620s, in what became known as the War between vascongados and vicuñas (Basques and people from other areas of Spain, named vicuñas for the woollen hats they wore (see Bakewell, 1988; 25-27). For a more detailed treatment of the War between vascongados and vicuñas, see Crespo Rodas (1969).



Plate 2. The Ruins of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo



Plate 3. Bell Tower of one of San Antonio's Refineries

Antonio López de Quiroga started to come into effect. If it can be assumed that the greater part of silver production in Potosí district was due to LÍpez mines, then, it can be seen from Bakewell's table that silver production at LÍpez stayed high until the end of the century.

Although action in LÍpez seems to have been largely centred on San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo from the middle to the end of the seventeenth century, mining obviously continued at other sites, although to a lesser degree. An ecclesiastical inspection (Visita de Curatas) from the year 1680 gives details of the inspection carried out at San Antonio, together with a list of lay fraternities (cofradías) at the mining site and chapels associated with the ingenios along the course of the river, and in the 'other populated gully' (see below, Section 3.3.2.a). It also notes that an inspection was carried out at the church of the San Pablo ingenio, which still had its own priest (Archivo Arquidiocesano de Sucre, Visita de Curatas, LÍpez, 1680). Another site that was clearly being mined towards the end of the seventeenth century was Jaquegua, a site with mines and refineries in a remote valley between San Antonio and Esmoruco, which possesses some of the most complete ruins of ingenios that I have seen, and which are better than any that survive in the city of Potosí itself.

3.3.2.b The Workforce of the Seventeenth Century.

3.3.2.b. (i) The *Naturales* of LÍpez

The published documents mentioning the Indians of LÍpez, from the sixteenth century, have been discussed above, along with the various academic commentaries that have been made on them. Leaving these aside, the earliest archival document to make more than a passing mention to Indians from LÍpez dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and significantly is concerned, to some extent, with tribute payments, a matter to which we shall return in due course. This is a letter from the corregidor (magistrate) of Potosí, don Pedro Córdova de Meslía, to the Real Audiencia (Royal Court), dated 1602, following a complaint made by a Spanish bakery owner, Cristóbal de Vera, about the corregidor of LÍpez (ANB Tierras e indios 1602 No. 786). It appears from this letter that the presence of Indians from LÍpez in the city of Potosí was at this time forced rather than voluntary. Bakewell, who has commented on the document in his study on Indian labour in Potosí, hypothesises that the corregidor of LÍpez must have had some arrangement with the bakery owners,

to send Indians from his jurisdiction to the town, where they were set to work in miserable conditions (Bakewell 1984: 165). It appears from the letter that the corregidor of LÍpez had arranged to collect the tribute, payable by these Indians, directly from the bakers, and that the bakery owners, in their turn, held the Indians in debt peonage. In his letter, the corregidor of Potosí writes:

...Yo visito algunas veces estas panaderías y es lástima con la opresión que tienen en ellas a estos desventerados indios LÍpez, que es peor que esclavería, y con malicia les van dando plata para tenerlos empeñados toda la vida. Yo les he mandado últimamente no les den más plata a cuenta de salario que será por su riesgo y la perderán. También les he ordenado los dejen salir los domingos a misa y los demás días a lo que los conviniere de sus miserables contrafacciones. Esto se cumple mal porque dicen que en dejándoles salir no vuelven y se huyen y que el corregidor se los tiene depositados con obligación de que se les en de entregar cuando se les pidiere a cobrado de los panaderos la tasa de los indios y salarios y lo demás que a Vuestra Alteza constara por la información y debe de haber mucho más. El poner estos indios en libertad sacándolos de la opresión con que de presente están, será gran servicio de dios, dando orden como sirvan y tengan doctrina sirviendo a Vuestra Altesa mirar que si de todos puntos se salen de sus panaderías harán gran falta para el proveymiento que dellas tiene el pueblo que no abrán otros indios que se acomoden al amasijo como lo hacen estos lipes que están ya cursados en este ministerio y para dicho no serán de ningún servicio pero no aviendo traza para que puedan estar con doctrina y con libertad, sea más servicio de nuestro señor llevarlos a sus pueblos y reducción y que los panaderos se acomoden con comprar negros y negras o buscar el servicio que hallaren.²⁹

The corregidor does not tell us, however, from which parts of the large province of LÍpez these Indians came, nor why they should have been so adept at baking.

²⁹ 'I sometimes visit these bakeries and it is a shame to see the oppression in which these unfortunate Lipes Indians are held, which is worse than slavery, and to see the manner in which they are given money maliciously, in order that they get into debt for their whole lives. I myself have just recently ordered that they [i.e. the bakery owners] should not lend them more money against their salaries, unless it be at their own risk that they lose it. I have also ordered that they should let them [i.e. the Indians] go out on Sundays to Mass, and on other days when it is convenient for their miserable excursions. This is not carried out well, because they say that in letting the Indians go out, they do not return, but flee, and that the corregidor has left them [i.e. the bakery owners] with the obligation to deliver the Indians' tribute, and salaries on demand, which it is clear to Your Excellency from the report, should be much more than it is. To give these Indians their liberty, removing them from the oppression in which they are held at present, would be a great service to God, and to give the order that they should serve, and be given [Christian] doctrine while serving, for Your Highness can see, above all, that if they leave the bakeries, there will be a great shortfall in the provision of the city, as there are no other Indians that settle down to making dough like these Lipes Indians who are already trained in this matter. This would be of no use, however, for there are no means by which they could have [Christian] doctrine and liberty. It would be of more service to Our Lord to take them to their villages and reducciones and order that the bakers should buy Negro [sic] men and women or look [elsewhere] for the services they require.'

Not all the records we have of Indians show them as being exploited by Spaniards, reminding us that in the early days of the colony there were some Indians who were wealthy by any standards, and that the association of Indian identity with poverty is a much more recent development.³⁰ In 1642 we read of an Indian smelter, Lorenzo Cayo, from Santa Isabel giving up his right to a mine at that site to the owner of the ingenio Rosario, Domingo de Unda. The document of transfer does not say how Cayo came by the mine, which it records had previously been in the possession of the Spaniard Francisco de la Torre, but does stipulate Cayo's conditions for its transfer: that Domingo de Unda should bear all the costs, but that Cayo should be permitted to retain two Indian workers there (mining ores for his benefit), in whatever part of the mine he should choose, for as long as it remains in production (ANB EP t. 137: 99-100v).

Another document that shows an Indian born in the province to have prospered through the presence of the Spaniards also comes from Santa Isabel. This records the sale of an African slave, and the vendor is an Indian woman, María Sisa, who it transpires was the mistress of Miguel de Mendicaval, the Spanish miner whose dispute over a mine at Santa Isabel was noted above, and the mother of his two illegitimate sons (ANB EP t. 137 pp. 104-105v). The sale of the slave, a woman who, like her owner, had been given the Spanish name María, recorded as being of about twenty years of age, and de nación angola (of Angolan nationality), was made to doña Gabriela Ramirez de Mendicaval, the legitimate daughter of the same miner, and the wife of Juan de Oruesagasti, the owner of the ingenio at Guadalupe. María Sisa insists that although Miguel de Mendicaval had bought the slave, he had done so with the money that she had given him. The sale took place in the presence of the corregidor, since, as the document records, in Lípez there was no Protector of Natives (protector de naturales), although María Sisa, herself a Spanish speaker, does not seem to have been greatly in need of protection nor of the services of an interpreter.

It is perhaps this document that illustrates the genesis of mestizaje in the province of Lípez, not just in the biological sense of the two illegitimate offspring of the Indian woman and Spanish miner, but also in the sense of the transgression of social categories. As has already been noted in Section 2.3.1, the legal regime of the Spanish colonies made a division between a 'Republic of Indians' and a 'Republic of Spaniards', and, in Spanish minds, Spaniards and Indians inhabited two separate

³⁰ See, for example, Harris, 1995a: 351, Saignes, 1995: 175.

public domains on the same territory, and were subject, as has been noted above, to different forms of taxation. Bouysse-Cassagne has written about the strategic preferences of many Indian women for forming alliances with Spanish men and bearing (often illegitimate) mestizo children, who would be exempt from Indian tribute payments. She has also pointed out that these women's strategies were exercises in social ingenuity that tended to erode the dichotomy between Spaniards and Indians and describes how, in desire for social mobility, Indian women, like María Sisa, would appropriate the trappings and ornaments of the higher echelons of Spanish society (Bouysse-Cassagne 1996: 105-106).³¹ Indeed, María Sisa's case would not have been so surprising had it occurred in the city of Potosí, rather than at Santa Isabel, where, according to the document in question, she was born.

Finally, from 1649, we come across one of the lords of the native Indian population in a dispute over the cazicazgo (chieftainship) of the 'six peoples of Lípez', (ANB Tierras e indios 13; 30/3 Año 1649 No. 6). This case shows the attempts of a Spanish administrator to manipulate the Indian leadership, but also hints at social stratification within the Indian population. The dispute dates from the time of Alonso de Carrión Cabeza de Vaca as corregidor, the man who named Ignacio de Azurza as his deputy, and is in the form of a petition from Juan Chiri, who asks for official confirmation for his title of cacique principal (head chieftain). Chiri claims to have inherited the title from his brother, and complains that he has been dispossessed of it by the new corregidor, in spite of having served satisfactorily in the office during the times of his three predecessors. Chiri complains of the enmity of Alonso de Carrión towards him, stating that he has incurred this through defending his Indians and by obtaining a Royal Provision from the Audiencia that the corregidor should not cause them any injury (agravio). What the corregidor had been trying to do with the Indians we are not told, but that Spanish officials could exploit Indian labour has already been noticed in the case of the Lipeño Indians in the Potosí bakeries, cited above. Chiri complains that Alonso de Carrión has installed his own man as cacique, an Indian called Alonso Pigma, whom Chiri describes as 'a low and humble Indian, with neither the capacity nor talent to use or exercise his authority'.³² The result of the petition is that the supposed pretender, Alonso Pigma, is ordered to

³¹ Wachtel (1977: 148) likewise notes that some women of the early colonial era adopted Spanish dress, but dismisses them as 'prostitutes' and 'a marginal group'.

³² '...y a dado nuevo titulo del a un indio bajo y umilde sin capacidad ni talento para le usar y exercer llamado Alonso Pigma.' (ANB Tierras e indios 13; 30/3 Año 1649 No. 6 pp. 1-2).

appear before the Real Audiencia within twenty days, but there is no record of the final outcome of the case.

3.3.2.b. (ii) Indian Mineworkers From Other Areas: Ethnic Affiliation and Local Integration

Lípez was always a sparsely populated province, so that once mining took off there, Spanish mine and refinery owners needed to attract (or coerce) Indian labour from other areas. While in the city of Potosí the labour problem was tackled through forced labour, in the form of the mita, in Lípez, although there is some evidence of coercion from the 1650s, as we shall see below, it appears that a considerable part of the Indian workforce was attracted to the province by financial motives. Work in the mines as mingas, or free labourers, afforded Indians the opportunity to earn money for tribute payment, and mine owners gave their workers the opportunity to earn above and beyond their regular wages by allowing them to carry away pieces of ore known as achura to sell for their own profit. I shall return to discuss achura and related issues in the following section which deals with the independent mining sector, but in this section I shall take a look at some of the different groups of Indians working the Lípez mines, their ethnic affiliations and their integration with the local population.

A group of Indians that seems to have been present in the mines and refineries of Lípez throughout the seventeenth century was that of Atacameños, Indians from the Atacama Desert in Chile.³³ We first read of Atacameños in 1643, when a woman, Inés Casma, from Atacama la Grande, pardons Martín Chico, the murderer of her son, and another indio atacama, on the condition that he should pay her 300 pesos corrientes (ANB EP t. 137 pp. 78-19v).³⁴ Both Indians were employed in the Rosario ingenio. Martín Chico paid her 100 pesos of the money he owed, but is recorded as being in debt to her for the further 200 (ANB EP t. 137: 80-81v). The presence of Atacama Indians continued after the centre of mining interest shifted from the San Pablo area to San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo, and is illustrated most completely by the revisita (census) of that Atacama region, carried out in 1683, in which numerous instances of Indians absent en los Lipes are recorded

³³ Although the western part of Sud Lípez province would in colonial times have been included in the Atacama region, the Indians working the mines seem not to have come from there, but from Atacama la Baja (i.e. Low Atacama) on what is now the Chilean side of the border.

³⁴ A transcription of this document is given by Hidalgo (1992) in *Estudios Atacameños*, vol. 10: 75-77.

(Hidalgo et. al. 1992). These Indians are recorded as being absent from their ayllus, some as people who 'come and go' (van y vienen), others as 'long-term absentees' (ausentes de mucho tiempo), but all those recorded are reported to still pay tribute to their caciques, and hence to maintain their affiliation to their places of origin.

There are, however, ambiguities over the status of some Indian migrants, as is apparent in an earlier document, from 1642, when Juan Gutierrez de Bohorquez attempted to sell his half of the Esmoruco ingenio. The document that records the sale, which eventually fell through, lists the debts of the refinery owner, which include various sums to Indians, including six described as Atacameños, one of whom is a herder, trading in salt, and a further two from the north of present-day Argentina (from Salta and Tucumán) (ANB EP t. 137 pp. 123-234v). Although the origins of many of the Indians to whom Juan Gutierrez de Bohorquez owed money are made known to us, as indios lipes, indios atacameños, indios de Salta or de Tucumán, there are others whose identity is more vague and difficult to determine. Some are termed indios del cerro (probably implying that they were working the mines in the cerros (mountains) of Santa Isabel, Morokho and Bonete), and others are listed as indios de este ingenio (Indians from this refinery), without giving their places of origin. The origins of Indian workers were important to Spanish administrators, since they determined the fiscal categories to which the Indians belonged, and hence the amounts of tribute that they were liable to pay: natives (originarios) paid more than outsiders or incomers (agregados or forasteros) and unaffiliated craftsmen (yanaconas) were assessed in yet another way. However, as Saignes has illustrated, in the mid seventeenth century, such fiscal categories were not fixed, but, in a period of great economic and social mobility, changed their meanings from one place to another (Saignes 1995: 176). The indios de este ingenio, to whom the refinery owner owed money, might have been yanaconas, but this did not mean that they had lost all contact with their places of origin, and neither did it preclude integration into the local population through marriage, ritual kinship or any other method. The document of sale lists some debts to Indians who have died, but have left behind wives and children, and in some cases these widows have already remarried, perhaps implying the growth of a mine working community, or perhaps integration with the native population.

The only real suggestion I have found of forced labour in the mines of L pez comes from the years following the disturbances surrounding Ignacio de Azurza. In 1649, the President of the Real Audiencia decreed that, in order to remedy the lack of Indians available to work the mines of L pez, a result of many having fled to escape the violence, Indians condemned to work in the textile workshops (obrajes) and bakeries of the city of Potos  for the offences they had committed, should instead be taken to L pez to serve their sentences working the mines (ANB Minas t. 131 No. 5). A few years after this, a Cedula Real, or letter from the King of Spain, dated 1660, complains that an answer to an earlier enquiry has not been received (ANB CR No. 435). The earlier enquiry was about mines in L pez, and responded to a letter from the Alcalde Mayor del Cerro y Minas in the city of Potos , which complained that the owners of mines and ingenios in L pez were coming to the city of Potos  to steal Indians from the Cerro, and to buy others at 250 pesos a piece, and were taking them to L pez as prisoners. The alcalde suggests it would be better to assign 500 Indians from the mita to the mines of the province. The King, however, seems more concerned with the possibility that the miners of L pez are defrauding the royal coffers, than with the possible maltreatment of Indians, and suggests that perhaps the province should be provided with facilities for smelting bars of silver, and an office of the royal treasury (caja real). I have seen no evidence from later years that Indians were forcibly taken to L pez to work – as I have mentioned above, mine owners were careful to provide financial incentives in order to retain their Indians, and there is evidence that Indians came to L pez fleeing from the Potos  mita, getting at least as far as San Crist bal (ANB Minas t. 58 No. 3). At a later date, a sentence of two years' mita service in Potos  was to be given to any Indian in L pez found to be acting as an independent buyer and refiner of minerals. It would thus seem that any coercion that occurred in the mid seventeenth century was a response to a short-term labour shortage caused by the climate of unrest surrounding the disturbances caused by Spaniards in the province.

3.3.2.b. (iii) African Slaves

A further category of people present in L pez in the 1640s, as is evident from Mar a Sisa's document of sale, discussed above, was that of slaves from Africa. The use of African slave labour

in the Andean highlands has been the subject of much speculation and oral tradition, but of comparatively little serious academic study.³⁵ Popular tradition has it that African slaves were brought by Spaniards to work the mines of Potosí, but were unable to withstand the frigid climate, and rapidly sickened and died, whilst those surviving were moved to the Yungas region, where a black population still survives today, to work in the vineyards. As Nash (1979: 128-129) notes, the dancers of the Morenada in present-day Carnival processions, with their masks of spreading nostrils, bulging eyes and protruding lips, represent the slaves that worked in wine making, and their bodies, with their heavy tiered costumes, have become the casks of wine themselves (Nash, 1979; 128-129).

According to Crespo Rodas, African slaves were generally brought to the Andean highlands through the port of Buenos Aires (Crespo Rodas 1977: 58), so LÍpez would have been close to the route they must have taken from there to reach the cities of the Andean region. In the city of Potosí some undoubtedly did work the mines, and others the ingenios, while others, notoriously, worked in the Casa de la Moneda, minting coins (*ibid*: 25). The use of African slaves to work the highland mines had been a topic of considerable discussion a century before the dates of the LÍpez sales of slaves, when Spanish colonists had wished to access the mineral wealth of their new lands, but, in this first instance, wished to avoid compromising the liberty of the native population, and African labour was thought to be a solution to the problem (Bowser 1974: 14-15). However, despite serious suggestions that the mines of Porco should be worked by slaves, in the final analysis compulsory Indian labour in the form of the mita was seen to be the better solution, and the issue of the use of African slaves on a large scale was defeated by economic arguments. For Spanish mining entrepreneurs, slaves were a considerable investment, each costing several hundred pesos and, on top of this, their food, housing and tools would all have had to be purchased. Indian labour, by contrast, required no initial outlay, with both mitayos (mita labourers) and mingas (independent Indian workers) being paid daily rates and being responsible for their own upkeep. It was undoubtedly true that there was a high mortality rate among Africans working in the mines, but then there was among the native population as well, only this did not affect the profits of the entrepreneurs (*ibid*: 14).

³⁵ The two studies of slaves in the Andean highlands of which I am aware are Crespo Rodas, Alberto. 1977. *Esclavos Negros en Bolivia*, La Paz, Academia Nacional de Ciencias; and Wolff, Inge. 1964. "Negersklaverei und Negerhandel in Hochperu, 1545-1640", in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, no. 1, 157-86. Bowser (1974) makes some mention of slaves in the highland region, but concentrates his discussion on the Peruvian lowlands.

Bakewell (1984: 191-193), quoting Wolff, estimates that there were 5 000 black Africans living in Potosí at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but also states that many of these were domestic slaves and craftsmen, while Crespo Rodas (1977: 109-110) also notes their use in agriculture in the region around La Paz. It is questionable whether in Lípez all the slaves being sold were involved in mining and refining, or whether some were perhaps domestic labourers, and symbols of ostentation for *nouveaux riches* miners (see Bowser, 1974: 25) or perhaps were some sort of craftsmen. None of the documents specifies to what sort of work they were put, but I suspect that, out of the eight slaves mentioned, the four women among them were used in some sort of domestic labour. It should be mentioned, however, that an early proposal for using African labour in the highland mines specified that half of the slaves should be female, 'to ensure that the males should be well fed and reasonably contented, and therefore less liable to run away', and that 'the females could divide their time between domestic chores and helping the men in the mines' (*ibid*: 15). That the Spanish miners of Lípez liked to display their new found wealth is given some credence by a document relating the sale of a mine by the wife of the owner of the Esmoruco ingenio: doña María Martínez de Henao sold her mining claims for ten thousand pesos payable in ropa de castilla y de la tierra (clothing from Castille and the colonies); by comparison, the most expensive slave whose sale is recorded, a young male born in Lima, cost a mere one thousand pesos.

Ownership of African slaves by Indians, like María Sisa, was according to Crespo Rodas (1977: 136), not unknown, but very rare. All the sale documents I have seen date from the early 1640s, but there is some evidence for believing that there was a continued presence of African slave labour in the province after this date: a document of 1726 mentions the 'españoles, mestizos, negros, mulatos libres e indios' ('Spaniards, mestizos, 'blacks', free mulattos and Indians') that are necessary to work the mines, and there are a few documents in which Indians refer to others whom they describe as mulattos or sambos, both the offspring of mixed unions. As far as integration with the Indian population went, the Spanish authorities wished to keep Indians and African slaves separated, and sexual liaisons between the two categories were punishable offences (*ibid*: 118). There is also some evidence from Lípez of prejudice against the black slave population on the part of the Indians: when the Indians of the eighteenth century talk about mulattos and sambos they are using the terms as insults.

Although one of the slaves whose sale is recorded had escaped at the time of sale. I did not initially think that there was any memory of black Africans in L pez. However, a prominent San Pabl o, don Francisco, surprised me one day in San Pablo, by telling me that there was a ‘negro’ buried at each corner of the plaza, and that he had seen the bones when some construction work had been carried out a few years previously. He did not explain how he knew that the bones were of ‘negros’. Even more surprising was a remark from a visiting camellid geneticist from Peru, who exclaimed one day on returning to San Pablo, ‘The guarda fauna in Guadalupe is ‘black’!’, and went on to add that he had heard from local people there that his father had been ‘even blacker’. Guadalupe is about 35 kilometres from San Pablo, on the road to Esmoruco, and was somewhere I visited only a couple of times, so I never got to meet the ‘black’ park ranger, but it is tempting to speculate that he could have been the descendant of one of the African slaves whose sale is recorded in the archives, possibly of an escapee.

3.3.2.c ‘Unattached Soldiers’, ‘Ore Thieves’ and ‘Vagrant Indians’: L pez de Quiroga’s Adit, the Independent Mining Sector and Challenges to Racial Boundaries in Guayco Seco.

The preceding section has focused largely on the first half of the seventeenth century, and on the heterogeneity of the mining workforce in colonial L pez: we have seen that a considerable part of the Indian workforce originated from outside the area, and have discussed both how these people maintained links with their places of origin and possible mechanisms whereby they could have become integrated with the local ayllus; we have noted the presence of African slaves, and will see at a later stage how accusations of mixed African descent could be used as insults by the Indian population; and we have also seen that the Spanish colonisers themselves were not homogeneous, but brought with them regional antagonisms from the various ‘nations’ of mainland Spain. This section focuses on the latter half of the same century, and looks at the social consequences of the entrepreneurial activities of Antonio L pez de Quiroga, the construction of his socav n,³⁶ and the second mining boom at San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo.

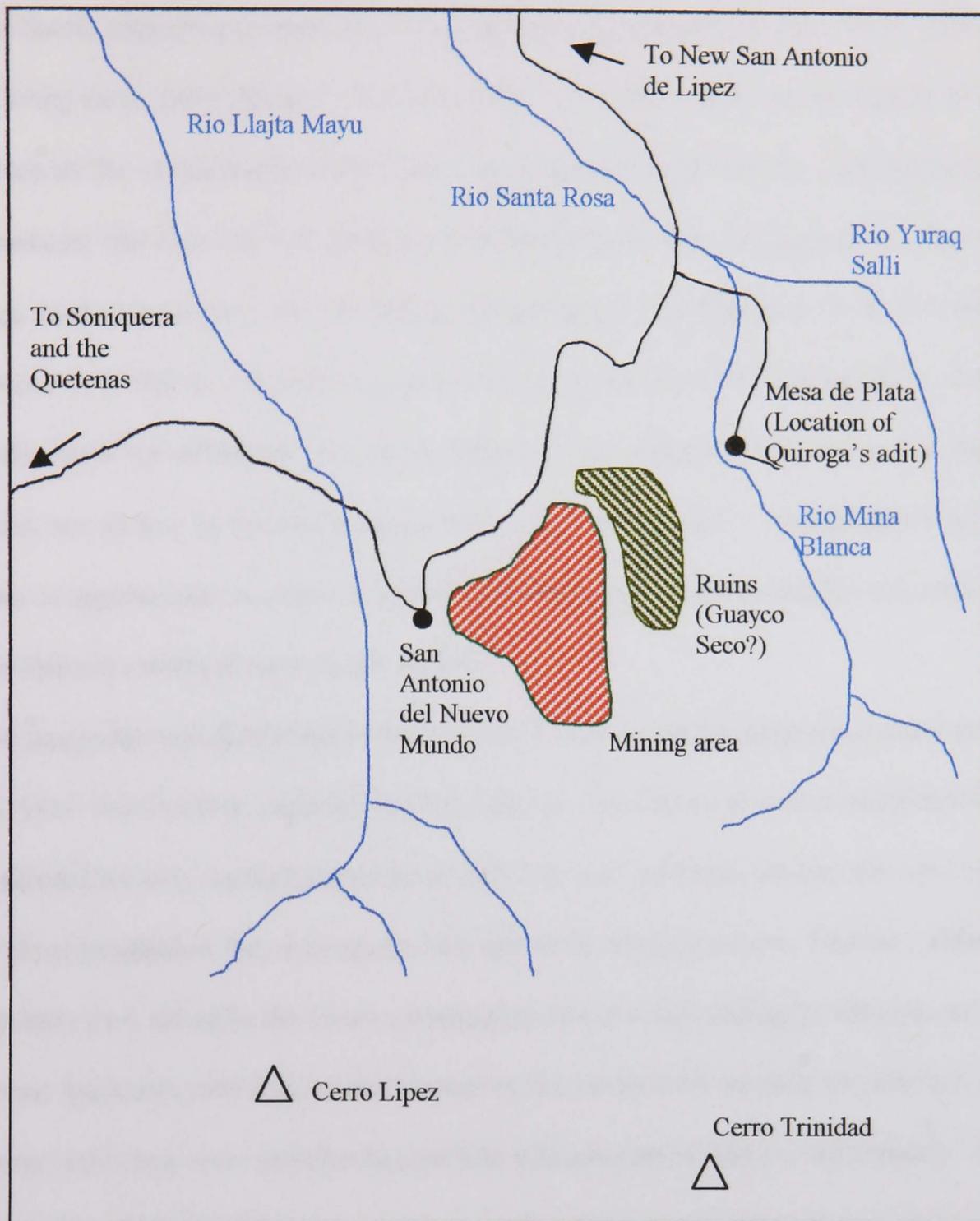
³⁶ I have retained the Spanish term ‘socav n’ in this section, and use it synonymously with the English translation ‘adit’. In part, this is due to the relative frequencies of use of the terms in the two languages: everyone in Bolivia knows what a socav n is, whereas not all English speakers know the term ‘adit’. ‘Socav n’ has entered into the popular vocabulary of Bolivia, with the cult of the ‘Virgin of the Socav n’ in Oruro, with connotations of the poverty, repression and political mobilisation of the mining workforce in the

As Bakewell notes, López de Quiroga's socavón at San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo was constructed between the years 1672 and 1678, and was extended further between 1687 or 1688 and 1690. Its entrance was at a lower level than were those of existing mines, since its purpose was to drain these workings, and was located in the ravine, about a mile and a half from the main settlement of San Antonio, which is now known as Mesa de Plata (Silver Table).³⁷ One fascinating consequence of its construction, but one of which Bakewell makes no mention, is that while work continued on the adit, a separate town grew up, or what may have been an existing small settlement greatly expanded, in the dry valley between San Antonio and the socavón, close to the entrances to existing mines, which was known as Guayco Seco (literally 'Dry Ravine'). This settlement comprised accommodation (rancherías) for the Indians working in particular mining and refining establishments, dwellings and businesses belonging to Spaniards, stores (pulperías), and the dwellings of mestizos and independent Indian workers. Its inhabitants were to prove a quite a thorn in the flesh for San Antonio's wealthier Spanish mine and refinery owners who were hoping to make good profits from the newly exposed silver veins in the freshly drained mines. The mixed band of people, hoping to make a quick profit from the mines, that came to inhabit the Guayco must have been quite a change from the *nouveaux riches* Spaniards who had owned mines and refineries in the San Pablo area a few years earlier. The ruins of what must have been Guayco Seco, equidistant from both the main town of San Antonio and the ravine where López de Quiroga's socavón was constructed, and a quarter of a league from each, can still be seen.

In the account that follows, I shall first give an outline of the arguments over Guayco Seco as they appear in archival documents, and then look at their implications. I shall consider both the economic arguments surrounding the informal mining sector that arose, and the issue of the blurring of racial boundaries and fiscal categories at the site, along with the attempts by the Spanish authorities to enforce these social differentiations.

twentieth century, and was even used as the name of a popular nightclub in La Paz. By contrast, 'adit', in English, remains a technical term of the mining industry.

³⁷ Although the name Mesa de Plata occurs in documents from the nineteenth century onwards (for example, Calvimonte, 1885; 14-15, which uses the name 'Mesa de Plata' and mentions the site of the socavón as in the river gully on the left hand side) and is in use today, I have not come across any archival references to it from earlier periods.



Map 4. Sketch map of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo

3.3.2.c. (i) The Documents

We first learn of the problems posed by the inhabitants of Guayco Seco in a representation made by the corregidor (magistrate) of LÍpez, Bernardino de Villavicencio, to the Real Audiencia (Royal Court) in Sucre, requesting permission to demolish the settlement on account of the ‘quality of the persons living there’ (ANB Minas t. 58 No. 4: 277). He further states that the Guayco is the place from which all the ‘disturbances and anxieties’ from which the province has suffered in the past have emanated: this may well be a reference to the problems between Ignacio de Azurza and Domingo Fuertes de Sierra in the late 1640s, outlined above, who both had claims in a mine there (ANB Minas t. 59 No. 4). Villavicencio goes on to give an account of a method of ore theft used by the inhabitants of the settlement who, he describes, ‘do not attend to the things they should, as Christians, nor do they go to Mass on Sundays nor keep the festivals’. Instead they would use these occasions as opportunities to enter the nearby mines and steal minerals and this was causing trouble with the Spanish owners of mines and refineries.

The corregidor was clearly worried that, as work on the socavón progressed, many more such ‘undesirables’ would arrive, and based his argument on the premise that such independent operators would defraud not only the legitimate owners of mines and refineries, but also the royal coffers (one fifth of silver production, the royal quinto, was due to the treasury in tax). However, objections to his argument were raised by the owners of trapiches (small-scale refining establishments),³⁸ themselves Spaniards, who had invested money in the construction of these installations, and who in turn claimed that they were contributing considerable amounts of silver to the treasury. At this point, the corregidor’s representation is not very clear about the identities of the persons involved in the ore theft: although the trapiche owners were obviously mainly Spaniards, we are not told much about the ‘undesirables’ in the Guayco, who were frequently described as soldados sueltos (‘unattached soldiers’). Whether these were Spaniards, mestizos or Indians is not made clear. The corregidor proposed that the entire settlement should be demolished, apart from the necessary and legitimate buildings belonging to mine owners and the rancherías (dwellings) where the Indians in their employment were lodged.

³⁸ Trapiche is a Spanish term meaning ‘small mill’. In Peninsular Spain it could refer to a press for olive oil, but in the high Andes, it is invariably a mill for crushing minerals.

The arguments over whether Guayco Seco should be demolished continue over a period of several years. In 1677 there was a ruling in favour of a limited amount of demolition (ANB Minas t. 59 No. 3: 411-412), but ‘independent persons’ (‘personas independientes’) in the Guayco were still causing problems for the Guild of Miners and Refiners (Gremio de los Mineros y Azogueros) in 1687. At this date the case was taken up again, and a more detailed account of independent mining activities in the settlement are given in the representation made by the guild’s attorney (procurador general), Jacinto de Castro, who once again asked permission to demolish the settlement.

The attorney tells us that many trapiches had been erected at the ‘free will and volition’ of their owners, that is, without official permission. In these, the richest minerals were being refined, to the obvious detriment of the incomes of the owners of mines and large-scale refineries. He goes on to describe the process by which this was happening, an additional process to that already described for us by Villavicencio in the earlier document, which he terms ‘fraudulent purchase’ by ‘independent persons called rescatiris’,³⁹ which resulted in the minerals ending up in trapiches, rather than large-scale ingenios. He claimed that the rescatiris had come to arrangements with the Indians who worked ‘legitimately’ in the mines, that these should contrive to steal the richest ore and sell it to them, leaving only the low quality mineral (‘brozas de corta ley’) for the owners of the mines and refineries. The rescatiris would then take the mineral to the trapiches where they refined it in small quantities, termed ‘tareas’ (tasks) (ANB Minas t. 59 No. 3: 396-396v).

Some of these rescatiris were obviously Spaniards, but Jacinto de Castro goes on to explain how Indians had also become involved in the practice, although, in his opinion, they were liable to be defrauded by the trapiche owners:

Aquí se llega al que los Indios tienen el mismo trato y combeniencia con menos utilidad por que llevándolos a los trapiches las más vezes, o todas, son engañados en la exorbitancia que les quitan del costo de los beneficios, y antes de estos los prestamos que les han hecho los trapicheros de plata para las compras con la calidad de no llevar el metal a otra parte de que también logran el interés de las lamas y relaves que según el metal, siempre son ricos, por lo qual se hallan poderosos...

(ANB Minas t. 59 No. 3: 396v)⁴⁰

³⁹ Then, as now, a rescatiri was an independent operator involved in the buying and selling of minerals.

⁴⁰ ‘Here it passes that the Indians are involved in the same dealings and practice, although they are not so sharp at it, because taking them [i.e. the minerals] to the trapiches, they are mostly, or even all of them, deceived by the exorbitant way in which they are charged the cost of the refining, and even prior to that, by the loans that the trapiche owners make them for purchases [i.e. of materials] with the condition that they will not take the

Even if they were, to some extent, being defrauded by the trapiche owners, which may not necessarily have been the case,⁴¹ the Indians were apparently able to earn more by this practice than they could by working legitimately in the mines and refineries. A further consequence of the birth of this informal mining sector was the opening of many stores (pulperías) selling barrels of wine. Sometimes the owners of the stores were also rescatiris and would exchange wine directly with the Indians for stolen minerals, and at times even for the tools provided by the mine owners (ANB Minas t. 59 No. 3: 396v). The main consequence of the practice, however, or at least that which most concerned Jacinto de Castro and his fellow miners and refiners, was the economic damage being done to legitimate enterprises, and in particular to the ingenios (ore-crushing mills) along the course of the river: the attorney claims that only a few years previously fifteen such mills had been working, whereas at his time of writing, in 1686, there were only ten, and that these were rapidly being abandoned, with the lack of mineral provoked by the business of the trapiches (ANB Minas t. 59 No. 3: 397).

The inhabitants of Guayco Seco are described by a variety of labels in de Castro's representation. As in 1674, some are described as soldados sueltos ('unattached soldiers'), but various other terms are used, such as soldados honrrados ('honourable soldiers'), hucos ('ore thieves', *ibid*: 407),⁴² vagamundos (vagrants) and sometimes also indios vagamundos ('vagrant Indians'). Although their provenance is vague, they are said to have arrived from all the other mines in the land (*ibid*: 399v), and to have been responsible for all the disturbances, murders, robberies and scandals from which the mining site has suffered. Once more a request was made to demolish the settlement, to evict the vagamundos 'que no tienen ocupación' ('that have no employment'), and leave only the legitimate buildings belonging to mine owners and housing for their Indians. It is clear, however, that such measures met with considerable opposition: a letter from a Spanish mine

mineral elsewhere, so that they [i.e. the trapiche owners] also gain the benefit of the slime and waste mud, which according to the quality of the mineral, are always rich, and through which they become powerful...'

⁴¹ Tandeter, writing on the independent mining sector in eighteenth-century Potosí, suggests that there was considerable competition between the owners of trapiches, and that loans were advanced to rescatiris and independent miners in order to attract them back to their particular installations, to enable the trapiches to stay in business (Tandeter 1981: 50-51). It is difficult to reconcile the systematic defrauding of Indian refiners with this sort of competitive environment.

⁴² The term juko is used today in much the same sense, for a miner who enters the mines at night or at weekends to extract ore illegally (see, for example, Nash, 1979: 197-198).

owner in 1687 tells of how, following the publication of a decree against the people of Guayco Seco, ‘no-good people’ (*‘gente de mal vivir’*) had set fire to his house, and that it was only thanks to God’s mercy that he had not been burned along with his wife and family (*ibid*: 415).

A compromise solution was finally reached. The Spanish authorities recognised that they would not be able to get rid of the *trapiches*, nor of the Spanish ore dealers, whose business they regarded as regrettable, but legitimate. They also recognised that they would not manage to retain their Indian workforce in the mines and *ingenios* if these were not allowed to remove a small amount of mineral, known as their *achura* (see below) to sell for their own profit, and so allowed this arrangement to remain. However, they intended to control the access of *rescatiris* to the Indian mine workers, particularly in the areas immediately outside the mines (*cancha minas*), presumably to restrict the amount of mineral stolen, and to completely put an end to the activities of those Indians acting as *rescatiris* themselves. With this end in view, Indians not employed in any mine or *ingenio* were to be banished from the site, and the owners of *trapiches* were forbidden from refining any mineral brought to them by an Indian. As Jacinto de Castro explains:

.....mando que ningún género de Yndio *aunque ande en traje de español* no puede en poca ni mucha cantidad rescatar metales de los Yndios. Porque como son todos de una misma naturaleza con facilidad se unen y conciertan, para el hurto y rescate del metal, y al que lo contrario hiziere por la primera vez le condeno en cien azotes por las Calles Públicas y por la segunda en dos años de mita que hace en el zerro, de la Villa Ymperial de Potosí.⁴³

(ANB Minas t. 59 No. 3: 419 - my italics)

Although the attorney was anxious to restrict the access of the Indian population to refining technology, at the same time he acknowledged their usefulness as independent miners, as opposed to refiners, and was similarly anxious not to lose access to their services particularly in mining exploration. He was therefore careful to point out that, although Indians could not, independently, work mines in which Spaniards had claims, they were permitted to work abandoned mines, and he provided the incentive that, should one of them strike a vein, he would be permitted to retain a

⁴³ ‘I order that no type of Indian, *even though he wear Spanish clothes*, can purchase minerals from the Indians and refine them. Because, since they are all of the same nature, they unite easily and conspire to steal and profit from metals. And on contradiction of this order, a first offence will carry the sentence of 100 lashes in the public streets, and on the second offence, the perpetrator will be condemned to two years *mita* service in the *cerro* of the Imperial City of Potosí.’

portion of it for his own benefit (the length of this portion, as a number of varas (rods). is given, but unclear in the document. The remainder of the decree is taken up with such matters as prohibiting the sale of alcohol to Indians (*ibid*: 421v), and of prohibiting the entry of firearms into Guayco Seco without special licence from the corregidor (*ibid*: 423v-424).

3.3.2.c. (ii) *Rescate* and *Q'aqcheo*

From the start of Spanish silver exploitation in the Andes, there existed an informal sector of mining and refining which involved the Indian population. By informal I mean to imply to some extent outside the control of the Spanish authorities, and also involving practices considered illegal such as ore theft and tax evasion. Two mechanisms by which the informal sector functioned during different historical periods, and which have received considerable attention from historians working on mining in the city of Potosí were known as rescate and q'aqcheo. As we shall see below, the informal sector of Lipez in the late seventeenth century combined features of both these Potosino practices.

'Indians' were involved in silver production from the early days of Spanish mining: the involvement of the 'Indians' from Lipez in the production of silver was noted in Lozano Machuca's letter (see above), and Capoché in his *Relación del asiento y Villa Imperial de Potosí...* describes both how silver production (both mining and refining) had been largely in the hands of 'Indian' workers before the reforms introduced by the Viceroy Toledo in the early 1570s (Capoché 1959[1585]: 108-111). Capoché was writing in the years immediately following the sweeping Toledan reforms, which introduced to Potosí the mercury amalgamation process for silver refining, the mita system of conscripted Indian labour for the mines, and commuted most Indian tribute payments to money, rather than produce. These reforms played a considerable part in defining relations between Spaniards and Indians in the colony, and in emphasising the distinctions between them. In defining 'Indians' as tribute payers and mita labourers, they promoted the homogenisation of the 'Indian' population (Harris 1995: 354), while at the same time, the introduction of mercury amalgamation effectively transferred control of the forces of production - the tools, materials, skills and techniques involved in refining - from the 'Indian' population to the Spanish colonisers

(Assadourian 1989a: 202-203)⁴⁴. The reforms thus emphasized the division of the colonial population into two republics.

Nevertheless, Capoche, in his *Relación...*, goes on to describe the continued involvement of Indians in the sale and refining of minerals in the years following Toledo's reforms, in a process that had become known as rescate. This was something the mine owners of Potosí in the early years of the 1580s were attempting to stamp out (Capoche 1959 [1585]: 150-167). This proceeded from the custom that Indian mine workers had of augmenting their daily wage by carrying off a piece of mineral from the mine, to sell for their own profit in the indigenous mineral market, the qhatu (Quechua – shop, market). Those purchasing ores in this market were frequently themselves Indians, who refined rich minerals using the Indian wind furnace, wayra (Quechua – 'wind'). In sixteenth-century Potosí, the piece of ore claimed by the Indians in this way was known as qurpa (Quechua – 'banquet'), but the process for its removal corresponds closely to that described at Guayco Seco.

At Guayco Seco the term achura is used in place of qurpa for the piece of mineral removed. In contemporary Lipez, achura is used to denote a small portion (usually of food) to which a worker is entitled after participating in a task.⁴⁵ The general meaning of the word is 'the parts resulting from a division', or a 'daily ration of food'. Both qurpa and achura thus have connotations of food: achura being the daily ration, and qurpa literally means 'a banquet prepared in honour of a person or a group of people' (Herrero and Sánchez de Lozada 1979: 332).⁴⁶

There are some features of the informal mining sector at Guayco Seco that would seem to link it not only to the process of rescate but also to the methods of the informal mining sector of eighteenth-century Potosí, as described by, among others, Tandeter (1981, 1992) and Abercrombie (1992, 1996). Unlike sixteenth-century Potosí, at Guayco Seco, the minerals appropriated were refined using mercury, rather than by smelting, in small installations called trapiches, owned initially by Spaniards and mestizos, although at a later date also by 'Indians', and the purchase of achura from Indian mine workers is only one of the two methods of ore theft described. The second method,

⁴⁴ This was probably not a conscious intention of Toledo in introducing the mercury amalgamation process: as Bakewell points out, the Viceroy had hoped initially that Indians would themselves become proficient at the new method of refining, and would eventually profit from it (Bakewell, 1984: 76-77).

⁴⁵ This is somewhat different from the meaning given by Nash (1979: 160), from her fieldwork in the mines of Oruro, where it is used to denote a gift of ore presented by the workers to the management, which is given in exchange for the management's gift to the workers (t'inka).

⁴⁶ For a more detailed discussion of achura, see Chapter 7, Section 7.6.

entry into the mines at weekends and on religious holidays, is that used by the informal miners or q'aqchas of Potosí in the eighteenth century, although the term kajcha or q'aqcha⁴⁷ is not used in the documentation of the events in Guayco Seco. The activities of the notorious q'aqcha leader, Agustín Quespi, are narrated by Arzáns de Orsua y Vela in his *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* (1965 [1756]: vol. III 200-205). Tandeter has noted the relation between q'aqcheo of the eighteenth century and the practices that Capoche describes for the sixteenth, and the manner in which they responded to similar economic conditions. He claims, however, that the earlier practice had been replaced by q'aqcheo by the eighteenth century (Tandeter 1981: 49). In Lípez, in the seventeenth century, we are confronted by an informal sector that has characteristics of both systems.

3.3.2.c. (iii) Economic Ambiguities

Tandeter (1981) has studied the economic factors surrounding q'aqcheo, and has drawn attention to the ambiguity with which Potosinos confronted the practice in the eighteenth century: although it was condemned as theft by mine owners, many, like Arzáns, failed to recognise the q'aqchas as mere thieves, but considered them also as men of valour, who extracted mineral by their own effort and risked their lives in the course of their work.⁴⁸ Although the documentation of the legal cases brought by the representative of mine and refinery owners in Lípez condemn the informal sector, we are told that one of the terms by which the 'vagrants' of Guayco Seco are known is soldados honrrados ('honourable soldiers'), perhaps implying that there was a certain amount of respect for them in the mining settlement. One source of this ambiguity, that Tandeter gives, relates to the manner in which minerals were extracted from the mines: referring to Cañete, he claims the practice started in Potosí at the end of the seventeenth century, and that one of the factors that facilitated its emergence was a trend towards the exploitation of old mine workings, as opposed to opening up new ones, a trend which would have led to a certain amount of confusion between public and private domains in the mines, or uncertainty whether or not a mine had been abandoned

⁴⁷ The spelling kajcha is used by Tandeter (1981, 1992), while q'aqcha is used by Abercrombie (1992, 1996). The dictionary of Herrero and Sánchez de Lozada gives the word q'ajcha with the meaning of a game played with a ball that is struck by the palm of the hand, named for the sound this makes q'aj. Tandeter gives the meaning of the word as 'the crack of a whip'.

⁴⁸ A similar attitude towards 'stolen' mineral is noted among contemporary 'informal' miners by Ricardo Godoy, who quotes a young miner as stating, 'This is my mineral because I found it and took it out with my own courage' (Godoy 1990: 65). This sort of idea of ownership, of the relation between a person and an object, is worthy of some further investigation.

(Tandeter 1981: 47). It could be argued that this would also have been the case at San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo, where the action of López de Quiroga's socavón, acknowledged in the legal cases to be the main cause of the presence of so many 'undesirables', was to expose mineral veins that had been worked previously, in some cases in mines that had been abandoned due to flooding, and the informal mining sector of the day would no doubt have been eager to exploit any ambiguity that arose.

However, the main cause of the ambiguity towards q'aqchas, on the part of the mine owners that Tandeter notes, and which was also the case in LÍpez, was that the practice attracted Indians to the mines to work at a time when labour was short. In Potosí, the mita alone was unable to supply sufficient labour to work the mines, and mine owners would need to hire free labourers or mingas to make up the shortfall. In LÍpez the situation was even more critical, as there was no supply of mitayos (mita labourers), and as López de Quiroga's engineer comments, San Antonio was 'a place detested by the Indians, and from which they would flee as fast as they could' (ANB Minas t. 58 No. 5, quoted in Bakewell (1988; 89)). The listing of the possessions of a mine owner who died without leaving a will, from 1682 (ANB Minas t. 59 No. 1) shows us that he had nine Indians who worked permanently in his mine ('indios de la dicha labor'), but that he also employed mingas on a more casual basis.⁴⁹ These casual workers, who in the case of Potosí were the more experienced and skilful miners, would have been attracted to the site by the opportunity to make some money through the portions of ore, their achura, that they were allowed to retain.

A further economic factor associated with the practice of q'aqcheo in the eighteenth century was the stimulus to mineral production provided by the possibility of illegally exporting silver, that is, without paying the royal fifth (quinto), in French ships that arrived off the Pacific coast in the last years of the seventeenth century and first quarter of the eighteenth. Illegal export would certainly account for the claims made by the mine and refinery owners that the activities of the trapicheros were in 'prejudice to the royal income to a great sum of quintos', and it would have been convenient, as well as profitable, to have sent silver directly to the ports from LÍpez without paying the tax, rather than pay to have it transported to Potosí and then pay tax on it. Here again there lies a certain amount of economic ambiguity, for, as we can see from a number of legal cases from the early

⁴⁹ It may well be that his permanent workers were retained by some form of debt peonage, for when he died all but two of them owed him money (ANB Minas t. 59 No. 1: 9-9v.).

eighteenth century, the illegal export of silver from L pez took place through the port of Buenos Aires as well as through the Pacific, and was not restricted to small-scale producers. As Bakewell notes, L pez de Quiroga himself was accused of the practice by one corregidor of L pez, Gregorio de Aza on (himself probably one of L pez de Quiroga's relatives by marriage),⁵⁰ early in the 1690s (Bakewell 1988: 3-5). The refinery owners of San Antonio, hence, could not be too specific about the illegal exports of the trapicheros (owners of trapiches), lest their own involvement in the practice be brought into question.

3.3.2.c. (iv) Social Ambiguities: Keeping the Indians in their Place.

Having looked at some of the economic factors behind the informal mining sector at Guayco Seco, it is also relevant to look at some social factors that surround it, and in particular, at the distinctions made between 'Indians' and Spaniards. The changes that took place regarding relations of production in the mining industry, occasioned in Potos  by the Toledan reforms of the 1570s, have already been noted above, along with the resultant exclusion of Indians from the new refining technology. While there were economic reasons, like the amount of capital involved, why Indians did not become directly involved in refining with mercury, as owners of large-scale refineries, Assadourian has suggested that their exclusion from the process was also indicative of a change of attitude on the part of the colonising Spaniards towards the Indians. As noted above, Toledo's reforms played a major role in defining, or redefining, relations between Spaniards and Indians, and in emphasising the division of the colonial population into 'two republics'. Following their implementation, the colonisers abandoned a model of political domination over, and evangelisation of, the Indian population, for one that recognised primarily the utility of that population as a labour force (Assadourian, 1989a; 204; 1989, 4-5).

As has already been discussed in Chapter 2, under the policy of the 'two republics', Spaniards in the Americas assumed the privileges of the aristocracy of mainland Spain, which included exemption from tribute payments, avoidance of manual labour, and access to the Indian, rather than the plebeian, labour force, while the Indian population paid tribute and provided labour. In addition,

⁵⁰ Bakewell does not state that the wife of Aza on was named Augustina de Quiroga y Osorio, the same surname as that of a previous corregidor, don Crist bal de Quiroga y Osorio, whom Bakewell does suggest is a relative of Quiroga (ANB Minas t. 147 No. 9).

the colonisers sought to maintain a separation between Spanish and Indian populations in the newly emerging cities of the colony, with their separate parishes for Indians, an enterprise that was, nevertheless, doomed to failure. (Abercrombie, 1992; 292)

Some of the bases for the divisions in colonial society have already been discussed in Chapter 2, where it was also pointed out that Eurocentric theories of 'race' were not developed fully until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the time of the informal mining sector at Guayco Seco, the different sorts of person were distinguishable not only, or not primarily, by physical phenotype, but through a combination of dress, occupation, language, legitimacy and tax payment. While the management of mines and refineries may appear to involve manual labour, Spaniards and American-born Europeans (criollos) described these activities by likening them to more aristocratic pursuits: the eighteenth-century refiner from Oruro, Alcalá y Amurrio, likened his assaying procedure to the art of a swordsman, and at other points in his manuscript compares his work to that of a surgeon (Alcalá y Amurrio 1781: 19). It is understandable, in this light, that these occupations were not expected to be pursued by Indians, who were employed in refineries, but in such semi-skilled tasks as feeding the ore-crushing mill, and treading the mercury-silver amalgam with their feet. The mixed population of 'Indians', mestizos and Spaniards of the informal mining sector of Guayco Seco directly challenged Spanish efforts to keep the different colonial populations separate, eroding distinctions, just as María Sisa, the slave owning Indian, had done earlier in the century. It is hardly surprising then that the (Spanish) Guild of Miners and Refiners in San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo sought to ban any 'Indian', presumably identifiable as such through language and/or kinship ties rather than just physical appearance, '*even though he wear Spanish clothes*' from working as a rescatiri, and becoming involved in the Spanish controlled refining process in any capacity other than as a semi-skilled worker, that is, to ban Indians from access to the pursuits of Spaniards.

In his description of the 'Carnival Rebellion of the q'aqchas' of 1751, in Potosí, Abercrombie uses much the same argument to explain the measures taken by the Potosí Guild of Mine Owners against Indian q'aqchas, who, in much the same way as in Lipez more than half a century earlier, are ordered to return to their villages (Abercrombie, 1992; 296-297, 1996: 94-95). He also points out the pertinence of both Indian and mestizo q'aqchas to a Guild of Informal Miners, and the links between guilds, as early forms of organised labour, and religious lay fraternities (cofradías) devoted

to the cults of particular saints. We have already seen that there were several Indian lay fraternities at San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo (Archivo Arquidiocesano de Sucre, Visita de Curatas, 1680), whether one of these may have been also a guild for the informal mining sector, with a membership of the more 'ambiguous' categories of people, indios criollos (Indians of the city, or without a particular ethnic affiliation) and mestizos, blurring the distinctions between the different categories of person, is speculation. Saignes, nevertheless, has highlighted the role of lay fraternities in aiding Indians to cross another boundary, that between landless migrant and integrated member of a local ayllu or town, by allowing migrants to establish land rights and to participate in the sponsorship of festivals (Saignes 1995: 187-188), thus blurring yet another fiscal distinction, that between originarios (natives) and agregados or forasteros (incomers or outsiders).

A further point raised by Abercrombie is the association between informal mining and Uru Indians in Potosí at the start of the seventeenth century. Abercrombie cites the dictionary of mining terms compiled by García de Llanos (1983 [1609]), an inspector of mines in Potosí, in which the author describes the activities of Uru Indians, or Uruquillas, as palliris - those who sort ore from the slagpile - a form of independent mining that continues today, largely at the hands of women, and which took and takes place often at week-ends and on public holidays. Abercrombie describes the seventeenth-century Uru palliris as 'hunters and gatherers of silver', since Urus were traditionally thought to live by hunting, fishing and gathering roots (Abercrombie 1996: 73). No specific mention of Urus is made in the documents about Guayco Seco, but the presence of Urus in the area was noted in the works of both Lozano Machuca and Capoche.

3.3.3 The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

The preceding section has highlighted the heterogeneity of the population of colonial Lípez that resulted from the explosion of mineral exploitation in the province in the seventeenth century, and the influx of people of different origins into the area. It also showed how the colonial policy of the 'two republics' was challenged on different occasions by people transgressing and blurring the boundaries between Spaniard and 'Indian': not only were people of mixed blood or ill-defined parentage emerging in the mining centres, but those classified as 'Indians' were starting to take up

the occupations of, and dress like, Spaniards. This was particularly obvious in the informal mining and refining sector, largely outside the control of the colonizing powers. The Spanish authorities, obviously, attempted to reinforce the social distinctions they had made, preserve the privileges of those originating from mainland Spain, and put the social-climbing 'Indians' back in their place.

The eighteenth century saw a much-reduced level of production from the mines of LÍpez, but also a situation in which the small-scale mining sector largely took over from the large-scale producers. Numerous documents lament the closing of ingenios, the large-scale refining mills along the course of the river downstream from the mines of San Antonio, but the trapiches, the small scale mills, were still in operation, and a considerable number of their owners were either 'Indians' or people of mixed descent, who, rather than receive the one-hundred lashes or two years mita service penalties that had been decreed as penalties for Indians engaging in such activities in the previous century, appear to have been propping up the industry and also complaining bitterly about the taxes they were being charged. Boundaries between categories of people continue to be blurred, although at certain moments in time, rather than escape the restrictions of being 'Indian' through social advancement, it also became important to insist upon one's 'Indianness'.

3.3.3.a Mining Activities in the Province

The start of the eighteenth century saw mining still happening on a large scale in San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo, although Bakewell estimates that the minerals exposed by López de Quiroga's socavón were all but exhausted by this time. As was mentioned in the previous section, illicit export of silver through the ports of Arica and Buenos Aires had become a problem for the Spanish authorities (ANB Minas t. 142 Nos. 13 and 16, t. 61 No. 8), and a letter from the corregidor, in 1703, even accuses the assistant priest of involvement in the activity (ANB Minas t. 60 No. 11). The same letter mentions further drainage work that had exposed new veins of silver, although, due to smuggling activities, the contributions to the royal treasury had diminished rather than increased.

Oral tradition in present-day LÍpez tells how the inhabitants of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo were destroyed by a plague, which may well have been the epidemic that swept across the Audiencia

de los Charcas in the year 1719.⁵¹ The plague is mentioned in a nineteenth-century report on the state of mining in Potosí department as having been the cause of the destruction of the site (ANB Minas t. 41 pp. 640-640v), although archival documents of the time from LÍpez do not mention it. Although there are comparatively few documents from San Antonio dated later than 1719, the epidemic did not put so final an end to mining at the site as the oral history would have it: in 1726, according to the corregidor of the time, Diego de Saya y Trujillo, there were still three or four ingenios in operation, although he claims that most of the 13 059 marks⁵² of silver he had delivered to the treasury in Potosí came from the trapiches of independent operators (ANB Minas t. 61 No. 4, p. 163). Later on, in 1752, in the course of the charges brought against the corregidor by a group of Indians, we are told that there were five ingenios in operation twelve years before their petition (1740), but that, as a result, according to most of their witnesses, of bad government by various corregidores, at their time of writing not one was functioning (ANB Minas t. 131 No. 10). A later corregidor, General don Juan Antonio de Acuña y Silba, is credited in 1761 with having refurbished one ingenio, and having installed a reverberation furnace for silver smelting, and, much later, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the subdelegado,⁵³ don Tadeo Ayala, is accused by a former priest of San Antonio, among other things of not keeping this ingenio in working order – although it appears that he was attempting to get two other ore-crushing installations into operation, one in San Antonio and one in Esmoruco.

Mining appears, nevertheless, to have remained on a comparatively small scale until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A prefectural document for the Department of Potosí in 1829 shows that many of the proprietors of mines at Pucasalli (near San Pablo) and Santa Isabel had Indian surnames (Quispe, or Quesbi, Villca, Mamani and Cayo) (AHP PD 62 No. 24 1829). However, as I mention above in section 3.2.1, three large companies started to invest in the mines of San Antonio de LÍpez, Buena Vista and Santa Isabel in the 1880s, as a somewhat peripheral activity to the late silver boom enjoyed by the Huanchaca mine, to the north of Uyuni, and some of the Sud Chichas mines. I deal in quite a lot of detail with the activities of the Compañía Esmoraca at the

⁵¹ For a reference to the plague, see Arzáns de Orsua y Vela, 1965 [1756]. Vol. 3, Chapters XLVI and XLVII; 77-96. For a discussion of the oral history as told in Sud LÍpez today, see Chapter 9.

⁵² One mark = 8 ounces.

⁵³ This was the office that effectively took over from the post of corregidor which had been abolished in the last years of the colonial administration due to the abuses and corruption that had become associated with it (Rasnake 1988: 155).

Buena Vista mine in Chapter 6, and have already mentioned Platt's (1987a) references to the company's activities, and so shall not go into much detail here. The activities of all three companies were fairly short-lived, with all coming into being in the 1880s, and only the Nueva Compañía Lípez, operating at Santa Isabel, surviving into the early years of the twentieth century. All three seemed dogged by a certain amount of misfortune: problems in acquiring a steam engine to drain the mines, which was being shipped from England, uprisings of Chilean skilled face-workers (barreteros) in Santa Isabel (as detailed in a collection of letters in the possession of the current owner of the Candelaria Mine at the site), and problems in finding Indians willing to transport ores, on the backs of their llamas, to the ingenios (see Platt 1987a: 520-521, Compañía Esmoraca 1886: 9). The investors in these mines did however include some of the most powerful men in late nineteenth-century Bolivia, among whom are two presidents of the republic, Gregorio Pacheco and Aniceto Arce who undoubtedly like their seventeenth-century predecessor, López de Quiroga, never actually set foot in the province themselves.

It was towards the end of the nineteenth century that the old province of Lípez was split, and Sud Lípez, with its capital in San Pablo, came into being as a province in its own right.

3.3.3.b Indians and Miners of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witness the continuing erosion of colonial classifications of people. Not only is there a continued presence of ambiguous and interstitial persons in the mining centres, but also distinctions between these people and the naturales, the Indian natives of the area, become confused. Throughout this period, however, there is considerable resistance to this erosion of differences, but this time on the part of those calling themselves 'natives', who, rather than attempt to move into interstitial categories by the appropriation of the occupations of Spaniards and mestizos, reclaim their Indian identity when this confers on them a financial or territorial advantage. These Indians resist what they see as an erosion of their territory through the settlement of mestizos and Indians from the mining settlements and, equally significantly, resist payment of the sorts of taxes they hold to be payable by Spaniards and mestizos: alcabalas (value added tax on commercial transactions) and tithes payable on livestock. These twin

themes, resistance to incursions on ayllu territory and avoidance of ‘Spanish’ taxes, recur throughout the eighteenth century and continue into the nineteenth. At the beginning of that century, however, the Indians of the province find themselves in a fiscal ‘double-bind’: of having either to be classified as agregados, or incomers, who pay lower tribute, but are charged tithes on their llamas, to which native Indians (originarios) are exempt, but which Spaniards and mestizos pay; or as originarios, subject to a higher tribute rate, and also to mita service in the mines of Potosí, which was still in force at the time.

In the sections that follow, I shall first consider the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century situation, central to which lies a dispute over a chieftainship between two contenders, Santos Baraona and Blas Quispe. Following this I shall take a brief look at the situation of the nineteenth-century ayllu of Lípez under early republican rule.

3.3.3.b (i) Mine Workers and *Naturales* of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Santos Baraona, Blas Quispe and the Importance of Being ‘Indian’

Documentation from the early years of the eighteenth century shows the mining centres of Lípez to have been ethnic and racial ‘melting pots’, on a smaller scale, but in a similar manner to the city of Potosí. We read that the workforce of the time included Indians from the cities of La Plata and Potosí, from Pacajes, from Toledo and Santiago Guari in Paria province, as well as from Lípez itself (ANB Minas t. 131 No. 6). The heterogeneity of the workforce becomes even more apparent in the complaints made in 1726, by mine owners and azogeros (silver refiners – from Spanish, azogue – ‘mercury’) about their corregidor, Diego de Saya y Trujillo, through which it also becomes obvious that the attempts of the previous century to curtail the activities of the informal mining sector, and force its practitioners into recognised social and fiscal categories, have failed. The mine owners complain that the sons of the corregidor have been working some sort of extortion racket, forcing itinerant traders to sell their goods cheaply, and reselling them at a healthy profit in their own retail outlets.⁵⁴ The result is that the traders, Indians from Challapata in Paria province, prefer to take

⁵⁴ Extortionate and abusive practices associated with the office of corregidor were widespread at this time. The forced sale of consumer goods to the indigenous population (reparto de efectos) was a common practice (Rasnake 1988: 140-141). It appears that something of this nature was going on in Lípez, where the petty merchants were being forced out of business by the corregidor’s racket.

their wares elsewhere. Nevertheless, the mine owners' complaints do not end there: they claim that, as in the 1680s, the 'settlement and Indian dwellings are found to be totally infested with an infinity of vagrants they call jucos, whose practice is the continual theft of minerals' (ANB Minas t. 61 No. 4; 169). Like their predecessors, faced with ore theft by 'undesirables', in the previous century, the mine and refinery owners call for the demolition of small-scale refining installations and the expulsion of all vagrants, but making exception for 'los españoles, mestizos, negros, mulatos libres e indios' ('the Spaniards, mestizos, 'blacks' (presumably slaves), free mulattos and Indians) necessary for the working of their own mines (*ibid.* p. 169-160v). Indeed, part of their problem with the corregidor seems to be that he has recognised the importance of the informal sector for its contribution to the royal coffers, and so has taken little or no action against it.

From 1741, we find the first of several documents of the century initiated by the 'Indians' of Lípez, in which their desire to hang on to the possession of their territory as 'Indians' comes to the fore. It seems that there is a problem with incursions of people, presumably from the mining centres, into the territory occupied by the local ayllus. A group of caciques (chieftains) from San Pablo write to the Royal Court (Real Audiencia) requesting that their possession of lands, granted four years earlier, be formally recognised and confirmed, 'in order that no Spaniards or neighbouring Indians occasion them any damage or changes' (ANB Tierras e indios, 1741 No. 20). They further mention that the new corregidor only visits San Pablo in order to collect tribute, and request that a judge, or some other class of Spaniard should be located there in order to administer land titles and boundaries, since the corregidor's absence has allowed that '...any neighbours, principally some Spaniards, in whose hands lie such power and authority, can make incursions into the aforementioned lands, causing prejudice and disturbance, and that this results in the trampling underfoot of the notoriously fainthearted Indians we represent' (*ibid.*).

The eighteenth century sees several further cases of complaints about the activities of corregidores, similar to the case dating from 1726, which at times appear as legitimate attempts to impose taxes, and most notably alcabalas (value added tax) on the heterogeneous informal mining and refining sector, but at others to be cases of blatant extortion. In 1752 a group of 'Indians' claiming to be kuraqas (local chieftains) complain about the corregidores of the province over the previous twelve years, claiming that they have deterred traders by forcibly purchasing their goods at

low prices, have put the owners of pulperías (stores) out of business (see note 54), and that at San Antonio there now remain only eight Indians, four mestizos hucos (informal miners) and a few women. The main complaints of the kuraqas, however, concern the corregidores' taxes imposed on trapiches and other ore mills. It turns out that this group of 'Indians' are the owners of such trapiches, that is, they are part – or perhaps all that remains – of the once flourishing informal mining sector. They write: '...y nos llevó de cada piedra de moler a veinte y quatro pesos y dose pesos más para que pudiésemos continuar, con multa de cinquenta pesos que sin ganas ni posibles trabajásemos las minas'.⁵⁵

The 'Indians' involved in refining at this point, that is, who have control of the refining process, also claim to be the 'naturales' of the province. These 'Indian' refiners do not appear to be working the San Antonio site itself, as they complain about the distances they have to walk in order to pay the taxes on their silver, and may well have been based at Jaquegua, where one of their number, Santos Baraona, appears to have connections.⁵⁶

One further complaint against the incumbent corregidor is that he is failing to carry out his ceremonial duties in connection with the church. He is accused of one particular offence: that on Holy Thursday, instead of bringing out the key to the Holy Shrine in person, he delegated this responsibility to someone else. The problem seems to be that this person was unacceptable, largely on account of his belonging to an ambiguous category, and the descriptions of him illustrate well the problems and confusion surrounding colonial categorisations, or castas,⁵⁷ and also draws our attention to a prejudice against those descended from the African slave population on the part of the 'Indians'. They describe the man as a sambo (of mixed African and native Indian descent). The various witnesses called, who are as outraged by the act as are the Indian authors of the complaint, however, cannot agree on the classification of the person involved: some, like the Indians call him a sambo, while others term him a mozo (a Spanish word meaning 'servant', but used in the Andes as a synonym for cholo, that is, an Indian without ethnic affiliation), one specifically describes him as 'a

⁵⁵ '...and he took from us 24 pesos for each millstone and 12 pesos for us to be able to continue in operation, with a fine of 50 pesos [presumably for non compliance] which leaves us with neither the inclination, nor the possibility, of working the mines'.

⁵⁶ The distance given in the complaint is that this journey is a round trip of 30 leagues (90 miles), which is much greater than the distance between San Antonio and Jaquegua but distances given in lawsuits of the era are often vastly exaggerated (one Indian claims that Santa Isabel is 100 leagues, or 300 miles, from San Antonio, when in my estimation the distance between them is closer to 45 miles).

⁵⁷ See Chapter 2, note 13.

mozo of mean occupation and birth', still others describe him as a mestizo, and one as an Indian. Here we are confronted by a group of people who are already 'between' colonial categories, in that they claim to be 'Indians', but, in working as independent refiners, behave like mestizos or Spaniards, complaining about the behaviour of someone else of ambiguous category, but who may be insulted on account of his supposed African ancestry, who like them performs a function that should be carried out by a Spaniard.

In 1758, the problems I have mentioned above, concerning the chieftainship of the Lípez ayllu comes to the fore, when the corregidor of Lípez, don Pedro Ortiz de Escobar, appoints an 'Indian' of his choice to the cacicazgo (chieftainship)(ANB EC 1758 No. 89). This Indian turns out to be the same Santos Baraona, mentioned above in connection with the complaints about a previous corregidor, and involved in refining, probably in Jaquegua. The reason he gives for making the appointment is that there is not, in the entire province, any Indian who has a hereditary right to the title (presumably according to a Spanish understanding of lineage), and the 'Indian' who had assumed the title, named as Blas Quispe, he accuses of attempting to defraud the royal coffers by exempting his four sons from tribute payments.

Santos Baraona supports the case for his appointment by claiming that his wife is the daughter of a previous (legitimate) chieftain - although she and her late father bear the Spanish surname Mendoza - and records testimony confirming this from several witnesses in Jaquegua. The witnesses that Baraona calls, however, are not exactly representative of the people of the San Pablo ayllus: one is another of the 'Indian' trapicheros who authored the 1752 complaint, one is a ten-year-old boy from Challapata in Paria province, another is an Indian from Santiago de Guari, also in Paria, and only one is said to be a native of San Pablo.

That a number of people from San Pablo opposed this appointment becomes clear in a letter written to the king by three of them, and received in Madrid in 1762. The letter complains of extortion on the part of their caciques and corregidores, that is, both the 'native' and Spanish authorities, and, once again, that these caciques allow the intrusion of mestizo outsiders and foreigners into their towns, and that these mestizos are taking away the lands of the naturales (ANB CR639 1762). The 'Indians' go on to complain specifically about Santos Baraona in terms that call into question his pertinence to the category of 'Indian' and hence the legitimacy of his title:

...esto proviene señor de que nunca son caciques los que merezen, como son los indios nobles de dichos pueblos, como lo mandan las Reales ordenanzas: por esto señor, nuestro cacique, que es Santos Baraona, ha consentido que dichos mestizos intrusos nos quiten nuestras enunciadas tierras y la razón es que *el dicho cacique es mulato, enemigo de los pobres indios*, y es contra ley y razón que un mulato sea cacique donde hay indios nobles.....

(*ibid.*, my italics)⁵⁸

The letter continues with the Indians complaining that they are forced to leave their lands and are left in the streets to beg, or to leave their wives and families. Again we encounter Indians using supposed African ancestry as an insult: this time Santos Baraona, who himself complained about the African ancestry of the sambo in the previous case, is himself accused of belonging to an ambiguous category, although he is a legitimate claimant to the title in the eyes of the Spanish administrator, since he has allied himself by marriage to a previous cacique's lineage.

The events surrounding the appointment of Santos Baraona and the removal from the chieftainship of Blas Quispe are remembered nearly half a century later in 1805. At this time the Indians of the area complained about having to pay tithes on their llamas, citing an edict that appears to be in their favour, exempting Indians from such tax, and claiming that to pay such tithes has never been a custom in their area (ANB EC 1805 No. 89). The reply from the fiscal judges, however, shows that by this time the 'Indians' were in a fiscal 'double bind'. They were classed as forasteros or agregados,⁵⁹ meaning incomers, and living on land to which they have no title, that is, it is Spanish owned, belongs to the crown, or is uncultivated wasteland (see the following section below). As such, they are charged tribute at a lower rate than are originarios (natives, considered to be those descended from the Indian population of their area at the time of the Spanish conquest), are exempt from the Potosí mita, but have to pay ten per cent taxes on llamas as do Spaniards and mestizos.

⁵⁸ '...this comes about, my lord, because the caciques are never those who merit the position, as do the noble Indians of the aforementioned towns, as the Royal decrees stipulate. Because of this, my lord, our cacique, who is Santos Baraona, has permitted the intrusion of mestizos who take away our declared lands, and the reason is *that this aforementioned cacique is a mulato, enemy of the poor Indians*, and it is against law and reason that a mulato should be cacique of a people that has noble Indians.....'

⁵⁹ The two categories agregado and forastero, both referred to outsiders. Saignes (1985:38) implies a subtle difference between the two categories. According to his glossary, agregados were regarded as migrants who had incorporated themselves into ayllu other than those of their places of birth, while forasteros were thought to have settled in ayllu other than those of their birth places, but not to have incorporated themselves to such a great extent.

Tribute was charged according to the number of adult males under the age of fifty in a community. In the nineteenth century, agregados in LÍpez were charged at a rate of seven pesos annually, payable in two instalments of three pesos, four reales (ANB Rev 492). There were no originarios in LÍpez, but Indians classed as such living in the ayllus of Yura, north of Uyuni, were charged at ten pesos annually (Rasnake 1988: 156). Platt has estimated llama ownership for the ayllus of LÍpez in the latter half of the nineteenth century at between 30 and 40 beasts per tribute payer (Platt 1995: 281), and that, at this time, tribute payers would have easily have been able to earn their tribute through the use of their llamas as freight animals. Platt estimates that they would have been able to earn up to 30 pesos from four journeys carrying ore from the mines to the ingenios. If this were to have also been true at the beginning of the century, then it would appear that the LÍpez ayllus would have indeed been better off paying the higher rate of tribute and retaining the three or four llamas (half of which would be likely to be male freight animals) with which they could increase their earnings. The catch, however, would be that, on changing their status, they would have become subject to mita service in the mines of the city of Potosí (although at an earlier date the ayllu of LÍpez had been exempt from this on the basis of the mines in their home province). This was obviously something they would have wished to avoid, and they were not to know that the mita was to be abolished a mere seven years later in 1812.

In the case that resulted, several witnesses were called, and these swore that it has never been the custom in their area to pay tithes on llamas. Some also stated that some 30 or 40 years previously they had had a governor called Blas Quispe, who had defended them against the payment. One of these witnesses, Jossé Garcia, described as a vecino del beneficio de San Pablo (neighbour from the refinery of San Pablo) who although possessing a Spanish name required an interpreter, states categorically that Blas Quispe gained a Royal Provision for the communities, exempting them from payment. The arguments of the comunarios, however, are countered by a statement from one Ydelfonso Delgado, a vecino (neighbour) of Spanish ancestry, from Esmoraca, in neighbouring Chichas province. Delgado asserts that the tithes are legitimate, although he acknowledges that the Indians have had an exemption by Royal provision, but claims that this was obtained 'surreptitiously'. He argues that the Indians of LÍpez are not originarios, but the descendants of those who came from different parts of the Altiplano to work the mines, and have remained after the

demise of the mining industry. The lands do not therefore belong to them, but are classed as Spanish owned, or wastelands, which belong to the crown - a fact that the fiscal authorities could verify if they found Spanish witnesses 'who know what religion is, and are not all idiots like these Indians'.⁶⁰

3.3.3.b (ii) The Early Republican Era

Bolivia became an independent nation state in 1825. Although the idea of tribute payment by the Indian population may have been repugnant to early republican governments, these recognised the payments as an important source of revenue for the new republic, so the payments continued. Platt has argued, however, that the understanding of tribute changed between the two regimes. Under the colonial regime, payments to the Spanish crown were conceived as more as a tax than a rent, and Indians paid tribute in accordance with their intrinsic right to land, themselves understanding tribute payments to be their part of a 'pact of reciprocity' with the Spanish crown by which they were guaranteed access to their lands. However, under the government of the republic, the state preferred to consider that the ayllus simply had usufruct of land belonging to the state, and at a later stage, that tribute was simply rent paid for state lands (Platt 1982: 40). The opposition of the ayllus of northern Potosí to attempts by governments in the later years of the nineteenth century to do away with ayllus and tribute payments altogether, and make the Indians into small scale capitalist landholders has been well documented by Platt (1982, 1984).

In order to calculate the amount of tribute due from an ayllu it was necessary from time to time to enumerate the population.⁶¹ This was done by means of censuses called revisitas, which sought to list the names of each individual contributor, along with those of his family, the lands he occupied and the tribute category to which he belonged. A special note was made of proximos, sons between the ages of 13 and 17, who would become tribute payers in the following five years, and of reservados, those already over 50 years of age, and thus exempt from payment. Tribute payers themselves were placed in a number of categories. Originarios were supposedly the descendants of

⁶⁰ Ydelfonso also hints that there was trouble in Lipez at the time of the Indian uprisings in the 1780s (ANB EC 1805 No. 89). I have no details of this, however, and have not as yet found reference to such troubles in other documents.

⁶¹ Similar censuses of the tribute-paying population were made in the colonial era, but these are held, not in Sucre, but in the Archivo General de la Nación Argentina in Buenos Aires.

those occupying the lands at the time of the conquest, while agregados or forasteros were later arrivals, and there were further distinctions made in many areas between agregados with and without access to land.

For the cantons of LÍpez, including the San Pablo area, we have revisitas dating from the years 1835, 1841, 1846, 1854, 1862, 1867, 1871 and 1877 (ANB Rev 492-504). Compared with the revisitas from Chayanta, these are unusual in that there are apparently no originarios, only agregados, charged at the rate of three pesos and four reales for each six-month period. This, however, is not surprising considering the fiscal ‘double-bind’ that has been noted above, in which the Indians of the San Pablo area found themselves at the beginning of the century, when they objected to the payment of tithes on their llamas. Platt has raised the suggestion that the lack of originarios in the nineteenth century was a result of a long-term strategy of deceiving the Spaniards, in order to pay tribute at a lower rate, that started in the sixteenth century with the Aymara population of LÍpez claiming to be Uru (Platt 1987: 485). Nevertheless, I find his argument from his earlier work on the nineteenth-century ayllus of Chayanta more convincing: that the tributary category in which an Indian was placed owed less to genealogy than to access to agricultural land (Platt 1982: 53). In San Pablo canton there is very little cultivable land, I know only of a very limited amount of agriculture in an area called Estancia Grande to which the comunarios of present day Santa Isabel have access, and the bulk of the lands of the canton are communal grazing and bare mountainside. Even without the arguments noted in the previous section as to whether the Indians of the area were originarios, or the descendants of mine workers, and the evidence of a certain amount of integration of the mining workforce into the local population, their holdings of lands would have been considered ‘marginal’ which alone would probably have placed them in the agregado category.

The ayllu recorded in the nineteenth-century for San Pablo canton are named as Ayllu Pololos, which incorporated San Pablo and its surrounding estancias, Ayllu de los LÍpes, centred around San Antonio de LÍpez, Ayllu San Antonio de Esmoruco, comprising the estancias around the present-day town, Ayllu Santa Isabel, and Ayllu Chico de San Antonio, which in some of the revisitas is called Lagunillas (to the south of San Antonio de Esmoruco). Three of the ayllus, hence, took their names from Spanish mining installations, while a fourth, Pololos, included the town of San Pablo, the site

of the seventeenth-century ingenio. Looking through the lists from the nineteenth century, the territory of Ayllu Pololos suddenly starts to seem familiar. Many of the estancias are occupied by families with the same surnames as the present-day families of San Pablo; names like Alejo, Nina, Paucar, Limachi and Guaita. The census of 1841 notes the arrival in the area of one of today's most numerous families in San Pablo: at Estancia Chaccacheta, one of the tribute payers is Mariano Porco, listed as an agregado de la provincia de Porco (incomer from Porco province), who is already married to a woman with a local name, and whose provenance is not noted in later censuses (these must have been the forebears of don Francisco and also of don Alejo's daughter-in-law, Pancha). Moving to San Antonio de Lipez, there are several tribute payers bearing the same surname as the leader of the Buena Vista mining co-operative, who are probably his forebears, since don Reynaldo's father came from San Antonio.

3.4 Conclusions

Although I have ended the survey of archival material at the end of the nineteenth century, I hope that the material I have covered helps to link the snapshots of the past that the various published works on Lipez gave us, and to understand the situation of Lipeño people in the present. In the survey I have ignored much material about the dealings of Spanish mine owners, and have concentrated on those documents that concern categories of people, and attempts to move between categories, or to put other people in their places as particular sorts of tribute payers, naciones (nations) and castas (castes). I have further tried to emphasise the flexibility of categories, particularly during colonial times, and the sorts of people who transgressed boundaries with varying degrees of success: the Indian woman who owned a slave in the sixteenth century, the mixed bunch who formed the informal mining sector at San Antonio in the seventeenth, and the arguments about who was, or was not, Indian in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, together with those over the sorts of taxes these people should pay.

The emphasis that I have placed on categories and their transgression links this work to that of other Latin Americanist anthropologists and historians in the ill-defined and contentious field of mestizaje, and, obviously, to the work of Abercrombie on the q'aqchas of Potosí in the eighteenth

century. In the Andes, the emphasis that analysts have placed on mestizaje is not so much to see it as an elite discourse of national unity, but as a discourse about people who fail to fit into the neat categories of blanco (white) or indio (Indian): the so-called ‘popular classes’. Abercrombie argues that, far from being temporary stages in the lives of social-climbing ‘Indians’, as much anthropological literature would suggest, the interstitial categories of ‘mestizo’ and ‘cholo’ (unaffiliated or city Indian), the ‘popular classes, have long, if relatively unknown histories, and have a role in the political economy that has challenged dominant economic and social relationships in both the colonial and postcolonial eras (Abercrombie 1996: 62).

In spite of living in a remote rural area, the people of present-day San Pablo, like many of those of the colonial province of LÍpez, challenge many of our assumptions about Indian identity. As Harris points out, the category of Indian is today identified with subsistence-oriented communities, and with poverty: while mestizos engage in trade and acquire the greater part of their income from commerce, people ‘who are unambiguously classified as Indian’ do not depend decisively on markets (Harris 1995a: 351). Many of the people of San Pablo not only engage in trade on a regular basis, but also rely on the cash income of temporary migrants from their families working in large towns. In the matter of education they completely explode the myth of Indian illiteracy: most San Pableños I knew had attended school for several years, and many of the younger generation aspire to a university education.

The apparent pertinence of the people of Sud-LÍpez to the ‘popular classes’ rather than to the category of ‘Indian’ does not however mean that they have no sense of ‘belonging’ to their locality or understanding of the landscape of their environment equivalent to that of people from communities labelled more unequivocally as ‘Indian’. In the subsequent chapters of this thesis, I argue for an ambivalence on their part over ‘belonging’ to the locality and to the Bolivian nation-state, which I illustrate through looking at occupation, ritual and oral history. I propose that this ‘dual-identity’ of people of contemporary LÍpez results from a three dimensional dialogic and intertextual process: a contemporary dialogue between discourses of nationalism and what being Indian means at the end of the twentieth-century, ideas and categories that are themselves, nevertheless, the results of dialogues that continued throughout the colonial and post-colonial eras. Present-day discourses of identity are the result of a dialogue that began with the encounter between

sixteenth-century Spaniard and Indian, continued throughout the colonial era between Spanish discourses concerning categories of people and Indian understandings of these categories, which as we have seen centred around the payment of taxes, and continued through the republican era to the present day. That the people of Lipez seem to be ambivalent about their affiliation to the nation or to the locality today perhaps stems from the colonial dialogues over categories of people and tax payments, in which local residents had simultaneous obligations both to the colonial authorities, in the form of tithes and alcabalas, and to local organisations, in the form of festival sponsorship and the payment of tribute, organised through caciques. Such colonial dialogues, and the existence of the colonial population in in-between states, seem to me a far more adequate explanation for the present-day population's existence in-between contemporary categories than is provided by thinking in terms of their 'acculturation'; of the 'corruption' of some supposedly 'pure Indian' form.

Chapter 4. *Ayllus*, Miners and the Bolivian State: The Political Background to the Thesis.

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide background information about political matters that influenced the lives of the people of San Pablo de Lipez during the period of my fieldwork with them. Rather than restrict my interpretation of 'political' to the effects of events and legislation at the level of national government that filtered down to the level of provinces and their constituent sections and cantons, I have given the term a somewhat broader meaning: looking at politics at both local and national levels, I have tried to outline some political factors that have contributed towards contemporary ambivalence on the part of Lipeños about belonging to the locality, as 'Indians', and to the nation-state as 'Bolivians', or indeterminacy in the sense of existing in an interstitial state between 'Indians' and the urban popular classes.

I start by discussing a significant absence in present-day San Pablo, that of the ayllu, the name given to the political, and/or kinship based unit that formed the basis of 'Indian' society in colonial times, and which persists in many rural areas of Bolivia to this day. From a general discussion of the meanings of the term both in the past and in the present, I move on to discuss changes in positions of ayllu authority under the colonial and republican regimes. The points I want to make here are: firstly, that even where ayllus do exist today, their structure and posts of authority are not pristine indigenous survivals, but have been modified by both colonial and republican rule; and secondly, that the posts of authority on town councils in some areas can also be considered as successors to those of the colonial and republican ayllus. In some cases, including those of the communities of Sud Lipez, to say that an ayllu is, or is not, present is to draw a very fine distinction.

Following the discussion of ayllu, I move to the level of the nation and consider some of the political changes implemented during my fieldwork period that affected the lives of rural people. Particularly relevant here is the legislation that became the flagship of the M.N.R. government (1992-1997), led by Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, the Plan de Todos (Plan for Everyone), which included the laws of Popular Participation and Decentralisation, which aimed to increase the involvement of rural people in political decisions affecting their areas, and to make available to them

funding from central government to administer local services. This section, together with the previous one form necessary background information for the discussion of locality, state and authority and the impact of recent government reforms in San Pablo in the section that follows.

The final section of this chapter is something of a digression, but a necessary one. It concerns the political and recent historical background of a particular group of people: Bolivia's mining population. The historical importance of mining in Sud L pez has been outlined in the preceding chapter, and I include here a discussion of the political background to miners as a social group, since a small number of people in and around San Pablo have chosen to make their living from the extraction of minerals to the exclusion of other economic activities. I spent a considerable portion of my fieldwork period with these miners and their situation is described in Chapter 6. These miners of San Pablo have their ambivalence of affiliation between locality and nation-state further complicated by an allegiance to what we might term an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991) of miners as a group at national level. In this third section I discuss the changes that have taken place in the mining industry this century, along with the reasons why miners can be considered to form a nationwide group.

4.2 The *Ayllu*: An Absence in San Pablo's Politics

Although it may seem an unusual way to begin, I shall start this section on local politics by discussing something that is absent in present-day San Pablo: the ayllu. Unlike the inhabitants of many rural areas of Bolivia, and unlike the subjects of numerous ethnographies, the people with whom I worked do not consider themselves to be part of one. It will be apparent, nevertheless, from the previous chapter, that people termed 'Indians' were organised into groups called ayllus in the Sud L pez area in the nineteenth century, when censuses were taken to enumerate tribute payers; that there were political organisations of Indians, headed by chieftains, called kuraqas or caciques¹ prior to this in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and that the Potosino mine owner, Luis Capoche, reported there being ten ayllus in L pez in the sixteenth century, at the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards in the region. On talking to present-day residents of San Pablo, it emerges that the population of Sud L pez was still organised in ayllus only twenty or so years ago, so to discuss an

¹ Cacique is a word that was introduced to the Andean region from the Caribbean by Spaniards. It was applied to native authorities who might otherwise have been titled kuraqa (Quechua) or mallku (Aymara) (Abercrombie 1998: 462 note 20). The Quechua title kuraqa is often written 'curaca' in Spanish colonial documents.

absence is not quite so strange as it might at first appear. In fact I would argue that although the present-day population no longer belongs to an ayllu it has not forgotten altogether what it is to belong to one, and that the present-day local administrative structure and positions of authority are to some degree the successors of those of the earlier ayllus.

That Andean peoples were, and still are in many areas, organised into groups called ayllus is something that is frequently taken for granted, but a close examination of the term and its meanings demonstrates that it is a particularly difficult concept to define. Ayllu might be glossed as ‘a self-defined rural social group² that is in some ways separate, or apart, from the structures of the Bolivian state’, but it could also be argued that the forms taken by ayllus today have been shaped by political regimes of both the Colonial and Republican periods. Examining briefly some of the meanings and dialogues that surround the term may not lead us any closer to a watertight definition of ayllu than have previous attempts to clarify its meaning written by anthropologists who have worked with people who claim to belong to one,³ but it may help towards understanding why the people of Sud Lípez ceased to regard the institution as relevant to their lives. In the discussion that follows, I start by examining the meaning of the term ayllu before the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century, and then consider what is meant by the term ayllu in rural Bolivia today.

4.2.1 The *Ayllus* of the Past⁴

Looking first at what the notion of ayllu may have been before the arrival of Europeans in the Andean area, Salomon, in his introduction to *The Huarochiri Manuscript*, a testament of pre-Hispanic religious tradition from the early years of the seventeenth century, notes that the narrators of its myths describe their society as consisting of collectivities called ayllus, and that these

² (Abercrombie 1998: 463). I use the term ‘rural social group’ following Abercrombie, who notes the problems of applying terms such as ‘ethnic group’ to entities like Macha or K’ulta in northern Potosí and Oruro departments.

³ Although many authors have described the ayllu in which they worked, for example, Platt (1986), Rasnake (1988), Allen (1988), Abercrombie (1998), and many others have employed the term frequently, it is difficult to come by any sort of satisfactory definition of ayllu. This is in part because the exact meaning of the term varies within the Andean region, and also varies contextually in a given area. Both Rasnake (1988: 51) and Allen (1988: 108-109) draw attention to this problem, as does Salomon in discussing the nature of ayllu prior to the Spanish invasion (Salomon 1991: 21-22).

⁴ For the purposes of this thesis I have restricted the discussion of the ayllus of the past to a general level, and so have not gone into the body of literature dealing with the details of ayllus under the Inca state. It is worth noting, however, that like the ayllus that remain today, these were organised in upper and lower halves or moieties.

paqarina, or dawning places.⁷ Abercrombie notes that Bertonio gives hatha, meaning ‘seed’, but also ‘semen’, as a synonym for ayllu (Bertonio 1984 [1612]: segunda parte 28 col. 2) and concludes that ayllus were at one time patrilineal, conceived in terms of shared male generative substance, although the notion of shared female blood might also enter into the equation in some less well defined way. As a counterweight to this, Arnold, drawing on both contemporary fieldwork among the Qaqachaka of the border area between Oruro and northern Potosí, and on the work of Zuidema on Inca kinship, considers rather the ayllu, both past and present, to consist of localised patrilineal household groups within a wider network of matrilineal ties (Arnold 1988: 172). Abercrombie (1998: 341-342 and 498) is not entirely in disagreement with this view, noting that it is female blood that links the mosaic of patrilineal hamlets that form a contemporary ayllu. He does however emphasise the importance of patrilineality, and notes that even in women’s libations to ancestors, the emphasis is on their patrikin.

A final, but important, aspect of the ayllus of *The Huarochiri Manuscript* that Salomon notes is that of territoriality: although a settlement might contain more than one ayllu, these ayllus were in some way connected to rights to land, as a ‘named landholding collectivity’ (Salomon 1991: 22). His overall conclusion is that ‘ayllu may be understood as an ideology built up to explain patterns of behaviour rooted in the residence rules, which in turn often reflect the demands of a given geographical, technological and demographic reality’ (*ibid*: 23).

4.2.2 Present-Day *Ayllus*

The previous section showed that soon after the time of the arrival of Spaniards in the Andes, the notion of ayllu was concerned with access to land, residence rules, ritual action and, somewhat contentiously, to kinship ideology. This section turns to recent ethnographic studies of rural communities in the Andean region that have the ayllu as the basis of their social organisation, and examines the present-day meanings of the term. Rasnake’s (1988: 51) comment, however, should be

⁷ Paqarina – a ‘dawning place’ from which the ancestors of a particular group were thought to have emerged in the distant past. A paqarina could be a cave, spring, lake, hill or other feature of the landscape. The sixteenth-century scribe, Pedro de Sarmiento de Gamboa recounts a myth in which the creator, Viracocha, having drawn on stone the different people who were to populate the world, then travelled the land ordering the people to appear. Some emerged from lakes, some from springs, others from valleys, caves, trees, stones and mountains. These paqarina became the principal objects of worship or huaca for the groups in question (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1960 [1572]: 209).

borne in mind: that the term cannot be assumed to have just one meaning, but should rather be considered to be a complex concept applied to different kinds of groupings in different regions, and in each particular case, specific meaning has to be sought. Bearing this in mind, I base this discussion on descriptions of groups that still retain ayllu organisation with the departments of Potosí and Oruro of Bolivia: Ayllu Macha of northern Potosí, described by Platt (1986), Ayllu Yura of southern Potosí (although still somewhat to the north of Sud Lípez), described by Rasnake (1988) and Ayllu K'ulta of Oruro, described by Abercrombie (1998).

In all three cases the term ayllu is used to refer to groups of different levels of generality or embeddedness. Yura, Macha and K'ulta are considered as ayllu themselves at the highest level of generality (Platt terms this level the *maximal ayllu* (Platt 1986: 230)), and form more-or-less endogamous groups. These groups are subdivided into moieties, which are themselves divided into a number of smaller groups, also considered ayllu,⁸ which Platt terms *minor ayllu*, and which in turn are further subdivided into hamlets or *minimal ayllu*, consisting of a number of household units. Platt identifies the household unit as the smallest social grouping in Macha, while, today, as in the colonial period, *minimal ayllu* form the basic units of taxation above the household. A similar embedded structure of ayllu is found among the Yura. It should be noted that, with the groups being endogamous only at the higher levels of organisation, with the interplay between matriliney and patriliney and with residence not necessarily being isomorphic with the geographical space of the ayllu, ambiguities can and do arise over the exact grouping within the larger ayllu to which a person belongs.

Platt notes that ayllus do not form discrete territorial groups, but are social groupings that hold land together, in the form of small 'islands' in different areas. The three examples differ in respect to their territorial holdings. While Macha has retained lands in different ecological zones, in the way that Murra has elucidated for pre-Hispanic Aymara chieftainships (Murra 1975a), as a result of the types of organisation imposed on Indian groups during the colonial era, Yura now lacks this diversity, and has its lands concentrated in a maize growing valley region. K'ulta in a similar manner has its present-day territory concentrated in the highland zone, and Abercrombie, on the basis of his fieldwork in the 1980s, describes the ayllu as being in a process of 'atomisation', with its

⁸ Abercrombie restricts his usage of the term ayllu to groups at this level (Abercrombie 1998: 462).

different small towns applying for the status of canton, that is, opting out of the parent ayllu and into a more direct relationship with the apparatuses of the Bolivian state (Abercrombie 1998: 310-314).

In the previous chapter, I emphasised the importance in the colonial era of putting people into categories, and how one of the criteria by which these categories were defined was the manner in which they paid tax: while Spaniards paid value added tax (alcabalas) and tithes, Indians paid tribute. Today taxation remains an important difference between people who belong to an ayllu and those who do not: members of ayllus in Potosí and Oruro departments of Bolivia still pay tribute to the Bolivian state.⁹ As Rasnake (1988:62) describes for Yura, this is now a nominal sum worth about US\$ 0.25, but is related to holdings of agricultural land that are recognised in their totality as belonging collectively to the ayllus, and is based on the final census taken in the nineteenth century. Rasnake further describes how, in Yura, people who are not members of the ayllu but who own land, in their own right, like the mestizos and Spaniards of the colonial era, are taxed in a different manner, paying a separate private land tax (catastro) (*ibid*: 75). It is easy to see, therefore, that the fissioning of independent cantons from an ayllu can become bound up with present-day understandings of the categories Indian and non-Indian in rural Bolivia.¹⁰

The relationship between ayllu and kinship in present-day groups remains a contentious issue. Although Rasnake notes that at the level of *maximal ayllu* the Yura form an endogamous group, he asserts that the present-day Yura ayllus are not lineages, and individuals do not share any conception that members of a single ayllu should all be relatives. He does, however, note that in certain contexts the term ayllu can refer to kin or relatives, but that this usage is contrasted with that connected to large groupings by referring to the latter as jatun ayllu (Rasnake 1988: 51). A different situation is noted by Abercrombie, who, for K'ulta, notes a strong patrilineal bias particularly at hamlet (Platt's *minimal ayllu*) level, and further claims that all members of the wider ayllu units are aware that they ultimately share the same 'blood', where blood is conceived as the woman's contribution to reproduction (Abercrombie 1998: 341). Once more Arnold's study of kinship practices in Qaqachaka should be noted, as here she notes that matrilineal aspects of kinship are

⁹ Understandings of tribute under colonial and republican regimes were discussed in the previous chapter in Section 3.3.3.b (ii). In this section it was mentioned that Indians themselves understood their tribute payments as their part in a pact of reciprocity with the regime, whereby they were guaranteed access to their lands.

¹⁰ It should be noted that the canton is the basic unit of the Bolivian administrative structure, and hence that the old 'reduction' towns, such as Santa Bárbara de Culca, are cantonal capitals as well as being the festive centres for ayllu. When I write here of 'cantonisation', I am referring to the creation of new cantons, which involves breaking away from the parent ayllu.

emphasised as principles of organisation within the ayllu, and rites of passage that emphasise matrilineal social formations are given greater importance than others (Arnold 1988: 458).

All authors exemplify how the different levels of ayllus and moieties, like the ayllus of *The Huarochiri Manuscript*, are the basis for the ritual actions of the social groups. Further to this, the sponsorship of festivals by individuals, involving considerable effort and economic outlay, is linked to positions of authority within the ayllu. For example, Abercrombie (1998: 370-371) notes for K'ulta the existence of festival career paths, in which individuals alternate fiesta sponsorship with posts of civic responsibility, while a slightly different situation exists for Yura, in which the holders of posts of civic responsibility within the ayllu are also the sponsors of certain festivals.

4.2.3 The State and the Changing Role of *Ayllu* Leadership.

Although there do seem to be many similarities between the pre-Hispanic notions of ayllu that Salomon describes and the present-day social groupings that go by the same name, it cannot be assumed that the present-day entities are identical to them in every way. As has already been mentioned, the intervention of Spanish colonial rule brought with it many changes for Andean peoples, among which, for the Yura and K'ulta, was the loss of their territory in different ecological zones (Rasnake 1988: 35-36, Abercrombie 1998: 253). Although Spanish administration retained the ayllu as the basic unit of taxation throughout colonial times, and also as the basis for the organisation of mita labour for the Potosí mines, drastic changes took place.

Firstly, for the purposes of administration, taxation and the imposition of Christianity on the native population, Indians were resettled and concentrated together into new towns, called 'reductions' (reducciones), from their scattered hamlets. Although, at a slightly later stage, many peasant farmers returned to their hamlets (and their landholdings), the 'reductions' did not disappear, but became, as they are today, seats of local government, that link the locality to the state, and which serve as festival centres, but remain all but empty, or populated by people who do not consider themselves as belonging to the ayllu (vecinos) for much of the year (Rasnake 1988: 100-101). The communities of Sud Lípez are unusual in that the larger towns are not those founded by

the Spanish in order to enforce buena policia¹¹ upon the Indian population, but are instead the remains of Spanish mining and refining settlements.¹²

A second change that took place under colonial administration concerned the nature of ayllu authorities. Spanish administrators were anxious to curb the powers of hereditary chieftains (caciques or kuraqas), and created new indigenous posts, such as alcaldes (mayors) in the 'reductions' serving fixed terms in office. While hereditary chieftains did not disappear, the colonial administration aimed, with varying degrees of success, to restrict the scope of their authority, and as Rasnake (1988: 134-135) has noted, during the colonial period chieftainships, rather than being life-long posts, gradually came to be rotative positions. Perhaps, as Rasnake suggests, they circulated at first among a ruling elite, and at a later stage among ayllu members at large.

One reason for the change from hereditary lifelong chieftainships to rotative posts may have been that under colonial rule a chieftainship, as well as being a position of authority, was also a considerable burden on the incumbent. A kuraqa was responsible for delivering both the tribute of his community to the Spanish authorities and, in those communities subject to the Potosí mita, the required number of mita labourers, or cash payment to hire replacements for those who did not attend (Bakewell 1984: 123-124). He would also probably have had additional burdens of expense as a result of occupying a prominent role in the ritual and festive life of his community.¹³ Rasnake has also drawn attention to the tensions and contradictions inherent in leadership posts in colonial times: between the chieftain's role as an egalitarian and redistributive community head, participating in the yearly festival cycle, and his potentially exploitative role as agent of the state in collecting and delivering the tribute of his community (Rasnake 1988: 149-150, 155).

Both Rasnake (1988: 168-169) and Abercrombie (1998: 291-293) have remarked on the incomplete state of our knowledge about the role of the incumbents of indigenous posts of authority in festival sponsorship during the colonial era. However, Abercrombie notes the coincidence of town

¹¹ See Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1a.

¹² Some attempts were made to 'reduce' the Indians of Lípez, but Toledo did not carry out a census of the province 'for fear of an uprising' (Martínez C. 1992: 136), and most of those attempts to form reducciones which Martínez cites involve the population to the north and west of the Salar de Uyuni (Martínez C. 1995: 292-295)

¹³ As Rasnake has pointed out, there are few references to festivals in the documentation of the colonial era, so that the documentation available to us about the role of kuraqas in ritual and festival is incomplete (Rasnake 1988: 168-169). We do, however, have ethnographic accounts of the present-day roles of ayllu authorities in the sponsorship of festivals, and so might speculate that the role of a chieftain in colonial times would have included something similar.

council offices and the performance of specific duties connected with Saints' festivals throughout Spanish America and relates this to the institution of lay fraternities (cofradías) dedicated to the cults of particular saints. Their role may also have owed much to the redistributive and reciprocal role of ethnic lords under Inca rule (see for example, Abercrombie 1998: 161-163). The present-day positions of authority in the ayllu of Yura and K'ulta are principally associated with duties (cargos) that concern the sponsorship of festivals, although the post of jilaqata in Yura is in addition concerned with the collection of tribute, as is the town council (Aymara – 'kawiltu', from Spanish – 'cabildo') of K'ulta (*ibid*: 388-389).

A position of authority that came into being under colonial rule, but was occupied by a Spaniard rather than an Indian, was that of corregidor (magistrate), the chief administrator at provincial level. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the office was held by a Spanish official, who had often paid a high price in Spain for a colonial post, and was consequently determined to maximise his financial gains from the position. The post was associated with numerous cases of abuse during the eighteenth century, such as the forced sale of consumer goods to indigenous households (reparto de efectos) (Rasnake 1988: 140-141).¹⁴ Towards the end of the century the office was replaced by that of subdelegado. Under the republican regime, the office of corregidor was reinstated, but with more limited powers than had previously been the case, as principal agent for the state at the level of canton, and would have been chosen from the growing mestizo class. Although collection of tribute remained with native officials, the presence of the corregidor was a reminder to ayllu authorities of the demands of the nation-state (Rasnake 1988: 155).

In Yura, Rasnake reports that the present-day corregidor is drawn from more urbanised classes (usually termed vecinos rather than mestizos) rather than from the members of the ayllu, and is responsible for adjudicating in civil and criminal disputes, and also represents the community before provincial and departmental authorities. The relationship between corregidor and ayllu remains potentially exploitative: he is able to draw on the labour of a staff of five alcaldes, officials of the ayllu, who have a largely servile relationship to him (Rasnake 1988: 70-80). Abercrombie reports a rather different situation for K'ulta. Although prior to the national revolution of 1952, the post of corregidor was occupied by a resident vecino, as in Yura, who would be chosen by the provincial

¹⁴ Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.b (i) mentions similar extortion rackets by the corregidores in eighteenth-century Lipez.

subprefecto - the highest civil authority in the province - since the revolution, the post has been controlled by the ayllu-controlled town council, for which the corregidor has become little more than a figurehead (Abercrombie 1998: 90). The post is now chosen from a list of three names presented to the subprefecto on New Year's Day each year (*ibid*: 86), and since the incumbent is an ayllu member, there is little possibility of an exploitative relation: in fact Abercrombie notes that candidates chosen for the post tend to be young and inexperienced, and therefore lacking in personal authority and unable to impose their will on the council (Abercrombie 1988: 456). I would suggest that the situation in San Pablo is similar to that found by Abercrombie, only there the town council has effectively taken over from the ayllu, making the latter redundant.

An important point that Abercrombie makes, and to which I would like to draw attention here, is that the processes that started in the colonial era and continued through republican times - of 'reduction', evangelisation, the formation of parishes and their annexes with their own churches and the changing of boundaries - has made present-day town councils and the rituals that underlie them into the successors of the hereditary titles and forms of social organisation of the ayllus of the past. As I shall describe in Section 4.4, the situation in San Pablo is similar to that described by Abercrombie, and although San Pableños no longer pay tribute, positions of authority in the town still concern landholdings of the community and the festive cycle.

4.3 National Level Politics

4.3.1 Political Changes under the Sánchez de Lozada Government

The fieldwork on which this thesis is based took place between 1995 and 1997, during the period of office of the M.N.R.¹⁵ government headed by Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada (popularly nicknamed 'Goni'). This government initiated an ambitious programme of reforms that had considerable impact on rural people in Bolivia. For that reason I consider a brief explanation of some of these changes to be appropriate here.

¹⁵ Movimiento Revolucionario Nacional (National Revolutionary Movement), the party that came to power for the first time following the National Revolution of 1952. MNR policies of the 1990s could better be described as 'neo-liberal' than 'revolutionary'.

In order to ratify the International Labour Organisation convention on the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples (International Labour Organisation 1989), the Sánchez de Lozada Government was anxious to promote the concept of Bolivia as a multi-ethnic society both at home and in the international arena. To this end, a new state constitution was adopted in August 1994 (Republic of Bolivia 1994a). The first article of this recognised Bolivia as a multi-ethnic and pluri-cultural republic, and Article 171 recognised social, economic and cultural rights of indigenous peoples, especially in relation to original, communally held lands (Tierras Comunitarias de Origen, TCOs), the use of which, along with rights to their natural resources, were to be guaranteed. This official discourse of plurality represented a ‘shift in Bolivia’s previous narrative of nation’ (Bigenho 1999: 959) and reversed earlier class based, homogenizing nation-building trends that had attempted to assimilate the ‘Indian’ rural population into an undifferentiated citizenship: the attempted liberal reforms by nineteenth-century governments were mentioned in Chapter 2, and at a later stage, following the National Revolution of 1952, rural communities were encouraged to register as ‘peasant unions’ (sindicatos), and the euphemism ‘campesino’ (‘peasant’) came to replace the derogatory ‘indio’ in official parlance. It could be argued that, whilst paying lip service to the presence and rights of the different ethnic groups within Bolivia’s national boundaries, the new law merely smooths over the reality of inequalities between indigenous peoples, mestizos and ‘whites’ that persists in the country. It also presupposes the existence of different, unambiguous categories into which people can be fitted, by identifying them with and mapping them onto contiguous territories.¹⁶ Problems predictably arose in situations where different social groups occupied the same physical space, and when disputes surfaced concerning whether or not a group of people were ‘indigenous’.

One significant gamble by the new Bolivian president on coming into office, taken in order to demonstrate the plurality of Bolivian society, and show that power, wealth and opportunity no longer reside solely with that sector of the population deemed to be ‘white’, was to appoint an indigenous leader, and Aymara speaker, as vice-president. The appointee was Victor Hugo Cárdenas Conde, the head of the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupaj Katari de Liberación (MRTKL).¹⁷ Cárdenas was to a

¹⁶ Fardon’s (1987: 178) comments noted in Section 2.2.3 are again relevant here: ‘As national states have come to partition the world on the basis of “one people, one territory”, so there has come the expectation that ethnic groups will do the same within the limits of the national territory’.

¹⁷ Tupaj Katari Revolutionary Liberation Movement, named after Tupaj Katari, the *nom de guerre* adopted by the eighteenth-century rebel leader Julián Apasa, who laid siege to the city of La Paz in 1781.

great extent a token Aymara speaker in government, and by no means enjoyed the wholehearted support of all Aymara speakers, let alone other indigenous people in Bolivia. However, as Dunkerley has pointed out, even though his impact on government policy may have been slight, his long-term influence may prove significant if the sorts of violence and social disintegration that have taken place in Peru are to be avoided (Dunkerley 1998: 20).

4.3.1.a Popular Participation and Capitalization

The Plan de Todos (Plan for Everyone) was the name given to an ambitious programme of reforms undertaken by the Sánchez de Lozada government, and which had three central policies: administrative decentralisation, privatisation and educational reform. Opposition groups termed the three laws by which these were to be brought about 'las tres leyes malditas del Banco Mundial' ('The three accursed laws of the World Bank'), although this was not altogether a fair assessment, when the International Labour Organisation had been an important driving force behind decentralization and educational reform. The first of these was to come about through the implementation of the Law of Popular Participation (Participación Popular) of April 1994 (Republic of Bolivia 1994b).¹⁸ This aimed for a fairer distribution of public resources, and the incorporation of indigenous and rural communities as well as urban neighbourhoods in the juridical, political and economic life of the country: as Abercrombie has noted from the time of his fieldwork, more than a decade before the advent of this law, towns below the level of provincial capital were formerly too far down in the state hierarchy to receive much benefit for infrastructural improvements from state revenues, which were siphoned off by higher level entities (Abercrombie 1998: 310). Popular Participation aimed to remedy this situation, and also formed one of the vehicles by which the rights guaranteed to indigenous peoples in the new state constitution could actually amount to something.

Bolivia has long been divided into administrative departments, such as Potosí, and these departments are divided into a number of provinces, such as Sud Lípez. Provinces in their turn are divided into a number of sections, which in turn are divided into cantons. With the advent of Popular Participation, the sections were established as basic units of territorial jurisdiction for

¹⁸ Transcripts of the Law of Popular Participation are available, both in Spanish and English at the website: <http://www.wppfm.gov.bol/new/PaginasVPPFM/PaginasVPPFM/MarcoLegal/>

municipal governments, to which the state devolved the authority to administer health, education and other local services, and for which purpose a limited budget, based on the number of inhabitants in the area, was made available.¹⁹ This change represented a reversal of Bolivia's essentially 'top-down' administration, in which state officials are ultimately presidential appointees, to a 'bottom-up' system of elected representatives.

One provision of the law that was of considerable significance to rural dwellers, whether members of indigenous communities (such as the ayllus of highland and valley regions)²⁰ or of more loosely based peasant communities, was the granting of legal status to Grassroots Territorial Organisations (Organizaciones Territoriales de Base or OTBs). These were to represent rural communities and indigenous populations already in existence within the provincial sections. Four types of OTB were designated: 'indigenous community', 'indigenous population', 'peasant community' and 'neighbourhood council'. Hence, by this act, indigenous peoples, through their authorities, for example the kuraqas or jilaqatas²¹ of ayllus, could undertake public administrative duties, although ayllus did experience difficulties on attempting to register as OTBs.²² Grassroots Territorial Organisations were to have the right to information about the resources destined for Popular Participation, to request, control and supervise the provision of public services in their communities, and to obtain the modification of decisions of public agencies should these prove contrary to their interests. Inevitably, the implementation of the new law did not always run smoothly, and in some areas rival organisations representing different sections of the population would attempt to register.

Although it is still perhaps too early to assess the long-term impact of Popular Participation, the budget available to municipal governments increased considerably during the period of office of the

¹⁹ Sud Lípez must have proved an administrative nightmare for government officials, with the entire province having only slightly more than 5000 inhabitants, the minimum population specified for a unit in receipt of revenue (Law 1551, article 22).

²⁰ It should be noted that this is a national law, applying to all areas of Bolivia. While indigenous communities of the Andean region of the country describe themselves as ayllu, lowland indigenous peoples have their own forms of social organization, and their communities are equally eligible to register as OTBs.

²¹ Jilacata – an Aymara term meaning 'chieftain', which is used in both present-day Aymara and Quechua-speaking areas, where it refers to a specific post of authority within an ayllu. Rasnake reports that in Yura the jilaqata is the authority responsible for tribute collection (Rasnake 1988: 72).

²² Michelle Bigenho (1999: 967-971) documents the difficulties experienced by the ayllu of Yura in southern Potosí on attempting to register as such. One problem she identifies is with obstructive bureaucrats who see registration of 'peasant' rather than 'indigenous' communities as less problematic. Another is that many local collectivities interpreted the law as directing them to form an OTB rather than register an already existing entity. In her words, 'The new signifier "OTB", was supposed to signify something that already existed, but instead the acronym was read as an empty signifier to be filled with a newly created signified' (*ibid*: 960).

M.N.R. government (from \$22 million in 1990 to over \$150 million in 1996, with municipal expenditure per capita rising from \$11.2 in 1994 to \$41.1 in 1995 (Dunkerley 1998: 21)). It is also too early for much ethnographic literature to have been written on the impact of Popular Participation on the relationship between rural communities, ayllus in the Andean region, and the nation-state.²³ It might be expected that the law would increase the identification of ayllu members with the nation, or might increase solidarity within ayllus and slow down the processes of their fragmentation, which has taken place in some areas. However, it could equally encourage the break-up of ayllus with their constituent groups seeking recognition, in their own right, as Grassroots Territorial Organisations with albeit limited access to control over the budget for their areas. Bigenho sees a contradiction between the law and its assumption of contiguous territories inhabited by unambiguous, discrete groups and ayllu logic of spatial organisation in discontinuous territory (Bigenho 1999: 972).²⁴

It is worth noting, however, that under the provisions of the legislation, there were certain advantages in being registered as an indigenous group, most notably in relation to original, communally held lands (TCOs). The 1994 Constitution guaranteed indigenous peoples' rights to surface resources, and ILO Convention No. 169, which Bolivia has ratified, makes provision for the consultation of indigenous peoples on matters of mineral and subsurface rights, even when ownership of these is retained by the state. Article 15 of the convention states that not only should any prejudice to the interests of indigenous peoples be taken into account before the exploitation of any such resources, but also that indigenous peoples should participate in the benefits of such exploitation. In a country that has relied for centuries on its mineral wealth, this is of obvious significance.

The second central feature of the Plan de Todos was privatisation, with the sale of 50 per cent of the stock of public companies to the private sector: these included the national airline LAB, the telephone company ENTEL, the national railway company, and the oil and gas branch of the national petroleum company, YPF. This part of the reform package clearly did have more to do with the World Bank than with the International Labour Organisation. Whilst these sales at first

²³ Bigenho (1999) is one of few works that have been published to date.

²⁴ That identification between a territory and its inhabitants was a Hispanic rather than an indigenous Andean relation was noted by Martínez (1995) in his article on the sixteenth-century population of Lipez (see Section 3.2.2).

sight have little connection with rural people, the government's decision to use some of the receipts of privatisation sales for distribution to the public in the form of pensions had considerable impact on them. This scheme got underway in 1997, and the plan was to pay a pension (Bono de Solidaridad or BONOSOL) equivalent to \$248, in that year, to those over 65 years of age: this represented a considerable sum to those dwelling in rural areas. As a result of this new piece of legislation, for much of the year, the streets of Bolivia's departmental capitals, where payments were made, were filled with long queues of people of rural origin, many dressed in homespun clothing, awaiting payments.

Bolivia's state mining company, COMIBOL (Corporación Minera de Bolivia) was not affected, strictly speaking, by the new privatisation law, having effectively already been reduced to the status of a holding company during the term of office of the previous M.N.R. government in the mid 1980s. This was one of the effects of the now notorious Supreme Decree 21060, that government's charter for a new economic policy, authored by Sánchez de Lozada, who was then finance minister. This piece of legislation had forced the closure of unprofitable and marginal mines, the transfer to co-operatives of others, and the sale of profitable mines to private companies. The general economic climate during my fieldwork period was such that foreign investment in Bolivia's mines was encouraged. The buzz-word in mining exploration was 'joint-venture' or 'riesgo compartido' ('shared risk'), which usually meant that COMIBOL would continue to own a mining site, which private companies could rent from the state company for exploration and production. While the previous M.N.R. government had transferred many marginal mines to co-operative control, during the term of office of the Sánchez de Lozada government, some of these co-operatives and other small mines, owned by the state but worked by private companies, came under threat from take-overs by larger organisations. The most notorious incident to take place during my fieldwork period involved a protest against the purchase of two mines in the north of Potosí department, Amayapampa and Capacirca, by a Canadian/ US mining concern, the Vista Gold Corporation, formed by the amalgamation of Granges Inc. and Da Capo Resources Ltd.. Following the occupation of the mines by miners and members of the ayllu of northern Potosí, troops intervened and ten people were killed in an incident that became known as the 'Masacre de Navidad' ('Christmas Massacre') during

December 1996.²⁵ This incident cast a dark shadow over the remaining few months of the Sánchez de Lozada administration, and probably played some part in the M.N.R. downfall in the presidential election of the following June. A similarly motivated protest took place in Potosí in the mines of Cerro Rico, which were occupied in January 1997 by co-operative miners who were concerned about the proposed privatisation of the upper levels of the mountain that would have threatened their existing workplaces. In this case the protest ended peacefully.

4.3.1.b Educational Reform

One further piece of legislation enacted by the Sánchez de Lozada government, that was to have considerable significance for rural people, was the Educational Reform Act passed in early 1994 (Republic of Bolivia 1994c). This aimed both to raise the standard of education in Bolivia as a whole, and to do away with the dual system of education in the country that distinguished rural from urban schools. Under the old system, there existed in Bolivia two parallel departments of education, the General Department of Rural Education and the General Department of Urban Education. These two departments each ran their own training establishments and teachers passing through them eventually joined the rural or the urban teachers' union respectively. While city schools have for a considerable time been geared to meet the standards of the baccalaureate examination, standards in rural schools have been much lower, with instruction being largely centred around the teaching of Spanish as a second language, in Quechua, Aymara and Guarani-speaking areas, along with limited literacy in the Spanish language. As a result of the situation of rural schools in isolated and agricultural areas, attendance by children has been sporadic, and often for no more than three years in total (Yraola 1995: 82-84).

The new legislation aimed to eliminate this distinction, with rural and urban schools being placed under the auspices of the same government department. It also aimed to raise the standard of tuition in all schools, and the standard of training and education for teachers. Slanted, like the law of Popular Participation, towards the International Labour Organisation Convention on Indigenous and

²⁵ With the exception of newspaper reports from the time of the incident, I have come across little that has been written about the Masacre de Navidad. The most complete news coverage I have found of the incident is in the ERBOL (Educación Radiofónica de Bolivia) reports from 1996 and 1997, available on the Internet at the website <http://jaguar.pg.cc.md.us/noticias/>.

Tribal Peoples, it also intended to incorporate cultural values, and to achieve a pluri-cultural education, and recognised the rights of indigenous peoples to receive education in their own languages. On its implementation it received considerable opposition from members of the teaching profession, concerned about their jobs and the increased workload that the new legislation would imply.²⁶ Strike action followed, which eventually led to the enforcement by the government of a state of emergency (estado de sitio - literally 'state of siege'), maintained for several months in 1995.

A more considered critique of the Educational Reform and its implementation in Aymara-speaking rural areas has been offered by Denise Arnold and Juan de Dios Yapita (2000). Arnold and Yapita maintain that literacy training in Bolivia both before and after the implementation of the reform has failed, pointing to official statistics that 70% of the country's illiterates are from rural areas, and, of these, 68% are women. They further point to the difference between the official statistics and functional illiteracy, noting that fifth grade students in the rural community in Oruro Department where they have conducted research, are unable to read fluently. Although it is obviously early to assess the impact of the reform on literacy statistics, the authors are critical of some of its methods. Their argument is that the programme implemented is universalistic and is pluri-cultural in theory, but not in practice. It has not taken into account other Andean textual practices, such as weaving, which, rather than being used to support literacy training, interfere with it, as the material used in the educational modules is effectively foreign to rural peoples. They would prefer to see an approach that takes into account cultural, discursive and written practices, and that would lead to a truly intercultural dialogue in the classroom (Arnold and Yapita 2000: 413-414). While Arnold and Yapita raise some pertinent points, I would question the extent to which writing and literacy should be considered as 'foreign' to Andean peoples. Platt (1992b), in a work concerning the meaning of literacy in northern Potosí, suggests that the incorporation of certain aspects of literacy (for example into shamanic sessions) should be seen as evidence of the Indians' capacity to modernise themselves by appropriating the forms of colonial domination.

It should be pointed out here that education in San Pablo is by no means typical of rural areas of Bolivia. The town's school, although in a remote area, is the school of a provincial capital, and so is considered an urban school, which, during the last few months of my fieldwork was being extended

²⁶ These were the reasons given to me in the course of conversations with teachers and other people in Bolivia's cities.

to provide education to baccalaureate level. Attendance at school is practically universal, and government statistics estimate literacy in the section at 77%, which is better than the figure given for the city of Tupiza.²⁷ I might add that the people of San Pablo also make use of their literacy, and migrants to the cities frequently send letters home to their relatives. Although the new law makes provision for bilingual education in rural areas, in San Pablo, although an area that is bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, education is only in Spanish. When I asked the provincial director of education about this, his answer was that there was little need, or demand for education in Quechua, a reply that really underlines the purpose to which bilingual education in Bolivia is put: the indigenous language is used in the first years of schooling to facilitate the teaching of Spanish, rather than as a medium in which education is conducted.²⁸

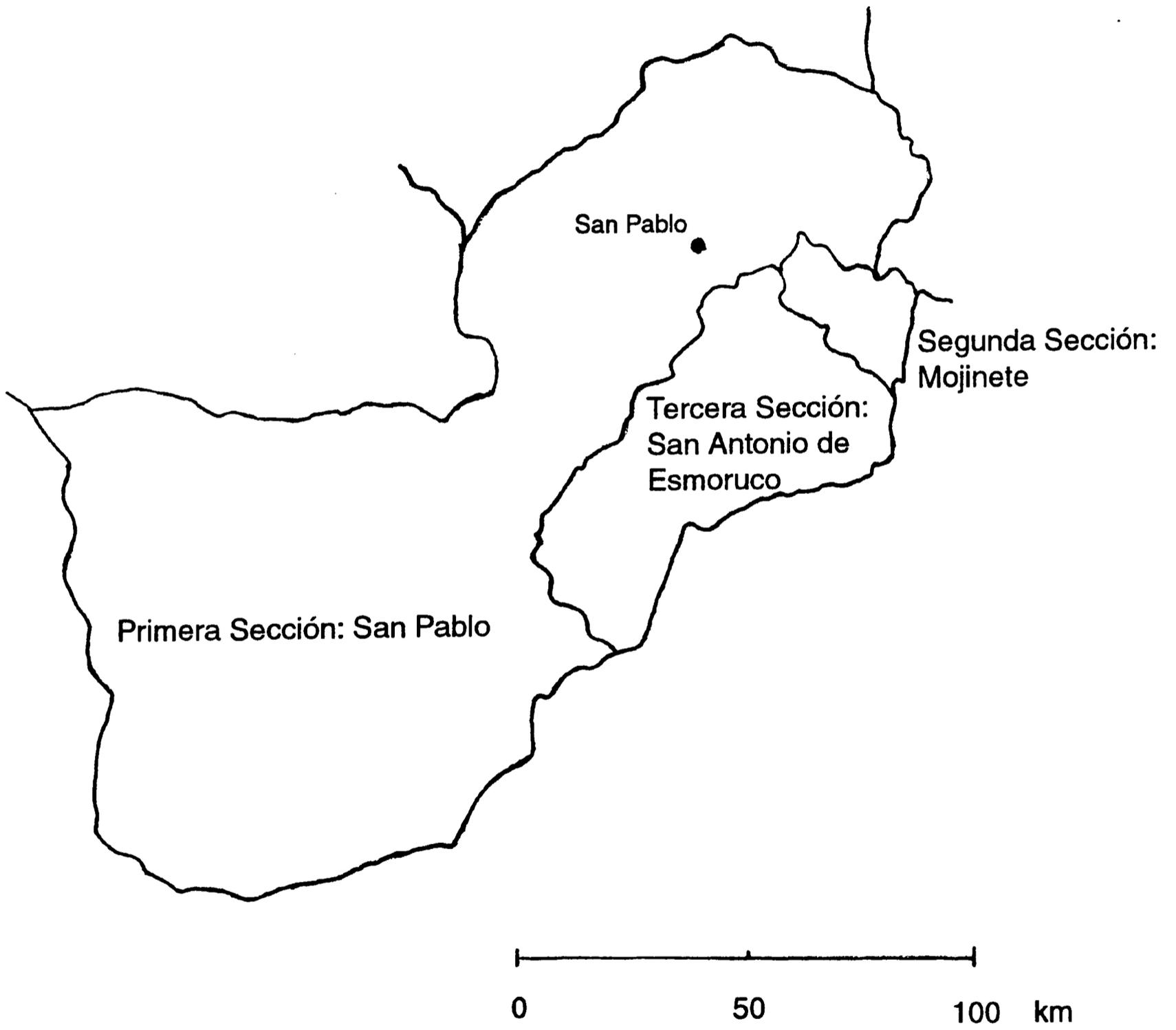
4.4 Local Politics in San Pablo

4.4.1 Locality, State and Authority in San Pablo.

As I have mentioned above, the inhabitants of San Pablo no longer claim to belong to ayllus but to communities that form parts of cantons, centred around the old mining and refining settlements of the seventeenth century. I have also, however, pointed out that the town councils of the cantonal capitals are in many ways the successors to positions of authority in earlier ayllu, so the situation is not so clear-cut as it might at first appear. These cantons are grouped together into three sections, San Pablo, Mojinete and San Pablo de Esmoruco, which under Popular Participation form the seats of municipal governments. San Pablo Section contains three cantons: San Pablo, San Antonio de Lípez and Quetena Grande. Mojinete Section contains five cantones: Mojinete, Bonete Palca, La Ciénega, Pueblo Viejo and Casa Grande. San Antonio de Esmoruco Section contains two cantons: San Antonio de Esmoruco and Guadalupe. A canton can, hence contain more than one community, for example, San Pablo canton includes the communities of Santa Isabel, Pululus and Río San Pablo. San Pablo is the capital of the province, although it is unusual as a provincial capital, having only

²⁷ http://VPPFM.gov.bo/new/PaginasVPPFM/Paginas_VPPFM/fainder/Poblacion/pts.htm

²⁸ Arnold and Yapita (2000: 413) point out that historically rural schools have occupied a key position in the relationship between communities and the nation-state. The school has always been the place of learning for practices linked with the state, such as writing, and the Spanish language, so it is hardly surprising that comunarios now demand that their children's education should be conducted only in Spanish and should comprise the textual practices of the nation.



Map 5. Sud Lipez Province

about 300 inhabitants, and many of these absent for much of the time.²⁹ The highest civil authority in the province is the subprefecto, a presidential appointee and representative of the political party of government, who reports to the prefecto of Potosí department. During my stay in San Pablo the incumbent was a local man, don Santos Huayta, from the neighbouring community of Río San Pablo, 25 kilometres away.³⁰

Each section has a corregidor (magistrate) and an alcalde (mayor) based in its capital. Further to this, each community has its own corregidor, who reports to the corregidor of the section, and each urban area has an agente municipal (municipal agent) who reports to the section's alcalde. The corregidores are responsible for sorting out disputes between comunarios and between communities, while the alcaldes and municipal agents are responsible for the administration of the urban areas, such as they are. As far as I know, the corregidores have always been men (rather than women), and are chosen, like the incumbents of the equivalent office in K'ulta, by nomination at the beginning of January each year, when a list of three possible names for each post is presented to the subprefecto. Although the post does not involve any outright festival sponsorship, it is considered to be a burden by some nominees: it compels the incumbent to reside in the cantonal capital for the entire year, rather than allow him to travel to one of the cities to seek cash-paid employment, and even though the corregidor is not expected to sponsor a festival, he is responsible for much of the organisation behind festivals connected to the nation-state (Independence Day and the Anniversary of the Province), although households are asked for contributions towards their cost.

The alcaldes of the sections are representatives of the national political parties, elected in local government elections, although, in practice, following the publication of the result of an election, there is a considerable amount of negotiation between the members of the winning party to decide who will actually occupy the post. As Abercrombie noted for the corregidor of K'ulta, I found that some alcaldes elected in San Pablo were young and inexperienced men who would have been unable to impose their wills on more experienced members of the community.

²⁹ For comparison, Tupiza, in neighbouring Sud Chichas, is similarly a provincial capital, but is a sizeable town of some 30 000 people.

³⁰ As mentioned above, the structure of the Bolivian state remains 'top-down', rather than 'bottom-up' in that power descends from central government through presidential appointees, rather than ascends through elected local representatives, although this has changed to some extent with Popular Participation. In a region as sparsely populated as Sud Lípez, however, as long as the subprefecto is chosen from among the local population, this is not as alienating as it might be in other areas.

The two communities of Esmoruco and Pululus appear even more ambivalent than San Pablo about their statuses, and still maintain a post of cacique principal (head chieftain), complete with staff of office that is brought out for festive occasions, a left-over from the old ayllu. In Esmoruco, where I have spent a little more time than in Pululus, the post appeared to be just one more position of authority within the structure of the town council, which was more or less how the situation was explained to me in San Pablo. The people of these communities do not pay tribute, and the Grassroots Territorial Organisations for the areas are registered as ‘peasant communities’. The other communities of Sud LÍpez, including those bearing the names of ayllus from the nineteenth century (Santa Isabel and San Antonio de LÍpez) no longer have a cacique principal. In San Pablo the ayllus that people remember do not correspond to those of the nineteenth-century scheme as I have explained it in the previous chapter: I was told soon after my arrival in San Pablo that there had previously been three ayllus in Sud LÍpez: Ayllu Grande, centred around Pululus, Ayllu Segundo, centred around San Pablo, and Ayllu Chico, encompassing Santa Isabel, Mojinete and La Cienega.³¹ Whilst it is probable that the remaining communities of the San Pablo area were incorporated into these ayllus, no mention was ever made of the communities further to the west in the province, such as Soniquera or the Quetenas close to the Chilean border, communities that, prior to the War of the Pacific with Chile in the late nineteenth century, would have belonged to the neighbouring Atacama province rather than LÍpez.

With the passing of the ayllus, some rituals connected with features of the local landscape have ceased to be performed. Cerro Bonete is still named by people in San Pablo as the sayaq mallku (standing lord), and would in former times have received offerings of llamas, goats and rabbits. Don Alejo remembers attending these sacrifices in his childhood, about forty years ago, when men would sacrifice on this mountain, while women would perform similar rituals on nearby Cerro Barrillita, which is named as the sayaq t’alla (standing lady, or female deity). He added that on Cerro Bonete the stone altars can still be seen on the plateau, and that he had seen them quite recently when he had visited the mountain with some of the geologists from the mining company. His explanation of the ceremonies was that they were to ask for an increase in people and domestic animals and added that they would take place every three years. Don Reynaldo told me that in addition other sacrifices

³¹ As explained in the previous chapter, the ayllus of the nineteenth century were: Pululus, Santa Isabel, San Antonio de LÍpez, San Antonio de Esmoruco and Lagunillas.



Plate 4. Cerro Bonete: The Sayaq Mallku on whose summit men used to perform sacrifices

used to take place on a mountain closer to San Pablo, called Cerro Loso, somewhere in the direction of Pululus. When I mentioned these sacrifices to don Alejo, he described them as enfloramientos de gente ('making the people flower') and added that they were 'to ask for more people' ('para pedir más gente'). As far as I understood, both these rituals were sponsored by those holding political office within the ayllu, so that once the ayllu and the political offices that went with it ceased to exist, the ceremonies too ceased to be performed. It could also be argued that the meaning of the ceremonies was intimately connected with the well-being of the ayllu as a social group, so that once the ayllu ceased to exist, then the ceremonies were no longer salient and so ceased to be performed.

As I have mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, I found it difficult to apply the sorts of distinctions that appear in other ethnographies to the people of San Pablo. I could not draw any clear distinction between Quechua-speaking runa and Spanish-speaking vecinos.³² I do not, however, mean to imply that all are equal in San Pablo: there are differences in status between its members arising from such factors as wealth, ownership of livestock, occupation, and contacts outside the area. There are, of course, some local people who pursue political office to a greater extent than do others, but it is difficult to see these people as a separate social class, as does Gose, for instance in his ethnography of Huaquirca in Peru. Unlike the situation that Gose (1994: xi-xiii) describes, these San Pableños do not form an endogamous group, but have kinship ties throughout the community; they do not attempt to enclose lands to create private properties, and do not have houses in town that are significantly different from those of other comunarios.

During my stay there were quite a few temporary residents in San Pablo from Bolivia's cities – geologists, engineers and labourers working for the mining company, schoolteachers, a sergeant and ten conscripts doing military service (although the conscripts were frequently local boys), the doctor and ambulance driver, and, from time to time, a policeman. None of these, however, stayed for very long, occupied a position of authority on the town council, or was involved in the day-to-day administration of the community. All were, nevertheless, expected by the town authorities to take part in the parades around the town square during civic festivals such as Independence Day. The absence of permanent vecinos is probably due to San Pablo's remote highland location: there is little

³² The only people I knew who could unequivocally be described as such were the mine owner at Santa Isabel and his son. Even in their case, however, although local people described the young man as being from Santa Isabel as he was born there, the mine owner and his son would say that they were from Oruro, and spent a considerable part of their time in the city.

to attract people into an area with no farmland, and San Pablo does not lie on a major commercial route to attract passing trade.

People in San Pablo in fact use the terms comunario and vecino interchangeably when talking about themselves and each other, and I have found no opposition between the two categories, and in many ways they were both. It could be argued that the people of San Pablo all assumed the status of the vecinos of other ethnographies. They do not dress in homespun clothing, but in the bought clothing of the popular classes of Bolivia's cities, the women in polleras, the wide skirts of city market women, and bowler hats, the men in shop-bought trousers and jackets.³³ They are largely bilinguals in Spanish and Quechua (I only came across a few older women who were monolingual Quechua speakers) and children, who attend school, are generally more fluent in Spanish. They also participate to a greater extent than is generally expected of people who can be classed unambiguously as Indians in the market economy (c.f. Harris, 1995a: 12), through working for mining exploration companies operating in the locality, migrating temporarily to the cities to find employment, and, for many, engaging in some sort of commerce (see Chapter 5).

Nevertheless, there are two facets of life in San Pablo that, I would argue, make its inhabitants appear more like the members of ayllu in other rural areas than like city based cholos or mestizos, or the rural based non-members of ayllu (vecinos), that appear in, usually only to disappear rather rapidly from, the pages of Andean ethnographies. These are, firstly, the attachment of San Pablo people to llama herding on communal pastureland, and the ownership by each family of an estancia or campo wasi³⁴ outside the town where their herds of llamas are based, and, secondly, the celebrations of festivals that have a distinctively local character. Chapter 5 of this thesis explores the relationship between herding and San Pableños' understanding of themselves as both belonging to the local area and belonging to the nation-state, while Chapters 7 and 8 explore festivals of the locality and of the nation. An ambivalence of affiliation is apparent in each case, and San Pableños neither appear fully 'Indian' (that is, belonging to an ayllu) nor fully 'non-Indian' (that is, affiliated only to the structures and organisation of the nation-state): I would argue that they could be said to occupy an interstitial status that perhaps, as we have seen in the previous chapter, has its roots in

³³ Quite a few of the younger girls in San Pablo now wear trousers, and describe themselves as de pantalón, as opposed to de pollera.

³⁴ The more frequently used term, and significantly, derived from both Spanish and Quechua: Spanish 'campo' – 'country' and Quechua 'wasi' – house.

colonial dialogues over categories of people, and ambiguities of identity in Sud Lípez in earlier centuries. In Chapter 8, I put forward the idea that the people of San Pablo want, in effect, to be simultaneously ‘Indian’ and mestizo, that is, they want to belong to the Bolivian state, but in a distinctive ‘San Pableño’ way.

4.4.2 The Impact of *Participación Popular* in San Pablo.

I did not get established in the area until after the registration of the its OTB, which officially has the status of ‘peasant community’, and so unlike Michelle Bigenho, for Yura, cannot give any details of the process. Similarly, I had already left the area when, at a later date, some of the Sud Lípez communities attempted to alter their statuses to that of ‘indigenous communities’, so likewise can give little information about this.³⁵

People in San Pablo, and in Sud Lípez generally, frequently complain that their province in Bolivia is the ‘forgotten province of the forgotten department’, implying that Potosí department generally gets less than its fair share of attention from central government, and that Sud Lípez gets even less than the other provinces in Potosí. Following the advent of Popular Participation, and the receipt of a limited amount of revenue from central government, the subprefecto, don Santos, an M.N.R. appointee, would tell me at every opportunity that this was the first time the community had ever received anything from the government. Although I was not present in San Pablo prior to Popular Participation, it was clear that the area had not received much in the way of government revenue destined for infrastructural improvements in the past, or, for that matter, foreign aid from NGOs.³⁶ When I first arrived in 1995, there was a health post with no doctor, although a local man had received training as an auxiliary nurse (people requiring further medical attention had to travel to Tupiza or Atocha, or wait for the yearly visit of a team of doctors from Tupiza). There was no

³⁵ This would have held some advantages for the communities involved, since they could have claimed their lands as TCOs (original, community-held lands) over which they would have had rights to surface resources and to a share in the benefit of any mineral exploitation that took place. However, the Lípez communities’ claims to indigenous identity were turned down on the basis that they were ‘peasant unions’ (sindicatos) rather than ayllu (Xavier Albó, personal communication). As was noted above, rural groups (that is, indigenous communities) were encouraged to register as ‘peasant unions’ following the National Revolution of 1952. It would seem, therefore, that the communities of Lípez have found themselves in a double bind similar to the one experienced by their forebears at the beginning of the nineteenth century (see Section 3.3.3.b (i)).

³⁶ On a couple of occasions I spoke to members of NGOs working in neighbouring areas. Some claimed that they had in the past put proposals for projects to the town council of San Pablo, but that these had been met with a lack of interest, following which the NGO had decided to take their projects elsewhere.

electricity, although the community had had a generator in the past, which was in need of repair. Water was piped into the town from a nearby stream (the result of work carried out by the community itself, on the initiative of its members); there was no sanitation; public buildings around the square were badly in need of repair, and although the main school building was in quite good repair, accommodation for teachers and pupils from neighbouring communities was in ruins.

Considerable material improvements followed the receipt of government revenue. The first visible effect of Popular Participation was the construction of a new five-a-side football and basketball pitch for the use of the school and community, which was inaugurated at the anniversary of the province in December 1995, and has continued to see regular use. The practice of sports receives specific mention in the Law of Popular Participation, and if the municipal council for the section gave priority to the provision of sports facilities over other services, it should be mentioned that the new basketball pitch was a focus for the entire community during the anniversary celebrations, and subsequently saw daily use by school pupils, military conscripts, mining company employees and townspeople in general.

Further improvements followed: a doctor was employed, along with an ambulance driver, and the province was presented with two ambulances during the celebration of the anniversary of the province the following year. A second storey was added to the town hall (*alcaldía*), (although the two sons of the *corregidor* given this work were inexperienced, so that the roof blew off in the first strong wind and the building was later repaired by the families from the Buena Vista mine). New quarters were provided for teachers close to the school, and work was started on a new school building for the high school to take students up to baccalaureate level.

Most people were positive about the benefits that Popular Participation was bringing, largely on the basis that something is better than nothing. There was still room for much improvement: a doctor was present in the town (but he always seemed to lack medicines, and there was nobody to deputise for him when he was absent), work started on latrines never seemed to progress very far, and transport to and from the community was still infrequent and difficult. In the final analysis, the material effect on the community of the presence of the mining company searching for gold was probably greater than that of Popular Participation. The company had a generator that supplied electricity to one of San Pablo's streets and to its workers' (that is, those from outside San Pablo)

quarters, and it gave temporary employment to some local people. Its headquarters were set up in part of the subprefecto's offices, to which considerable structural improvements were made, and some comunarios were able to get their rooms renovated through making them available to the company's employees. Finally, the presence of the mining company meant that there was for a while regular transport between San Pablo and Tupiza. These benefits that San Pablo was seen to be receiving from the company did, however, lead to considerable resentment from other communities in the region, and the company's interests did not always coincide with those of local people, particularly those working at the Buena Vista mine (see Chapter 6).

4.5 Miners' Politics.

The existence of independent miners in colonial times, who occupied a sort of interstitial position between 'Indian' and Spaniard, has been noted in the previous chapter, and it could be argued that, in a similar, but subtly different, manner that I argue for the people of Sud Lípez in general, Bolivia's miners still occupy an 'in-between' position being neither fully urban nor fully rural. While many miners are of rural origin, writers such as Harris and Albó (1984) have argued that the dominant groups among the mining community, at least in previous decades, belonged more to the urban world of mestizos or cholos than to the rural world of ayllu. A similar assertion is made by Nash (1979: 311) who states that the miners of the large camps of northern Potosí and Oruro, at the time of her fieldwork in the 1960s and 70s, formed a cultural enclave among the Aymara speaking ayllu of the region. As a counterweight to this, and one that highlights the cultural ambivalence of miners as a group, Platt draws out the similarities in form and meaning between mining and agricultural rituals, and concludes that miners and peasants belong to the same semantic universe (Platt 1983: 62). This section considers both the political background to Bolivian mining in the twentieth century, and miners themselves as a social group. The material may seem somewhat peripheral to the main themes of this thesis, yet it is relevant both from the point of view of the history of Sud Lípez, and from the point of view of the present-day position and predicament of miners.

4.5.1 Political and Economic Changes in the Mining Industry since the 1880s.

The importance of the mining industry in Sud L pez throughout the colonial and early republican eras was noted in the previous chapter. That chapter left the Lipe o mining industry, at the end of the nineteenth century, largely in the hands of three large companies opening up abandoned colonial mine-workings, and hoping to cash in on what turned out to be the final boom of the country's silver mining industry. Among the shareholders of these companies were members of a mining elite that held direct political power in the republic (presidents of the republic Gregorio Pacheco and Aniceto Arce were both major investors in mines in the south of the country). This section takes up the history of the Bolivian mining industry in general from the end of the nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth. Shortly after the nineteenth-century period of activity in L pez, external factors, such as a shift by the leading economies of the world to the gold standard (Dunkerley 1984:7), and increasing demand for tin from the electrical and tin plate industries (Contreras 1993:1) led to a shift of emphasis in Bolivian mining, from silver, the mainstay of the colonial economy, to tin, the metal that was to become the country's leading export for much of the twentieth century.

During the first half of the twentieth century tin mining concerns of all sizes emerged, but foreign investment, mainly from Chile and Britain, led to the formation of a group of large-scale 'modern' companies in which a certain degree of mechanisation took place (Contreras 1993: 5), and three large companies emerged which came to dominate the industry. These were: Pati o Mines, with mines in the Llallagua and Huanuni area; the Aramayo Francke Mining Company, with mining operations in the south of Potos  Department at Chorolque,  nimas and Tazna; and the company of Mauricio Hochschild, with mines in the Cerro de Potos  and Oruro (Contreras 1993: 11; Dunkerley 1984: 10-11). This tiny group of large scale tin producers, known as the Rosca (Spanish, rosca - screw thread, used in the Andean region to denote a ruling clique) came to wield enormous influence over the fiscal affairs of the Bolivian state, and to exercise a corresponding political power, although none of the 'tin barons' in person occupied a high office in government (Dunkerley 1984: 6).

During the decades of the Rosca, the mining industry accounted for between 60% and 70% of Bolivia's total exports (Contreras 1993: 45), and successive governments had only limited success in extracting revenue from it in the form of taxes. Some idea of the economic power of the tin barons can be grasped when it is considered that they controlled a large section of the press (Dunkerley

1984:11), and were able to make financial advances to the Bolivian government to cover expenses incurred in the Chaco War with Paraguay (1932-1935) (Contreras 1993: 14). Their power was finally weakened by the Second World War, when the vulnerability of Atlantic shipping prompted the United States government to set up its own tin smelting facility, and the end of hostilities left the North Americans with a huge buffer stock of the metal, and the consequent power to control its price on the international market.

Following the National Revolution of April 9th 1952, and the formation of the Central Obrera Boliviana or C.O.B., an umbrella organisation beneath which were grouped Bolivia's various trades' unions, there was an immediate call for the nationalisation of the country's large mines and for agrarian reform in the countryside. Although the new government was reluctant to carry out reforms that would jeopardise its relations with the United States, pressure from the unions together with fear that the tin barons might attempt to overthrow the revolution, eventually brought about the mine nationalisation, in October 1952, when the already established state mining company COMIBOL (Corporación Minera de Bolivia) took possession of all the sites owned by the big three tin barons. Agrarian reform was slower in materialising: it was started in 1953, but in the 1960s was still incomplete (Dunkerley 1984: 73).

During the eight years in which the M.N.R. party, brought to power by the revolution, remained in government, economic problems dominated the political scene, and economic policies came to be dictated by the developed nations, particularly by the United States. The state mining company accumulated heavy debts totalling \$20 million by the early 1960s, partly because of an exchange rate policy that worked against its interests (Dunkerley 1984: 62). The economic package brought in to overhaul and refinance COMIBOL was known as the Triangular Plan, and was funded jointly by the United States, the Inter-American Development Bank and West Germany. Its terms not only involved loans with favourable repayment terms, but also the dismissal of one fifth of the total workforce, along with the closure of a number of mines. Widespread protests and unrest followed, and these led eventually to a coup against the presidency by General René Barrientos, in which the first in a series of military rulers who were to dominate the Bolivian political scene in the 1960s and 70s came to power.

Despite having been initially supported by miners in the state controlled sector, the new military regime rapidly cut miners' wages by between 40 and 50% and dismissed many militant miners' leaders from their jobs, forcing them to seek a living by jukeo³⁷ or the theft of ore from mines at nights and weekends (Dunkerley 1984: 124). In addition, the new government showed little hesitation about the use of troops to enforce its decrees, and the larger mining camps were occupied by the military for much of its duration, from 1965 onwards. These mining camps were the scene of several bloody encounters, between miners and troops, in which numerous miners' lost their lives during the Barrientos years.

Military rule continued in Bolivia after the death of Barrientos in 1969. The following two military rulers, General Ovando and General Juan José Torres, were more populist and progressive in orientation, perhaps following the lead of the Peruvian left wing military regime of General Velasco (Malloy & Gamarra 1988: 46), and, under Torres, miners wages were restored to their levels prior to the Barrientos regime. Torres' radical proposal for the formation of an independent organ of popular power or asamblea popular (popular assembly), however, looked to some sections of society too close to the creation of a Bolivian soviet (*ibid*: 58), and in 1971 led to yet another military coup, which brought the then Colonel Hugo Banzer to the presidency.

During the years in which Banzer held power, until 1978, a superficial boom was experienced by the Bolivian economy. However, the government's attempts to attract major foreign investment into the country were largely unsuccessful, and with free collective bargaining for wages being non-existent, miners' real wages fell drastically (Dunkerley 1984: 228). It was during the 'Banzerato' that the Bolivian government procured the loans from international agencies and foreign states, which were later to lead to the country's foreign debt problem (Dunkerley 1984: 204, 209). The end of Banzer's rule saw a succession of failed attempts to return to democratic rule, and yet more military dictatorships, culminating in that of General Luis Garcia Meza, whose regime Malloy and Gamarra describe as 'government by kleptocracy' (Malloy and Gamarra 1988: 145). Democracy finally returned to the country in 1982.

The return to democracy in Bolivia saw the economy of the country in ruins, and failure to meet international debt repayments was to lead to the complete collapse of the Bolivian currency in 1984

³⁷ On the practice of removing ore illegally from mines, see Chapter 3, note 41.

(Nash 1992: 276). Rampant inflation followed, and in response to this, and to the demands of the International Monetary Fund, the government of Victor Paz Estensorro adopted neo-liberal economic policies and implanted a free-market economy in Bolivia. The strategically placed mining industry was once again at the forefront of these changes. In August 1985 a radical shift in planning and policy was presented to the country in the form of Supreme Decree 21060. Among the provisions of this decree, wages in the state sector of employment were to be frozen for four months (when inflation was expected to reach 15 000 per cent), and controls on prices were ended. In addition, the state controlled sector of industry was to be broken up and rationalised according to strict criteria of profitability. As outlined in Section 4.3.1 above, for the state mining industry this meant the closure of unprofitable and marginal mines, the transfer to co-operatives of others and the sale of profitable mines to private companies. The problems of the mining industry were compounded in October of the same year, when the International Tin Council (ITC) collapsed, releasing buffer stocks equivalent to six months of international consumption onto the market, and causing the price of tin to fall by half.

Miners' resistance to Decree 21060 and the economic conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund is documented by Nash (1992) who describes the '*Marcha para la vida*' ('March for Life'), that took place in August 1986, when thousands of miners converged on La Paz to protest against the new measures. During this action the marchers were surrounded by troops, and the government declared a state of emergency.³⁸ Miners' protests had little effect in preventing the closure of mines, and large numbers of miners were made redundant. Many miners laid off from the state sector migrated to the lowlands in the department of Santa Cruz, where land was promised to colonists, and many more flooded into Bolivia's cities. Even more have found their way to the Chapare region of Cochabamba department, and found there employment in Bolivia's most profitable, if illegal, export industry of coca growing for cocaine production (Nash 1992: 290).

³⁸ Nash uses her description of the 'March for Life' in order to critique the trends in interpretive anthropology of the 1980s, and in particular the authors of *Writing Culture* (Clifford & Marcus 1986) whom she accuses of tending towards involution. She supports the view of Raymond Williams (1986) that textual interpretation, in the tradition of literary criticism, in the social sciences is 'in danger of resulting in a sterile analysis of texts as "isolated objects"' (Nash 1992: 291), and the view of Dell Hymes (1974) that anthropological writing should include recognition of the political and economic framework in which anthropologists work. She is also critical of Geertz (1993) for putting the weight of responsibility for interpretation on the ethnographer, rather than on the social actors in the scene (*ibid.*).

Although inflation has since been brought under control, subsequent governments have further endorsed neo-liberal policies, and little now remains of the once huge state mining sector. Although there has recently been a renewed interest in Bolivia's mines on the part of international mining companies, a considerable part of the mining sector has passed into the hands co-operatives of varying sizes, from the 1000 or so workers at Chorolque in Sud Chichas, and probably a similar number at Siglo XX, to concerns of the size of the mine at Buena Vista in Sud L pez, where I was based for much of my fieldwork, and which was worked by only two or three families at any one time. Although mining is still an important sector of the economy, Bolivia no longer depends on mineral production to anything like the extent it did formerly.

4.5.2 Miners as a Social Group

Mining in Bolivia is a high-risk occupation. Accidents happen underground involving machinery or explosives, pockets of carbon monoxide gas can kill a miner before he realises what is happening, and industrial diseases such as silicosis – damage to the lungs from inhaling silica dust which results in a 'slow, silent death' (Galeano 1973: 167) – are common among the mining population. It is difficult to say whether it is safer to work in a large or a small concern: in a large mechanised mine there are more hazards and more dust, and while small-scale miners can avoid inhaling dust, when accidents happen in isolated mines it is not easy to get help. A comparison between mining in Bolivia and high-risk occupations elsewhere is a good starting point from which to explore what it means to be a miner in Bolivia today.

Literature on the sociology of 'extreme occupations' dating from in the 1950s and 1960s has dealt with the construction of occupational identities in coal mining (Dennis, Henriques & Slaughter 1956) and fishing (Tunstall 1962) communities in Britain, in which workers faced, on a daily basis, the same sorts of dangers and insecurities as those faced by miners in Bolivia. Dennis *et al.* note the insecurity faced by coal miners, stemming not only from danger at work, but from fear of injury, unemployment, and being unable to command a high paid job with increasing age (Dennis *et al.* 1956: 130). They also note the strong alliances between groups of miners who work together in the pit, and the need for a high degree of trust between men who work together (*ibid.*: 45). While

Tunstall dwells more on rivalries between the deckhands of Hull trawlers. he also notes how fishermen believe their job to be the 'harshes, the least well remunerated, and the least understood job in Britain' (Tunstall 1962: 172).

Both studies list drinking as one of the chief leisure pursuits of the occupational group in question. Dennis *et al.* link this to the prevalence of danger in the men's daily occupations, while Tunstall describes fishermen's propensity to drink and womanise (Tunstall 1962: 135-141), and points out the contributions of both bravado and stereotyping in descriptions of their activities by themselves and others. Both works also make a strong identification between the workers, their occupation and their locality, rather than the wider nation. Tunstall's fishermen claim they do not want to leave Hull, even though their work in fact takes them far from the port (Tunstall 1962: 171), and they do not express a great deal of interest in politics at national level. Dennis *et al.* emphasise solidarity between the workers in a given pit (Dennis *et al* 1956: 79) and, although they discuss the role of the miners' union, stress its importance at a local level, and underline the presence of conflict between local branch and national union (*ibid*: 104-105, 114-116).

While there are many striking similarities between the two studies cited above and the ways that miners talk about themselves (and others talk about them) in Bolivia, in this section I want to go beyond the type of argument put forward in these studies that grounds occupational communities securely in local groups which work and live together. I propose that miners in Bolivia share a wider identification with a national community of miners, and that this is an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991) propagated by means of the printed word, and radio, as well as local 'real' communities of people who, in some cases, live and work together, and in others, who meet occasionally in the cities on mine business, selling minerals or procuring equipment. This identification of miners throughout Bolivia involves shared memories of political repression, kept alive by the printed word and radio as well as by oral tradition and helps link even those miners working in small mines in isolated and remote areas with a wider mining community.

Much of the existing literature about mining in Bolivia this century, whether written from a political, historical or anthropological viewpoint, concentrates on the geographical area around Oruro and in the north of Potosí department, where are located the mines of Siglo XX-Catavi, Uncía,

Huanuni, San José and many more.³⁹ It was in this area that, at an earlier date, Patiño had built his mining empire, where, after the nationalisation of the mines, miners gained a reputation for political militancy, and also where numerous outrages were perpetrated against them by the armed forces during the years of military governments. It is no exaggeration to say that this area has come to represent Bolivia's mining industry in the eyes of the Bolivian nation, and the miners of the Oruro and northern Potosí mines have come to represent the mining workforce of the country as a whole: both literally in terms of providing many of its political leaders, and figuratively in the sense that certain aspects of miners' society in this region, such as language, dress and cultural affiliation, have come to be attributed to mining society in Bolivia as a whole. Even now, at the end of the twentieth century, when many of the large mines have closed, and others have passed over to co-operative control, or to foreign firms for 'joint venture' operations, the decadence of mining in this area seems representative of the state of mining in the remainder of the country.

In a work first published in the mid 1970s, Harris and Albó have pointed out that on the establishment of the mines under Patiño, there was an initial influx into the Siglo XX-Catavi area of a large number of workers from the valleys of Cochabamba Department, and that the descendants of these same immigrants, second and third generation miners, subsequently dominated the workforce (Harris & Albó 1984: 36). It is the cultural affiliations of this dominant group of miners, bilinguals in Quechua and Spanish, rather than Aymara-speaking (as are many groups in the surrounding countryside) who wear shop-bought clothing rather than homespun (*ropa de bayeta*), and who appear to belong more to the urban world of *mestizos* or *cholos*⁴⁰ than to the rural world of the *ayllu*, that have in turn dominated the image that miners project of themselves to the outside world, and hence other people's views of them. It is worth noting here that even if the cultural affiliations of miners appear more urban than rural, a large proportion of miners are of rural origin. In a study of mining and agriculture among the Jukumani of northern Potosí, Godoy notes a discontinuity between mines and the surrounding countryside in his description that 'linguistically the mines are Spanish and Quechua speaking oases dotting an essentially Aymara desert', and in the contrast he draws between the calm of peasants involved in agricultural labour and the coarse joking of miners (Godoy 1990:

³⁹ For example, Nash (1979, 1992); Nash & Rojas (1992); Harris & Albó (1984); Barrios de Chungara (1978).

⁴⁰ See Chapter 2, note 18.

52). In the course of his study, however, it transpires that many of the coarsely joking miners are also peasants, who return to their fields and agricultural tasks in the appropriate seasons.

In addition to the obvious factor of the migration of miners that takes place between mines, I mentioned above three factors that, in my opinion, have encouraged the diffusion of a shared sense of belonging to a 'community' of Bolivian miners throughout the mines of the nation: the printed word, radio and the memory of political repression. Taking the printed word first, many miners have had access to education, and form a reading community. Those in the larger towns and mining camps have access to national and local newspapers, are able to read of events taking place at other mines, and see the ways that the mining workforce is represented in the national press. They have also had access to works by influential political leaders and leaders of the miners' union, such as Guillermo Lora, Filemón Escobar and Domitila Barrios de Chungara. In the editors' introduction to the English (and shortened) version of Lora's history of the Bolivian labour movement, Laurence Whitehead suggests that its three volumes were lent out by political activists in the mining camps, at a small fee, to mineworkers who wished to know some history but could not afford to buy books (Whitehead 1977: ix). That miners' leaders have been sensitive to works written about them by anthropologists is clear when it is considered that Filemón Escobar, a Trotskyist union leader, wrote his description of life in Bolivia's mines, *La mina vista desde el guardatojo*, as a response to *Monteras y Guardatojos* by Olivia Harris and Javier Albó, while in hiding during the Banzerato in the 1970s: Escobar was dissatisfied with the portrayal of miners and their lives in Harris and Albó's work (Escobar 1986: 1).

It is almost impossible to read any work about Bolivia's mines, written from a miner's (or anthropologist's) point of view, without taking note of the numerous references to radio stations: Nash describes how, in the Oruro area, radio 'broke the monopoly of foreign cultural expression [in the form of films from the United States] when workers themselves operated radio stations in the major mining centres from the early days of the revolution until the fall of the mines to the military in 1965' (Nash, 1979; 108). She goes on to state 'The old stations, especially the "Voz del Minero" ["Miner's Voice"] broadcast from Siglo XX-Catavi, had welded a single community of all the workers in nationalised mines and even those from the smaller mines within hearing distance' (*ibid.*: 109). The role of the radio in forming a community of mine workers was clearly recognised by the

military, who were quick to seize radio transmitters and to close down radio stations on the occupation of mines during the years of military government (Dunkerley 1984: 148; Nash 1979: 109; Lora 1977: 348; Barrios de Chungara 1978: 116). While Anderson concentrates on the printed word when he proposes that people who have never met one another ‘imagine’ or ‘create’ a community with a shared belonging to a nation-state, radio as a medium has largely been neglected by academics, although it performs a similar role, particularly in isolated areas where newspapers do not reach.⁴¹ In Bolivia, radio brought and still brings miners working at remote and isolated mines into a wider community of Bolivian miners.

The third factor that I identified in the creation of an imagined community of Bolivian miners was the memory of shared political repression: a litany of bloody encounters between miners and the armed forces that stretches back to the early years of the century.⁴² As Iriarte has put it:

Abril de 1923, 21 de diciembre de 1942, 14 de septiembre de 1965, 24 de junio de 1967...
Cuatro fechas clavadas con sangre en el recuerdo de todo minero. Cuatro enfrentamientos. Cuatro epopeyas desgarradoras y heroicas.
Son los momentos históricos en los cuales, los Campamentos Mineros de Siglo XX y Catavi se han convertido en campos de lucha fratricida entre el ejército y el pueblo.
Cuatro derrotas gloriosas, para los mineros.
Cuatro victorias vergonzosas, para el ejército.⁴³
(Iriarte 1976: 85)

In the passage from Iriarte quoted above, the first date in 1923 refers to the Uncia Massacre which was a response by mine owners to miners’ organisational activities that culminated in the formation of the Uncia Workers Central Federation (Nash, 1979: 34);⁴⁴ the second date to the massacre at Catavi in 1942, which was a response to a strike by miners demanding a 100 percent increase in wages, and which immortalised one of its victims, María Barzola, a delegate of the *palliris* (*ibid*:

⁴¹ See, however, Fardon & Furniss (eds.) (2000) for discussions of the role of radio in different parts of Africa.

⁴² Dennis *et al.* (1956: 60-62, 83) similarly note the importance of memories of past struggles in the construction of miners’ identity in Britain.

⁴³ April 1923, 21st December 1942, 14th September 1965, 24th June 1967....

Four dates hammered with blood into the memory of every miner. Four confrontations. Four heartbreaking and heroic epics.

They are the historic moments in which the mining camps of Siglo XX and Catavi were converted into battlefields of fratricidal struggle between the army and the people.

Four glorious defeats for the miners.

Four shameful victories for the army.’

⁴⁴ If the dates given by Nash are correct, then the massacre took place in June 1923, not April as Iriarte states.

44);⁴⁵ the third to the occupation of the mines under the Barrientos government: and the last to the Noche de San Juan, which took place at Siglo XX-Catavi on the eve of a general assembly of the FSTMB⁴⁶ during the time of guerrilla activity in the south of the country perpetrated by the Ejército Nacional de Liberación, the handful of men led by Che Guevara. Malloy and Gamarra write that the massacre of San Juan became ‘a new symbol of the oppression of the Bolivian miner’ that was added to the ‘litany of earlier bloody encounters recounted in the camps’. To these a further date, August 1980, should be added, that of the massacre of miners at Viloco and Caracoles by troops following the military coup of July of that year which brought the government of Garcia Meza to power (Dunkerley 1982: 20).

I do not propose to retell here the stories of these violent encounters, merely to point out their significance to Bolivian miners, and make reference to Nash’s chapter ‘The Miners’ History’ (Nash 1979: 17-56) where she presents oral testimonies about the various massacres from miners, some of whom witnessed the events in person, including one miner present at Uncía in 1923. As well as becoming part of miners’ oral tradition, the memory of these events is kept alive through references and allusions in the media discussed above. The political repression of radical miners has become an important symbol of resistance to the military regimes to many people who have never worked in a mine. Popular songs that deal with the plight of miners have become well known throughout Bolivia: songs like *Los Mineros Volveremos*⁴⁷ and *El Minero* although written by middle-class city dwelling singer songwriters, and performed for middle-class audiences, express solidarity with the mining population.

4.5.3 Miners’ Relations with other Social Groups

While the middle-classes may be happy to join in the chorus to Savia Andina’s *El Minero* in expressing solidarity with the country’s miners, they are, in general, rather less supportive of the real

⁴⁵ While María Barzola became a symbol of miners’ resistance and of the courage of mine workers, her name was taken on by the ‘Barzolas’. Initially a group of women militants, this organization later became strongly associated with the M.N.R. government, and was used to oppose militant miners (Barrios de Chungara 1978: 73)

⁴⁶ Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia, the Bolivian Mineworkers’ Union.

⁴⁷ *Los Mineros Volveremos* (‘We miners shall return’) written by César Junar, with lyrics by Luis Rico, was originally performed and recorded by Savia Nueva, and re-recorded by Rumillajta (Rumillajta 1991). The song was written following a protest march by miners to La Paz in the days of rampant inflation in 1985. The march turned into a twenty-day siege of the capital and became known as the Jornadas de Marzo (‘The Days of March’) (Malloy & Gamarra 1988: 185).

miners in today's mines. There is perhaps something remaining of the attitude towards miners of the Bolivian Mine-Owners Association from the 1920s, that Platt notes when he states '...this institution...considered the mine workers a bunch of lazy Indians, inherently perverse and dedicated to drink and brutality, whose wages should be fixed as low as the labour market permitted in order not to foment "a parasitic way of life among the idle"' (Platt 1987b: 248). This same stereotyping of miners as brutish drinkers is reflected in Malloy and Gamarra's description of the Noche de San Juan, one of the bloody encounters between miners and troops that took place under the Barrientos government, only this time the stereotyping is at the hands of foreign academics. They write:

The Noche de San Juan is a particularly important festival in the high cold mining camps. And the fact is that in a hard drinking culture, there are few who consume alcohol like the miners, who seek respite from their grim work and the barren landscape. On nights like San Juan both men and women dance with abandon and drink, as they put it, *hasta el suelo*, till one is on the ground. It does not take much imagination, then, to picture what the camps are like the morning after.

(Malloy and Gamarra 1988: 13)

While they mention that San Juan is also an important festival in the countryside, coinciding, more or less, with the winter solstice, and is the night on which peasants light fires in order to warm the earth, and also drink, as described above, until they hit the ground, the miners are singled out as particularly heavy drinkers. The festival is also celebrated in the cities, where in recent years it has been forbidden to light fires because of the smoke, but where the middle classes, quick to accuse the miners of being drunkards, dance and drink with similar abandon. In pointing out that this is stereotyping, I do not intend to imply that miners do not drink: like (most) other sections of Bolivian society, they do, but the label of 'heavy drinkers' seems to have stuck more firmly to them than it has to, say, the rural population, or other sections of the urban popular classes, who, it could be argued drink just as much.

As McDonald has noted, in countries such as Britain and the United States, a discourse of moral culpability has surrounded heavy use of alcohol while those visibly consuming alcohol have been perceived to be essentially different from the established social majority. Alcohol related problems have only come to be amorally defined since the middle classes themselves have been perceived to have 'drinking problems' (McDonald 1994: 4.), and, even if in recent years discourse regarding

excessive consumption of alcohol in these countries has turned away from morality, towards medicalisation, and the notions of ‘pharmacological harm’ and ‘addiction’ (*ibid.*), I would maintain that it is quite possible to ‘other’ someone or a group of people by claiming that they ‘drink’. Comments such as those set out above about alcohol consumption by Bolivian miners could be construed to be a similar sort of ‘othering’ of them by the middle classes of that country, and what such comments imply, is not so much that miners drink while the middle classes do not, but rather, perhaps, that miners drink in a different way, or in different circumstances than do the middle classes.⁴⁸

Mason has observed how the conquerors of the Americas in the 16th century defined the cultures of the colonised lands as the antithesis of what they thought themselves to be: as the ‘other’ to the civilised and cultured society of the ruling classes of Europe. This act of ‘othering’ simultaneously placed the people of the Americas on a level with Europe’s own ‘subaltern’ classes – the lower classes, the mad and the wild – Europe’s internal other (Mason 1990: 62), and exoticised them (*ibid.*: 97). Constructions of the exotic and ‘internal’ other were often characterised by excess both of behaviour and of physical characteristics (*ibid.*: 88-90, see also Overing 1995: 52). If middle-class constructions of miners involve excess with regard to consumption of alcohol, they also involve characterisation by excess in another aspect of behaviour, that of sexual activity.

Nash reports that the miners of Oruro in the 1970s had a reputation for being ‘very adventurous’ in their relations with women, and explains this by reference to a time when a large number of contract workers on higher wages were working at the mines (Nash 1979: 69). Iriarte, a Catholic priest who worked among miners in the 1970s, accepts miners’ promiscuity as a fact, but explains it by reference to the crowded conditions in which they were forced to live in the mining camps, particularly in previous decades when overcrowding was so bad that the families of two mine-workers, one on day shift, the other on nights, had to share a house (Iriarte 1976: 19-20). Nash also mentions, however, that the label of being ‘sexually adventurous’ was applied to women employed as palliris (from Quechua pallay to gather or harvest.) sorting good mineral from the slagpile, although she points out that most women in mining camps have little opportunity to initiate sexual

⁴⁸ In Chapter 6, I explain how alcohol is used inside the mine, both ritually, in the form of libations, and socially, to cement friendships and bonds of solidarity and trust between workers in a potentially dangerous situation.

relationships outside marriage (Nash 1979: 75). During my fieldwork I found also that miners were accepted to be promiscuous: a mining engineer who had worked at several mines took great delight in telling me how one of the miners at Huanuni near Oruro would receive three canteens of food in the mine for his lunch, one prepared by each of his three women, and the Peruvian manager of a mine, working in Potosí, gleefully passed on gossip he had heard about the number of fights over women that took place among the miners working on the Cerro. In San Pablo it was the daughters of the miners at Buena Vista who were thought to be sexually adventurous, and were the subject of gossip in the village. Again, no doubt the isolated and crowded conditions of the mining camps, where miners were uprooted from their kin and had little entertainment, did encourage 'extreme' behaviour, as Iriarte noted. There does, nevertheless, seem to be a degree of stereotyping here, some of it no doubt self-stereotyping by the miners themselves, who, like the fishermen portrayed by Tunstall (1962: 135-141) would not regard being held to be successful with women and to be hard-drinking as negative traits.

If miners are 'othered' by the middle classes, then they in turn 'other', and are also 'othered' by, the peasantry. In this case, however, the peasantry, rather than being an exotic 'other' is the social sector from which many miners have come themselves. Harris and Albó describe in general terms how migrants to the mines of northern Potosí in the 1970s, having cast aside their homespun clothes and native language, would treat visiting relatives from the countryside more like servants than family members, and would loose contact with their places of origin (Harris and Albó 1984; 53). On asking the miner Juan Rojas how Indian workers would dress to work in the mines, June Nash received the following reply:

They would arrive at the mines with their country clothing, their sheep hats, those huge hats, their ch'ullo, their poncho, their huaqui,⁴⁹ their pants and overalls. But once they worked two or three months in the mines and earned enough money, they would wear the same clothing as us. They are no longer Indian. They are refined and a little more enlightened.

(Nash and Rojas, 1992: 207)

⁴⁹ Nash gives the meaning of huaqui here rather vaguely as 'article of clothing'. I discuss the term waki in Chapter 8 of this thesis, and have found no dictionary definition of the term with similar meaning, and its use for an article of clothing seems strange in the light of the discussion I give. However, without further contextual information, it is not easy to decipher Rojas' meaning, or to dismiss the term as a transcription error, perhaps for q'epi ('bundle').

The Indians only become refined and enlightened when they cast aside their homespun and start to wear the same clothing as the rest of the miners. On the subject of relations between the Santa Fe mine, where he worked and the Morococala mine, where the work force was mainly of peasants, Rojas states:

We never lived in harmony with Morococala, as brother-workers. In Morococala mostly peasants work and they don't want to associate with people who know more than they do. In Santa Fe, people from Sacaca, Cochabamba and Oruro, who are more disciplined, more enlightened worked; those living around the mines of Morococala worked there, those from Chacara, Collura and Inchupalla. They were indigenous men from the high plateau. They didn't know people like us.
(Nash and Rojas, 1992: 206)

He once again distances himself and other 'more enlightened' miners from the peasants of the Altiplano who do not want to associate with people who 'know more than they do'. This same sense of superiority towards peasants is expressed by the miners' union leader encountered by Platt who told him 'when the peasants come to the mine they learn how to use toothpaste, they learn what a cinema is, they learn what *civilisation* is'. (Platt 1987b: 246).

In a similar manner, peasants have plenty to say on the subject of miners: Harris and Albó describe how campesinos from the ayllus of northern Potosí look on miners, and even on other campesinos who find permanent employment in the mine as q'ara (literally 'naked' or 'peeled') as opposed to jaqi (Aymara, literally 'person', 'human being'). In general terms once more they describe how campesino relatives of miners describe them as malos (Spanish, 'bad') a term which they claim is applied generally to people who try to better their situation (Harris and Albó 1984),⁵⁰ and in doing so try to distance themselves from their peasant origins.

As I describe in Chapter 6, there were tensions between the village of San Pablo and the mine at Buena Vista, and I have to admit that the miners did seek to separate themselves from the 'peasants' of the local community to a certain extent. With hindsight it is easy to see their attitude as snobbish and divisive, although it must be added that they also did not always receive the support they might have expected from the village. However, in writing this I have to admit to a certain tension in my

⁵⁰ 'Malo' can also be used to mean powerful. Perhaps, in this context, people who try to better their situation are seen as economically more powerful than campesinos.

work, since the families at Buena Vista were among my best friends in the area, and I am not only grateful for their hospitality in the relaxed informal atmosphere at the mine, but also came to respect their determination to succeed in life, albeit by different means to other people in the area.

4.5.4 Miners and Class

Much of the existing literature on miners in Bolivia employs the language of class: for Lora, the miners are 'the vanguard of the proletariat' (Lora 1977: 246), for Escobar, the worker 'forged in the mine' is prepared to die fighting for his class (Escobar 1986: 76), and Nash devotes an entire chapter of her ethnography to community and class consciousness (Nash 1979: 310-334). Class, however, is by no means a problem-free term of analysis in either sociology or anthropology. In Marxist terms, social classes are defined by their different access to the means of production, through the control of which the dominant class appropriates the surplus of other classes. In a capitalist society, the proletariat is that class which is free to sell its labour to employers, but has no access to the means of production; land, tools workshops and raw materials. Weber, while retaining the concept of classes that are defined in terms of their economic relationships, put greater emphasis on different kinds of groupings in society, and in particular on status groups. For Weber, status groups are more amorphous communities that are not necessarily economically determined, but are comprised of persons who share a life-style, consumption patterns, common conventions and particular notions of honour. Both propertied and propertyless people can belong to the same status group (Weber 1970: 186-194; Kalberg 1985: 48-54). In anthropology, there has been considerable doubt whether 'class', understood as an economic relationship, is properly applicable: it is problematic in many of the societies of indigenous people and peasants in which anthropologists work, where links of kinship, religion and ethnicity appear more powerful than those of class, and the techniques of anthropological research do not lend themselves readily to the high-level abstractions of class analysis.

The language of class employed in so much of the literature on Bolivian miners reflects, in part, a Marxist orientation on the part of the various authors, but it is also a reflection on the times in which these works were written. In the 1960s and 70s, the days of the large mining camps of

northern Potosí and Oruro, it was easy to see Bolivian miners as the proletariat of a capitalist society in the Marxist sense: they formed a class that had no access to the means of production, and nothing but its labour to sell. As Dunkerley has pointed out, the mining proletariat although small in size compared with the population of the countryside, possessed a disproportionate economic and political influence by virtue of the strategic importance of the industry (Dunkerley 1984: 13).

‘Class’ was also part of the rhetoric of the post 1952 governments of Bolivia whose ideologies relied heavily on class-based organisation (miners’ and peasants’ unions, for example). As has been noted above, an ideological shift took place in the 1990s from a class-based homogenizing model to one of cultural differentiation.

Changes that have taken place have not all been ideological. Many miners are now independent producers, and shareholders in mining co-operatives, who sell not their labour but the products of it, who own their own tools and materials, and who also, presumably, are part of the petite bourgeoisie rather than the proletariat. Others meanwhile are still wage earning labourers in larger concerns. However, as I have shown in the preceding sections, miners in Bolivia do form an ‘imagined community’, with which a certain life-style, conventions and consumption patterns are associated, although they do not all share the same relationship to the means of production, and so might be better described by Weber’s notion of ‘status group’ than by class.

The shift that has taken place in mineral production in recent years in Bolivia, from industrial to craft production, is in the opposite direction from the process of industrialisation that has been analysed in anthropological and historical literature. Goody, for example, charts the progression from cottage craftsman through cottage labourer to factory worker, along with the corresponding changes in the division of labour, that took place in textile production in Britain with the industrial revolution and the introduction of new technology (Goody 1982: 1-37). The situation of mining in Bolivia might appear to be the reverse of industrialisation, perhaps something that is symptomatic of the post-modern economic condition, that has arrived with the breakdown of Fordism and mass production.

However, as will be apparent from the previous chapter, an informal or ‘craft production’ sector has long existed in mining in the Andean region alongside large-scale production: the presence of independent silver smelters in Lípez was noted in the sixteenth century by Lozano Machuca; in the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a thriving informal mining and refining sector in San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo that not only competed with large scale concerns at a time of capitalist profitability, but also challenged Spanish fiscal categorisation of people; in the nineteenth century several small mines in LÍpez were owned by Indians; and today the miners at Buena Vista work for themselves as a co-operative. That the informal sector now appears to a great extent to have taken over from large-scale industrial production is a phenomenon that has occurred previously in the Andes at the start or finish of mining cycles, for example in the days of silver production at the end of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Assadourian 1979; Bakewell 1984; Tandeter 1992; Mitre 1981). Perhaps, then, the present state of the mining industry is not only a symptom of post-Fordian economics, and of trends in the global economy, but is also a continuation of a situation that has a long history in the Andean region. The people mining in this informal sector were and are people whom it is difficult to pin down into accepted social categories of rural and urban, Indian and non-Indian. They are of interstitial status, members of a social sector which, as Abercrombie has written of the eighteenth-century *q'aqchas*, is 'actively seeking its own way at a moment of capitalist modernity, rather than dependent players on a peripheral stage in a virtually feudal or mercantilist, metropole-directed world system' (Abercrombie 1996: 99).

4.6 Concluding Remarks

While the content of this chapter may appear to be three disparate threads, government legislation, forms of local government and miners' politics, connections between them exist even if these are not immediately obvious: changes that have taken place at the level of national government have influenced the lives of rural dwellers and miners alike, and although I do not dwell on the matter here, political actions of miners' and peasants' organisations have also influenced the policies of central government. This material forms the background against which the remainder of the thesis will unfold, and which it is necessary to bear in mind in the succeeding chapters. What I have aimed to do, particularly in the sections on local politics and miners' politics, is to underline the idea that there are ambivalences in the ways that people think about themselves: the people of San Pablo fall somewhere between the popular classes of the cities and rural members of *ayllus* (that is between

cholo and 'Indian'), and, in a similar but not identical manner, miners with their allegiance to fellow miners, fall between rural and urban categories. These are themes that recur in the two chapters of follow, the first of which deals with symbols of the local community and of the nation in San Pablo, and the second of which concentrates on the miners of Buena Vista. Read together with the preceding chapter on the historical background to the region, this ambiguity is nothing new in the Sud Lípez region: the informal miners of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo challenged Spanish categories of people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whilst the colonial authorities themselves would not grant the Lípez ayllus the usual Indian tax status at the beginning of the nineteenth. With this historical background, contemporary ambiguities do not seem so surprising.

Chapter 5. Llamas, *Letras* and *Lawa*: Symbols of the Local Community and of the Nation

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, my aim is to examine what it means to be San Pableño, or Lipeño in the late twentieth century, and also to introduce some of the people of San Pablo, whose testimonies have made it possible for me to write this thesis.

The birth of this chapter was difficult and protracted: I started with the intention of writing about llama herding, as this was something that the people of San Pablo clearly saw as important. However, on sitting down to write, and going through my fieldnotes, I felt almost apologetic for the small amount of herding San Pableños actually do. I also asked myself why they still bother to keep llamas at all, when they no longer take the trouble to journey with llama caravans to exchange salt for maize in the valley regions: to have meat was an obvious answer, but sheep and goats, which San Pableños also keep, are more efficient and reliable at reproducing themselves. That llamas were of symbolic rather than economic importance was an obvious conclusion to reach.

That llamas should be of symbolic importance to indigenous people of the Andean region is hardly surprising: after all, camellids, that is, llamas and alpacas together with their wild relatives, are native to the Andean region, are recorded by ethnographers to occupy a superior position to non-native species such as sheep, in the systems of classification of domestic animals of Andean peoples (Flores Ochoa 1988b: 122); indeed the forebears of today's herds, like native Andean peoples, are believed to have emerged from the profundities of the earth through sacred springs (*ibid*: 121). That the ownership of llamas should still be important to people who stress, much of the time, their pertinence to the Bolivian state above that of the locality is, however, worthy of note.

After a brief discussion of the concept of 'community' in anthropology, this chapter starts by examining the changes in the calendar of activities of Lipeño people between the late nineteenth and the late twentieth centuries. It then takes a more detailed look at economic activity in the province, at the need to spread risk over several activities, at herding strategies and at cash-paid employment, but with the emphasis on herding. Symbols of the local community are not the only ones to operate

in San Pablo, however, and education and the local school are powerful symbols of the nation-state. The requirement for children to be in school has, in turn, been a factor in the modifying herding practices, and so a brief discussion of the apparent success of education and literacy training in LÍpez has been included. Finally, my attention was drawn inadvertently to the symbolic values of diet and cuisine by my Quechua teacher in Sucre: I made a chance remark about San Pableños drinking coffee in the morning, which provoked a reaction from him along the lines of ‘Coffee! What sort of campesinos are these?’ What you eat clearly plays a role both in your self-definition and in how other people see you, and it is in this area that there exists some tension and hierarchization between belonging to the locality and belonging to the nation.

5.2 Community: An Elusive Concept

The focus of this chapter is ‘community’ and how it is construed in San Pablo de LÍpez. ‘Community’, however, is a concept in the social sciences that shares with ‘ethnicity’ (see Chapter 2) the properties of having elicited countless, often contradictory definitions, and, on a more theoretical front, of making sense only in terms of relativities: a community is defined in opposition to other communities which it is not.

Anthropological approaches to community that we might label as ‘traditional’ have tended to map ‘community’ as an abstract idea onto physical communities: the tribes or villages that have been the customary objects of anthropological study. It has come to stand for the face-to-face personal interaction of people in isolated or semi-isolated groups, where these people are united perhaps by shared interests, such as economic occupation or religion, or perhaps by shared existence in a specific geographical territory, where the ecology of the area gives rise to problems that can best be solved through joint action, which in turn gives rise to common attachments and feelings of ‘mechanical’ solidarity. In what have been labelled somewhat misleadingly more ‘complex’ societies, for example, the industrial societies of Europe and North America, ‘community’ has been understood more as a body of people bound by a common social structure in which all do not perform the same function. Community then stems from the integration of the different functions into a collaborative whole, an ‘organic’ solidarity, as well as from members’ awareness that their particular functioning unit differs from other such units.

In looking at 'community' in San Pablo, I am looking at a group of people in a specific geographical territory, but to see them simply as a group of people united by the common environmental conditions that they face would be misleading in many ways. To be San Pableño involves a combination of birth in the area and parentage,¹ but these are both symbols that serve to define San Pableños in opposition to people from other communities. My approach, therefore, owes more to recent approaches to 'community' in anthropology that have switched their emphases from social structure to meaning and to the negotiation and contestation of boundaries: how 'community' is construed and how membership is marked and attributed. There is an obvious parallel here between the idea of 'community' as a social construct and Barth's (1969) work on the construction of ethnicity (see Chapter 2). A.P. Cohen (1985) has taken up this idea, and sees community as a construct that is both symbolic and contrastive. Like Barth, he places an emphasis not only on boundaries, but on the consciousness of boundaries that exists in the minds of community members rather than as systems and institutions.

Cohen's understanding of community stems from attachment to a common body of symbols. Symbols, he argues, 'stand for' other things, but do not do so unambiguously. 'Rather, they express other things in ways which allow their common form to be retained and shared among the members of a group, whilst not imposing upon these people the constraints of uniform meaning' (A.P. Cohen 1985: 18). It is precisely the ambiguity of the symbolic discourse of the community that enables its members to unite behind it when facing that which they perceive to lie outside its boundaries, but which also enables them to cope with internal differences within its bounds. Community, hence, is an aggregating, rather than integrating device (*ibid*: 20), that both expresses commonality and sustains diversity. In this chapter I am looking at symbols that are important to the self-definition of people in San Pablo: that is, that aggregate them under the same self-imposed label. The symbols I have focussed upon here that seem particularly representative of 'San Pableñeness' are the activity of llama herding and the consumption of certain types of food.

Cohen restricts his idea of community to entities wider than that of notions of family and kinship, but narrower than those of society and state: to those units 'where one learns and continues to practice how to be "social"' (A.P. Cohen 1985: 15). However, in this chapter, I have taken the

¹ Marina, don Reynaldo's daughter, was born away from San Pablo, while her parents were in Santa Cruz. She, however, laughed at the suggestion that she might be a camba (the name given to women from the lowland city).

construction of the imagined community (B. Anderson 1991) of the nation-state to be along similar symbolic lines. I have therefore also looked at symbols of pertinence to the wider national community as they appear in San Pablo. This is the imagined community of town and city (mestizo) people of Bolivia that in many ways defines itself in opposition to the people of the countryside. As symbols of this national community I have focussed upon education and the consumption of foods such as rice that are normally eaten in the cities. Symbols of ‘belonging’ to the nation hence sometimes oppose those of belonging to San Pablo, so there is tension and ambiguity between them. It is the forms of these symbols, as well as the tensions and ambiguities that surround them, that form the material of this chapter.

5.3 The Year in LÍpez

5.3.1 The Annual Cycle of Activities in LÍpez in the Late Nineteenth Century

Although there is no agriculture to speak of in Sud LÍpez, beyond the cultivation of a handful of broad beans in the compounds of some comunarios, the alternation of the cold dry season with the slightly warmer rainy months was in the past, and to a certain extent still continues to be, a factor behind the different activities that take place at different times of the year. In the rainy season, from December to the end of February, travel is difficult to and from the province – even now, trucks can get stuck in the sand on the Paso del Diablo, the mountain pass between LÍpez and the Chilcobija mine, at this time of year – while in the dry season, starting in March, when harvests are taking place in the valleys, travel is easier, but llamas in LÍpez can die of starvation on the province’s poor pasture. Lipeños told me how this had happened in 1983, a year when the effects of ‘El Niño’, the climatic phenomenon, had been particularly severe. While I shall examine the contemporary calendar of activities in Sud LÍpez in the following section, in this section I want to step back a little more than a hundred years, and look at the annual cycle of activities in the San Pablo area in the latter half of the nineteenth century. For this I have relied on Platt’s (1987a) study of the articulation of the calendars of indigenous activities of the ayllu of LÍpez with the Potosí mining

market,² along with the shareholders' reports produced by mining companies operating in the region at the time.

Platt's work divides the former large province of LÍpez³ into three distinct regions, Llica and Tagua in the north, San Cristóbal in the centre, and San Pablo in the south. The section concerning the canton of San Pablo he subtitled 'una perfecta distribución del tiempo' ('a perfect distribution of time') in reference to a passage from a report written by Demetrio Calvimonte (1885), a representative of the Compañía LÍpez, one of the three large companies to attempt to exploit the province's minerals in the 1880s,⁴ who visited the Sud LÍpez prior to the start of his company's short lived mining operation. In his report, Calvimonte paints an idealistic, and rather paternalistic, picture of the Lipeño 'Indian' as a 'noble savage', while we have already seen that 'Indians' of the time were engaging in a number of 'non-Indian' activities, such as independent mining and the refining of metals, and when it had not always been clear who was and was not 'Indian' in any case (see Section 3.3.3.b (i)). However, his statement that the Lipeño's '...time is perfectly distributed' is borne out by Platt's survey of archival documents, held in the archive of the Casa Nacional de la Moneda in Potosí, and mining company reports, and by the calendar of activities for the San Pablo area that he elucidates. This shows how the Lipeño population managed to balance the need to earn cash, primarily to meet tribute payments due in two instalments at Christmas and San Juan in June, with the requirements of a lifestyle based around herding, hunting and gathering (Platt 1987a: 513-525).

The first part of the year, the months of January and February, when the rains had already started to replenish mountain pastures and the herds of llamas were starting to recuperate from the long dry season, was taken up with earning cash through the transport of minerals on the backs of the animals from the local mines to the refineries where they were processed. The cash earned during this period would have been used to pay the tribute that was due at Christmas, but would actually have been collected during February around the time of Carnival. According to Platt, this period would be followed by a short season devoted to obtaining salt from the Salar de Uyuni and llullucha, an alga that grows in the high marshy areas, and which can be preserved by drying, in preparation for long journeys of exchange to the valleys of Tarija during the winter months of May, June and July.

² I have already made some general comments about this article in Section 3.2.2.

³ See Chapter 3, note 7.

⁴ See Section 3.2.1.e

would recuperate from their time of hunger, and the cycle of activities would begin once more with the transport of minerals to the refineries.

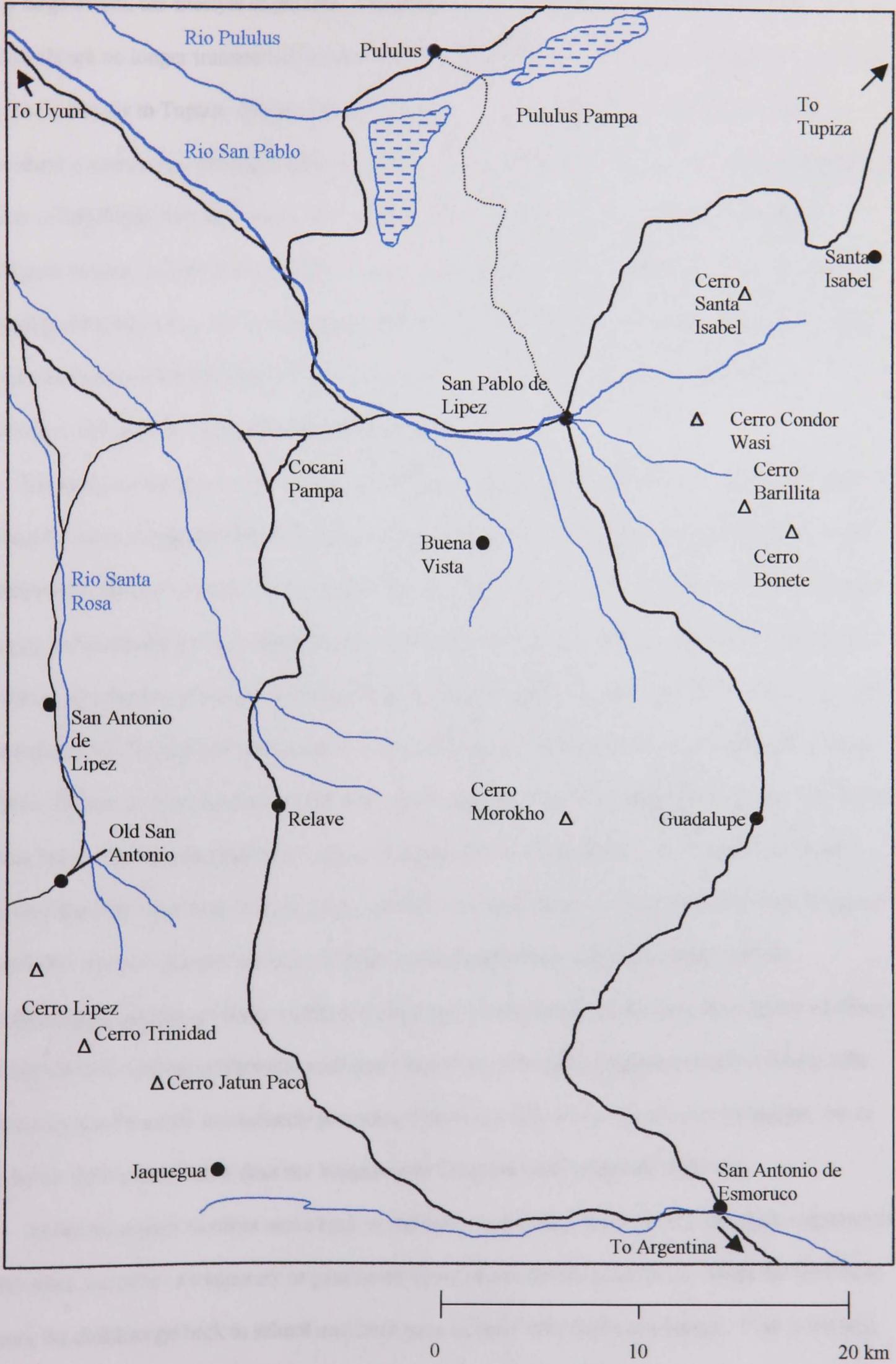
One of the main points from Platt's article that should be borne in mind is that during the nineteenth century, although the ayllus of the San Pablo area did participate in the market economy to some extent, this market participation was subordinate to herding and exchange activities. One of the mining companies of the time complains of the shortage of hauliers to take minerals to the refineries, despite offering the local Indians very favourable terms and conditions (Compañía Esmoraca 1886:7), showing that ayllu economic activity was governed less by profit incentives than by commitments to long-term trading partnerships in the valleys of Tarija, and to maintaining access to the produce of this temperate region. We might also note that the picture he gives us of Lipez at this time is, due to the nature of the source documents, a partial one. It does not tell us about Indians involved in mining on a full-time basis: we have already seen that Indians had been involved in refining metals in the province in the preceding century, and that in the early nineteenth century several mines were in Indian hands. There may also have been Indian workers in the mines of the three large companies: we have already seen that there was some immigration from other areas in the nineteenth century, as this was when the Porco family, today quite numerous in the San Pablo area, arrived (see Section 3.3.3.b (ii)), and this may well have been motivated by the availability of work in Lipeño mines. Platt also makes no mention of shorter llama caravan journeys to the warmer parts of Sud Lipez, for example, Estancia Grande and Mojinete, where produce such as barley and apples are grown.

5.3.2 A Late Twentieth Century Calendar of Activities

During the intervening 100 or so years, from the late nineteenth century to the last decade of the twentieth, the cycle of herding, exchange and cash earning activities has changed somewhat. Llama herding remains an activity that is taken-for-granted, but few San Pableños now make any journeys with llama caravans at all – ‘We’ve forgotten how to do that’, my host, don Alejo would say – and of those that do still travel with llamas, most go only as far as Tupiza. While in the nineteenth century, Lipeños prioritised their trading relations with partners in the temperate valleys and their access to valley produce such as maize, priority is now given to participation in the national economy through

The salt would have been obtained through a short llama-caravan journey to the salt flats, undertaken prior to the Holy Week celebrations in San Pablo.

The journeys to Tarija would be much longer, occupying a large fraction of the dry, cold winter months, and may well have been lengthened still further by the participation of the llama herders (llameros) in the maize harvests of the valleys. Platt suggests this may have been another means of earning cash, this time to cancel the tribute due at San Juan (June 23), but actually paid in August. Platt does not think that the nineteenth-century LÍpez ayllus had direct access to valley lands, in the manner that Murra has described for Andean communities at the start of the colonial era, (Murra 1975a), or for that matter enjoyed today by Macha and Laymi ayllus of Northern Potosí (Platt 1986: 322-324; Harris 1985: 315-320) but that the concentration of highland produce in Sud LÍpez may have favoured an intensification of exchange relations (Platt 1987a: 488-489). Following the return of the llama caravans from the valleys, a ceremony would have taken place in which the returning beasts as well as having their ears marked with braids of wool, would have been forced to drink a strong alcoholic beverage, as a tonic, to enable them to recuperate their strength after the exertions of the journey. The return from the valleys was followed by the remainder of the dry season in Sud LÍpez, with its accompanying shortage of pasture for livestock. Platt, having noted Lozano Machuca's (1992 [1581]) comment that there were several Uru villages present in the region in the sixteenth century (see section 3.2.1.c), suggests that this time of the year would have been taken up hunting vizcacha, suri, and vicuña for food, since hunting and gathering were pursuits traditionally attributed to groups labelled Uru. He also mentions, however, the commercial value of the hides of vicuña and chinchillas which were hunted commercially almost to extinction at this time, although I have heard that some are still to be found in the vicinity of Cerro Bonete, just to the south of San Pablo and there is a river named Chinchillatayoq close to the old mining settlement of San Antonio. I have not heard anyone in San Pablo make a direct reference to chinchilla hunting, or to their forebears having been involved in this, although there is still an association between the hides of the animal and money: my host, Don Alejo, remembered having heard his father say that the metallic strip in banknotes is made from chinchilla skin. Returning to the nineteenth century, when the rains started to fall once more in December, and the vegetation started to sprout again, the herds of llamas



Map 6. Sketch map of the San Pablo area

cash-earning activities, bought foodstuffs, such as rice and noodles, and to the education of their children. It is fair to say that the school timetable determines the attention the animals receive and, to a large extent, the lifestyle of parents. Opportunities for earning cash have also changed: minerals are no longer transported to refineries in Sud Chichas on the backs of llamas, but are taken by truck directly to Tupiza, Atocha, Potosí or Oruro. A dozen or so local people have become involved in commerce, buying foodstuffs and other goods wholesale in Tupiza or Uyuni, transporting them to San Pablo, and retailing them in small shops, and many people migrate for periods of different lengths to find work in Bolivia's cities. Hunting is no longer important: the hunting of vicuñas is prohibited by law and the hunting of other animals is restricted within the bounds of the Eduardo Avaroa National Park which covers a large part of the province. This is not to say, however, that nobody ever kills wild animals for food.

The first months of the year, January and February are the summer months of the rainy season, when livestock recuperates from the long winter drought. There is a school holiday until the week following Carnival,⁵ so many families feel they can leave their town houses and go to their campo wasis, (homesteads) in the countryside where their animals graze, usually in the care of an elderly relative, or someone who does not have parental responsibilities. Some llamas will have given birth in the months of December and January, and the young need protection from predators, particularly foxes. If there is considerable rainfall some people pan gold from the streams and rivers, which they later sell to commercial traders in Tupiza, although this is not an activity that happens with any great regularity, and when it does, people are not very open about it. Some also find work in the co-operative mine or in a private mine, if there is one in operation. The period ends with the enflorimiento de llamas (llama marking ceremony), which should ideally take place before Carnival, and then the Carnival celebration itself (see Chapter 8). The enflorimiento should preferably take place on the Thursday immediately preceding Carnival week, which is known as Comadres, but in practice it frequently often does not happen until Carnival week is already underway.

At Carnival most families move back to the town, and quite a few relatives who have migrated to the cities, on either a temporary or permanent basis, return for the celebration. Once the festival is over the children go back to school and their parents settle into their town houses. This is the best

⁵ In 1997 the children were supposed to return to school before carnival, but there was considerable resistance to this from parents who claimed they needed the children's help with Carnival preparations.

time of year for trips up to the ciénegas to gather llullucha, which has had time to grow, and can be dried successfully as the rains will almost have stopped. Llullucha is eaten in lawa, a soup thickened with maize flour, and can be used fresh or dried for storage. However, many families have come to rely heavily on bought foodstuffs and neglect to gather it at all, or do so only occasionally. I made only one 'serious' trip to gather llullucha, which was with my friend doña Andrea when we ascended the Tupiza road to Jatun Cienega, a large marshy area where herds of wild vicuña graze, and came back with large sacks filled with the alga. This trip, however, had been mainly at my own instigation. On other occasions I gathered small quantities of llullucha with various people, or quite often on my own, when I grew desperate for green vegetables. This time of year is also a good time to gather other edible plants and medicinal herbs, such as chachacoma (*escalonia micrantha*) and pupusa, a remedy for colds and other respiratory ailments, and also the basis of a good herbal tea. However, many families now drink commercial tea or coffee, which they buy from the shops, and neglect to go for pupusa, which grows improbably high on the mountains, near the uppermost limit for vegetation.

Sometimes a major celebration is held for Easter, but sometimes it fails to materialise, depending on whether any family feels motivated to sponsor the festival. In 1996 very little happened save a few parties at which the young people got drunk on cheap boxes of Argentinian wine. April and May would have been the months in which preparations for journeys to the valleys were made in former times, but few people from San Pablo now bother. Some, however, do travel either with llamas or donkeys to Tupiza to obtain maize, but now their trade is more with commercial traders than with traditional partners, and although they may take a certain amount of highland produce to trade, such as llama wool ropes, these traditional products enter into new economic relations where the emphasis is on commercial transaction. I know of no one from San Pablo who now travels to the valleys of Tarija.

San Pablo fills with people once more at the beginning of August. Not only are families resident in town because the children are in school, but relatives return from wherever they have been working for the celebrations that combine the Bolivian Independence Day with libations for the continued well-being of households and businesses at the start of a month that is particularly associated with the forces of the wild (see Chapter 8). The festival of Todos Santos takes place at the

beginning of November, when, once again, migrant relatives return to San Pablo, especially if there has been a death in the family in the past year, and they have a nuevo (a new soul). The final month of the year is marked by another civic festival, this time for the anniversary of the province on the fourth of December. Sometimes this is quite a muted affair, but at others a sports competition takes place between the province's various communities, or at least those of the First Section who are either within walking distance of San Pablo, or can procure the services of a truck to bring them to San Pablo. I was never present for Christmas, but did not hear people talking much about the actual celebration. Those who play for a local football team called 'The Strongest', named after the national league La Paz team who play in black and yellow striped shirts, look forward to this time of year, as they walk to Pululus on 26th December to play against the local teams of that community.

5.4 Llamas and the Economic Bases of Contemporary Life in San Pablo

5.4.1 Economic Diversification and Risk Management

It must be apparent from the two calendars of activities given above that there have been considerable changes to the lives of people in the San Pablo area in the past one hundred or so years. What has not changed, however, is that it is not easy to eke out a living from the dry, barren Lipeño landscape. As I shall outline below, people may now live from a variety of means: cash-paid employment; temporary migration to cities in search of work; herding llamas, sheep and goats; commercial trading and mining. Every economic activity available to Lipeños, nevertheless, involves a certain amount of risk: paid work is unpredictable and usually temporary; the rains of January and February can fail to arrive leaving animals to die of starvation; mining is hard work, involves considerable investment, and can be unrewarding when mineral prices fall or a vein disappears altogether; and income from commercial trading is slow and seldom sufficient to feed a family. In this section I want to look at the economic strategies that three San Pablo families employ to deal with the uncertainties of their situation.

The first family is that of don Carlos and his wife Dona Concha, with whom I had lodgings for a short while, and whom I got to know through Dona Concha's shop where I was a regular customer. This family has chosen to diversify as much as possible by so doing to spread the risk around.

During most of my stay in San Pablo, don Carlos had paid work with the foreign-owned company carrying out exploration for gold in the area. As I have already mentioned, his wife runs a small store in the village, and they have sheep and llamas which graze at the estancia of doña Concha's parents, doña Victoria and don Sabino, about four or five kilometres outside the town. Towards the end of my stay, don Carlos had lost his job, as the mining company was closing down its exploration operation, and he was set to travel to Uyuni to seek paid work away from home. Doña Concha's parents manage considerable herds of llamas and sheep, which are the envy of some of their neighbours, but make no journeys with llama caravans, although they have both done so in former years. Don Sabino also worked for the mining company for part of my fieldwork period, and has previously migrated to find work as a miner in Potosí. When I left the area he was once again working in mining, this time in the small mine called Leoplan, above the Buena Vista site, for a private entrepreneur who had taken out a lease on the mine. Through adopting a strategy of diversification the family is self sufficient in meat, and has sufficient cash income to buy rice, noodles and other foodstuffs, and the income from the shop has enabled them to buy luxuries such as furniture for the house.

At the opposite extreme from the diversification of don Carlos and doña Concha is the family of another of my hosts, don Reynaldo, which has chosen to specialise in mining. Don Reynaldo is the leader of the co-operative based at Buena Vista, and he and his wife doña Felisa no longer have any llamas at all, although they still maintain a dozen or so goats. Normally they are reliant for a cash income solely on minerals extracted from the mine, and thus their income is subject to them being physically fit to work in the mine, being able to find good ore and the vagaries of the international metal market. For them such specialisation is perhaps not such a great risk as it might be for others, since, in his younger days, don Reynaldo worked away from San Pablo for the state mining company, COMIBOL (Corporación Minera de Bolivia), and as part of a redundancy package from the mines at San Vicente received a house in Atocha, the mining centre in Nor Chichas, which has been constructed, but is unoccupied. To date the increased risk of specialisation has paid off, since the family enjoys a considerably higher cash income than many San Pableños who do not mine, or who only mine occasionally: don Reynaldo claims that he can earn up to Bs 100 per day (about US\$ 20) from the mineral he extracts, but this is not an average, and there are days spent fortifying

tunnels, or washing ore, when no minerals are mined. There are also considerable expenses incurred in running the mine, such as transport of minerals to refineries in other areas, and the purchase of mining equipment such as dynamite, ammonium nitrate, tools and fuses. There also seemed to me to be considerable periods of time when the family was short of cash, foodstuffs and mining materials, since minerals are taken to the refineries only occasionally, and getting goods up to the mine took considerable effort. During my stay, don Reynaldo took paid work on two occasions, once to roof the new alcaldía building in San Pablo, after its original roof had blown off in a strong wind, and the second time to thatch the building that housed the mining company's electricity generator, following a fire – caused by an electrical short-circuit - in which the old roof had been completely burned away. Thus, even for a family with this degree of specialisation in one economic activity, the chance to earn a few extra Bolivianos cannot be ignored.

Another example of a family that has chosen to diversify in order to spread risk is that of don Ramón, who was sub-prefecto of the province during the government of the Acuerdo Patriótico under the presidency of Jaime Paz Zamora. Don Ramón has about 20 llamas at an estancia close to San Pablo, and his wife bakes bread. I came to know doña Nazaria when she started to ask me to help her with her baking, having heard that I was ‘a good person who helps people with their work’ – the result of my enthusiasm over the participation side of participant observation. She runs a small shop and the closest thing San Pablo has to a restaurant, where she will cook for travellers passing through the town and serve beer to them. They have a second house in town that they rented out to the geologists from the mining company during my stay. Don Ramón is also a miner: during the time I knew him, he worked from time to time in the Buena Vista mine and at one time also held the lease on the Leoplan mine further up the mountain, but only found time, or felt motivated, to work there on a few occasions.

From the three examples I have given it would seem that diversification and spreading one's risks over several activities is the preferred and most successful strategy in San Pablo de Lípez. In the three examples I cited, families support themselves by a combination of herding, cash paid work, commercial trading and mining in one case, mining and cash paid work in another, and in the final example of commercial trading, mining, baking and herding. Even the most occupationally specialised family in San Pablo does not manage to live from its preferred activity (mining) alone,

and it is difficult to see how a family could support itself solely from herding since the number of llamas held by each family is small. In the following sections I shall take a closer look first at contemporary herding practices in San Pablo and secondly at the various cash-based activities in which people engage.

5.4.2 Herding: A Valued Tradition in a Much Changed Present

...Las tropas son reunidos en invierno y viajan sin carga hasta el salar de Uyuni, adquirieron sal y llevan a Tarija, Entre Ríos y aun Villamontes; truecan la sal con cereales y regresan a sus chozas. Este viaje dura casi tres meses; los víveres traídos, los guardan calculando lo suficiente para la alimentación de sus familias para el resto del año, tiempo que permanecen las llamas pastando.⁶ (Abecia, 1953: 118)

My first journeys to and from Sud Lípez in the months of June and July 1995 were magical: on leaving hot and sunny Tupiza in whatever sort of transport I had managed to find, the vehicle would climb high into the cold mountains, and I could gaze down from the mountain pass, El Sillar ('The Saddle') onto the 'Bosque Chino' (Chinese Wood), a rock formation thought to resemble the petrified forests of China. At times flocks of shimmering emerald green parakeets would accompany the vehicle for a few minutes, and at intervals along the way we would pass herders with their caravans of llamas, either carrying salt towards Tupiza, or striped sacks of grain away from the town, usually accompanied by one or two barking dogs, which would give chase to our vehicle for a while.

The importance of journeys of exchange has diminished since Major Carlos Abecia wrote the lines with which I started this section, and the llama caravans I saw on the road mainly originated from the estancias around Pululus rather than San Pablo. San Pableños, however, remain proud of their llamas, and at times I would hear them assert that the llamas of Lípez are up to a third bigger than those from other regions, or sometimes that this had been the case formerly. Ownership of livestock is considered one of life's fundamentals, even if in strict economic terms, many families no

⁶ '.... The troops are reunited in winter and travel without baggage to the Salar de Uyuni, where they acquire salt which they carry to Tarija, Entre Ríos, and even to Villamontes. They exchange the salt for cereals and return home. This journey lasts three months; they keep the foodstuffs brought back, calculating what is necessary to feed the family for the rest of the year, during which time the llamas just graze.'

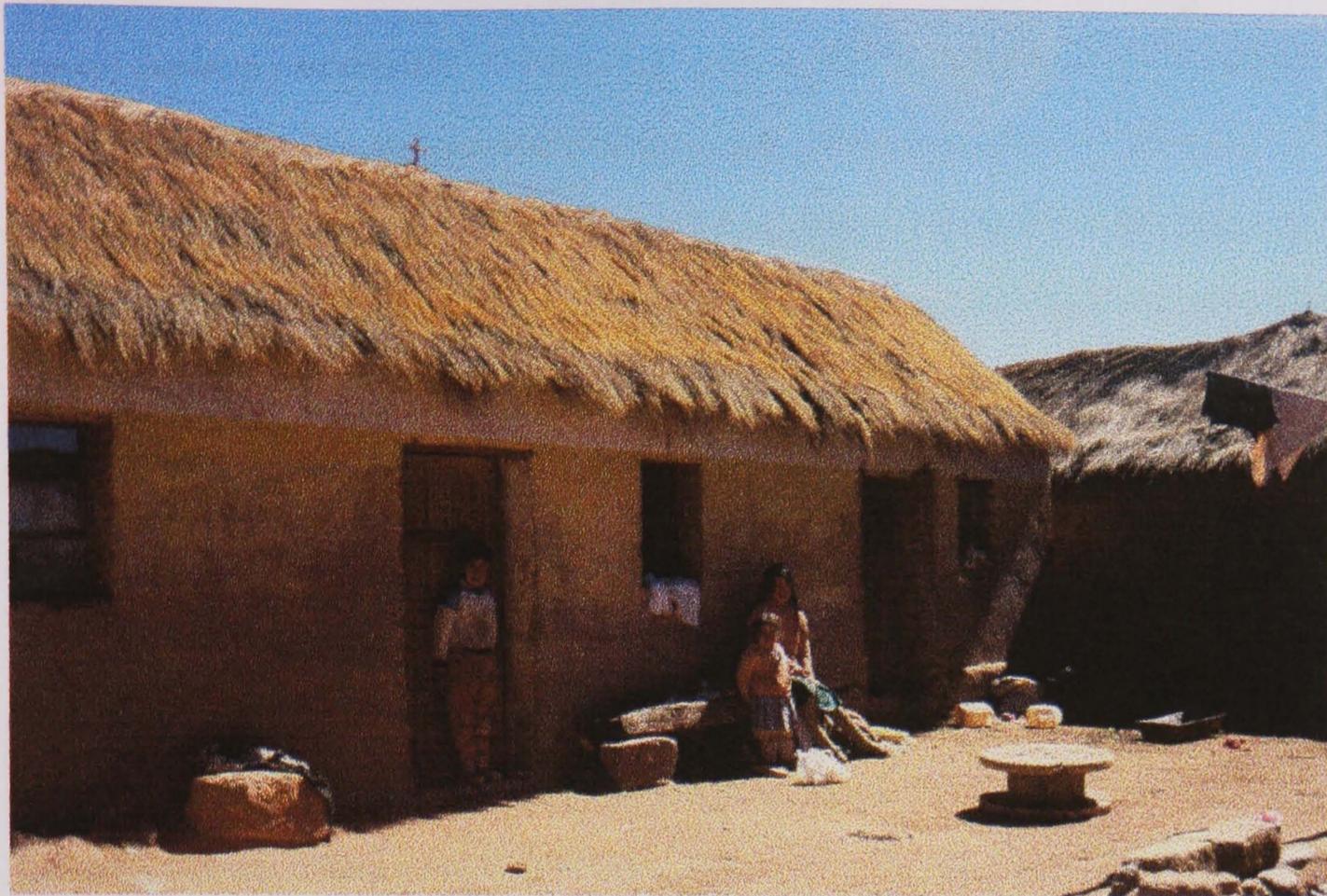


Plate 5. The Alejo Family's Courtyard



Plate 6. Doña Teodora

longer depend on their herds: on meeting people for the first time I was invariably asked ‘Do you have any llamas in your country?’ On answering in the negative, and then denying ownership of either goats or sheep, don Alejo’s eleven-year-old daughter Silvia once asked me with some perplexity, ‘Well, what do you have then? Do you have a shop?’. I remember vividly doña Teodora’s tears on the death of Trenzani, a really beautiful llama, so named for the black markings down her neck like a woman’s plaits. Trenzani had to be slaughtered after she injured herself and was unable to walk: doña Teodora and I had spent hours trying to coax the beast to her feet, fortifying her with alcohol (the San Pableño remedy for everything) and making her comfortable for the night. It transpired that the tears were not for the llama alone, but were motivated because Trenzani was the only llama belonging to her daughter, Olga, who was from a relationship prior to her marriage to don Alejo. Losing her only llama made Olga literally poor, but more than simply indicating property, animal ownership is also an indicator of one’s ‘luck’ (suerte) (West 1988:199). Olga was already low on suerte, having no father, and, although I did not realise it at the time, had also got pregnant accidentally. The loss of the llama seemed to reflect her more general misfortune.

I did not make any journey with a llama caravan during my time in San Pablo – because none of my friends did so – but I did spend considerable time engaged in herding activities, usually with the children of the Alejo household. The family of don Alejo⁷ has its campo wasi only one or two kilometres outside town, in the direction of the mountain Condor Wasi, and it was there that they had their llama corral and also kept their few goats. Since the animals were kept so close to town, the children, even though they were attending school, could carry out some animal husbandry duties, and Silvia the oldest girl still at home would be sent out ‘for the llamas’ or ‘for the goats’ sometimes in the morning before school, but most often after she had finished school in the evening, and I frequently went with her.

I liked Silvia. Unlike many of the other young girls in San Pablo, she did not have ambitions to leave LÍpez and study, in fact she did not really like school that much at all, but she loved working with the animals, and singing and dancing as she went to look for them. In this way, she was placing value on some of the pursuits generally associated with women in the Andean region, but this is not to say that she conformed to gender stereotypes in every way. She also loved football

⁷ The name of my host was Alejandro Alejo. The surname ‘Alejo’ is itself, however, a diminutive of the first name ‘Alejandro’, so that when my host was referred to as ‘don Alejo’, this appellation condensed both first and family name into one.

(girls in San Pablo are supposed to be basketball players), and once told me, somewhat hopefully, that her nickname at school was 'Silvia Maradona', after the Argentine international. On our trips to check on the llamas, Silvia would try to teach me the names of the plants that grew wild, but she would also make me work, sending me to run behind groups of animals and drive them towards the corral, so that I would return from these trips exhausted. The llamas were only enclosed at night when they had young, as protection against predators, when dung is left smouldering at the corral's entrance to frighten away wild animals. It was at these times that Silvia was particularly glad to have help, as there was one llama that scared her, a grey female who would lower her head as if to charge when driven towards the corral.

From these trips with Silvia, I learned quite a lot about San Pableños' herding practices. As in other areas of the Andes, llamas are all known to their owners and have names. I have already introduced Trenzani. Other llamas of the Alejo household had names such as Yana Panza 'Black Belly', Wanaku 'Guanaco' – named for its swiftness after the wild relative of the domestic llama, Qolqe Ñawi 'Silver Eye', Ch'umpi Chola, 'Dark Woman', Oqe Allqa 'bi-coloured, white but grey', Yuraq Kunka 'White Neck' and Oqe Wank'alli 'Grey and white, marked like the hooded grebe'.⁸ Significantly, the names were mainly Quechua, only Trenzani and a male llama called Celeste 'Sky Blue' had Spanish names: I was at first confused when Silvia described Celeste as a 'bolivariستا', but it transpired that this llama belonged to someone else, who supported the 'Bolivar' football team, as opposed to 'The Strongest', the team supported by the Alejos.⁹ Occasionally, llamas are born with three, rather than two toes. In Lípez, these are called llallawi, and are highly valued.¹⁰

In addition to a name, each llama does not belong to the household in general, but has an individual owner. Two or three of the Alejo llamas already belonged to Silvia, and children in general seemed to be given one or two animals at an early age, usually on the birth of a llama to one of the animals owned by one or other of their parents. I did not go into the details of animal inheritance, although this has been the subject of a considerable body of anthropological writing on the Andean region. Arnold (1988, 1992) highlights matriliney as a complement to patriliney and

⁸ Arnold (1998: 221) reports that in Qaqachaka it is common to name female llamas after water birds, but that the name of the hooded grebe wank'alli is considered particularly appropriate for male llamas, since it has a 'load' on its shoulders.

⁹ Allegiance to national league football teams was considered important in San Pablo, and often families supporting the same football team would also support the same national political party.

¹⁰ Flores Ochoa similarly notes that alpacas born with three toes in Paratía, in Puno department, Peru, are thought to be lucky. (Flores Ochoa 1979: 90).

stresses the transmission of herd animals from mother to daughter: moveable property that complements the patrilineal inheritance of fixed agricultural land. Palacios Ríos (1988a: 183-184), on the basis of fieldwork carried out in Puno department, Peru, states that on the death of the parents, the total herd belonging to them both is divided equally between the children of both sexes, and Abercrombie (1998: 341) notes that despite the merits of Arnold's argument for parallel inheritance, men also inherit animals. Women in San Pablo do talk about inheriting animals from their mothers, although it often comes to light that they have inherited livestock from other people as well: doña Teodora inherited three or four llamas when her father died in Pululus, and another San Pablo woman, doña Andrea said that her mother had been poor, and had left her nothing, but that she had inherited animals from her mother-in-law, I think on the birth of her children. As there were only a few deaths during my time in San Pablo, I am also unable to confirm that fixed property, a campo wasi for example, would be invariably passed from father to son.

One herding practice in contemporary San Pablo that differs from those recorded in other ethnographies is that male and female animals are kept together. In other areas male and female llamas are kept in separate herds, and are brought together only once a year for mating (see, for example, Palacios Ríos 1988b: 142).¹¹ This latter practice ensures that the young are all born at the same time, and enables females with young to be kept on the best pastureland, whilst the males are sent higher up in the mountains. The separation of male and female animals is more important in areas where alpacas are herded, since male alpacas are said to lose their sex drive if kept for more than a few days in the company of the females. The disadvantage with this method is that it is labour intensive, and frequently occupies the children of a family for large amounts of their time. The San Pablo herds frequently comprise llamas from several branches of the same family held together in the care of a family member who does not have child-rearing responsibilities, an older person, for example, who is able to live in the campo wasi. This frees the families with children to reside in the town for long periods of time, and enables the children to attend school. The Alejo household was unusual in this respect, as their campo wasi was so close to the town that the children could attend classes and still be involved in daily herding activities. There does, nevertheless, seem to be a residual belief in San Pablo that male and female animals should be kept segregated: doña

¹¹ Palacios Ríos is dealing with a community that differs from San Pablo in that both llamas and alpacas are reared.

Andrea claimed that at her campo wasi they were separated at night (as if they would not copulate in the day), but I never saw any attempt to separate them while I was there. In spite of the males and females grazing together, young llamas seem most often to be born in December, when the lactating females will have good pastureland on which to graze during the rainy season, although there are a few births at other times of the year.

Journeys with llama caravans from the highland to valley regions of Bolivia are already well documented.¹² Although I did not go on one, I talked on many occasions to people who either still make occasional journeys, or have done so in the past. San Pableños still talk about carrying salt to the valleys, but I have not seen this happen in practice: in neighbouring Pululus, 25km away, a truck arrives from the Salar de Uyuni with blocks of salt that the comunarios buy to trade with their partners in the valleys, but I never saw one arrive in San Pablo, although this may well have happened not so many years ago. All the salt I saw used in the village was, notably, of the commercial sort with added iodine and packaged in 1kg cellophane bags.

One young man who told me about his journeys to Tupiza with llamas was don Hernán. I first met him in the Buena Vista mine, working as a co-operative member, but later found that he combines mining with herding and any available cash-paid labour to support his wife and four young children. He has between 20 and 30 llamas and a few donkeys at a campo wasi beyond the Buena Vista mine, where his ageing father cares for the animals. If he does not have any cash-paid employment during the winter months, he leaves his work with the mining co-operative, and makes a short journey to Tupiza where he obtains maize from commercial traders in Villa Fátima, the suburb closest to the road from LÍpez, where several LÍpeños families have houses. He says that the commodities carried by herders vary slightly with the exact destination of their llama trains and the known necessities of the people with whom they will trade. Although I understood don Hernán's journeys to involve commercial transaction rather than non-monetary exchange, he mentioned several times that he takes llama-wool ropes to trade. Only the male llamas are used as beasts of burden, and the lead animals wear bells, cinceros, usually made from empty pork luncheon meat cans.

¹² See for example Lecoq (1984) in which the author describes a journey from Ticatica in Ayllu Yura to valley destinations in Chuquisaca and Tarija. Torrico (1990) describes a journey to the valleys of Ayllu Macha from Tumaycuri in northern Potosí.

On these journeys don Hernán usually travels alone, or with an assistant: herders often travel with a younger male member of the family, or with their wives, if they are not pregnant or burdened with young children. He told me that in former times the llama train would be seen off with a farewell ceremony, or kacharpaya, and that a ritual called waki (see Chapter 7), in which the souls of the dead are asked for assistance, would have been performed the night before departure. When salt blocks were carried, these would have been tied directly on to the llamas' backs, as is still the case where salt is still carried for the purpose of exchange, and other commodities are carried in large striped, woven bags, called costales,¹³ although nowadays these are made less frequently, and any other kind of bag, for instance a flour sack, may be used. The costales are also used to carry maize on the return journey. Sometimes donkeys are used instead of, or as well as, llamas, as these can carry more weight: I was told a llama could carry up to three arrobas (about 34.5 kg) whereas a donkey can carry up to a quintal (just over 55 kg). Some people, however, prefer to travel with llamas: doña Concha's mother, doña Victoria, told me that donkeys are harder to load up as there is no obvious place to tie the rope.

Don Hernán knows the mountain paths through having made the journey in his youth in the company of his father, and carries with him some wheat or maize flour, from the previous year's journey, in order to cook lawa in the evenings: other llameros say that they also carry pito (toasted barley flour) which may be eaten as it comes, or mixed with water. According to him there are no fixed halts at the end of each day's journey, unlike the ancestral resting places that Lecoq found on his journey (Lecoq, 1984:184), or the jaras (campsites) that Torrico (1990: 17) notes, but the caravan rests whenever the beasts and their owners are tired. The halts are probably not in fixed places because the routes and destination of the llama caravans have changed in recent years. A fire is lit at night, and the llameros sleep on the ground using woven blankets, phullus in Quechua, but invariably called camas (beds) in San Pablo, to keep warm. At least one dog always travels with the llama caravan, and serves to protect the animals from predators in the night, and also to guard the herder's possessions when he reaches his destination, Tupiza. Don Hernán was anxious to stress that this was why he keeps his dog, Kali, 'En el pueblo no hacen nada, pero en el viaje son necesarios' ('they do nothing in the town, but are indispensable on journeys'), he told me.

¹³ For a discussion of the symbolism of the design of costales in northern Potosí, see Torrico (1990).

As I have already mentioned, Don Hernán no longer trades with long-standing acquaintances, friends of the family and compadres (fictive kin) (Lecoq, 1984: 187) but directly with commercial traders. His journey to Tupiza lasts only about a week, compared with the six weeks to three months necessary to travel to Tarija, and there is no particular celebration for his return home. Formerly, as still happens in Pululus, from where herders still travel to more distant destinations, on a herder's return, a llama would have been slaughtered, a meal of roast llama meat would have been prepared, and the returning pack animals would have been forced to drink corn beer or chicha, a ceremony known in Lípez as the chayanaqa (from Quechua 'chaya-', meaning 'to arrive'). This is the ceremony about which Abecia wrote in 1953:

...Después del largo viaje que hacen hacia el departamento de Tarija, los indígenas pasan una fiesta que la llaman 'enfloramiento de las llamas', fiesta en la que atraviesan unos hilos de lana por las orejas y les amarran en todo el cuerpo rosos con estos mismos hilos de color, en esta fiesta fortifican a sus llamas haciéndoles beber un brebaje de yareta con alcohol, duerman las llamas la borrachera y descansan varios días, tuve la ocasión de preguntar el objeto de este brebaje y la respuesta fue que éste constituye un tónico para reparar las fuerzas que perdieron en el viaje.¹⁴
(Abecia, 1953: 118)

Abecia labels this the animal marking ceremony (enfloramiento de llamas), but, as I describe in Chapter 8, the main animal marking ceremony now takes place immediately before Carnival, in February or early March.

Another San Pableño who has in the past travelled with llamas to the valleys is doña Andrea, one of the first friends I made in San Pablo, and one of the most voluble village gossips. I would frequently pass her house at teatime in the afternoon to find out what people were talking about, and was seldom the only one to drop in. She used to travel to the valleys with her husband before the births of their five children. Although, as I have mentioned above, she always stressed that she was a poor person who inherited no llamas from her mother but has added to these inherited from her mother-in-law by breeding and purchase. The livestock belonging to her household unit are held

¹⁴ '...After the long journey which they make to Tarija Department, the Indians celebrate a festival which they name 'the flowering of the llamas', when they attach threads of wool to the llamas' ears and tie rosettes of the same coloured threads to other parts of their bodies. In this festival they fortify their llamas, making them drink a beverage of yareta with alcohol. The llamas fall asleep drunk, and rest for several days. I had the opportunity to ask about the purpose of this beverage, and the reply was that it constitutes a tonic to replenish the strength of the llamas that they lose on the journey.'



Plate 7. Don Alejo and doña Teodora collecting firewood

together with those belonging to the households of her brother-in-law and her uncle at a campo wasi at a place called Puka Loma ('Red Hill') which is near Pululus, where her brother-in-law, who is a childless widower, tends them with some help from an elderly lady. They insist that despite its proximity to Pululus, their estancia belongs to San Pablo, and that they are San Pableños. In all the herd totals over one hundred animals, and some sheep as well as llamas are kept. Doña Andrea told me she used to keep more sheep, but now that she has to be in town with the children she has no time to look after them, and only maintains a few 'just for show'. It is now her brother-in-law, don Cristóstomo, who makes annual journeys of the traditional sort to Tarija, exchanging salt bought from traders who arrive in Pululus for maize. In addition to this long annual journey, he also makes shorter trips to the warmer parts of Sud Lípez, such as Estancia Grande, to the south of Santa Isabel or Mojinete on the Argentine border, where barley is grown, for which he exchanges llama products. Such short trips to the warmer parts of Sud Lípez for barley seem to have once been part of the annual round of activities in the province, although they do not emerge from the nineteenth-century reports Platt (1987a) has analysed: doña Concha's mother, doña Victoria, told me that her mother used to travel with llamas and donkeys to Mojinete for barley.

Although Don Cristóstomo's journeys appear in many ways more traditional than those of Don Hernán, he does not perform either a kacharpaya when the llamas depart, or a chayanaqa when they return. In his case this is not through having 'forgotten' the tradition, or through it being no longer salient with the decline in economic importance of herding, but because, like many people in nearby Pululus, he has joined an evangelical Protestant sect, which proscribes consumption of alcohol and participation in non-Christian rituals.

During my stay in San Pablo, on two or three occasions, technicians from Non Government Organisations (NGOs) visited the community to try to encourage the local people to manage their herds of llamas for commercial wool production: both men and women attended courses in herd management, during which they were told that they should segregate their llamas by colour, and the men were taught to shear the animals while the women learned to classify the different grades of wool fibre. Both men and women appeared to enjoy attending the courses, and several people expressed interest in the things they had been taught: doña Andrea was particularly taken with the idea of keeping alpacas as well as llamas, even though I had been led to believe that the Lipeño

climate was too harsh for these more delicate animals. Nevertheless, once the technicians had departed none of their suggestions were taken up by anyone, and whenever I talked to people from NGOs they inevitably complained to me about the apathy of people in San Pablo who did not want to help themselves.

However, the response of San Pableños was not without its own logic. The comunarios were genuinely interested in hearing the suggestions of the technicians: their animals are important to them and they are proud of them. Nevertheless, to have adopted these suggestions would have involved compromising the non-labour intensive herding methods they are using, and so would have required more child labour, making school attendance more difficult. As we have seen, the pattern of residence of couples with children is increasingly dictated by the demands of the school year. It would also have involved a greater degree of specialisation, and concentration of risk into one area, thus leaving them vulnerable to unreliable rainfall and the possible loss of valuable livestock. This would have entailed a far greater commitment to herding as a way of life and the reversal of the trend away from economic dependence on livestock that has come about in recent years. My impression is that for people in San Pablo ownership of llamas is important, but they are no longer willing to forsake for them opportunities to earn cash, or to continue in education.

It should be mentioned that another NGO came up with an idea which perhaps has more chance of success in Sud LÍpez. This is a scheme to round up and shear wild vicuñas once or twice a year, as described by various sixteenth and seventeenth-century chroniclers of the Inca period (Aguilar Meza 1988). The killing of vicuñas is prohibited by law, as they are an endangered species, but there is no restriction on shearing them, and their wool is more highly prized, and priced, even than alpaca. The scheme, which has been devised and tested in Peru by a camellid geneticist, would involve the entire population of a community for a few days, once or twice a year in constructing corrals for the animals, rounding them up and shearing them. Such a scheme would be of considerable economic benefit to comunarios, and would offer a further chance to generate cash income, but would not interfere greatly with existing ways of making a living nor would it require much further commitment.

In summary, herding practices in San Pablo have changed considerably over the past hundred years, and less time is now devoted to animal husbandry than was the case in former years. Journeys

to the valleys have in many cases been abandoned, and in others have been shortened, and as a consequence San Pableños no longer subsist by a combination of self-sufficiency and barter. The number of animals held is also no longer sufficient to support a family: Palacios Ríos (1988b: 147), in his analysis of the economics of subsistence herding, takes 250 head of animals as a viable herd size for subsistence, and although his estimate of the number of animals consumed in a year seems extremely high on the basis of my experience of the number of animals slaughtered and the amount of meat consumed in San Pablo, and I know of no-one there with anything like this number of llamas. The largest herds I know have about one hundred beasts, while the average is probably between twenty and thirty. Although cash is no longer needed to meet tribute payments, as was the case in the nineteenth century, it is required to buy staple foodstuffs, of which the source is no longer the moral economy of exchange with complementary producers in the valleys, but the market place in Tupiza (or the truck bringing sacks of sugar, rice, noodles and flour to sell in Lipez at vastly inflated prices). A non-labour intensive herding strategy has given people time to take paid employment and for their children to receive an education. Lipeños have modified their herding activities in order to participate in the national economy and such participation has encouraged identification with the nation-state, but herding remains a fundamental part of life, not so much from an economic perspective, but from the point of view of being a San Pableño.

Anthony Cohen (1979, 1985) has discussed the role of crofting in the Shetland Island community of Whalsay, a community that has undergone considerable economic and social change. Here, while crofting as a way of life remains highly valued, it has declined in importance in purely economic terms. Cohen suggests, however, that in Whalsay, crofting has ‘a powerful symbolic dimension which “condenses” a sense of a valued past and the continuity of tradition even in a much changed present’ (A.P. Cohen 1985: 103). I suggest here that llama herding plays a similar role in San Pablo de Lipez. It is apparent by now that many people do not live from their herds of llama, and do not have sufficient livestock to make this a viable proposition, but mix herding with other more financially rewarding occupations. Nevertheless, there are hardly any families with no llamas at all (don Reynaldo’s mining family is an exception, but even his mother has llamas at her campo wasi, and his family is to some extent marginalized (see Chapter 6)). Having no llamas marks a person either as an outsider (or one who wishes to be an outsider), or extremely poor, both materially

and morally, as we have seen in the case of doña Teodora's daughter, Olga. Even though ownership of animals is not essential for life in San Pablo in strictly material terms, everyone is assumed to have llamas, they form the subject of conversations, and life is almost inconceivable without them. Like Cohen's Shetlanders, people in San Pablo do not even talk about their herding as 'work' (trabajo), a term which is reserved for paid employment, mining and also work carried out during rituals: herding is just part of life. With so many new ways of earning a living and migration, again like the people of Whalsay they are facing 'a massive disruption in the established order' and similarly 'seek some symbolic means of stabilising their identity'. Like crofting in the Shetland Isles, in San Pablo llama herding 'is a way both of masking the cultural distance which has been travelled, and of reinforcing commitment to the ideals of the community' (A.P. Cohen 1979: 263).

If confirmation is needed of the symbolic importance of llamas to San Pableños, then it should be noted that these animals have an important role to play when a person dies, as they are said to carry away the possessions of a deceased person to the next world (see Chapter 7). Even though llamas no longer play a very active role in the transport of foodstuffs for the living, they still perform this function for the souls of the dead.

5.4.3 Migration and Cash-Paid Employment

Migration from the countryside to the cities is a phenomenon that is quite generalised across the Andes region, not just in Bolivia, and Sud Lípez provides no exception to this trend: in San Pablo nearly all families have at least one member who is working away from the province.¹⁵ As I have argued above, a herding strategy that is non-labour intensive is one factor that makes it easy for people to absent themselves from the community for considerable lengths of time, during which many seek work in the nearest large towns of Tupiza and Uyuni, or even further afield. Migration and temporary jobs in the larger towns and cities can form part of a strategy on the part of campesinos to maintain their lifestyle in the countryside, and many people from San Pablo see their jobs away from home as temporary measures. To date, women migrating from San Pablo almost invariably find domestic work – Lipeña girls are valued by the middle classes of Tupiza for being

¹⁵ See, for example Isbell 1978:179-195

hard working and not so difficult to control as Tupizeñas – or become market-traders. Men also sometimes become traders, but also find jobs in mining, construction and as plasterers.

Young people, both male and female, constitute one of the main groups that migrate temporarily, seeking work in the cities because they are bored in San Pablo. Young men are required to perform military service for one year, when they are stationed in the barracks of Tupiza, and afterwards may elect to stay on in the town rather than return to their parental homes. This happened in the case of don Alejo's son, Oscar, who found mining work at a camp close to Tupiza when he was discharged from the army. His two sisters, Betty and Olga have also migrated, but return to San Pablo from time to time, especially for the festivals. Olga started out with a domestic job at Chilcobija, a large mine on the road to Tupiza, and then in Tupiza itself. She returned to her parents in San Pablo when she found herself with an unplanned pregnancy, but left again, in the company of her sister Betty when her baby died. The two girls now have domestic jobs in Villazón, on the Argentine border, and have no plans to return permanently to San Pablo at present.

Nancy, one of the daughters of the head of the mining co-operative, migrated for a short time to Tupiza, where she had a job as the assistant of a market trader. She found the job by travelling to Tupiza in the company of her mother, but only stayed for a short time. She found that she had been earning more at home as a socio (associate or shareholder) of the co-operative than she did working in the town, and has now sacrificed the independence of living away from home for the extra money she can earn working in the mine. She hopes to save sufficient eventually to set herself up in business as a commercial trader, and when I last visited the mine had employment as a cook with a visiting mining engineer.

Some San Pableños migrate further afield: Argentina is a popular option, where both wages and the cost of living are higher than in Bolivia, but where it is possible to save what in Bolivia is a considerable quantity of money. Many, like don Reynaldo, have relations in La Quiaca, which is across the border from Villazón, and a lesser number, doña Concha's brothers among them, go to more distant Chile.

During my stay in San Pablo a considerable number of people had paid employment, on a temporary basis in the town itself. For about a year there were a large number of jobs with the gold-mining company: some of these involved work at the exploration site itself, while others involving

construction, plastering, cooking and maintenance were based in San Pablo. At the height of operations 24 local people were employed in this way, fourteen from San Pablo itself, and the remainder from Santa Isabel, Relave and Río San Pablo. Most workers were paid Bs 15 (approximately US\$ 3) per day, although some with special responsibilities were paid slightly more.

Work with the mining company was very much a gendered activity in that, with one or two exceptions, the people given jobs were men, and as far as I remember, reference to this work was always made using the Spanish term 'trabajo' rather than the Quechua 'llank'ana' which refers principally to agricultural tasks. One of the few women given jobs by the company was Hortensia, a teenage daughter of don Atilio, the guarda fauna (park ranger), who was in charge of the kitchen at the company's 'camp'. The geologists in charge of the company's operation in Bolivia as a whole (rather than just San Pablo) were from the United States, and these saw Hortensia's job as one of the more important and responsible posts held by a local person – from a Western viewpoint, she was responsible for health and hygiene in the camp, and indirectly for the moral of the non-local workforce – so they made sure that she was well rewarded for her efforts. I gathered from occasional mutterings I heard from male employees that there was some resentment at her favourable treatment, indicating that the men did not value her female work as equivalent to, or, perhaps did not place it in the same category as, their labouring jobs.

Hortensia eventually left the employment of the company, not because of pressure from her fellow, male, employees, but because she had saved sufficient to go to Potosí. There, she wanted to finish High School, with a view to studying veterinary science at university. While her ambitions were readily understood by her American employers, they would grumble after she had left that standards in the camp were slipping, and that the new girl who had taken over could not match Hortensia's work. On a visit to the camp of another foreign-owned mining company at San Antonio de Lipez, I found a similar situation. Their kitchen was the responsibility of another teenage girl, who had supervisory responsibility for several female domestic employees, and was held in similar high regard by her employers. I only saw this girl once after the company had closed down its operation: she had taken a more traditional route to social advancement, had found herself a husband from Tupiza, had had a baby, and had set herself up as a commercial trader. I saw her when she arrived in San Pablo to sell her wares in the street.

Other jobs in San Pablo were concerned with construction: as indicated in the previous chapter, the new law of Popular Participation made money available for the construction of a few facilities in the town. At various times local people were employed in projects such as the construction of a basketball pitch, the remodelling of the town hall, the construction of new quarters for the school teachers, and of a new high school to take students to baccalaureate level.

5.5 *Letras*¹⁶ : The Importance of Being Educated

Todos los indígenas de Lipez son tejedores y criadores de la llama que sin sus pacientes cuidados y sin la protección de la inmensa pampa y de la elevadísima cordillera no figuraría por nada en nuestra riqueza pública. En todas las cabañas en que me he presentado, el indio me ha acordado la más franca y cordial acogida. La desconfianza que en él se nota a primera impresión, se explica por nuestros propios abusos y pretensiones que nos hacen ver en ellos seres inferiores a nosotros y que bajo esta preocupación los tratamos cuando menos con desdén. Pero el indígena de Lipez es acreedor a nuestra estimación; venera a los ancianos, el hijo tiene el más perfecto respeto al padre; es obediente para sus propias autoridades y para las nuestras – paga con exactitud sus tributos; es brazo auxiliar de la minería; su tiempo está perfectamente distribuido y en una familia no hay una individual que se exima del trabajo. No hay mujeres públicas y no se conocen esas asociaciones ilegítimas que a fuera de frecuentes casi no llaman la atención entre nosotros. El indio de Lipez tiene también la noble aspiración de ilustrarse, y aunque nosotros no le proporcionamos los medios de hacerlo, él se los busca y no es extraño encontrar un llamero que lleva la cartilla en la montura. Sus viajes a la costa peruana, a Potosí y otros pueblos les ha familiarizado con algunos de nuestros usos y les ha prestado un cierto varniz de la cultura; aun en sus casas, esas modestas moradas perdidas en la pampa u ocultas en algún pliegue de la cordillera, se nota más comodidad y aseo que en las cabañas de otras tribus bolivianas. Para reconocer las buenas calidades del lipeño hay que inspirarle confianza; entonces es comunicativo, sencillo y jovial; habla de sus negocios, narra sus viajes, presenta informes, hace servicios y se presta tanto más simpático, cuanto menos conocido era. En resumen. El indio de Lipez es en Bolivia un elemento de orden y prosperidad, no solo porque llena la ley providencial de trabajo, sino también porque le adornan cualidades morales muy notables.¹⁷

(Calvimonte, 1885: 12)

¹⁶ Spanish term meaning ‘letters’, ‘learning’ or generally ‘education’, where the emphasis is on literacy.

¹⁷ ‘All the indigenous people in Lipez are weavers and breeders of llamas, which would not figure in the public wealth were it not for their patient attentions and the protection of the immense plain and the high mountain range. In all the hovels at which I have arrived the indians have given me a most frank and cordial welcome. The mistrust one notes in them at first impression can be explained by our own abuses and pretensions, which make us see them as inferior beings, and treat them at best with disdain. But the indigenous indians of Lipez grow in our estimation: they venerate the old, the son has a most perfect respect for his father, they are obedient to both their own authorities and ours – they pay their tribute with exactitude – they form auxiliary labour for the mining industry. Their time is perfectly distributed, and in any one family there is no one who is exempted from work. There are no public women and those illegitimate associations, that are so frequent as to hardly call

Calvimonte's portrayal of the noble Lipeño Indian, who has already assimilated a little of the national culture, seeking to better himself by education is justifiably dismissed by Platt (1987a: 541-542) as nineteenth-century liberal paternalism, and shows the prejudices of that century's educated classes towards the inhabitants of the countryside. Visitors to San Pablo from Bolivia's larger towns or cities in the late twentieth century conversely complain that its inhabitants have no culture, or have lost their culture, that is they do not conform to the utopian image of the 'Andean peasant' in traditional costume put about by today's urban groups (Abercrombie 1992: 97). Having witnessed, however, the importance attributed to education in late twentieth-century Lipez, I am tempted to wonder whether Calvimonte witnessed the start of a trend that continues to this present day.

Primary education has been compulsory in Bolivia since 1952, but this government edict seems to have been taken more seriously in Lipez than in some other areas. It should by now be apparent that the people of San Pablo have adopted a non-labour-intensive strategy in their animal husbandry, which frees their children from the necessity to perform daily herding tasks. As a consequence these children have time to attend school, and, as I have stated previously, it appears that the pattern of residence of their parents is dictated by the term dates of the school year, as education has come to be valued highly. As I have indicated above, during term-time parents live in the town with their children, leaving their llamas and other animals in the care of a family member with no child-rearing responsibilities. They usually return to the countryside for the long school holiday, from December to February, which coincides with the time when young llamas are born, when the herd needs extra attention. The family then returns to the town for Carnival, and the children enter school once more.

San Pablo is unusual for a remote area of Bolivia, as it has a very high literacy rate, on a par with that of many of the country's cities.¹⁸ The only adults who do not read and write are a few old people, and most people maintain their reading and writing skills learned in school to correspond by

our attention, are unknown. The Lipeño Indian also has the noble aspiration to become educated, and although we don't provide the means for him to do this, it is not unusual to find a llama herder with his exercise book in his pocket. His voyages to the Peruvian coast, to Potosí and other towns have familiarized him with some of our ways and have lent him certain varnish of culture; even in their houses, those modest dwellings lost in the plain or hidden in some pleat of the mountain range, there is more comfort and cleanliness than in the hovels of other Bolivian tribes. To recognise the good qualities of the Lipeño one has to inspire confidence in him, then he is communicative, simple and jovial: he talks about his business, narrates his journeys, gives information, and lends himself to service the more kindly with people whom he does not know personally. In summary, the Lipeño Indian is in Bolivia an element of order and prosperity, not only because he is available for work, but also because he has most notable moral qualities.'

¹⁸ See Section 4. 3.1.b.

letter with family members who have migrated to other areas. I was asked on several occasions to take letters from parents to young people resident in Tupiza, and occasionally saw parents receive letters sent back to them in San Pablo. Clearly, during my fieldwork period, educational reform was aiding in the promotion of schooling, but this is not the whole story here, as is evidenced from the level of literacy among the older generation. This is far from the case in many other rural areas of Bolivia. Yraola, in a thesis on bilingualism among rural schoolteachers writes: '[School] attendance is very irregular, and depends upon the harvests and the domestic labours in which children have to participate. The average age for a child to enter school is six, and for a child to leave school is nine' (Yraola 1995: 83). I became used to the high literacy rate of San Pablo, and was frequently taken aback when I met adults from other rural areas on finding they were unable to read or write.

The school in San Pablo, known as the 'Colorados de Bolivia' after one of the regiments that achieved glory, rather than victory, in the War of the Pacific, catered for basic and intermediate cycles, up to the ages of 14 or 15. When I left the area a new extension, to cater for older children, up to baccalaureate level was nearing completion. During my stay I knew of no families from which the children did not attend school, and few seemed to drop out before completing as much of their education as the school permitted. Some parents, concerned to get the best education possible for their children, even sent them to schools in the towns and cities: one of doña Andrea's sons had a church scholarship to study in Tupiza; Hortensia and two of her sisters were studying in Potosí; and don Reynaldo, the miner, sent his younger children to Atocha for one year to study in the COMIBOL (Bolivia's nationalised mining concern) school there. As we have already seen in the case of Hortensia, some young people of the area have ambitions to further their education by studying at universities, and thus achieving professional qualifications, no doubt with a view to working in Bolivia's larger towns and cities.

One factor that undoubtedly contributed to the success of the educational system in San Pablo compared with that of schools in other areas was the presence of a local man, don Francisco, as Director of Education for the province. Don Francisco's parents were from San Pablo, and used to have a campo wasi some way along the road to San Antonio de Lípez. He had studied successfully in the normal or rural teacher's training college. I would add that the town was also particularly lucky with two of its teachers, who showed considerable dedication to their work, were well

respected, and truly entered into the life of the community, establishing ties of compadrazgo with local families, organising sporting events, and even playing music in local festivals. According to Yraola (1995: 85), 'There is not usually a particularly friendly relationship between the teacher and the comunarios (although there are instances when this is the case) and so visits are not exchanged with neighbours'.

It is in the school of San Pablo that children are first exposed to the ideology of the Bolivian state: they learn the official history of the nation, from texts that make no mention of their province: they learn to venerate the criollo heroes of the wars of independence, Simón Bolívar, Antonio José de Sucre and Pedro Murillo to name but three; they learn an apparently endless repertoire of patriotic songs, the Himno Nacional, the Hymn to Sucre, 'Viva mi patria Bolivia!' ('Long Live Bolivia, my Fatherland'), and '¡Nos quitaron el litoral!' ('They Took Away Our Coast!' – another reference to the glorious, but unsuccessful, Pacific War) to name but a few. The skills of literacy come as part of this package of prestigious Hispanic knowledge, and the school forms a potent symbol of the imagined community of the Bolivian state. In many ways the school in San Pablo forms a focus for the people of San Pablo demonstrating how successfully their young people are becoming Bolivians: pupils are called upon to perform songs and recite poetry in civic fiestas, and many of them will turn out to watch football and basketball matches against schools from neighbouring communities, when they cheer on the local sides.

Literacy and alphabetic writing are Spanish imports into the Andean region, and, it has been argued, are at the roots of Europe's invention of 'America' (Platt 1992:135). However, it could equally be argued that the acceptance and incorporation in limited ways of alphabetic writing by indigenous groups, for instance in the importance attached to colonial legal documents, was facilitated by the long-standing existence in the Andean region of other comparable textual practices. The Spanish courts of the early colonial period appear to have had little difficulty in accepting indigenous testimony from kipus, devices on which information was recorded on knotted cords (see, for example, Murra 1975b). Information recorded on kipus was encoded, placed systematically, and may have included verbal as well as numerical data. Many contemporary ethnographers have also drawn attention to the textual nature of woven cloth, that is, of textiles, in the Andean region. Arnold (1997, 100-101) compares learning to weave with learning to write, and

views writing and weaving in contemporary Qaqachaka as parallel domains of gendered activity: women learn weaving while men become literate. Both Platt (1992: 137-138) and Abercrombie (1998: 18) point out that centuries of experience with the legal effectiveness of textual (alphabetic) memory has led Andeans to venerate the bundles of documents that give title to their lands, and Platt (1992: 144) has noted the appropriation of European legal discourse and inscription into shamanic sessions in northern Potosí, which he sees as evidence of an Indian process of 'self-modernization'.

Arnold (2000: 412) has pointed out elsewhere that in rural Andean communities, the school and its pupils occupy a key position as mediator of relations between the community and the state. Along similar lines, Althusser recognised the institutions of education as occupying a key position among what he termed 'ideological state apparatuses', the institutions in which ideologies are given a material existence (see Macdonell 27-29). In Bolivia, rural community and state are linked through literacy: the community's rights to its lands, the pact between the community and the state, are often enshrined in legal documents dating from the colonial era. In addition education has become symbolic of the post-revolutionary Bolivian nation, since the introduction of compulsory education following the National Revolution.

In LÍpez, the current emphasis on education brought to my mind the colonial process of 'reduction' - the concentration of the Indian population into orderly towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries so that they could learn 'buena policia' and receive instruction in the Christian faith. The extent to which the LÍpez Indians of colonial times were 'reduced' is far from clear, but in recent years the province has seen the construction of several new towns, such as San Antonio de LÍpez, Pululus and Pueblo Nuevo,¹⁹ which have had the same effect as the colonial 'reducciones' of other areas: of concentrating a previously scattered rural population into a restricted area. Christian doctrine is still high on the agenda, as each of the aforementioned towns is built around a church, but they are also built around 'nucleos escolares' ('scholastic nuclei', that is, village schools) and the colonial 'buena policia' seems to have been replaced by literacy and the ideology of the Bolivian

¹⁹ As I describe in the introduction to this thesis, the new town of San Antonio de LÍpez lies several kilometres below the colonial mining centre of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo. It will be apparent from Chapter 3 that an area was known as Pululus in the sixteenth century. The population of the area, however, was until recently scattered in estancias in the surrounding countryside, and the new town built only in the last twenty years. Pueblo Nuevo is one of the names of a new settlement that is also called Relave. Relave was formerly an estancia on the slopes of Cerro Relave.

nation-state. It appears that this twentieth-century 'reduction' is enjoying considerably more success than its colonial counterpart.

5.6 *Lawa*: Diet and Cuisine in San Pablo

The discussions of the previous sections on herding practices and the need for children to attend school has as its corollary that people in San Pablo no longer eat as they did in the past. Rather than see changes in diet and cuisine in San Pablo as simply a necessary consequence of their changed activities, and reduced access to certain types of produce, it is worth having a brief look at the sorts of foods and dishes involved, and what they mean, for foods can be potent symbols of self definition: what we eat might literally, in the biological sense, become us, but it also defines us as social beings.

Regarding food, I have to confess from the outset that I made a big mistake in my choice of fieldwork site, in that, having existed on an almost vegetarian diet in Britain, I somehow managed to end up in an Andean community where there are no vegetables. On visits to the Bolivia's cities I would listen with envy to other anthropologists complaining of having to eat *chuño* (freeze-dried potatoes) in their rural communities. I like *chuño*: their taste reminds me of something I cannot quite pinpoint from my childhood – perhaps school dinners, or something my grandmother used to make – but the only times I ate them in San Pablo were when I brought some with me from Tupiza. No doubt this fundamental mistake I made has prejudiced my view of San Pablo's present-day cuisine.

Despite having a reputation for being rather dull and stodgy, food in Bolivia's cities can be excellent, especially in some of the urban markets. Breakfast is served in the early morning, and consists usually of a hot drink, frequently coffee, sweetened with vast quantities of sugar,²⁰ and taken with two bread rolls. To have the hot drink without the bread is almost unimaginable. Spedding (1993) observes that for Bolivians it is necessary that a meal should combine solids and liquids, or rather dry and moist elements.²¹ This combination is also evident at lunchtime when the main meal of the day (*almuerzo*) is served at around noon. Its almost universal format is soup followed by a dry

²⁰ Hot drinks are expected to be flavoured with sugar, while soups are flavoured with salt. If either is considered lacking in the appropriate flavouring, it is said to be *laka*. *Laka* also means 'dark'; hence the term covers the semantic fields of lacking both light and flavour (Torrice 1990: 22).

²¹ She is careful to specify 'moist' rather than 'wet', as many elements of Andean cuisine fall somewhere between Western categories of solid and liquid, that is, they have the consistency of porridge.

course (segundo). I avoid using the term ‘main course’, as the soup course is given priority. The soup may be thickened with rice, noodles or flour, and takes its name from the thickening agent, rather than from any bits of vegetable or meat that might be floating around in it. The segundo consists mainly of a carbohydrate-rich food – usually rice or noodles (although there are some urban dishes where potatoes, or potatoes and chuño predominate, such as sajta de pollo (chicken cooked with onion and chilli peppers)) – and some sort of meat, with sometimes a small amount of salad. Lunch is the main meal of the day, and city businesses often close for up to three hours at midday to allow employees to return home to have a family meal. Tea is taken, with two rolls, at 5 p.m., and a dinner (cena) served in the evening is similar to the almuerzo, but is usually a lighter meal.

I found the food of Bolivia’s cities quite acceptable, and likewise could manage quite happily on the sorts of food Lipeños eat in the countryside, at least in those where some family member still travels to the valleys for maize. When I visited doña Andrea’s campo wasi, from which her brother-in-law makes journeys of exchange, maize and maize flour predominated in the cuisine. Early in the morning, water would be boiled for a hot, or at least luke-warm, drink, usually made with some sort of herb that grew wild, such as pupusa. The infusion made from pupusa is an acquired taste for which I became enthusiastic after being in Lípez for some time, however, my diary entry made after first tasting the brew records it as having quite a disagreeable flavour. With the herbal infusion there would be served a bowl of piri, made from maize flour. Piri is made by mixing the flour with a little fat, water and salt. It is heated in a saucepan, and finally has the appearance and consistency of the ‘breadcrumbs’ stage in pastry making. The main meal, called almuerzo like the city equivalent, is served quite soon afterwards at about 9 a.m., so that the greater part of the day is left free for activities away from the homestead. The main component of this is lawa, a soup thickened to porridge consistency with maize flour. Usually, at least two bowls of soup are eaten, but at doña Andrea’s estancia we also had kanka as a segundo, roast dried meat (ch’arki) from a llama heart. During the day, in the course of work, or on journeys, Lipeños generally carry dried food, such as pito (toasted barley flour), which can be mixed with water, and my chief recollection of my time at doña Andrea’s house is of herding with the children and collecting a wild plant called sik’i,²² or in Spanish achacoria, which can either be eaten raw or cooked as a vegetable. Back at the homestead,

²² The name appears to derive from the Quechua ‘sik’iy’ – ‘to pull out by the roots’.

in the evening, a herbal infusion and piri would again be served, followed a little later by more lawa. During the lambing season, ewes are milked, and milk and cheese products are also available. Notably, the products used in the countryside are either those that can be obtained locally – wild plants, ch'arki and ewe's milk – or those obtained through journeys of exchange – salt (in the form of blocks from the salar), maize and barley. The only item used obtained through monetary exchange is the sugar used to sweeten drinks.

Weismantel (1988), writing on Ecuador, draws quite a sharp distinction between the cuisines of city and countryside of that country, and emphasises the symbolic values attached to particular foods. There, certain foodstuffs - particularly rice, which has to be bought in shops or markets - stand for a class of people, the 'whites' of Ecuador's towns and cities, who eat them. These foodstuffs are valued above the types of food – potatoes and broad beans, for example – grown in the countryside. Spedding (1993) argues that the division between foods of town and country is not marked so sharply in the Bolivian department of La Paz, and that foodstuffs do not carry such great ideological loads. However, she has worked predominantly in the warm coca-growing Yungas region, where foods are plentiful and transport to and from the city of La Paz is comparatively easy. In the extreme south of Bolivia, I would argue, the situation is closer to that encountered by Weismantel: many of the foods eaten in the countryside would simply not be prepared in the city, and if they were, they would be looked down upon. The only person I have ever seen prepare piri in a Bolivian city was an American anthropologist; my city friends in Sucre were unappreciative of the large bag of pupusa I brought back with me from Lípez; and I well remember being stopped in the streets of Sucre one Christmas by an upper-middle-class acquaintance who pointed out the large numbers of peasants flocking to the city, in hope of receiving the foods traditionally regaled at this time: he asked me what they could want with the city food, since 'they eat nothing but lawa'.

In the town of San Pablo, the cuisine is no longer that of the countryside, that relies predominantly on foodstuffs obtained without the use of money. It is also not that of the cities, but, in my prejudiced opinion, seems to combine the worst features of both city and country. People still eat lawa sometimes, but more often the soup served for almuerzo, taken at midday rather than in the morning, is thickened either with rice or noodles. I came to regard the rice soup with a particular loathing: it was usually made with 'broken rice', which I found unpleasant, contained very little

vegetable matter (usually a few broad beans or a bit of onion that I had brought with me), and was excessively (to my taste) salty. It could be made tolerable if there were chilli peppers available to make a hot sauce (llagua), but there were not always any to be had. Sometimes there would just be two bowls of soup, and sometimes there would be a segundo that would be based on noodles if the soup had been made with rice, or rice if the soup were of noodles, and a little meat. Meat was eaten with just about every meal in frugal quantities. Commercial tea and coffee had also come to replace the herbal infusions to a certain extent, another retrograde move in my opinion. I suppose all was not bad, and my bad memories of the soup are obscuring better memories of other foods. I enjoyed the doughy pancakes (sopaypillas) that were sometimes served with tea in the afternoon, which are also served in city markets, and also the bunuelos that were deep fried lumps of eggy dough.

Economy and expediency have obviously played a considerable part in bringing about this change of diet: if you are no longer getting maize from the valleys, then you obviously have to buy something to replace it. Broken rice is both cheap and compact – which is an important factor to consider when you have to transport all your bought foodstuffs to San Pablo, and have to pay for every bag you transport. Nevertheless, my suspicion was that something else was also at play concerning the symbolic values of the various foodstuffs and the separation of ‘national citizen’ from ‘llama-herder’. This was brought about by incidents such as doña Victoria apologising for serving me a dish of maize and ch’arki, which I found delicious; by Silvia telling me that her family did not go gathering llullucha in the marshy areas as much as they did formerly; and by the general opinion that doña Andrea’s bread, made from wheat and maize flour, was not as rich as bread made just from wheat flour. It would seem that rice, noodles and wheat-flour bread symbolize the lifestyle of Bolivia’s cities, and pertinence to the wider, mestizo nation, and that in San Pablo these foods serve to mark the population as Bolivians, rather than just llama-herders.

Significantly, there were times when maize and llama meat (sometimes in the form of ch’arki) came to predominate in local cuisine. These were the festivals that seemed to have more to do with the locality than with the nation, when local music would be played in place of the cumbia music that was blasted out of radios and tape recorders (if anyone had batteries) on other occasions. I describe in Chapter 7 how maize and ch’arki soup, qalapari, is served at festivals that concern the dead, and how the main festival of the dead, Todos Santos, also sees the production of other meals –

such as roast llama meat served in generous quantities with whole grains of maize, and quinoa flavoured with chilli pepper – that involve produce more associated with the former, rather than present, lifestyle of San Pablo's people. Carnival likewise sees the production of maize-based comestibles, notably corn beer (chicha) with its by-product anch'i (see Chapter 8). The dishes consumed on these occasions, being festivals, are likely to be served in larger quantities and to involve ingredients that are more expensive or difficult to obtain than those served as everyday meals. However, it seems to me significant that the foods eaten on these occasions are those associated with the former lifestyle of San Pablo's people. When herders still made regular journeys to the valleys, maize and llama meat would have been eaten daily as lawa. On festive occasions, people obviously still like to eat these foods, but for everyday cuisine, the effort involved in obtaining these foodstuffs (journeys of exchange) and the general prestige of other foods in the Bolivian nation have led to maize being eaten less frequently than either rice or noodles.

An afterthought on the subject of food concerns what, to me, are edible plants that grow locally in abundance during the rainy seasons of particularly wet years, and local categories of what is, and what is not, food. I am referring to the field mushrooms that sprouted abundantly in the months of January and February of 1997. I first saw something white and round on the ground one snowy day when I went with doña Teodora to collect firewood. I bent down to examine it and, on finding it to be a mushroom, picked it. Doña Teodora saw me, and immediately told me it was not edible, but was a 'wart' (Spanish 'verruca', Quechua 'sirk'i') of the earth. I was convinced they were field mushrooms, so on finding a few more picked them and took them back to the town house. There I fried them with some onion and ate them, to the astonishment of the Alejo family, who declined my offer to share any. Later, don Alejo told me he had once eaten some, in the company of a Polish priest who had formerly worked in the area. He recounted with some amusement how Padre Casimiro had invited him to a tasty meal, to which he had been looking forward, assuming it to be roast meat, and laughed at his disappointment on being offered a plate of 'warts'. The one family that took up my idea of eating the 'warts' was the mining family at Buena Vista. On the hillside near the mine, mushrooms had sprouted in such abundance that it resembled the vegetable counter in Tesco's. Here, I would suggest that ideas about healthy eating, gleaned from the pages of the old copies of 'Selecciones' ('The Reader's Digest') that littered the kitchen of the campamento, together

with the fact that they simply did not have much to eat at that time, may have counteracted local prejudice against a foodstuff that is eaten neither in Bolivia's cities nor its countryside. Don Reynaldo told me he had heard of a mushroom omelette, but did not know what it was. so I bought eggs from one of the local shops and made omelettes for the whole family one evening. An analysis of the connotations of 'warts' in the Andean region, and why 'warts of the earth' should be so repugnant as food, is outside the scope of this thesis, but would be a fascinating subject for future investigation.

5.7 Conclusions

As well as being an introduction to life in contemporary San Pablo, this chapter has looked at what it means to be a San Pableño today and has tried to point out some links between discourse and material practices. Along with local birth and kinship relations, it has looked at llama ownership as a potent symbol of belonging to the local area: these are all symbols behind which people can unite, which separate them from outsiders, but which can cope with their individual diversity. Llamas are not as important economically as they were in former times, as people have come to rely on cash-paid employment and commerce, but they do evoke the past and the former practice of carrying salt to exchange for maize in the warmer valleys to the east of LÍpez. Even though the animals do not often carry goods for the living any more, they are still thought to carry away the possessions of the recently deceased into the next world.

Nevertheless, the people of San Pablo do not only look inwards to their own local area, but also look outwards towards the wider Bolivian nation-state. They see themselves not only as 'indigenous' people of a particular area, but as Bolivian citizens, categories that do not always co-exist easily. The imagined community of the nation is also evoked by symbols, and some of the most important of these are monetary exchange, education (and literacy in particular) and the consumption of certain foods (other than those that would have been obtained locally or through non-monetary exchange).

For much of the year, San Pableños seem to give priority to being 'Bolivians', and put symbols of the nation before those of the locality: they work for money, rather than live by exchange, and I have compared the present zeal for education, and its effect on the residence pattern of families, to

the colonial policy of reducción (resettlement of the Indian population into towns for the purpose of evangelisation). Even in the household of my host, don Alejo, a person who was always one of the most enthusiastic revellers at festivals that had a local character (and one of the few people in San Pablo who still takes festival sponsorship seriously), education is considered more important than herding. His daughter Silvia was eager to leave school as soon as she could, as she preferred working with her llamas to studying, but her parents were strongly opposed to this idea. Leaving school would have meant abandoning literacy, one of the most potent symbols of the mestizo nation, for the sake of llamas, the foremost symbol of the locality. This is an example of how the national symbol can take priority, although there is always a certain tension between the two types of symbol.

I have not written much about weaving, a textual practice that is of paramount importance in many rural areas of the Andes, and one that is predominantly the domain of women. This is because women do not weave nearly so much in San Pablo as they do elsewhere, since city-bought clothing, rather than homespun, is worn. Nevertheless, wool is an obvious product of raising llamas. Women still weave blankets and occasionally ch'uspas (bags for carrying coca which are used mainly in rituals, since coca is normally carried in plastic bags these days), and most older women were able to show me the carrying-cloths (llijllas) that they had woven in their younger days. It would be easy to see the decline of weaving as a female, local activity that has been supplanted by the male, national textual practice of writing. Arnold (1997: 100-101) has compared learning to weave with learning to write, and sees weaving and writing as parallel domains of gendered activity. However, I do not think the situation in San Pablo is that simple. I found that girls as well as boys were encouraged to continue in education, and even though some outside institutions made it easier for boys than for girls to receive an education – for instance the school in Tupiza run by the Catholic Church offers scholarship places only to boys – some Lipeña girls like Hortensia were determined to succeed in education, and received the support of their parents to do so.

Food is one area where tension and ambiguity over local and national forms seems particularly marked. Routinely, foods associated with the wider Bolivian nation have come to have greater prestige, and are obtained with less effort, than those associated with the former lifestyle of Lipeños and non-monetary exchange. This situation is, however, reversed when certain festivals take place. Then festive dishes made from the foodstuffs that are either produced locally, or, in the past would

have been obtained through journeys of exchange to the warmer valleys, predominate in an affirmation of belonging to the local area. Notably, at these times, music played on acoustic instruments takes over from cumbia tapes played on ghetto blasters. I shall return to the subject of festivals in Chapter 8, when I put forward the idea that certain of these give people the opportunity to equilibrate both their internal relations with each other and their relations with outside entities.

Chapter 6. The Miners of Buena Vista: Inside and Outside

San Pablo

6.1 Introduction

In describing the economic activities of San Pableños in Chapter 5, I made only passing references to mining, although this is an important source of cash income for a number of people in and around San Pablo, and has been the most important activity in the history of the region, at least from colonial times. For most families in San Pablo mining is another pursuit along with llama herding, and cash paid employment with which to juggle in order to minimise economic risk and scrape a living. However, a few people in the area have all but abandoned other economic activities, and have chosen to concentrate on making their living from the extraction of minerals.

In this chapter I want to look at a small mine close to San Pablo de Lipez, worked by a group of miners as a co-operative, some of whom have chosen to concentrate exclusively on this activity, while others also tend herds of llamas and take cash paid employment when the opportunities arise. Whereas in Chapter 5 I looked at belonging to the locality of San Pablo and belonging to the Bolivian nation-state, both of which are important to San Pableños, in this chapter I want to take a look at life at the mine and at the way that belonging to the imagined community of Bolivian miners opposes and overlaps with other belongings for the miners of San Pablo: to the local community and to the nation.

6.2. Fieldwork at a Small Mine in the 1990s: The Buena Vista Co-operative

6.2.1 The History of the Buena Vista Mine

The mine at Buena Vista belongs currently to the Bolivian State mining company, COMIBOL, and is leased to a co-operative, officially named Co-operativa Lipez Ltda. COMIBOL came into possession of the site in the 1950s, following the National Revolution, although so far as I can gather it never belonged to any of the major tin barons, and shortly afterwards constructed the adit known

as San Pablito which gives access to a vein of silver/lead/zinc complex. The other main adit, San Pedrito, which gives access to a vein of argentiferous galena, is much older, and dates from the nineteenth century, or possibly earlier: although I have found no reference to Buena Vista in archival documents prior to this century, José María Dalence in his *Bosquejo estadística de Bolivia*, published in 1851 writes of Lípez:

No ha habido en toda la América meridional rejion más rica que Lipez en metales, particularmente de plata. San Antonio, Jaquegua, Moroco, Santa Isabel, Buena Vista y San Cristóval, son asientos minerales que cada uno ha competido con el cerro rico de Potosí: hoy se hallan abandonados, no por exhaustion de sus vetas, sino por haberse opilado; aun nos aguarda pues á los Bolivianos en esta Provincia, un dia de opulenta grandeza, que se efectuará luego que nuestros conocimientos prácticos y métodos se perfeccionen; y el ahorro nos proporcione medios de conseguir ó construir las bombas grandes de vapor.¹

(Dalence 1851: 75)

Dalence's words certainly imply that there was mining at Buena Vista before his time of writing. It was towards the end of the nineteenth century, in 1882, however, when a mining company called the 'Compañía Esmoraca', was formed, which opened up the abandoned Buena Vista workings. The problems this company found recruiting llama herders to transport its minerals have already been mentioned in Chapters 3 and 5. Serious work at the site seems to have commenced in 1884, by which time the directors of the company had taken up Dalence's challenge by ordering a steam engine from England to drain the mines. The company report of 1885 mentions the construction of a corral for mules in the cancha mina, the area in front of the principal adit, and of quarters for the mine workers (Compañía Esmoraca 1885: 10), and the ruins of these can still be seen – I even found an iron mule shoe in the corral on one occasion. The report makes no mention, however, of the facilities inside the mines where the mules worked in two circular chambers turning machinery to extract mineral from vertical shafts, or of the chamber near the entrance to the mine where there were feeding troughs for the animals.

¹ 'In all of South America there has been no region richer than Lípez, particularly for silver. San Antonio, Jaquegua, Moroco, Santa Isabel, Buena Vista and San Cristóbal are mining sites, each of which has competed with Cerro Rico in Potosí. Today they are abandoned not through the exhaustion of their veins, but through having become blocked. A time of opulent grandeur is still awaiting us, the Bolivians in this province, which will come about when we have perfected our methods and practices, and when our savings are sufficient to procure or construct large steam pumps'.

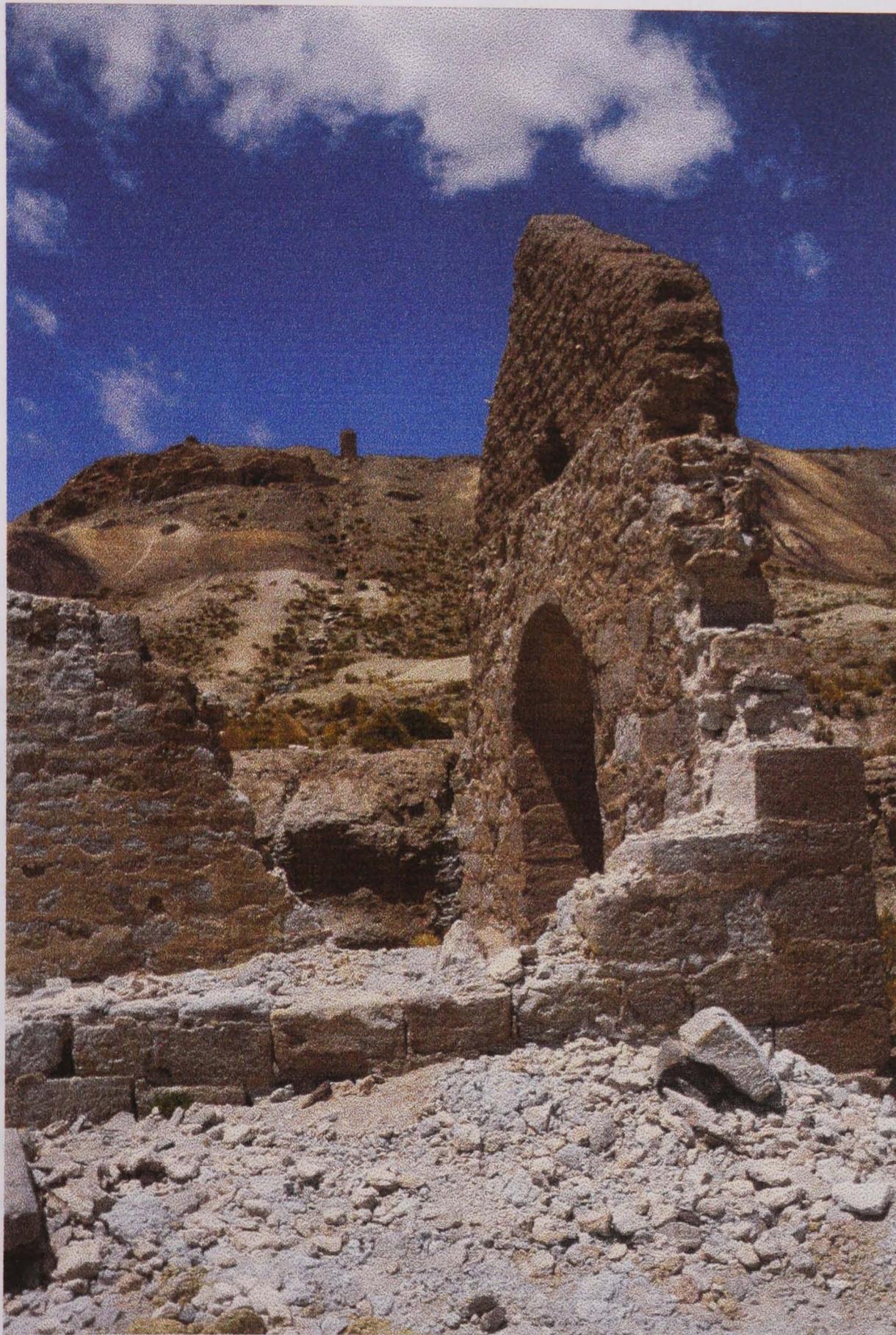


Plate 8. Nineteenth-century ruins at the Buena Vista mine

The company report of the following year tells of the arrival of the steam engine and of the construction of a building to house it:

Por la Memoria del año anterior se ve que la maquina a vapor pedida a Europa en Febrero de 1883 llegó recién a Buen Vista en los primeros meses del 85. Cuando se pudo examinarla, se notó que había rota una pieza esencial, que felizmente se ha obtenido de Huanchaca exactamente igual en el último tercio del año, por especial servicio de esa compañía.

Para poder fijar esa máquina en su sitio, ha sido preciso proporcionarse de la costa gran cantidad de ladrillos refractarios, mucha madera y otros materiales necesarios, todo con fuertes gastos y pérdida de tiempo. A la fecha se halla completamente armada en un hermoso edificio de piedra labrada con techo cubierta de calamina, y tiene una chimenea de 141 metros de longitud a corte en el cerro y rematada en una columna de 15 pies de altura; todo construido en el año muy cerca del cuadro B, en el que ha comenzado a prestar muy útiles servicios, como queda dicho. A juicio de los ingenieros que la conocen, es por su finura y poder una de las mejores en su género.

(Compañía Esmoraca 1886: 7)²

The chimney mentioned stands on the hillside above the mine, and can be seen on approaching from San Pablo. It is shown together with the ruins of the building constructed to house the steam engine in Plate 8.

The company reports give figures showing that by this time the mine was producing minerals that were refined at a site called Candelaria, also owned by the company, and probably in Sud Chichas. The 1886 report claims that up to November 1885, 74⅓ cajones (vats) had been processed, yielding 4094 marks³ 2½ ounces, corresponding to an average yield of 55 marks per vat. However the company was already being confronted by problems, most notably its aforementioned transport problem and also lack of sufficient water for the refining process. One solution that the company proposed was to construct a refinery close to the mine, on the banks of the Río San Pablo, where

² 'From last year's report it can be seen that the steam engine ordered from Europe in February 1883 had only just arrived at Buena Vista in the first months of 1885. When it was finally examined, it was noted that an essential part had been broken, but fortunately an exactly equivalent part was obtained from Huanchaca in the last third of the year, as a special favour from that company.'

In order to install this machine on site, it has been necessary to procure a large quantity of refractory bricks, wood and other important materials, which has been very expensive, in terms both of money and of time. At this present time a beautiful stone building with a corrugated iron roof has been completed, which has a chimney 141 metres long cutting through the hillside, and topped by a column of height 15 feet. All of this was constructed in the past year close to shaft B, and [the steam engine] has now started to give very good service, as has already been mentioned. In the opinion of the engineers who have seen it, in terms of both its design and power, it is one of the best of its type.'

³ See Chapter 3 note 49.

some adobe ruins stand that probably date from an earlier period. This may well have been the site of the Ingenio Rosario mentioned in documents dating from the seventeenth century (see Chapter 3).

The report from the following year shows that the company's problems continued: the steam pump was frequently out of action from lack of fuel, mechanical breakdown, inadequate boiler design and bad weather conditions (Compañía Esmoraca 1887: 7-8). Although the mine continued to produce minerals (more than 100 vats, with a yield of 78 marks per vat in 1886, and 62 vats at over 76 marks per vat up to 31st May 1887), transport of minerals remained a problem, and it appears that work had not started on constructing the new refinery. The report, written in June, at the start of the time for llama journeys to the valleys, anticipates further interruptions in the refining operation for lack of herders willing to transport mineral.

There are no company reports for the following years, but a Sucre business newspaper 'La Industria' from late 1888 reports the company going into liquidation, and an extraordinary general meeting of its shareholders being called at which its sale to one Ignacio Prudencio was to be approved (La Industria, 1888).

I have found no further reference to the mine from this date until the 1940s. By this time it had passed into the hands of one Pedro Mosterín,⁴ although it was not producing mineral, owing to the 'complexity of its metals which require the investment of a great deal of money'. In 1990 the mine was leased by COMIBOL to the present co-operative, with shareholders at first being numerous, and including several former COMIBOL employees from the Atocha area as well as a considerable number of local people from San Pablo: I have been told that there were between 23 and 25 shareholders and well over 100 people living at the campamento at that time, when Buena Vista even had its own school.

⁴ This information was obtained from a document held in the Sub-prefecto's office in San Pablo, entitled *Publicación especial de la delegación especial de los Lípez: Informes presentados a consideración del Ministerio del Gobierno, Justicia e Inmigración en cumplimiento de los decretos supremos de 1° de Agosto de 1940 y 27 de Septiembre de 1941*. Much of the document tells of the difficulties of travelling to Sud Lípez at the time and the entry for Buena Vista reads as follows:

Mina Buena Vista: Produce plomo, plata, blenda, galena etc. e propia de Pedro Mosterín y se halla próxima a 'Carmen' y 'Leoplan'. Actualmente están paralizados sus trabajos debido a la complejidad de metales que requiere fuertes inversiones de dinero.

(Buena Vista mine: Produces lead, silver, [zinc]blend, galena etc., is the property of Pedro Mosterín, and is located close to both 'Carmen' and 'Leoplan'. At present its work is halted due to the complexity of its metals which require the investment of a great deal of money.)

It appears therefore that no mining was taking place at this time.

By the time I arrived to do fieldwork most of the people had left, following a fall in the price of silver, and only a few people remained to work the mine. One family, that of don Reynaldo, was there permanently, and they were joined periodically by various others, including at one stage the family of one of don Reynaldo's compadres (co-fathers), a former colleague from the mine at San Vicente in Sud Chichas. Other families came and went in accordance with their needs to earn cash, tend livestock and with other opportunities to earn money away from the mine.

6.2.2 Working in the Mine

The Buena Vista mine can be reached on foot from San Pablo in about an hour and twenty minutes, perhaps slightly more on the outward journey since it is uphill. During my fieldwork, I would set out from San Pablo along the Esmoruco road, past the cemetery, going roughly south, and then branch to the west along a track that descends into Canterillas valley, crosses a stream and then ascends steeply to skirt the mountain sides, giving a spectacular view of Cerro Lipez in front, whilst a backward glance would show the peaks of Cerros Bonete and Barillita rising above the hillside. The first sign that I was approaching the mine would be the sight of the ruined chimney dating from the nineteenth century high on the plateau above the mine, and shortly after this came into view I would pass a solitary grave on the hillside, usually adorned with a wreath of torn plastic flowers left over from Todos Santos, of a miner who lost his life in the mine some years ago, or so I have been told. Shortly afterwards the track would plunge down a grey, powdery slope into a steep valley or quebrada with walls of grey rock, that is, where they were not covered with desmontes (piles of waste rock) from the mine, and on descending I would cross a stream that could be a trickle in the dry season, or a raging torrent in the months of January and February, and head for the campamento. On arrival I would be greeted by the assorted dogs and children of my hosts, don Reynaldo's family.

6.2.2.a Don Reynaldo's Family

Several families from San Pablo worked at Buena Vista at times during my fieldwork period, as did one family from Sud Chichas, but it was don Reynaldo's family who were there all the time: someone would be there even if he himself had travelled to Potosí to sell mineral, and the family had made the campamento (mining camp) their home. Don Reynaldo and his wife, doña Felisa, are in

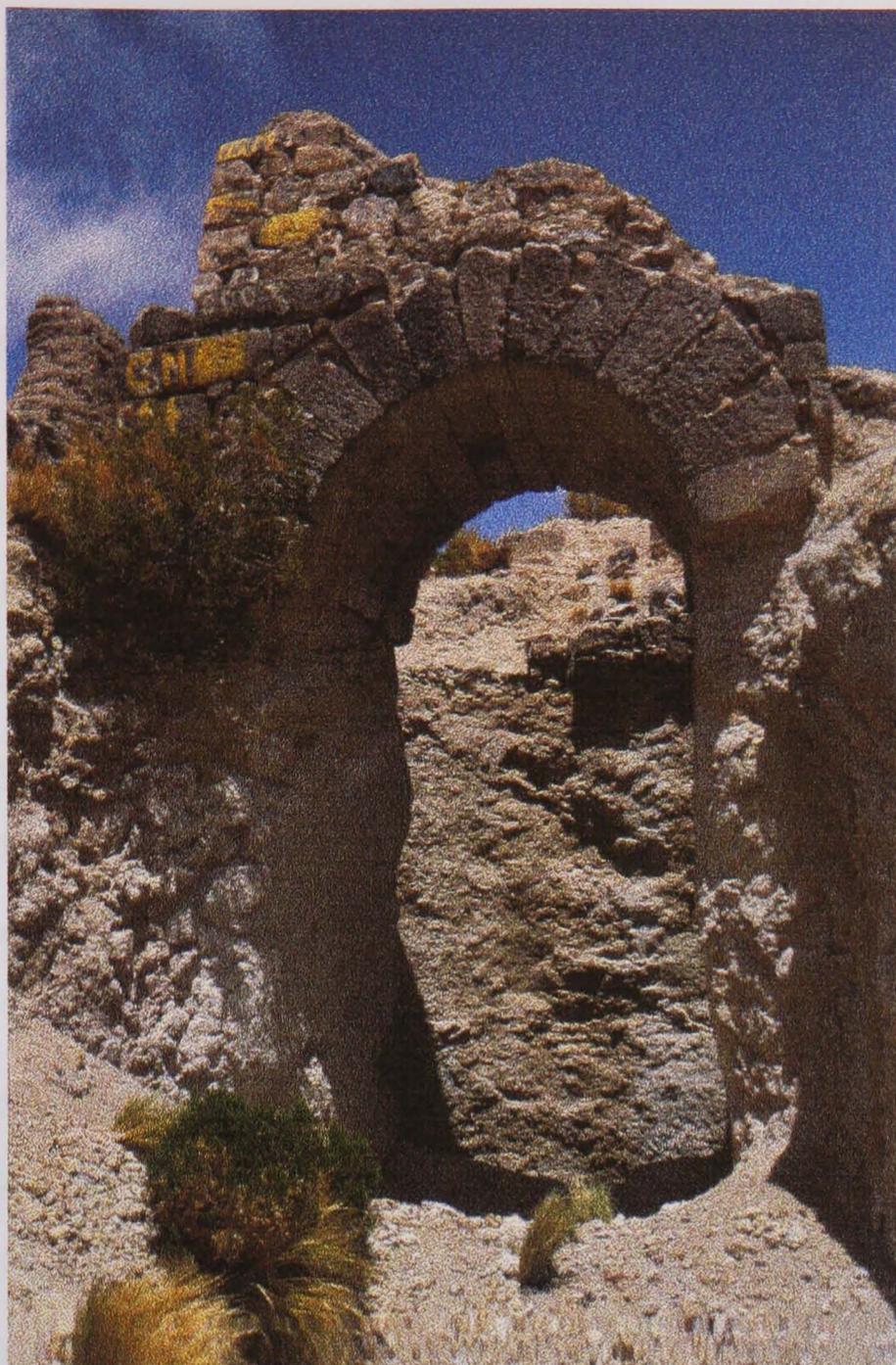


Plate 9. Nineteenth-century ruins at Buena Vista



Plate 10. The campamento at Buena Vista

their mid forties and have eight children ranging in age from about six to twenty-five, one of the largest families in San Pablo. The eldest daughter, Marina, has an illegitimate daughter, Cíntia, who was about two years old when I left the area. The eldest son, Wilter, is in his early twenties, and is living with a daughter of don Juan, the compadre from Sud Chichas, although they have not yet married formally. None of the other children are married. Both parents describe themselves as San Pableños, but don Reynaldo's father was from San Antonio de Lípez, and used to work in the mines belonging to the Aramayo Francke Mining Company, and doña Felisa has family connections in Santa Isabel, where her sister lives. Although don Reynaldo has been a socio (shareholder) of the co-operative since its inception, he has not always been its leader: in its early days, when more people from San Pablo worked the mine, don Alejo, my host in San Pablo, occupied this position. Don Reynaldo became leader when his family were left as the only people working permanently at the mine.

Although born in the San Pablo area, don Reynaldo and doña Felisa have lived in other areas and have travelled quite extensively in Bolivia. Don Reynaldo has worked in a variety of jobs: as a plasterer at San Vicente in Sud Chichas, as an unqualified (interino) school teacher in Viluyos, another Lípez community, and in various mines in the province such as Santa Isabel and Barrahuaico. The family habitually speaks Spanish rather than Quechua in the home, although don Reynaldo's mother, who lives at Yanaqaqa (Black Cliff), a campo wasi (house outside the town) a kilometre or so upstream from San Pablo, is one of the small minority of monolingual Quechua speakers in the area. Nevertheless, once when I asked don Reynaldo to let me record one of his stories in Quechua, he claimed his knowledge of the language was not very good, and expressed reluctance to speak it in front of me, although he clearly spoke it fluently in the presence of other people. Don Reynaldo told me that he received little formal education as a child, completing only the basic cycle (roughly equivalent to two or three years of primary school education), but he is something of an autodidact: he enjoys reading, always has copies of 'Selecciones' ('The Readers' Digest') in the house, and on my first stay at the mine I was surprised to find him reading a book about the North Africa campaign in World War II – I think my scant knowledge of the Desert Rats was a bit of a disappointment to him. He has ambitions for his younger children to continue in education and go to university, and has visions of the boys becoming geologists and the girls

lawyers, to 'defend the family'. With this in mind, in 1996 he sent all of the younger children to Atocha, in Marina's care, to attend school at Telamayu, where he considered the schooling to be better than in San Pablo, but in 1997, when the family was investing heavily in equipment for the mine, they were back at the San Pablo school, where their parents complain that they study the same lessons year after year.

6.2.2.b A Day in the Mine at Buena Vista

A typical day at the mine starts at around 6 a.m., when one of the girls, usually Marina, gets up to light the stove and starts boiling the kettle for the family to have tea. Sometimes there is bread left over from the day before, but at other times this has to be made from dough prepared the previous night or perhaps the family will eat piri (see Chapter 5). The family stove was the simplest, and most effective of any I had seen in LÍpez, made from a cut down oil drum with a section cut out to make a door. Bread was baked inside where the fire was lit, and saucepans and kettles sat on the top surface. The fuel used, like elsewhere in San Pablo, is t'ula a woody shrub that grows on the mountainsides.⁵ A chimney made from old tin cans rose from the back of the stove towards a hole in the roof: I noticed this had a baffle that allowed the smoke to circulate and so helped to heat the room.

The remainder of the family gets up at about seven, and congregates in the kitchen to have breakfast. Most of the children sleep there beneath various blankets on an adobe platform at one end of the room, and will be rubbing their eyes sleepily as their parents enter. We would drink tea, sometimes from commercially manufactured tea bags, or sometimes an infusion of pupusa (see Chapter 5). Whatever sort of tea, Marina will have added so much sugar that it is almost a syrup:⁶ when I first stayed at Buena Vista I must have mentioned to them that I take tea without sugar, for I was served from a separate little kettle, but by the time of my later visits I was drinking the sugary brew along with everyone else.

⁵ Collecting firewood is usually a female activity: women carry huge bundles of it even if they are pregnant or have recently given birth. When men get involved they seem to take it more seriously, and often want to use donkeys as beasts of burden. In my experience, the greater efficiency that comes from the carrying capacity of the animals is usually cancelled out by the amount of time spent finding them, as they graze freely on the mountainsides and can be several kilometres away.

⁶ See Spedding (1993: 4, 9) for a discussion of the place of sweet liquids in Andean cuisine.

Immediately after breakfast don Reynaldo prepares his equipment to enter the mine: he will need dynamite, fuse wires with detonators, and possibly ammonium nitrate as well, with some newspaper with which to prepare charges. His lamp will have to be charged with calcium carbide (carburo) and water, and he will also need a bottle of water in case the lamp runs out. His further necessities will be his helmet (guardatojo)⁷, a small bottle of pure undiluted cane alcohol, a supply of coca leaves in a plastic bag, together with lejia (potato or quinoa ash with which coca is chewed), and if he has any, some 'Casino' cigarettes. Doña Felisa sometimes helps her husband prepare the mining equipment, but sometimes uses this time to organise Marina, who will be cooking the lunch, and gives tasks to the younger children if they are not going to school: when school is in session the children often sleep in San Pablo, either at their grandmother's estancia, just out of town, or in the one room family house in the town centre.

Those who are going to the mine are then ready to enter. Usually don Reynaldo and doña Felisa go underground, as does their eldest son, Wilter, and sometimes Nancy the second oldest girl. Wilter has his own workplace, (paraje), in the mine, but if Nancy goes she will work with her parents. Both principal adits are used: sometimes it is more economical to mine the argentiferous galena in San Pedrito than the complex mineral of San Pablito, and sometimes the reverse: although the price of the argentiferous galena is higher, the complex mineral vein is wider, making the mineral easier to extract. Wherever they are working, they will have to walk, crawl, descend and climb for ten or fifteen minutes to reach the workplace. Inside the mine the principal gallery is high and wide, so that two people can walk abreast without stooping. However, to reach a paraje one has to crawl through smaller inclined tunnels (piques), which can be very low, narrow, slippery, can twist and turn, and can change gradient abruptly. The workplace is not necessarily the end of the tunnel (tope), since the mine has been worked so many times before, but is a place where the vein is exposed, and is usually littered with rock from the explosions of the previous days. Here the miner's tools will be waiting: barrenos (long pointed iron bars, for making holes for dynamite); martillos (hammers); cuñas or puntas (shorter pointed iron bars for scraping mineral away from the tunnel walls and ceiling); cucharillas (long-handled 'spoons' for scraping the mud out of the drilled holes);

⁷ 'Tojo' is the word used for loose rock in the mine – that might well hit a miner on the head.

picotas (pickaxes); palas (spades) and tendales (coarse sacks in which the mineral is carried out of the mine). During my fieldwork period all the mining at Buena Vista was unmechanised ('a pulso').

The family does not start work immediately, but sits down and chews coca for about twenty minutes: for chewing coca the verb pijchar is used (a Quechua stem pijcha-, with a Spanish verb ending). I always found these periods of coca chewing the best times for getting people to talk. Then, don Reynaldo would have more time to answer my questions than when he was working or when he was tired at the end of a day in the mine. I cannot say to what extent the family chats while chewing coca without me, but I suspect it may be somewhat less when don Reynaldo and doña Felisa are alone, but more-or-less the same when they are joined by any other miners that are working with them. While chewing coca the miners sometimes smoke cigarettes, and usually take few swigs of alcohol, sprinkling first a few drops on the ground as a libation to the earth: coca is said by miners to offer some protection against the gases of the mine, although gas is not really a problem in the sections currently worked at Buena Vista, and alcohol is supposed to keep the stomach warm. Don Reynaldo used to say 'Sin coca no tenemos ganas de trabajar.' ('Without coca we don't feel like working') or 'Mascando coca estamos tranquilos' ('We're content chewing coca').

After chewing coca for a while work begins, and don Reynaldo starts making holes, trazas, for dynamite charges. For this, the barreno is used, and is given successive blows with the hammer, between which it is rotated with the left hand. Doña Felisa does not join in this activity, but will sometimes steady the lamp for her husband, or sort the mineral that has fallen from the previous day's explosions, collecting it in sacks. She will also make tacos or juk'uchus (Quechua - 'mice'), mud sausages that are used to seal the charge of dynamite in its hole in the rock face. It is important that the dynamite charge stays inside the rock when it explodes: if it comes out it will not be so effective, and may scatter the mineral so that it is difficult to collect. Sometimes she will also prepare a charge of ammonium nitrate wrapped in a cylinder of newspaper to aid the dynamite explosion. If Nancy is working she will help her mother, or will scrape loose mineral away from the vein (tojear), filling sacks with mineral that will be credited to her account.

When the dynamite charge is ready, doña Felisa makes sure that tools are stowed so that they are not likely to get hit or buried by falling rocks, and lays sacking on the floor of the mine to catch the mineral. Everyone then retreats to a safe place a few hundred yards back along the tunnel, while



Plate 11. Don Reynaldo and Nancy working in the mine

don Reynaldo lights the fuse and then follows the others to sit and await the explosion. On my first day in the mine, the first occasion that I witnessed a real dynamite explosion, I was first out of the workplace, and sped along the tunnel as fast as I could go, stumbling as I went. Don Hernán, with whom I was working that day, laughed at me: there was plenty of time to get away from the danger area, and the explosion when it came was more a vibration felt in the floor and walls of the mine than a big bang. In small mines like Buena Vista, miners only use about a third of a stick of dynamite for each explosion, and the idea is to dislodge rock so that the vein is further exposed, so that the mineral can be removed by hand. If there is a loud explosion it means that the charge was not placed well. In large-scale mining, by contrast, a huge amount of dynamite may be used, to extend the tunnel by several metres.

Miners do not return to their workplaces immediately after an explosion, but sit and chew coca while the dust clears: I was told that to return immediately would be to risk the miners' ailment, silicosis. Silica dust is released by dynamite explosions, and also by pneumatic drills, and so is a common ailment of miners working in mechanised mines.⁸ On a few occasions I noticed that don Reynaldo did return to his paraje rather more quickly, but these were occasions when he was under pressure to accumulate sufficient mineral to take to a refinery. Once again, as they wait for the dust to clear, miners chew coca, pass the bottle of alcohol around, and if they have any cigarettes, smoke one. Meanwhile they chat, tell stories and joke with one another.

Although the miners use alcohol as a matter of course, they do not normally get drunk in the course of a day working underground. It is different when either miners or peasants drink during the course of a festival: then the intention is to get completely drunk until they can no longer stand. This was the form that drinking took when a ritual offering was burned in the mine in August 1997, when participants took a day or two to recover afterwards. In the course of a normal working day, alcohol is needed for libations to the earth, that is, for ritual purposes, and to 'keep the miners' stomachs warm'. I came to regard the alcohol bottle, something that all miners seemed to have (although I am certain there must be some miners who do not drink) as symbolic of their profession, along with the more widely recognised miners' symbols of helmet and carbide lamp. At the large-

⁸ See, for example, Nash & Rojas (1992). Juan Rojas was a miner who had had to retire from underground mining due to the illness, and was working as a security guard when he met the American anthropologist June Nash.

scale mine at Porco, where I taught English for a while, the road from the workers' quarters to the mine was marked with notices reminding employees about safety regulations, and, emphatically, that the consumption of alcohol inside the mine was expressly forbidden. The use of alcohol during work in the mine – work that necessarily involves breaking the earth – is reminiscent of that during the agricultural tasks recorded in numerous ethnographies, such as sowing and ploughing, when the earth is also broken and when work is ritualised (for example Gose 1994: 110, 183).

On returning to the workplace after an explosion, don Reynaldo and doña Felisa inspect the effects of the dynamite, clear away the caja (the rock surrounding the mineral vein), and bag up the mineral that has fallen. Doña Felisa continues with this task, but after a while don Reynaldo starts to drill once more to place a further dynamite charge. This will be ready just before lunchtime, and this time the fuse will be lit as the miners leave the mine to eat in the campamento.

Lunch is brief: Marina will have prepared a soup, usually with rice or noodles, and if there is anything else available a dry second course. Unusually for Sud Lípez, don Reynaldo's family sometimes breaks away from the monotony of rice and noodles, to eat salads of onion, tomato and tinned tuna fish, which to me made a welcome change. Immediately after lunch those working in the mine return to work, first checking that their lamps are sufficiently charged with carbide and water. The afternoon in the mine is then spent in much the same way as the morning.

If the children are not in school then they may make their way underground to their father's workplace sometime during the afternoon to remove bags of mineral, or, they may be involved in washing minerals in a concrete channel close to the house. Don Reynaldo always insisted to me that the children work in the mine because they want to, not because they are compelled, although there were rumours in San Pablo that the children are threatened with having no pencils and paper for school if they do not work. I cannot comment on the truth of these rumours, but can only add that when I was present the children seemed to enjoy going into the mine: on my first visit two of the younger boys, Roly and Ebert showed me around the old colonial workings, and were clearly familiar with all the narrow, steeply sloping piques. Roly especially seemed both enthusiastic and proud of his responsibilities working in the mine. Although carrying minerals to the surface is hard work for children, the children of people who do not mine also have to work hard when they are not

at school: they may have to get up early and walk long distances herding llamas, or they may have to walk far and carry heavy loads on their backs, helping their mothers to collect firewood.

Sometimes don Reynaldo and doña Felisa finish work at about 5 p.m., and leave the mine to have the tea or coffee that Marina has prepared, which is taken once again with bread or piri. However, on many occasions the miners continue working past 5 p.m., sometimes until late at night, especially when a lorry had been contracted to collect mineral, and a certain tonnage of ore would be required for its journey. On these occasions some of the children would take tea to the mine for their parents, and the whole family would sit around chatting at the workplace, often accompanied by the dogs that would follow the children underground.

No one in don Reynaldo's family seems to view the mine as a hostile place, although they recognise that it is dangerous and must be respected. On one of my first visits, don Reynaldo remarked to me how peaceful it was to work underground, and he would frequently point out that in winter it was warmer inside the mine than out. Accidents occasionally happen: don Reynaldo once nearly died from the effects of gas (probably carbon monoxide) when working in the lower levels of the mine in the days when the co-operative was larger, and was lucky to have been discovered unconscious by another miner before it was too late. On relating this experience he told me 'Qué lindo sería morir de gas' ('How lovely it would be to die from gas'): he had slipped unconscious with no pain, feeling nothing. He suffered one minor accident during the two years of my association with the mine when he was hit by falling rocks, and was unable to work for a week or two. To my knowledge no-one else suffered any serious injury at Buena Vista while I worked there, but it was brought home to me that small-scale mining is a hazardous occupation when a friend in the city of Potosí died from the effects of gas in the co-operative mine where he worked.

6.2.2. c The Economics of Mining at Buena Vista

Co-operative mines do not appear much in the literature about mining in Bolivia. Anthropological works have tended to concentrate on the large nationalised mines of the 1960s and 1970s (for example, Nash 1979) or small scale privately owned sites (Godoy 1990). A booklet issued by Centro de Promoción Minera traces the origins of the co-operative movement in Bolivia back to

the 1930s and the end of the Chaco War (1932-1935), when ex-combatants were awarded lands in the south-eastern part of the country to be worked on a co-operative basis (Terrazas Bascope 1993: 5), and the co-operative movement received government encouragement following the National Revolution of 1952. Mining co-operatives were officially recognised by the government mining legislation (código de minería) passed in 1965.

Legislation relating to mining co-operatives is confused. While I was at Buena Vista, the law was quite vague, stating only that the rent payable on a mine should not be less than 1% of the value of minerals delivered, and that individual contracts with COMIBOL should be for a minimum of five years and a maximum of ten. However, this may well have changed since I left, as a revised version of national mining legislation (Código de Minería) was being introduced in 1997. The changes included in the revised legislation were being opposed by federations of mining co-operatives, since they make no concessions for co-operatives being in general small organisations eking a living from marginal deposits, and seek to change the system of payments from rent based to tax based, with the likely consequence that co-operatives will be forced to pay more of their earnings to the state.

When I first arrived at the mine in 1995 the active members, or shareholders (socios), of the Co-operativa Lípez Limitada were don Reynaldo, his son, Wilter, his daughters Nancy and Marina, Eustaquio, his brother-in-law, and don Hernán; don Juan, the Chicheño miner and compadre of don Reynaldo, arrived at a later date. Don Ramón, a former subprefecto of the province, worked in the mine for a while, but I was never completely sure of his status with the co-operative, and know that he preferred to work independently. Don Reynaldo, as dirigente is responsible for general administration, for assigning miners to their parajes (work places), although this is in practice more a matter of consensus, and for keeping the accounts. He is also responsible for any debts that the organisation incurs.

A new miner who wants to work at the co-operative must first show willing and work as a day labourer (jornalero or peon) for two months, during which time he has to learn about mining work and will earn Bs 15 per day (US\$ 3), the amount that he would earn doing a labouring job elsewhere. He must then pay US\$ 250 to join the co-operative.⁹ The joining fee will be deducted from the

⁹ The joining fee is effectively the purchase of a membership share in the company. McEwan (1975; 233-234) describes a similar situation for gold mining co-operatives near Sorata in La Paz department, where the price of a share in the company varies like stock exchange prices with the performance of the company and the price of

payments he receives for minerals, and in return he gets his own paraje and the right to sell all the minerals he extracts from it. I suspect that these conditions are relaxed when, as in the case of don Juan, the miner from Chichas, the new miner is already experienced, and furthermore is a compadre of the co-operative leader. An experienced miner, a member of the co-operative with his own paraje is addressed by other miners as maestro (master), a term that originated with guilds of craftsmen, and he may employ a jornalero (day labourer) to work as his chaskiri¹⁰, carrying ore to the surface, if he does not have a suitable family member to work in this capacity.

The price for which the argentiferous galena from San Pedrito can be sold varies with the prices of silver and lead on the international market, but in January 1997 miners at Buena Vista claimed it fetched US\$ 1000 per ton, with transport to a refinery costing US\$ 45 per ton. The price for the complex from San Pablito is considerably less and transport is more expensive since the ore has to be taken to a refinery in Potosí rather than Tupiza or Atocha. At Buena Vista miners contribute to the caja de salud (state medical insurance), and can receive medical treatment free of charge in Atocha. This payment is deducted from the amount a miner receives from sale of minerals, and amounts to 10%, along with a further deduction of 1% for the rent of the mine, and 2% for the Federación de Cooperativas del Sur (Federation of Co-operatives of the South), to which the co-operative is affiliated. Some people in San Pablo think that these deductions are unfair, and while others suspect don Reynaldo of defrauding his fellow miners, and yet others state that they prefer to work independently, or for a private mine owner because they can keep a greater percentage of what they earn (or possibly because this gives them the opportunity to defraud an absentee lease-holder). Don Alejo told me that he did not like the hard work that co-operative mining involves, and he also complained that after working in the mine he could not get rid of the smell of minerals, which is certainly the case.

Although the mine is a co-operative, there is in practice very little collaboration between the miners who work it. The family is the basic unit of work organisation, and each family is responsible for the purchase of its own mining materials; dynamite, fuse wires, detonators and carbide. The tools used usually belong to the head of the family. Materials may be purchased in

the metal on the international market. The \$250 quoted here is the figure given to me by don Reynaldo in 1996.

¹⁰ From Quechua –‘chaski’, messenger. The word has been given the Aymara ending ‘-iri’ (denoting agency).

Tupiza, but are sometimes bought in Potosí where minerals are sold. On arriving at the mine I would often hear that either don Hernán or don Juan was unable to work ‘because he has no materials’: sometimes don Reynaldo would sell or lend him some, but the suggestion that the mine should keep a pool of materials on which all could draw was never even raised. Similarly, each family keeps the minerals it extracts separate from those of the others, and sometimes the various family members will keep their own minerals apart from those of the rest.

I did not ask to see the accounts for the mine, as I felt this would be too intrusive, especially if, as I suspected, the miners avoid paying taxes on their minerals if they possibly can. Don Reynaldo claims he can earn anything up to Bs 100 (US\$ 20) for a day’s work in the mine although I think he was being a bit optimistic. Nevertheless, even if the average earning from the mine were nearer Bs 30 (US\$ 6) (which don Reynaldo claims as a minimum) this is twice the amount a man would earn working for the mining exploration company in San Pablo. I assume this is the amount he gets after paying tax on the minerals extracted. I would estimate that of this Bs 30, Bs 5 would be spent per day on mining materials (I was sold dynamite at Bs 1.5 per stick, but I bought it in the Potosí street where gringo tourists buy sticks to carry as presents on tourist visits to the city’s mines, and I am sure I was similarly overcharged for carbide).

6.2.3 The Threat of Eviction and The Mechanisation of the Mine

I have already mentioned the presence in San Pablo of a foreign-owned mining company exploring for low-grade gold deposits. The presence of this company was in general popular with the people of San Pablo, many of whom benefited economically from work with the company, or from renting out unoccupied rooms to its workers from the cities. However, in conversation both with the son of the owner of the Candelaria mine above Santa Isabel, and with comunarios from that community, I learned that it was not so popular outside San Pablo.

There had been some trouble when the outside company first came to the province with a view to developing the Lipeña mine, which lies just below Cerro Bonete. The owner of the Candelaria mine had been interested in developing this same mine, and had already started work with miners from Santa Isabel. The people with whom I spoke disagreed about the legality of this action, according to whether they were from Santa Isabel or San Pablo. When the state mining company decided to grant

the lease to the foreign company, the subprefecto had used conscripts from the military post in San Pablo to evict the Santa Isabeleños by force, although without violence, an act that was greatly resented in Santa Isabel by mine owner and comunarios alike. Although the owner of the Candelaria mine is from the city of Oruro, and acts the part of a wealthy landowner or patron, comunarios in Santa Isabel have considerable respect for him, and were quick to claim his son as one of their own since he was born at the mine. They regarded the Lipeña mine as lying within the territory of Santa Isabel, rather than San Pablo, and resented the advantages that San Pableños were seen to be gaining from the presence of the company. They also accused the subprefecto of taking sides with San Pablo against Santa Isabel in any dispute. Bad feelings persisted throughout my fieldwork period between the owner of the Candelaria mine and the foreign-owned company: the mine owner from Santa Isabel would visit San Pablo only surreptitiously, and the geologists from the foreign-owned company saw Santa Isabel as a 'no go' area.

In August 1996 in the course of a conversation with the North American geologist in charge of the foreign-owned company's Bolivian operation, I learned that the company was also interested in the Buena Vista site, and was about to start taking mineral samples from its mines. The geologist was happy to explain to me, a Western woman, the company's plans for the area, and proceeded to explain that don Reynaldo's permission had been obtained before taking the samples, but that, should the samples appear promising, the company would seek to get the co-operative miners evicted, a point that they had not made quite so clear to don Reynaldo. He further explained to me that COMIBOL (the state mining company) was seeking to co-operate with his company in this, and would claim that the cooperativistas had failed to comply with the conditions of their lease, but had apparently lost all the legal documentation pertaining to the mine. He also made it clear that his company did not want to pay compensation to the co-operative in the case of an eviction, since it could reasonably ask for about US\$ 40 000.

When I returned to San Pablo and Buena Vista I talked to don Reynaldo about the situation. By that time technicians were already at work taking samples from the tunnels in the surrounding hillside, and the administrator based in San Pablo claimed that COMIBOL had made a ruling in the foreign-owned company's favour. Don Reynaldo, however, refused to be concerned about the possibility of eviction: 'Let them come', he would say, 'There's not much gold here'. He was,

however, investigating the possibility of moving to another mine somewhere close to Uyuni, from which he had seen the results of tests, and which he thought he could rent at first, and later buy once it went into production. It may well be that as a miner he had a good idea of the mineral content of his mine, and knew it was not sufficient to interest a large company, but at this time I think I was more concerned about the situation than he was, and spent my time wondering where I could find a good lawyer who would be sympathetic to the cause of a peasant miner without much in the way of financial resources.

As things worked out, I did not need to find a lawyer. The samples taken from Buena Vista proved to be poor, and the mining company lost interest in the site. In the meantime a new national government had been elected in Bolivia, and don Reynaldo used the influence of some people he knew in the political party of the incoming government to get his lease on the mine extended by a further ten years. He also took advantage of a relationship of compadrazgo (fictive kin) with an independent geologist and mining consultant from La Paz to obtain an agreement with another company for assistance in mechanising the mine in return for the right to process its minerals. When I was last at Buena Vista this mechanisation was in progress, under the supervision of an Orureño mining engineer.

My last visit to Buena Vista was at the beginning of August 1997, and by this time the process of mechanisation was fully underway. The new mining engineer was living at the site in the building that had once been the school, and was on site to provide technical assistance. He did not eat or socialise much with don Reynaldo's family, nor with any of the other workers, but brought his own food from Tupiza, and employed Nancy to cook for him and serve him his meals: on a couple of occasions he invited me to eat with him, but I found it strange and rather embarrassing to be waited upon by someone I knew so well. Among the technical innovations he had brought with him were solar panels for charging battery pack mining lamps, a compressor to enable miners to work with pneumatic drills, and rails that were being installed in the San Pablito socavón, so that wagons could be used for transporting mineral to the surface. He had previously worked at Amayapampa, the site of the notorious 'Christmas Massacre' of December 1996, before the sale of that mine to another foreign company, and it was from there that most of the second hand equipment had been brought.

Changes had taken place in the campamento kitchen: the familiar oil drum stove had been replaced by a commercially manufactured item. Don Reynaldo had also called upon several members of his family to help with the mechanisation work, including Lucho, a cousin from Relave, and Javier, a nephew of doña Felisa, from Santa Isabel. Don Hernán had also returned to work at the mine, after a long absence, but Wilter was not there, having travelled to La Paz on the co-operative's business, and neither was don Juan, who had travelled to Cochabamba to visit some of his family living there. Don Reynaldo seemed annoyed and disappointed with don Juan: he had been drinking quite a lot when he had been at the mine and had not always turned up for work, and he had been offered Bs 30 per day to help with the mechanisation, but had decided to travel instead. I found it sad that a good jovial working relationship seemed to have gone sour, and wondered what would now happen between Wilter and his girlfriend Gloria if don Juan failed to return. The mine would not be such a cheery place without the laid-back miner, his wife, doña Angelica and their very unreliable truck that always either had a puncture in at least one wheel, or was uselessly stuck in the mud somewhere.

I could, however, see don Reynaldo's point of view, particularly since the new engineer was exerting pressure on him to find more workers and to proceed quickly with the mechanisation. People from San Pablo were reluctant to become involved, even though workers were being taken on as waged labourers without commitment to the co-operative. Don Reynaldo was already finding it difficult to pay the workers he had, and was arguing that once mechanisation was complete, production would have to be increased slowly. I found myself caught up listening to two conflicting discourses: the engineer would take great pains to explain to me all the mistakes that don Reynaldo and his colleagues were making in their work: they were cutting their fuse wires too short when dynamiting part of the socavón to lay the rails, and his company did not have the patience to wait while the cooperativistas built up their operation slowly, but wanted minerals as quickly as possible. In his opinion, the Lipeño miners were incompetent and unreliable. Don Reynaldo, on the other hand, believed he and his colleagues could teach the mining engineer a few things about mining, and proudly related how surprised the engineer had been to find that he knew how to use a pneumatic drill, which he had learned some years ago in another mine. He claimed his miners already knew how to equip ('armar') the mine and did not really need that much help from outside.

Don Reynaldo clearly had a difficult public relations exercise on his hands, as co-operative leader, needing simultaneously to convince the engineer that he was a serious and competent miner who was pressing ahead with the work as fast as possible, while keeping his workers at the mine content and working, without seeming too much like a patrón, or mine owner. He was also in a situation where he had insufficient cash to pay them. He took sides with the workers more often than with the engineer: without them he would have found it hard to accomplish anything, and the engineer did not offer him too many opportunities to build up a good working relationship with him, or to demonstrate that his knowledge of mining was superior to that of his labourers. However, demonstrating solidarity with the workers generally involved sharing alcohol with them; it was noticeable that drinking at the mine had increased, and this led to the engineer's disapproval.

6.3 The Mine and the Supernatural

6.3.1 The *Tío*

Since mining in Bolivia started to attract the attention of anthropologists, those studying life in the mines have been anxious to provide interpretations of miners' rituals to a figure in the form of the Devil of Christianity, usually represented by a statue in the mine, sometimes with a huge erect penis, who is known as the Tío (uncle), or sometimes as Supay, and who is said to be the owner of metals and minerals, and to be particularly associated with the metals gold and silver.

Discussion of the subject has come close to exhaustion. Back in the 1970s, in the large mining camps of the nationalised mines, Nash saw rituals to the Tío as a rallying point for workers against management, and against the repressive military regimes, notably of Barrientos in the 1960s, that had tried to repress them (Nash 1972; 233). Taussig, basing his account on Nash's data, offered the interpretation that the 'Devil cult' in the urbanised mines of Bolivia was a response by miners to their urban situation in mining camps, which he saw as a total rupture from the way of life of peasants in rural Andean communities, which is based on reciprocity and balance with nature (Taussig, 1980; p. 223-225). The figure of the Devil or Tío in the mines hence becomes a personification of the evil of capital accumulation and the fetishization of commodities (*ibid.* p. 181): in other words, a folk critique of capitalism.



Plate 12. The Tío at Buena Vista



Plate 13. The families from Buena Vista on their way back to the mine one night after don Juan's truck had broken down.

Taussig's analysis has been criticized by various anthropologists specializing in the Andean region. Both Platt (1983 and 1987b) and Sallnow (1989) make the point that Andean peasants have habitually entered into both product and labour markets, and so are no strangers to capitalist relations of production and exchange. Platt also points to Gerald Taylor's (1980: 58) work on the origin of the term Supay, the term used by the evangelisers of the colonial Catholic church to gloss into Quechua the concept of the Christian Devil, but which Taylor, using early colonial sources, identifies with the pre-Hispanic term for the souls of the dead. However, Platt's main argument is that miners' belief in the Tío and rituals performed in the mine are simply a reformulation of the beliefs of campesinos (Platt, 1983: 53; 1987b: 251).

People in San Pablo, not only miners, talk frequently about the Devil (diablo), who is not only the owner of metals in the mines, but also the owner and protector of wild animals, particularly of the vicuñas, the wild relatives of the domestic llama. This devil can appear to people in the guise of a cock, a goat or a friend, who it later transpires cannot possibly have been in the area, and is sometimes said to have tortugas (tortoises) for horses. Harris (1995b: 114) has explained how, among the Laymi, the Spanish gloss 'diablo' is used to translate the Quechua (and Aymara) term sajra, that means both 'evil' and 'hidden', and which is used for the forces responsible for the wild places, away from human habitation, such as the mountain peaks. My understanding of the use of the term 'diablo' in Lípez is along similar lines, implying that the colonial form 'diablo' has been incorporated into a local understanding, or that it recalls both the Christian personification of evil and the powers of the local landscape.

Taussig's analysis hinges around there being an opposition between the devil of the mines, the Tío, an overtly masculine figure, and the female figure of the Pachamama, which he glosses into English as 'Earthmother' (Taussig 1980: 148). Anthropologists working in the Andean region do not agree entirely on the extent to which rural groups venerate this female figure: Abercrombie (1992: 309 note 68) claims that in eighteen months of fieldwork in Ayllu K'ulta he heard not even one sacrifice or libation dedicated to the Pachamama, although he readily admits the importance of the numerous female deities (t'allas and wirjines) of the rural pantheon; while Harris, although admitting that the place occupied by the Pachamama in the Andean pantheon is by no means clear, understands the female deity to be the wife of the mountains, and the divinity who is asked to make

the fields bear fruit. In San Pablo, I found that people spoke about the Pachamama usually after I had mentioned the name first,¹¹ and cannot recall ever having heard a libation specifically dedicated to her, although I do remember don Alejo mentioning the Santa Tierra ('Holy Earth') along with the names of several features of the Lipeño landscape, some of which no doubt were female t'allas, in some libations poured before his enfloramiento de llamas.

Harris and Abercrombie agree, nevertheless, that the female deities venerated in the countryside, by whatever name(s) they are known, differ markedly from the figure of the Pachamama to whom the middle-classes of Bolivia's cities pour libations before drinking. This 'Pachamama criolla' (Harris 2000: 204) combines features of benign 'Earthmother', the Virgin Mary and the sexually tempting mestiza/cholita, and has become a symbol of Bolivian national culture (Harris 2000: 204-207, Abercrombie 1992: 306-312). The female earth divinity or divinities of the countryside, are associated with fertility, but, by contrast, rather than being benign 'Earthmothers', belong to a category of supernatural beings whose abundance and acts of generosity are offset by their hunger, their acts of aggression, and refusal to give (Harris 2000: 210). This is the category of beings to which the devil, as Tío of the mines or mountain spirit, also belongs.

Hence, far from there being an opposition between the Devil of the mines and the female earth to whom llama herders pour libations, which Taussig's analysis requires, the two appear to have a complementary relationship: don Reynaldo once explained to me 'La minería es la Pachamama' ('Mining is the Pachamama') but 'El Tío siempre tiene su parte, su ganancia' ('The Tío always has his part, his profit'). Minerals, like agricultural produce (and livestock) are products of the earth, and the Tío appears to be the male counterpart of female forces associated with the earth's productivity. Just as the mountain peaks have their consorts, so the Tío has his: in the Leoplan mine above Buena Vista, there is not just one statue of the Tío, but two, one male and one female. In the mine, he is seen as the miners' friend and protector, but he can do harm if he does not receive the offerings that are due to him. Having argued against Taussig's position, it should be mentioned, nevertheless, that don Reynaldo did make an association between the presence of the Devil in a mine and its commercial potential: if the Devil has gone away, then a mine cannot go into commercial (capitalist) production (see Chapter 9, Section 9.5.3.g)

¹¹ I found, however, that Don Reynaldo and his mining family quite often used the designation Pachamama for the personification(s) of the productive earth.

Although don Reynaldo believes the Tío is not in Lítez at present, somewhat contradictorily, the miners at Buena Vista still talk to, and talk about, him. There is a small statue of him in an alcove in one of the large chambers inside the San Pedrito socavón: he does not look particularly frightening or evil, and his features are painted with water-colour paint, which don Reynaldo renews every once in a while. There are no set times when miners visit him: in some mines workers congregate around the Tío to talk to him about their worries, to chew coca, and to offer him some, along with alcohol and cigarettes, once or twice a week (Tuesday and Friday are thought to be the most appropriate days) (Nash, 1979: 7). Don Reynaldo told me that he sometimes visits on a Friday, but I have never seen him do so, and don Hernán says that he visits the Tío, but that he can go at any time he likes. However, the presence of the Tío is taken for granted in the mine, not as a vague supernatural entity, but more personally, as a powerful and somewhat capricious old friend.

On one of my first days working in the mine, on a day when don Reynaldo had had to go to San Pablo for a meeting with the subprefecto, I went underground to work with don Hernán. On my arrival at his paraje, he told me that earlier in the morning he had heard the Tío calling to him, calling just one word 'Maestro!' ('Master!'). He had thought initially that it must be Wilter, shouting, or his waged labourer, Virginio, or perhaps me, but there had been no-one there: it must have been the Tío or some other 'espíritu maligno' (evil spirit), he told me. Don Hernán seemed quite pleased to have heard the Tío, but not particularly surprised: according to him one only needs to be alone in the mine for about an hour before one hears something; perhaps voices, or perhaps noises like rocks falling; he had only once worked in the mine for a whole month without hearing anything. Don Reynaldo confirmed this later, saying that things like that always happen; miners working sometimes hear people approaching, getting nearer and nearer, but no-one ever arrives. He too had a personal experience of the Tío to relate to me, from the time when he and his brother had been working in the Barrahuaico mine between the Cerros Santa Isabel and Bonete. He said that an old man working in another mine, a bit lower down the mountain, asked them one day about their cockerel, which he had seen. The two San Pableños told him that they did not have one, but the old man insisted that he had seen the bird outside the mine for several days running. Don Reynaldo and his brother realised that it must have been the Tío.

According to both don Hernán and don Reynaldo, the Tío helps miners and understands how they suffer in the mines. It is important to work 'con cariño' ('with affection' or 'with love'), and for a miner to talk to the rock as he starts to work: don Hernán told me he would hold a conversation to find out how it is: 'Buenos días. Imaynalla? Walejllachu? Mana allinchu?' ('Good morning. How are you? Are you well? Or are you not so good?'), he would ask. Don Hernán, although bilingual, is from a predominantly Quechua speaking household. Small rocks that fall from the roof of the mine are also referred to as 'el cariño del Tío' ('the Tío's carresses').

Stories abound of the Tío helping miners to become rich, or conversely of harming them if they do not make the offerings to him that they have promised: I had the impression that the miners thought I wanted to hear Tío stories, and so for a long while these were all I heard from them. For instance, don Reynaldo told me once of a young miner who was returning home from the mine when he met the Tío, who persuaded him to sign a contract, which stipulated that he should make him an offering within the next 30 days. On arriving at his home, however, the miner told his parents of his encounter, and they laughed at him, telling him that he had been dreaming, and not to be so stupid. The young man believed them, and so carried on working and made no offering, but at the end of the 30-day period, he was killed in a dynamite explosion, his punishment for not keeping to his side of the contract. Don Reynaldo added that had he made the offering he would have become a rich man.

In another story, an encounter with the Tío is more beneficial. A lorry driver working at a place called Corina, close to the Chilean border earned his money by transporting sulphur and yareta, a moss-like plant that can be dried and burned as a fuel, from the mine to a refinery in an old and unreliable truck. On one occasion he arrived at the refinery and met a stranger, a tourist, who asked for a lift. The camionero agreed, and warned the tourist that his truck was in poor shape and might not make it, but the stranger agreed to take the risk. Sure enough, the truck broke down along the way and the stranger offered to get down and fix it. On completing the task he told the lorry driver that it would never go wrong again, and he left the truck before they reached the mine. The truck never did go wrong again because the stranger had been the Tío.

The Tío is not evil, in the sense of the Devil of Christianity, but is ambiguous, like other Andean deities. He can befriend miners and make them rich, but like the mine itself, he must be treated with respect; failure to do this can cause accidents. He does not seem so much to oppose the Christian

god, as to exist alongside him, but in a somewhat subordinate role: miners at Buena Vista professed to being Christians, and far from being reluctant to take even a pickaxe into the mine because of its resemblance to a cross, as Taussig reports, don Reynaldo and his son Roly both wore silver crosses in the mine while working. The Christian god also has a shrine at the entrance to the mine, which is present in most of the other Bolivian mines I have seen, and sometimes a cross is placed there.

although there is none at Buena Vista. In the context of the mine the Christian God is known as Tata Q'aqcha (Father Miner)¹² or Dios Padre Minero (God the Father, the miner). Miners at Buena Vista seemed to have no difficulty in reconciling the respect they pay to the Tío and their professed Christianity: don Reynaldo and his family take their Christian belief seriously, although they do make jokes about the evangelical sects, and explained to me that the Tío is inferior to God. He once told me 'Veneramos al Tío, pero adoramos a Dios' ('We respect the Tío but we worship God'), and a similar discourse is reported by June Nash who quotes miners in Oruro as saying of the Tío 'We do not kneel before him as we would before a saint, because that would be sacrilegious (Nash 1972:226).

6.3.2 Metals and Minerals

One evening don Reynaldo was telling me about gold mining at Chilco, the village close to the Chilcobija mine, just over the provincial border, in Sud Chichas: some of his relations live and work there, and his brother was killed there in an accident two or three years ago when he was hit outside the mine by a falling piece of corrugated iron roofing. At Chilco there is an old gold mine, which don Reynaldo thought predated the arrival of the Spaniards, and mentioned that there are also tapadas (literally 'covered things', but in this context used to refer to old human remains, a burial site). One can find gold in the desmontes (waste rock) from the mine, and even in the adobe blocks that form the walls of the campamento. However, many different people have tried to work the mine, but, for various reasons, none have succeeded.

Don Reynaldo described the mine to me as 'muy mala' ('very bad', 'very evil', or, perhaps, 'very powerful'), and told me that at some entrances there are serpents of different colours that will not let people enter. Many have also tried to enter by the gallery at the foot of the mountain, but this is also

¹² For a discussion of q'aqchas, the informal miners of the eighteenth century, see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.c.

dangerous, and has cuadros (vertical shafts) that open and close in which people have been known to disappear. He also told me about a disaster in colonial times when 40 people disappeared in the mine. They had found a huge golden bull in a narrow slanted passage way (pique) and tied ropes around its horns in an attempt to pull it out. At midday when they were just ready to try to move it, the bull itself gave a tremendous tug, and fell further into the pique, causing the mine to cave in, and killing the miners.¹³ Following the disaster the mine was abandoned, but some people still wash gold from the rivers, and people who have entered the mine claim they hear noises, possibly of the Tío, but possibly of the spirits of those who died.

On talking further to don Reynaldo about Chilco, it started to appear that it was not so much the place that was 'evil' or 'powerful', as the metal gold itself: 'Malo es el oro' ('Gold is bad'), he told me, and went on to tell me another tale of a gold miner, panning from the river, who had fallen, hit his head and died. To avoid accidents when seeking gold one must coquear (chew coca) and ch'allar con singani (make libations with – and, of course drink – singani, a fortified drink made from grapes), and this is also essential if you are going to find any: 'Celoso es el oro: no parece siempre. Tienes que coquear, ch'allar con singani...' ('Gold is jealous: it doesn't always appear. You have to chew coca and make a ch'alla with singani....'), although at other times he told me that miners always make libations with pure alcohol. Singani, however, is more expensive, and therefore better for this purpose. Sallnow (1989: 212, similarly, reports that in the community of Qamawara, in Peru, that the business of gold-mining was thought to be fraught with danger, as the metal is guarded by demons that the author identifies with apu (mountain deities), and is an activity to be pursued in secret.

To illustrate the point about the necessity for libations, don Reynaldo told me another story from Chilco, that of a convert to an evangelical sect who went to pan gold. At Chilco, he told me, miners often work a night shift in the commercial mine, and during the day pan gold: if they are lucky they can find one or two grams, and with this can earn more than they can working hard in the mine all night. Most miners who go to look for gold take with them coca, cigarettes¹⁴ and puro (pure alcohol) to make a ch'alla before starting work, and to help them relax, but the evangelista took nothing. He

¹³ I heard the same story in Sao Paolo airport, repeated by a Canadian nun working in Tarija department: she in turn had heard it from Lipeño llama herders arriving in Tarija to exchange salt for maize.

¹⁴ Sallnow (1989: 221) reports that in Qamawara, one cannot smoke cigarettes while panning gold, but this prohibition clearly does not apply in Lipez and Chichas.

worked all day, whilst his companions alternated a spell of work with a spell of coca chewing and drinking, and at the end of the day he had found nothing, whereas the others all had their small amounts of gold from working the same ground. They laughed at him, and told him that in order to find gold 'You have to ch'allar'. So the evangelist thought 'Right, tomorrow I am going to make a ch'alla'. The next day he and his wife came, bringing with them beer, singani, wine and coca, which they invited the other miners to share. They spent nearly all day drinking, chewing coca and smoking cigarettes, and when there was only one hour left they started to work. All of them found gold, and the hermanito ('little brother' – members of evangelical protestant sects call each other 'brother' or 'sister') found five grams, and some of them were so drunk that they failed to turn up for work at the mine that night. After that the convert resolved always to make a ch'alla, and left his evangelical sect.

Gold and silver are also described by miners as the Devil's metals.¹⁵ Marina volunteered that some people become condenados (malevolent ghosts) through swallowing gold or silver in their lifetimes, and that these things stay in their stomachs after death, and can make them rise up again. The same thing can happen if people are buried with gold teeth or gold fillings. Silver seems to be less 'bad' or 'powerful' than gold, but it is still necessary to make a ch'alla before working in the mine, both in order to find the metal and to avert accidents. When don Reynaldo spoke of mines where pure silver was to be found he would use the terms 'plata liquida', 'plata doblada' or 'plata corrida' ('liquid silver', 'doubled or folded silver' or 'flowing silver'). I discuss this usage in Chapter 9, Section 9.5.3.g.

At a corner in the mine 100 or 200 yards inside the San Pablito adit there are a number of lumps of mineral collected together, that are usually festooned with streamers from the ch'alla of past Carnivals and stained with dried llama blood. These rocks are known as illas, and were described to me by don Reynaldo as 'representations of the vein' ('representación de la veta'). Nancy told me that the hearts of llamas sacrificed for Carnival or agosto (August) are buried at the point where the illas are kept, and don Hernán added that they have to be found in the weeks leading up to Carnival and should be of pure mineral rather than complexes. Carnival is the festival for the

¹⁵ Sallnow (1989: 212) describes gold as the property of the apu (the mountain peaks), who are said to possess the metal in abundance. This is consistent with my understanding of the devil as synonymous with the forces of the wild (which include mountain peaks). The apu are also said to pay tribute, in the form of precious metals to the present-day Peruvian state.

first fruits of the earth, whether plants or minerals (see Chapter 8). According to the miners, llama blood is sprinkled on the illas following a sacrifice, and they are then ‘made to flower’ (‘enfloran a las illas’) when they are covered with streamers. As far as I can gather, at Buena Vista the illas are more or less permanent, but can be broken up and used as mineral if there is a shortfall in production: they may have a ritual purpose, but are not so sacred that they cannot be touched.

Catherine Allen mentions illas as synonymous with enqas or enqaychus in a slightly different context in Sonqo in Peru. She describes enqas in Sonqo as small ‘power objects’ representing domestic animals, which have been handed down from generation to generation, and stone tablets, that represent the household with its stores and livestock. These illas or enqas are brought out of their hiding places in the week before Carnival, before August 1st and on the eve of San Juan (24 June), and are the source of the health and fertility of the livestock, the crops and the family members themselves (Allen: 1988, 59). Billie Jean Isbell, writing about Chuschi in Peru, also describes illas as small stone effigies of animals, and adds that they are thought to belong to the wamanis, the powerful deities though by Chuschinos to reside in the highest mountains, or mountain lakes (Isbell, 1978; 151). My understanding of the illas at Buena Vista is that they are, like the miniature stone animals in Peru, the source of the health and fertility of the mine, and the minerals are, like crops and livestock, products of the earth. These illas are examples of the finest minerals to be found and are made to flower in a fertility ritual to encourage more such minerals to grow. Llamas are also ‘made to flower’ in a similar ritual, when they are adorned with woollen tassels which are threaded through their ears, a ceremony which don Alejo told me was ‘To ask for more llamas’ (see Chapter 8). When we went herding, Silvia, his eleven-year-old daughter, would tell me excitedly ‘My llama is going to flower’ when one of her animals became noticeably pregnant. I think a useful way to consider the illas is as a generative prototype, similar to the concept of mama, which is defined in Lira’s dictionary as both mother and idol, or waka, as reported in early colonial documents, in particular those written by extirpators of idolatries such as Cristóbal de Albornoz, who writes in his guide to discovering wakas:

Ay otros géneros de guacas a quienes reverencian y sirven con mucho cuidado, que son de los frutos primeros que coxen de alguna tierra que no fue sembrada. Excoxen el más hermoso fruto y le guardan y, a semejança dél, hizieron otros de oro y plata, como una maçorca de maíz o una papa y les

llaman mamaçara y mamapapa: y así a los demás frutos y en esta forma de todos los minerales de oro o plata o azogue que antiquíamente se han descubierto. Han escogido las más hermosas piedras de los metales y las han guardado y guardan y las mochan llamándolas madres de tales minas.....

(Albornoz, 1989 [1581/1585]: 165)¹⁶

Gonzalez Holguín in his dictionary also mentions mama in the context of mining, but according to him the word refers to the vein itself or the surrounding rock, the caja. Albornoz associates mama with ‘first fruits’ and first fruits are also the basis of the Carnival celebration before which the illa of the mine are made to flower.

6.3.3 The *Ch’alla* for the Mine in August 1997

Although I witnessed ch’allas at various mines, I was only present for one ritual event at the Buena Vista mine: a q’uwa or offering for the 1st August. Don Reynaldo would always tell me in conversation that llama sacrifices take place for Carnival and August, but so far as I know, during my period of fieldwork only one llama sacrifice happened at the mine, and that I heard about rather than witnessed. On that occasion I happened to be working in the archives in Sucre, and did not find out about the sacrifice until it had already happened, that is, if a sacrifice really took place at all. I do not believe that this lack of sacrifices is at all unusual at small mines: don Reynaldo’s family do not have any llamas, and so would have to buy one, and llamas are both relatively expensive and hard to come by: Lipeños are incredibly reluctant to part with their animals, as anyone coming in to the area and hoping to buy meat invariably finds out. Sometimes don Reynaldo would talk about slaughtering a goat, and sometimes just of buying some meat in Tupiza and making an asado (roast) for the celebration. At the larger mines I have visited llamas are sacrificed regularly, white animals being particularly prized for this purpose, although the timing of sacrifices varies from mine to mine. I suspect that many other small mines, like Buena Vista are unable to meet the requirements of two llama sacrifices a year, for financial reasons, and make do with a scaled down ceremony or perhaps just a bottle of ‘trago’ (any strong alcoholic drink) shared between miners.

¹⁶ ‘There are other types of wakas (idols) to which they pay reverence and serve with much care, which are the first fruits they take from a piece of ground that has not been sown. They choose the most beautiful fruit and guard it, and in imitation of it they make others of gold and silver, like an ear of maize, or a potato, and they give these the name ‘mamasara’ or ‘mamapapa’ [corn-mother or potato-mother], and likewise for other fruits of the earth, and of all the minerals of gold, silver and mercury, that they discovered in ancient times. They selected the most beautiful stones of the metals and kept them, and still keep them, and they wet them, calling them the mothers of such mines.....’

Once in conversation, don Reynaldo told me what happened at a ch'alla or sacrifice in the mine. I suspect this is an idealised version incorporating everything he thought ought to happen, or that he would like to happen if there were sufficient resources. Firstly, as before a florimiento de llamas, or at Todos Santos, at night on the eve (vispera) of the sacrifice, the ceremony called waki should be performed, which I have described in Chapter 7, for the souls (almas) of those who have died who worked the mine previously and for deceased members of the family. This is in order that the souls of the dead give their help to the living, and takes place outside the mine (probably in one of the buildings of the campamento): don Reynaldo was quite specific in stating that they do not enter the mine on the eve of the ceremony.

The following day the participants get up early, that is, if they have not stayed up all night drinking, and prepare platos, literally plates or dishes (of food), but in this case don Reynaldo used the word alternately with q'uwa meaning offering.¹⁷ At first don Reynaldo was not certain whether the llama should be killed next or whether the offering, the q'uwa, should be burned, but eventually settled for the llama slaughter, which takes place close to the mine entrance but outside the mine. As is normal when an animal is slaughtered, the blood is collected in a bowl, but in this case it is then sprayed around the mine entrance. It is also considered important to take out the heart of the animal while it is still beating, and in some mines it is forbidden to eat it, as it is interred for the earth. Don Reynaldo told me of a miner who once ate a llama's heart intended for the Pachamama, and of how that same miner had died shortly afterwards: he added with some glee that the miner had eaten the Pachamama's share, and so the Pachamama had eaten him! As I have already noted, Nancy told me that at Buena Vista the hearts of sacrifice victims are interred close to the illas inside the mine. The points of the ears of the sacrificed animal should be placed in the fatty sack that surrounds the heart, qichilla, together with the animal's nose, eyes and feet. Following the sacrifice the q'uwa are sprinkled with wine, beer and alcohol and are burned, sometimes together with a dried llama foetus (either found in the countryside or bought from a vendor).

¹⁷ Q'uwa is strictly the aromatic herb, menta amarga, that forms the basis of offerings, but in this case the word was used to refer to the entire offering itself, and this is the normal usage I have encountered in San Pablo. In most anthropological literature about the Andes region the offering is referred to as a despacho (Sp. 'dispatch' i.e. to the gods), and sometimes as mesa (literally 'table' or 'altar', but also reminiscent of the Spanish misa (Mass)), although mesa may refer to an area designated for the manipulation of ritual artefacts which are not necessarily to be burned. The word mesa is also sometimes used to denote an entire ceremony, for a curacion or some other purpose, in which some sort of offering will form a part.

The mine is 'made to flower' with streamers (serpentinas) and confetti (visturas), as are the parajes of the individual miners, and everyone makes libations 'por la buena hora' (literally: 'for the good hour', meaning 'for good times to come') and starts to drink and chew coca. There is roast meat to eat for everyone present, and the bones should be collected together afterwards and burned at the mine entrance. At some mines the illas are taken outside when there is a sacrifice, but at Buena Vista they remain in the mine and are 'made to flower' along with the parajes, with llama blood and streamers.

I missed the ch'alla for carnival in February 1997, as I broke my pelvis while walking to the mine, but already knew that there was to be no sacrifice, just a meal made with meat bought in Tupiza. I was disappointed at not being able to be present, since I had been talking to don Reynaldo's family about having a celebration with them for some time, and as this was to be the occasion, I had already bought singani in Tupiza. To make amends for my absence, when I returned to Sud Lípez the following July I took with me a bottle of scotch whisky and a ready-made q'uwa which I had had made up for a mine by a specialised vendor in Potosí.¹⁸ Don Reynaldo had asked me previously if I could bring a q'uwa with me from the city, as this was something they needed, and he seemed satisfied with the ingredients the vendor in Potosí had included. The whisky was a farewell present to them, as I was shortly to be leaving Bolivia, and they had mentioned on previous occasions that they liked whisky from Scotland. These items were received gratefully, along with, I thought, a certain amount of relief: this was the time at which the mechanisation work was in progress, and don Reynaldo had promised the small group of workers he had recruited a llama sacrifice. He had no cash, however, and was waiting for his son Wilter to return from La Paz with an advance, but Wilter was late. He was also being pressurised to make good progress with the mechanisation by the mining engineer, and had all but decided to wait until Wilter's return before holding any celebration for August in the mine. However, the 1st August was approaching, and on the evening of the 30th July things came to a head.

I had gone to bed fairly early, while the workers continued in the mine until well after dark, and had been asleep for some time when I heard somebody at my door. It was doña Felisa. She knew I had a bottle of pure alcohol, and needed some urgently, just half of it would do: the miners were

¹⁸ When buying a q'uwa from a market vendor, one explains what it is for, in this case a mine, and the vendor will include the appropriate ingredients.

drinking in the mine, and they had run out of trago. I found the bottle, poured out half for her, and quickly went back to sleep, but an hour or two later she was at the door again in need of the second half of my 'purito'. I had not the energy to get out of bed and go to the mine and see what was happening, and nights are cold in July with temperatures well below zero, but this was something I had never known to happen at the mine before. The next day I found out from don Reynaldo that the problem had been that the jornaleros (day workers) did not want to work on the first of August: the day when the earth opens ('la tierra se abre'), when one is not supposed to work the ground (see Chapter 8). The drinking session in the mine had accompanied their negotiation to get some sort of celebration and a day off, and they were not willing to wait until Wilter's return.

The following night we all went to the mine in the early evening, with my q'uwa and bottle of whisky, along with the inevitable bottle of alcohol and fruit juices made up from powders and water. In the mine don Reynaldo laid out the q'uwa (offering) on the ground, along with two small cups of alcohol. We made a ch'alla first with the neat whisky I had brought, and later with whisky diluted with fruit juice, and then with alcohol and fruit juice. Initially we had to throw our drinks far into the mine, but thereafter made libations before drinking by just pouring a few drops near where we sat in a more usual manner. Throughout the night we chewed coca, exchanging coca bags reciprocally in pairs and our activity was described by everyone as vigilar (to keep watch or make a vigil). We also placed coca leaves on the offering. There was constant conversation around the offering, in Quechua and Spanish, but with more emphasis on Spanish as the night went on.¹⁹ Much of the conversation was joking, but there was also much discussion of the changes at the mine and criticism of the mining engineer helping with the mechanisation, who would not join the workers. Don Reynaldo acknowledged the help he was receiving, and for that thought the engineer a good person, but believed strongly that he should have shown solidarity with the miners and should have entered the mine at least for a short while. The productivity of the mine would affect him and his company as well as the co-operative and its workers, and he needed the Pachamama on his side as well.

On talking to the miners earlier in the day they had told me that the q'uwa should be burned between midnight and one a.m., in the first hour (la primera hora) of the 1st August: the most

¹⁹ Harvey notes from Ocongate, Peru, that people drink to become animated, and that this animation enables drunks to experiment with different styles of speech (Harvey 1991: 21).

important hour, when everything is most alive. However, I noticed the hour pass without any move to burn the offering, and the drinking and libations continued well past this time with everyone getting more and more drunk, and further supplies of trago (alcoholic drink) being fetched from the kitchen in the campamento from time to time. I finally gave up at about 4 a.m., realising that if I drank any more I would be very ill, and made my way out of the mine to get a couple of hours sleep. I did not see the q'uwa burned, but the normal course of events is to set it alight and leave without looking back, or inspecting the offering until the fire has completely gone out: it is sometimes the case that the mine should not be entered the day after an offering, to allow the Pachamama time to eat, and in any case, the mine should not be entered on 1st August.

By 6 a.m. the miners were back in the kitchen of the campamento. All were very drunk, and even Nancy and Marina, who had stayed away from the mine to take care of the younger children were decidedly tipsy. More drinks were served, and we danced to tapes of cumbia music and Peruvian huayños. Don Reynaldo and doña Felisa both cried from time to time, partly because I was leaving, but, I think also because, as Catherine Allen (1988: 148) describes, 'Alcohol is expected to release expressions of grief or joy. One is expected to sing, dance and weep while intoxicated. Crying while drunk is not only an emotional release; it is an expression of confidence in one's drinking companions'. I am relieved that my friends felt sufficiently confident of me that they were able to cry while drunk in my presence: I had always been concerned at the extent I was imposing upon their hospitality, and although in the mines these people use alcohol on a daily basis, I had never seen them drunk before.

With the mechanisation that was in progress, and the hope of prosperity in the future, don Reynaldo clearly felt the need to make a big ch'alla for the arrival of a new era of mining at Buena Vista and to ensure its success. As I have already mentioned he was waiting for Wilter to return with more money before making a llama sacrifice, and was also talking about sacrificing a bull once the work was complete. I have since left Bolivia and do not know how much of this came to pass, but suspect that either way there will have been problems: the workers, if they are still there, will not be satisfied if they have not had their ch'alla, and they were increasingly regarding don Reynaldo as the patrón (employer) responsible for this. However, to spend the money needlessly on celebrations, which is, after all, a loan intended for material improvements to the mine, and inevitably to lose

more working days through drinking and recovering from hangovers will cause more tension with the mining engineer and his company, and I suspect that either way relations will become even more strained than they were before.

6.3.4 Women in the Mine

Anthropological literature about Andean peasant communities often stresses the complementarity of the sexes, the sexual division of labour, particularly agricultural and household tasks, and the sexualisation of the cosmos in peasant communities.²⁰ Both Allen (1988), working in the Cuzco area of Peru, and Harris (1978), working with the Laymi of northern Potosí, write of the married couple qhari-warmi or warmi-qhari (man and wife) as the nucleus of the household: in Allen's words, a '...fusion of two different but interdependent kinds of human beings, females and males, with their separate but complementary spheres of knowledge, interest and ability' (Allen, 1988: 72), and Allen further mentions how handicrafts are conceived as women's tasks, while farming is men's work, although certain types of weaving are suitable for men to perform, and certain agricultural tasks, such as the placing of seeds in furrows, are best performed by women (Allen, 1988: 78). Nevertheless, she points out, that necessity often dictates that women perform men's tasks and vice versa, and that while male and female activities are conceptually distinct, they are flexible in practice.

Women are not absent from the existing body of literature about Bolivia's mines, but they are usually relegated to the exterior of the mine. Godoy in his study of small-scale mining among the Jukumani in northern Potosí only mentions women working on the surface as palliris separating the good mineral from the surrounding rock, or as panners or ore scavengers (Godoy 1990: 85) and Nash, working in large nationalised mines where women were prohibited from working underground, similarly talks about women working the slagpiles (Nash 1979: 229). Despite the absence of women underground workers in Bolivia's larger mines, I do not believe that Buena Vista is at all unusual in having women working underground, but have come to realise that it is typical of many small mines in Bolivia that are worked on a family, rather than a corporate, basis: I came

²⁰ Although note the challenge to the accepted view of complementarity between the sexes put forward by de la Cadena (1995).

across women working underground alongside men on a chance visit to a small copper mine in Tupiza, and in a conversation with a palliri on the Cerro de Potosí, the woman told me how she used to work a mine further up the mountain with her husband, while he was still alive.

Women are prohibited from entering most urban and large-scale mines. On more than one occasion when I have mentioned the exclusion of women to miners from these mines, I have been given an explanation along the lines that women cannot go underground because ‘...the Pachamama would get jealous’, sometimes accompanied by the explanation that if men and women worked underground together they might commit sexual acts, or that women would flirt with the Tío, who in some large mines is an overtly sexual figure, with a huge erect penis. Sometimes they would add that the presence of women in mines would make the mineral veins disappear. June Nash, in her ethnography, recalls a similar discourse from a mining engineer who tried to persuade her not to enter a mine in the course of her fieldwork on the basis that ‘the workers objected to the presence of a woman in the mine because, he said, of “suspicion that it would bring bad luck to the operation”’ (Nash, 1979; 171). A friend who is an ex-miner, and now works as a mines guide in the city of Potosí, also told me that male miners talk about the process of making holes for dynamite as ‘making love to the Pachamama’.

Although the prohibition on women entering mines is predominantly a city discourse, it does seem to have precedents in the beliefs of rural Andeans relating to agricultural work. Allen notes in her ethnography of Sonqo, that when working the fields it is always men who plough with the Andean foot plough, the chakitaklla, and that they seem to find the suggestion that women might plough using this implement ‘rather shocking’, but dismiss the idea by ‘saying firmly that women would not “know how”’ to use it (Allen 1988: 78). She also makes reference to another (woman) ethnographer who found that men became embarrassed when she handled a footplough during a break from work (Allen, 1988: 243). Both ploughing and making holes for dynamite involve breaking the earth, and it does seem likely that men may conceive of both activities as sexual or sexualised acts between miner or farmer and the earth,

Women enter the mine on a daily basis at Buena Vista mainly from necessity because there is a shortage of male labourers, but they also seemed to like the work, and Nancy recognised that she could earn more from mining than she could as a market vendor’s assistant in Tupiza. When I

asked don Reynaldo whether women bring bad luck to the mine, or make the vein disappear, as other miners claim, he told me that there are certain people, both male and female, who are bad luck (‘personas de mala suerte’) or have the ‘evil eye’ (‘bankañawi’)²¹ who can make mineral veins disappear, and that envious people or people of bad faith (‘mala fé’) can have the same effect. Conversely, tranquil, peaceful people can bring good luck in the mine. Don Hernán Quispe told me at first that women enter the mine at Buena Vista because there is no ‘control’, meaning that there are no administrative officials to stop them, as in larger mines, but when I asked if the Pachamama did not get jealous of the women who enter he maintained that she was only jealous of ‘certain women’. On another occasion don Reynaldo suggested that the Pachamama does not like having people in the mine who live ‘immoral’ lives, whether men or women, and that the restrictions on women in other areas may well have stemmed from them living ‘immorally’.

I have not seen women drill holes for dynamite charges at Buena Vista, although I have seen Nancy steady the barreno for her father, and I believe Marina did so before the birth of her daughter, as my friend doña Andrea once told me that she used to work in the mine ‘like a man’. I also did not feel comfortable asking don Reynaldo and the other miners at Buena Vista directly about the sexual connotations of mining, as they had not broached the subject with me, and I did not feel that this was the sort of question that I as a woman should pose to the men, and, for much of my fieldwork period I found it quite hard to get any information at all out of doña Felisa. When I did ask don Reynaldo about women working underground, and specifically whether women make holes for dynamite charges, a task which I had never seen doña Felisa perform, he was adamant that they could not, because they either do not know how to (‘no saben’) or are not strong enough (‘no tienen fuerza’). He further maintained that women entered the mine only as companions (compañeras) for the men, and perhaps performed a few light tasks while they were there, and that he had started working underground with his wife, rather than work alone, for reasons of safety. I have never really considered the act of moving fallen rocks, or carrying a heavy sack of mineral through narrow underground tunnels as particularly light jobs, especially after having once been given the job of pushing a wheel barrow filled with three sacks of mineral out of the San Pablito socavón while a dynamite fuse was lit in the rocks a few yards behind me.

²¹ See Nash (1979: 160). I am unclear about the derivation of the first part of this term ‘banka’ since the /b/ phoneme does not exist in Quechua. ‘Ñawi’ however is the Quechua word for ‘eye’.

Marina told me that she had worked underground at Santa Isabel, before the family moved to Buena Vista. It seems that in those days, before the birth of her child, that she was a confident young woman, who was not afraid to put up a challenge to the accepted roles of men and women: not only did she work underground, 'like a man', but she wore trousers and seems to have had several sexual relationships. I heard her name linked with several young men in San Pablo, and, following the birth of her daughter, she had considerable difficulty in persuading the father, who by then had married another girl, to acknowledge his paternity of the child.

Following Cíntia's birth she reassessed herself, and no longer wore trousers, but polleras, and told me that she could not wear trousers any longer. Not only did she change her style of dress, but she also told me that she had not recovered her former strength since the birth of her child. She also ceased almost entirely to work inside the mine. I thought at first that she must have had a difficult labour, and was taking a while to recover from childbirth, but she never seemed to lack strength when we worked together outside the mine. It would seem that her change of dress, loss of 'strength' and change of work were symptoms of something much more subtle concerning her status. While her wearing of trousers and doing 'men's work' had been symbolic of her old free, confident lifestyle, she now had ties to her child, felt strongly that she was the subject of disapproval in San Pablo, which she avoided when she possibly could, and for a long time avoided relationships with men.

The pollera is the dress of the majority of women in San Pablo, whereas trousers are the dress of women from outside (and from the cities), and by putting on the pollera, Marina appeared to be seeking the approval of the community 'as a woman'. This would appear to confirm Gill's (1994: 107-108) view of the pollera as signifying 'more humble and less available' (see Chapter 2 Section 2.3.2), rather than being a symbol of 'protective clout' (Beuchler and Beuchler 1996: 221), although undoubtedly its meaning varies with geographical area and with the occupation of the women involved. Although the sexual connotations of mining do appear to be a male discourse, it did appear that there were boundaries of acceptability for female (and male) behaviour, that Marina had crossed these boundaries, and that people in San Pablo thought she had got her 'come-uppance'.

The challenge that Marina posed to the accepted roles of men and women was much less successful than that of her cousin Hortensia, the girl who worked as a cook for the mining company

to earn money for her studies, and who also wore trousers. While Marina had earned a man's money, through working like a man, Hortensia had earned a man's wage while working as a woman (although this was resented by some of her male colleagues).

6.4 Gossip in San Pablo

I talked with don Reynaldo on several occasions about the reasons why more people from San Pablo did not work at the mine, and always got the reply that people in San Pablo had a 'different mentality', that is, they were content just to earn enough to get by through mixing herding with temporary cash paid work. 'The people from around here don't really believe in co-operativism' ('La gente de esta parte no creen mucho en el cooperativismo'), he would say, or 'They don't know how to work' ('No saben la manera de trabajar'). He and his family, however, wanted to 'better themselves' or 'overcome themselves' ('superarse'): in other words, to be 'better' than their llama herding neighbours.

When doña Felisa was drunk after the q'uwa in the mine she complained to me of the other women in San Pablo, who say her husband is 'bad' (malo), and that her daughters are promiscuous. It was the first time she had expressed concern to me about the gossip that circulates in San Pablo about her family and others who work at Buena Vista, but did not come as any surprise to me since I too had heard plenty of rumours.

I started listening to gossip in San Pablo in the house of my friend doña Andrea, who was always ready to pass on some rumour or other about her fellow San Pableños, and started calling on her at times when she was likely to be preparing a cup of tea or coffee. I found that I was seldom her only visitor at these times: both men and women from the village would also find an excuse to call in for a cup of tea and some piri or bread, and exchange information about their neighbours. My presence inevitably brought the conversation round to the families of my hosts in San Pablo and at the mine.

One day, during one of these sessions, doña Andrea turned the conversation to my friends at the mine and asked me if it were true that don Reynaldo had bought himself a truck, and now had a house in Atocha. I replied that the truck she had seen belonged to his compadre, don Juan, the

Chicheño miner, and at that time I knew nothing about the house in Atocha, which it turned out was part of a deal for former COMIBOL employees. She continued to talk about the co-operative leader with an obvious expression of disapproval in her voice, repeating things that 'they say' about don Reynaldo and the co-operative: that he embezzles money from other cooperativistas, that he had not paid Marina for her work, even though she used to work in the mine 'like a man', that the children are threatened with having no exercise books for school if they do not work in the mine, and that he threatens doña Felisa with violence if she does not work. I found it hard to believe this was supposed to be my host who, although undoubtedly something of a patriarch, seemed inseparable from his wife, enjoyed playing volleyball with his children and repeatedly asked me for advice about their education.²²

Another voluble gossip in the village, doña Nazaria, although more kindly disposed towards don Reynaldo's family herself, frequently told me how 'people' say that he is a bad man, although she saw no evidence of it. She was unusual among San Pableños in that she would invite the miner to tea or chicha (corn beer) and to a piece of bread if she happened to be baking. She was somewhat less sympathetic to the forastero (outsider or recent arrival) don Juan, but this was primarily because he had debts with her for foodstuffs and other materials bought at her shop, for which she also held don Reynaldo partly responsible. I did not see doña Nazaria much during my last visit to San Pablo, as she was out when I called at her house, but her attitude to don Reynaldo may well have hardened: her daughter told me that he also had large debts with the shop, (because the mine was producing nothing during the mechanisation work) and that don Juan had left San Pablo, still owing them a considerable sum of money.²³

Another of the town's shop keepers, doña Flora, became alarmed when I sent her son Nestor to the mine with a note at around the time of Carnival – because the miners would be drinking heavily, and would make Nestor get drunk as well. When I argued that I had not seen the miners at Buena

²² Domestic violence in the Andes is a topic that has come under the scrutiny of anthropologists in recent years. See Harris 1978, 1994; Harvey 1994. Although I heard rumours of domestic violence in San Pablo, I found it hard to judge whether men beat their wives, as this is not something that either men or women advertise, and I only once saw a woman who had obviously been beaten, with a black eye. At the time I had only recently arrived in the area, I did not know her well and did not discover the circumstances. The older girls in don Reynaldo's family gossiped about violence taking place in families other than their own, and occasionally about young men of their own age who beat their girlfriends. They also told me how one woman retaliated against her violent husband by pouring boiling water over his testicles.

²³ Harris (1989: 248) has noted among the Laymi, however, that it is considered good to have both credit and debt relationships.

Vista drink to excess, she replied, 'Well, they certainly used to drink a lot!'. On my last visit, the mining engineer working at Buena Vista, a city dweller from Oruro, added his voice to the gossip circulating about the Buena Vista miners: the day after the q'uwa for the 1st August, the one occasion I witnessed when everyone at the mine was drunk, he complained to doña Concha at her shop about the excessive amount of drinking that was taking place at the mine, and the slow progress of the mechanisation work: a day had been lost due to drinking on that occasion, and some drinking had taken place on a Sunday a week or two prior to this when it had been Marina's child's second birthday. Nonetheless, don Reynaldo and his workers had been back at work the next morning, when I had arrived at the mine, albeit nursing slightly sore heads. Doña Concha agreed with him that the miners were drinking too much, even though she stood to profit from sales of alcohol.

It became clear in my conversations with the engineer that he made a distinction between the peasants of San Pablo and the miners at Buena Vista, whom he saw as members of the Bolivian working class and hence not to be trusted: 'No hay que tener mucha confianza en esa gente' ('One can't trust these people'), he told me, and when I asked him what Bolivian miners are like he replied without any prompting that they drink too much, get into fights, usually over women, and are sexually promiscuous. He expected me to choose my friends from campesinos rather than miners.

Of course, the families at Buena Vista are aware of what other San Pableños say about them and reciprocate in kind. Marina in particular says that people in the village criticise her for having had an illegitimate baby, although in this respect she is far from unique in the community. She seldom goes down to San Pablo, although her relationship with her parents is sometimes strained. Even Nancy, one of the stars of the San Pablo basketball team, only goes to San Pablo to visit her aunt and for those festivals or parts of festivals when music is played from tapes, and when the young people get together to drink and dance. Her mother, doña Felisa, believed that other women in San Pablo were envious of her large number of children, even though she complained of being 'poor' in relation to them through having no llamas.

On one of my first visits to the mine don Reynaldo told me how he thought the people in San Pablo were of a 'different mentality', and were content just to get by while he and his family wanted to better themselves. According to him the other comunarios '...are content to see us starve when the

price of mineral falls, but become envious when we start to make good money'. In a conversation about local beliefs in the San Pablo area he once told me how '...the peasants call the mountains mallkus', and that '...the peasants say that the mountains talk', thereby placing himself and his family in a different (and non-peasant) category.

Don Hernán, who was both a miner at the co-operative and a llama herder, was in a difficult position. Although he had good relations with the don Reynaldo's family, and would always comment how everyone at the mine was tranquilo (i.e. quiet and peaceful), his wife, doña María, did not approve of the other families working there. This was to lead to problems since she disapproves of drinking. Problems first arose on the night the mineworkers got drunk underground, negotiating for their holiday on 1st August. Then, after the q'uwa, when everyone was still drunk and continuing to celebrate in and around the campamento family kitchen, she became angry and accused Marina of flirting with her husband, and her outburst resulted in don Hernán leaving the co-operative, at least temporarily.

Anthropologists have long appreciated gossip as a key sociocultural phenomenon, and as such, it has been the subject of analysis from a variety of theoretical standpoints. Functionalists, such as Gluckman (1963) saw it as an activity that helped maintain group unity: gossip is an informal mechanism for the constant evaluation and reaffirmation of behaviour assessed against common expectations, which also enables groups to control the aspirations of the sub-groups and individuals of which a group is composed. Paine (1967), taking a more transactionalist stance, emphasised the role of the individuals and their aspirations. In this analysis, gossip is a means by which individuals manipulate cultural rules, and individual gossipers have rival interests which they seek to forward and protect: it is not groups that gossip, but individuals, and appeals to group unity should be seen more in terms of managing self-interest. Later analysts, such as Haviland (1977) emphasise more the ways in which cultural reality and social relations are continually being represented and debated through everyday talk. Gossip, thus provides participants with information about current happenings and is a resource through which they can devise a plan of action. In this type of analysis, gossip is a metacultural process: it is a process through which individuals disassemble, evaluate and reconstitute the everyday world (Rapport 1998).

A further observation about, once more from a neo-functionalist perspective, comes from the work of Frankenberg (1990 [1957]) and what was an early instance of the application of ethnographic fieldwork techniques to communities in Britain. Frankenberg noted that in the North Welsh village where he worked, that gossip, even when it was malicious, was not necessarily an unambiguously exclusionary phenomenon. On the contrary, he noted (1990 [1957]: 20), it provided a criterion which helped to distinguish the people of the community from outsiders: those people who were of the community, or insiders, were both the participants in, and also the subjects of, gossip, while outsiders neither had the resources to gossip, nor were gossiped about to any great extent.

Moving back to the situation between the miners of Buena Vista and the non-mining, or only occasionally mining, population of San Pablo, in a similar manner to the gossip that Frankenberg observed, gossip in San Pablo defines the miners as part of the community: they both participate and form the subject of gossip. At the same time, however, malicious gossip places them outside the community, which is also where their aspirations would lead them: outside the community of llama herders, towards an imagined community of Bolivian miners. The miners are hence both inside and outside San Pablo, being simultaneously included in and excluded from the community.

6.5 Conclusions

Don Reynaldo and his family at the mine clearly aspired to belong to an ‘imagined community’ of Bolivian mine workers, although his experience as a miner was largely in the small mines of his home province, rather than in the urbanised mining camps, apart from his time at the COMIBOL mine at San Vicente, when he had worked as a plasterer rather than a miner. With this aim in view, it was necessary to both maintain ties with people connected with the mining industry outside Sud LÍpez and to try to differentiate himself from the llama herders of San Pablo. This involved trying to be better than them, trying to earn more money, having aspirations to educate their children to a higher level, and speaking no more Quechua than was absolutely necessary. Many of the llama herders (who are also petty commodity traders, casual labourers and even miners occasionally) are also kin to either don Reynaldo or doña Felisa, and so it is hardly surprising that there are some feelings of resentment between the mine and the town, and that other San Pableños describe the

miners as 'malos', meaning 'bad', but also perhaps 'powerful', as it is usually assumed by people outside the mine that they have a lot of money, whether this is earned honestly through work, or through the deception of others who go to work with the co-operative.

There are several ways in which don Reynaldo's family sets itself apart from other San Pableños: they have got rid of their llamas, the animals of which San Pableños are most proud, and don Reynaldo himself does not often attend community meetings, and is reluctant to take up any position of political authority in the town. Although I could not identify any formal system of civil-religious hierarchy in San Pablo, adult men were expected to take their turns at holding political offices, such as corregidor, and to, from time to time, become motivated to sponsor a festival. This reluctance to take up public office causes resentment in San Pablo, since local men see positions of authority, such as corregidor, as a burden as well as an honour: the incumbent is supposed to remain in San Pablo for his year in office, and so misses out on any opportunities that arise to earn money working elsewhere (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1).

However, the opposition between don Reynaldo's mining family and the rest of San Pablo should not be overstated: after all, they acknowledge their kinship with the other families of the town, and also have ties of compadrazgo, notably with the family of don Alejo. Also, their aspirations to 'overcome themselves' ('superarse'), as they say, are not so far removed from those of other people in the town, who likewise want their children to study, and have ambitions to migrate to the cities, and to become part of the same popular classes of which Bolivia's miners form a part. It is more their open allegiance to Bolivia's mining community and disregard of some of the things that have local symbolic importance and are part of being San Pableño (such as llamas and local music) that have contributed to their unpopularity. Nevertheless, however much the miners of Buena Vista may wish to distance themselves from their llama-herding relatives, they are still part of the local community, which is illustrated by the fact that they both participate in, and form the subjects of, gossip. The performance of certain rituals also links them to the peasant community: their mining rituals that aim to increase production are not so far removed from those that their herding neighbours perform to increase the fertility of their herds, or from those that rural groups elsewhere perform for the fertility of their lands. This similarity has prompted Platt to proclaim that both miners and rural peasants belong to the same 'semantic universe'. I prefer a more nuanced

approach here. The miners of Buena Vista understand the cosmological forces that rule their world in the same way as their llama herding relatives, but their work and lifestyle lead them to consider themselves as part of an imagined community that is elsewhere, outside San Pablo. At the same time social practice – kinship ties, gossip and the necessity to interact with the other people in San Pablo – locates them as part of the local community.

Chapter 7. Doing *Waki* in San Pablo: Reciprocity Between the Living and the Dead

7.1 Introduction

If you live in Sud LÍpez, and you want to enflorar your llamas tomorrow, that is, you want to perform a ritual in which you mark them with coloured wool that is threaded through their ears (see Chapter 8), which is also to ask for their fertility in the coming year, you will do waki tonight. Likewise you will do waki tonight if you are about to depart on a journey of exchange to the valleys with your llamas, and you will also do waki if you are going to make an offering, or ch'alla, tomorrow for the productivity of your mine. Another occasion on which you will do waki is the eve of Todos Santos, the Day of the Dead celebrations, which in San Pablo take place over several days, if there has been a death in your family during the previous twelve months.

Waki is a ritual that concerns the dead, and in which they receive offerings of food and drink, although the people of San Pablo always emphasised the significance of the drink above the food. Their explanations of the ritual varied: some told me that waki was performed because 'the souls are thirsty' ('las almas tienen sed'), while others told me they did waki when they needed help from the dead ('cuando necesitamos ayuda de las almas'), and after the particular instance of the ritual that I shall describe below, which was on the eve of Todos Santos,¹ my host's wife, doña Teodora, explained it in terms of helping a new soul, or nuevo, on its journey away from the land of the living. Waki is therefore concerned not only with the living helping the dead, but also with the dead in turn giving help to the living, that is, it involves some sort of reciprocal arrangement between the two parties.

The focus of this chapter and the one that follows has switched from occupation and economic activity, the focus of the previous two chapters, to ritual, although this chapter is also concerned with reciprocity, a key element in so many studies of the Andean region. My focus is on ritual because this is one way by which people establish domain over geographical space. I also consider that it has

¹ Strictly speaking, this festival should be termed Todos Santos y Todas Almas (All Saints and All Souls). It is, however, almost invariably known as Todos Santos and is frequently glossed into English as 'The Day of the Dead', even though it takes place over several days, with the preparations being made over an even longer period of time.

an expressive element, and the ritual of waki, as it is performed in San Pablo, seems to me particularly expressive of belonging to Sud LÍpez as a locality as indigenous people rather than to the wider nation-state: as Lewis has pointed out, citing Leach's statement that 'for the anthropologist, ritual is occasional behaviour by particular members of a single culture' (Leach 1966: 403), to perform a ritual and conform to its rules is to acknowledge that one is that kind of person (Lewis 1980: 10-11).

I shall begin this chapter with a brief *r sum * of reciprocity in Andean societies, then move on to explain the stance I am taking on ritual: this is elaborated more fully in the preliminary conclusions put forward towards the end of this chapter, and these are developed further in the chapter that follows. I then give an outline of the process of death as it occurs in San Pablo. The central section of the paper is a description of waki, based on a particular ritual that I attended, and the remainder of the paper will then be devoted to attempts to understand waki from three different perspectives. My main interlocutor throughout this chapter is Peter Gose (1994), who has written about reciprocity between the living and the dead in an agricultural community in Peru, and obviously addresses similar concerns. There are similarities between the ethnographic situations of our analyses, but there are also differences, and there are also differences between our interpretations.

7.2 Reciprocity in Andean Societies

In his introduction to 'The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion', Bruce Mannheim states that the present-day Quechua-speaking population of the Andes, the descendants of the Inka, live, like their ancestors, primarily as agriculturalists and herders, and that for them, again like their ancestors, 'social relations - at least among Runa - are tinged with an ideology of reciprocity and an axiology of loss' (Mannheim 1991: 19). I want to use this section to try to unravel the various implications of Mannheim's statement, while giving an overview of the forms that reciprocity can take in Andean societies.

Firstly, Mannheim qualifies his statement with the phrase 'at least among Runa', where runa is the Quechua word for 'human-being', and then goes on to add, with a certain amount of circularity 'To be Runa is to be a human being, to speak Runa simi, "Quechua", to be of a place, to live under

the rule of reciprocity, ayni, and its attendant etiquette....'. That is, to be Runa is to be a fully socialized human being. He goes on to state that 'To be otherwise is to be q'ara, "naked", "uncultured", "uncivilized"'. It turns out that those who are naked, uncivilised, and not of a place, are the Spanish speakers, the mestizos. Although Mannheim avoids stating it directly, the Runa, who are 'engaged in an ongoing relationship with the place they were born in' (Mannheim 1991: 87) the Quechua speakers, are, by implication, the members of ayllus, whereas the q'ara are city-dwellers, shopkeepers, itinerant salesmen, landowners and political leaders, and so on, who 'live from money'.

There is no shortage of literature concerning reciprocity in the Andean region, mainly focused around the categories of ayni and mink'a.² In terms of formalist economic theory, these are dyadic contractual relations entered into by households or individuals³ on the basis of a calculation of their individual interests, and there is a sharp distinction between the two categories. Ayni is a symmetric and egalitarian relationship, whereby, for example, a man might do a day's work in his neighbour's field, and receive during the day food and drink provided by his host. The distinguishing feature of ayni, however, is that at some later stage his host would be expected to reciprocate and perform a day's work in the field of the man who had previously done work for him, and in a similar manner receive food and drink from his host during the course of the work. In terms of Sahlins' scale, ayni could be placed somewhere between the categories of generalised and balanced reciprocity (Sahlins 1972: 193-196), since it is not so apparently altruistic as providing food for one's own family (an account is kept of what is owed and owing), but it takes place among social equals, and the return is not immediate: there can be a delay before a partner in ayni repays the work he or she owes.

The second category of reciprocal labour exchange is mink'a, which Andeanist writers refer to as asymmetric, and which corresponds more closely to Sahlins' balanced reciprocity, being a simultaneous exchange of labour for food, which is less personal than ayni. Like ayni, mink'a involves participation in a work party sponsored by a host, who provides food and drink. Unlike ayni, the food and drink received in this case are considered sufficient remuneration for the work done, and the host is under no obligation to reciprocate the labour. Whereas ayni is based upon the

² See, for example, Alberti & Mayer 1974; Mannheim 1991: 19-20, 25-26 and 89-94; Gose 1994: 7-16.

³ While Gose writes of relations between households (Gose 1994: 8), Mannheim writes of men and women having separately maintained relations of reciprocity among same-sex partners (Mannheim 1991: 23).

premise of equality, mink'a can be hierarchical: as Gose explains, mestizos or notables in the southern Peruvian community where he worked would recruit commoners to work for them through mink'a, whereas the commoners themselves would recruit labour for their fields through networks of ayni. Hence, according to Gose, 'Ayni emphasises labour as the basis of commoner equality and class identity, whereas mink'a stresses the patron's greater capacity to feed, and the labourer's need, as the basis of a hierarchical relationship' (Gose 1994: 11). It is the opposition between ayni and mink'a that Gose sees as fundamental to class formation in the Peruvian community where he worked.

Moving on to the final part of the statement with which I opened this section, Mannheim writes of an 'axiology of loss' that accompanies the ideology of reciprocity in Andean society. As Mannheim elaborates, reciprocity is the guiding principle of everyday life, 'But a pervasive sense of sorrow and loss is reflected in rite and song, perhaps as an implicit recognition that every reciprocal action is always one half of a cycle, that reciprocity requires an initial surrender of the self to the gift of labour or object, and that the cycle of reciprocity is ever liable to rupture' (Mannheim 1991: 19). This uncertainty could be construed as the 'misrecognition' of the objective reality of the exchange by social actors which Bourdieu describes (Bourdieu 1977: 5), although my understanding of Mannheim is that he wishes to go somewhat beyond this when he claims that Andean societies invert an accepted anthropological principle with the statement that 'all exchange is, at base, sacrifice' (Mannheim 1991: 19). One of his bases for making this statement is an earlier article by Gose, making the point that in the Andes, sacrifice is an important idiom of social cohesion. Gose argues against the reduction of sacrifice to exchange, arguing that in Andean society, wealth is not alienable from the body, and that sacrifice exists in a motivated opposition to commodity exchange (Gose 1986: 309). Gose supports his assertion in his later work where he notes in the southern Peruvian community of Huaquirca that there exists a metaphorical association between the agricultural work that men do through relations of ayni and the concepts of death and salvation, the implication being that men sacrifice themselves through work (Gose 1994: 113).

I have two problems in applying the concepts of reciprocity, as elicited by anthropologists working in other Andean communities, to the case of San Pablo. For both Gose and Mannheim, the different categories of reciprocity seem to hinge around a clear differentiation between commoners

and notables, in Gose's terms, or Runa and mestizos or q'aras, as Mannheim would have it. As I have explained previously, I could not make any clear distinction between such categories of people in San Pablo, where people refer to themselves as sometimes as gente (Spanish – 'people', 'human beings'), sometimes as comunarios (commoners), and sometimes as vecinos (neighbours or notables) and although there are differences between individuals in terms of wealth or education, for example, they only really draw a distinction between themselves, from San Pablo, and people from outside the area. They are bilinguals, and they 'live from money' probably more than they do by the laws of reciprocity: although most people still have herds of llamas, I have argued in Chapter 5 that these are of more symbolic than economic importance, and most people are engaged in some sort of commerce or paid labour, which may take them away from the community for considerable periods of time. These factors make them appear like the vecinos or q'ara of other areas. It is in ritual, however, as I shall argue in this chapter, that people do enter into reciprocal relationships of the kinds noted elsewhere in the Andes, which puts them back into the category of runa or comunarios.

My second problem is that San Pableños do not talk about doing ayni or mink'a, although I would contend that something very close to these categories does persist. The question of working the fields does not arise since San Pablo is a pastoral rather than agricultural community, but when the household of a comunario needs help in the preparation for, or the performance of, a ritual, then they do call on a network of people, mainly kin, fictive kin and neighbours for help, and it is more or less understood that those helping can likewise call on their hosts for help at a later time. They do not term this ayni, but use the term yanapa (literally 'help').⁴ There are no wealthy mestizo patrons to call upon commoner labour in San Pablo through mink'a, but a similar category of reciprocal work arises when tasks (faenas) need to be performed for the community: sometimes male labour is required, for instance, for work on community roads, and sometimes the need is for female labour, as in the preparation of corn beer for a community wide festival.

The most common mechanism for rewarding work that I found in San Pablo was for a host to give his or her helper a portion of the product of their labour to take away: for instance, if I helped someone to butcher a llama, I would be given a portion of meat, which always took the form of a

⁴ Gose (1994: 9) likewise translates yanapa as 'help', but qualifies this by adding that it occurs when someone works for food and drink in the short term, but hopes to establish an informal moral claim on the host to reciprocate at some future date. Yanapa may resolve itself either along the lines of ayni or mink'a.

couple of ribs and some liver, or if I helped someone to bake bread, I would be given half a dozen rolls. This would be in addition to a share in a meal cooked from the meat, or any meal consumed while baking the bread. The portion awarded to the helper was called achura, the name given to the portion of mineral ore that Indian workers were allowed to retain and sell in the seventeenth century (see Chapter 3), and this form of working, like ayni, recognised that the food consumed during a task was not sufficient payment for the help received, but, like mink'a did not place any moral claim for reciprocal labour upon the host, and is a simultaneous and balanced exchange.

7.3 Ritual in San Pablo: Communication, Communitas, Performance or Practice?

Ritual is something that anthropologists write about extensively, but it is also something that defies definition, and that has been the subject of numerous contrasting and conflicting theories. When I state that waki is a ritual, I mean, in the broadest sense, that it is some sort of prescribed formal act, and since it implies belief in something we would regard as supernatural, it could also be said to take place in the context of religious worship. However, I would not want to draw any great distinction between religious ritual and what some writers have defined as ceremonial, and so would extend the concept to acts that are not in the usual sense religious. In this section I want to set out the position that I am taking on ritual. This position is not the result of purely theoretical considerations, but is informed by my fieldwork experiences: by the testimonies of local people taking part in rituals in San Pablo, and by the role in rituals that I was expected to play.

My original idea for this chapter was to discuss waki following Victor Turner's approach (Turner, 1969). I wanted to look at waki, taking place on the eve of some larger ritual, as the point at which a liminal period, lasting for the duration of the larger ritual, is entered, and during which the human bonds of belonging to the locality are stressed. This liminality would oppose the structures of everyday life governed by the apparatuses of the Bolivian state. The end of the larger ritual then would mark a phase of reincorporation when people return to the demands and competitiveness of normal life and once more acknowledge their 'belonging' to the nation. Further to this, I had thought of contrasting waki, which is an essentially private household ritual, with the

public secular ceremonies that take place in San Pablo to mark such events as the Bolivian Independence Day, and the anniversary of Sud Lípez province, which emphasise belonging to the Bolivian nation.

However, I grew dissatisfied with these ideas, mainly through remembering how rituals took place in San Pablo, how people in San Pablo talked about them, and the amount of, what was sometimes very literally, 'work' that I had been expected to do whilst participating in them. Like Peter Gose, I find it hard to see ritual in the Andes as something that is out of the ordinary, separate from mundane actions, or as 'performance', aimed at no practical result beyond its own enactment (c.f. Tambiah 1979). Many rituals in the Andes, particularly in agricultural communities, could be classed as regulative, in that they address the aesthetic style or diacritical features of an activity rather than constitute the activity itself (Tambiah 1979: 129). Although rituals in San Pablo, where hardly any cultivation is practised, are less obviously regulative than those maize planting rituals that Gose (1994: 106-114) describes,⁵ rather than see ritual as a category separate from mundane actions, I would take an approach similar to that of Gose in viewing ritual as 'an outgrowth of profane activities', particularly since people in San Pablo describe their rituals as 'work'.⁶

Rather than take Leach's position, that ritual is an aspect of all social action (Leach, 1954: 13), Gose recognises that there is some distinction between ritual and everyday life, and gets round the contradiction by considering rituals to be 'a moment of practice that is intrinsically incomplete and necessarily resolves itself into other moments, most notably labour'. He further argues that ritual generates a symbolism that guides other practices, and that this symbolism refers to previously established notions within a culture. Hence, he concludes, by studying ritual 'we can therefore hope to locate social action in its relevant cultural context' (Gose 1994: 5-6). A similar sort of position is taken, as a result of a much more theoretical analysis, by Catherine Bell. She likewise takes ritual to be part of practice, but a part that is strategically differentiated from other ways of acting by what she

⁵ It could, however, be argued that *waki* is a regulative procedure, in that it addresses the way in which a larger ritual is performed.

⁶ Victor Turner makes the point that people in many societies describe their rituals as work, but he seeks to distance the sense of obligation that this implies from our notion of work, informed by the Industrial Revolution and the Protestant ethic, by concentrating on those aspects of ritual that are ludic or performative (Turner 1977:39-40).

terms *ritualization*. 'Ritualization', she writes, 'is a way of acting that specifically establishes a privileged contrast, differentiating itself as more important or powerful' (Bell 1992:90).⁷

In this chapter I shall adopt the type of approach set out by Bell and by Gose, but recognise that the distinction between 'ritualized practice' and 'ritual' that is set apart from everyday life is a fine one. The view expressed by Gose that studying ritual can help us to locate social actions in their relevant cultural context tends towards that of Geertz, who regards ritual, like any other 'collectively sustained symbolic structure', to be 'saying something of something' (Geertz 1993: 448), that is, to be some form of communication. In this chapter I offer an interpretation of *waki*, based on Gose's work, that goes beyond the stated knowledge of social actors, but I also state my reservations about such interpretations, bearing in mind Lewis's criticisms of communicative theories for overstating the relation of ritual to articulated beliefs, and for misrepresenting the largely non-propositional nature of most ritual (Lewis 1980: 6 ff.).

In the final section of the chapter, in considering the issues of local and national identities, I shall inevitably address issues of politics and power relations. Rather than seeing ritual as a heavy handed mechanism of social control, that builds up and reinforces ideology and legitimates the authority of the powers that be, as Bloch proposes (Bloch 1989: 126-136), I prefer Bell's view that the particular construction and interplay of power relations effected by ritualization 'defines, empowers and constrains': that ritualized practices require the external consent of participants, while simultaneously tolerating a degree of internal resistance (Bell 1992: 221). I would add to this that in San Pablo all rituals are not the same; rituals may define, empower and constrain, but different rituals do each of these to different degrees according to the relation between the ritual and the social actor.

7.4 Death in San Pablo

When a person dies, an all-night vigil is held immediately after death, and the funeral is held the following day. I was present for the funeral of doña Victoria's mother in early 1996, but missed

⁷ Another position that is similar to Bell's has been taken up by Humphrey and Laidlaw in their recent study. Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994: 4), however, reject Bell's solution of regarding ritual as practice, since they consider 'practice' to be among the concerns and categories of a previous academic era. Instead, they write of ritualized 'action', qualifying this by claiming to take a qualitative view of action, which does not see 'action' as opposed to 'thought'.

the vigil as I had been at Buena Vista that night. Eight days after the funeral has taken place, that is, nine days after a death, a second vigil is held for the dead person's possessions, in which friends and family gather in the house of the deceased. At least one llama is slaughtered, and participants spend the night drinking, pouring libations and chewing coca ritually. While strong alcoholic drink (trago) is passed around, participants tell stories and play games with knuckle bones, in which the penalty for those who lose is to offer prayers for the deceased – I could only manage English versions of 'Our Father' and 'Hail Mary'. In the early hours, a meal of qalapari, a soup of maize and ch'arki (dried meat), is served which is stipulated for all the major festivals connected with the dead that I have witnessed. The following day everyone works. Some construct a house for the new soul out of cardboard, or fill miniature sacks with staple foodstuffs for the soul's sustenance. There are more games, this time played with stones, and the deceased's possessions are sorted into those 'which are to stay' and those 'which are to go', with the former requiring washing in the river, and the latter being placed, together with the cardboard house and its contents on a pile in the centre of the patio ready to be burned. When doña Victoria's mother died, I found I was in great demand, and was given duties all day long. At one point, though, I found an elderly man sitting outside the house making miniature llamas from fat and quinoa flour. I asked him what they were for, and he replied as if it were patently obvious 'What else is going to carry this away?'. I realised he must mean the dead person's possessions, house and foodstuffs, and confirmed this by asking don Alejo, who, at the suggestion, told me I was finally starting to understand how Lipeños thought.

Death seems to occur in stages. When doña Victoria's mother died, doña Teodora greeted me with the words 'Hay alma en el pueblo' ('There's a soul in the village'). I came to understand that alma referred both to the corporeal remains of the woman who had died as well something that is non-corporeal that I gloss as 'soul'. Immediately following death, both the physical body of the dead woman and her soul are present in the geographical area in which she lived and died. The body is disposed of when it is buried, but the soul stays around until the bonfire at the end of the 'eight days' (ocho días) vigil, when it sets out on its journey to the next world with its possessions borne away by miniature llamas.

However, the final separation between the living and the dead does not take place until the following Todos Santos, and the soul is thought to remain close by until this time. It is immediately

before Todos Santos that waki will be performed, and during the course of the celebration, some of which is described below in more detail, the family prepares meals and holds parties for the entire community. Men play music called lloqlllo or lloqlllo taki on charangos,⁸ which they accompany with lyrics that are humorous and often make fun of the condition of being San Pableño. I was told that lloqlllo is music ‘to make the souls happy’ (para alegrar a las almas) and one man explained the name as the sound that skeletons make when they dance.⁹ The dead are supposed to arrive for the festival, but are sent packing once again on its final night, November 3rd, when the charangos, are set aside in favour of ghetto blasters playing cumbia tapes.

This final night also marks the point at which the new soul (nuevo) has to set out once more on its journey, and its baggage is once again borne away by llamas. This time, rather than making miniature animals from grease, San Pableños include them in a ritual arrangement present in the room where the party is held. The arrangement I saw in 1995 comprised three bells (cencerros), two gourds, a llama-wool rope and a bag for coca (ch’uspa) (see Figure 1). I didn’t appreciate the significance of the elements of this arrangement until much later, when I came to review my account of the same family’s llama marking ritual, when a similar ritual arrangement is used, and in this latter case the arrangement was obviously a miniature version of the llama corral (see Chapter 8 and Figure 3). Bells are worn by the lead animals of a llama caravan, although those I have seen worn by real llamas have been made from empty pork-luncheon-meat cans and are not nearly so nice as the brass ones of the ritual arrangement. In this, the bells stand in metonymically for the llamas that will bear away the soul and its possessions to the next world.

⁸ Small guitar-like instruments with ten strings, tuned in pairs.

⁹ Harvey (1991: 10) reports that ‘Lloqlllopanki’ is sometimes given in jest as the name of the father of bread babies in mock baptisms held at Todos Santos in Ocongate, Peru. She explains this as an ‘Inka-sounding name’, that is, a name belonging to the long-ago dead of a previous era.



Plate 14. Don Marcelino playing lloqlo



Plate 15. Members of the Alejo family and the monte



Plate 16. Taking the monte to the cemetery

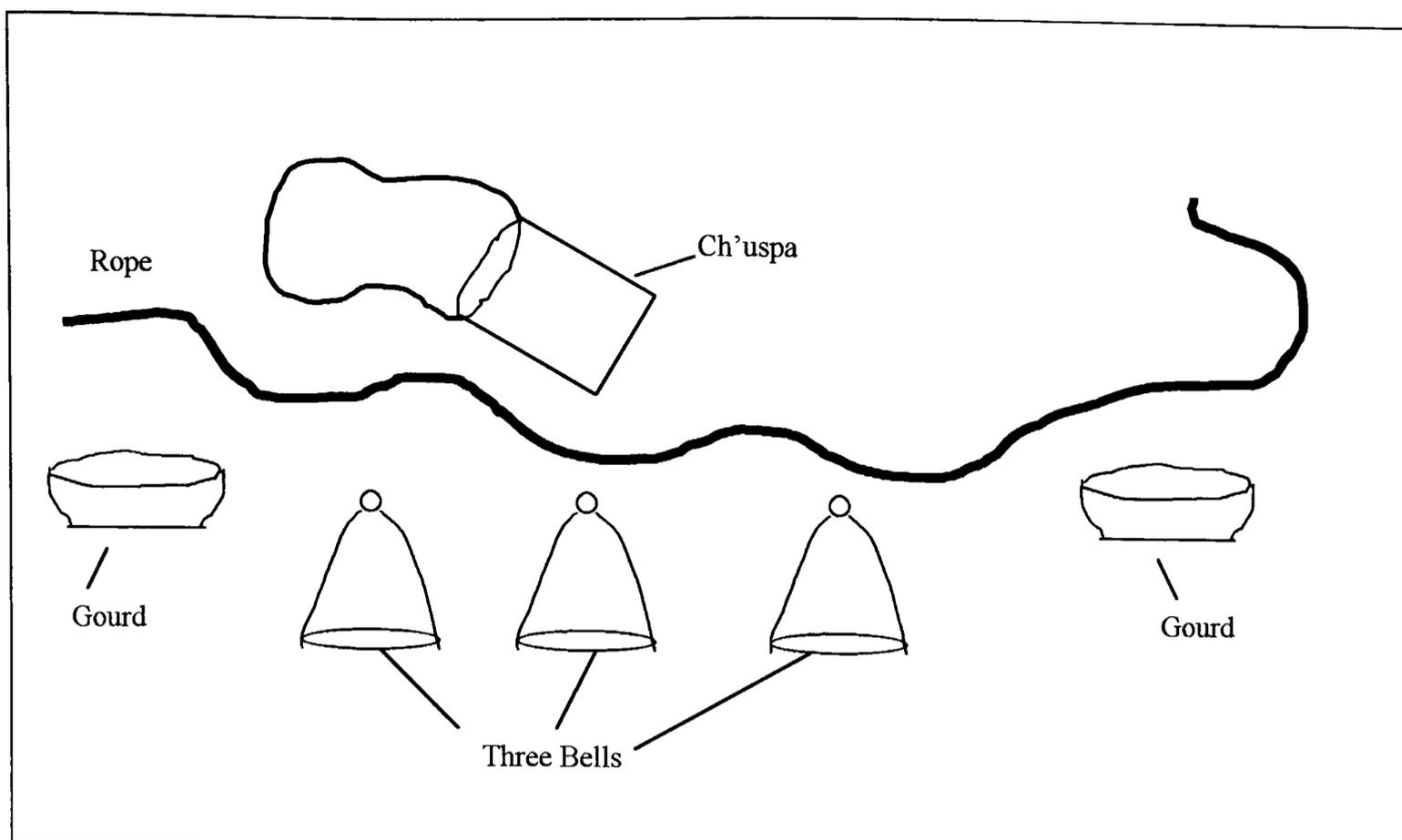


Figure 1. Ritual arrangement used on the final night of Todos Santos

7.5 Doing *waki* before Todos Santos in 1995

During the year leading up to Todos Santos (the festivity that takes place throughout several days at the end of October and the beginning of November), in 1995, the stepmother of don Alejo, my host in San Pablo, had died. This meant that the family had a nuevo or 'new soul', and that the festival would have special significance for them, as this marks the final separation of the soul of the newly dead person from the world of the living. In San Pablo, in addition to the various visits to the cemetery that everyone makes over the days of the festival, when people can earn t'anta wawas (bread figures) and alcoholic drinks by reciting prayers for the dead, the family of a nuevo also acquires a large branch from a tree, called a monte,¹⁰ that generally has to be brought in from outside the area, since there are no trees in or near San Pablo. This is decorated, like a Christmas tree, with artificial leaves, flowers and fruit, is erected behind a sort of altar built in one room of the family house, and is eventually harvested in the presence of the whole community, who are also served a huge meal of three courses, with copious quantities of alcohol, while the men play their charangos and sing. The whole party then departs to the next household that has a nuevo to repeat the entire procedure (carrying off the food they are unable to eat at one sitting in plastic bags for

¹⁰ Monte – Spanish loan word (meaning 'mountain' or 'scrub') used in Quechua to denote a place covered with weeds, trees and shrubs, that is, a different ecological zone to the mountains and plains of Lipez.

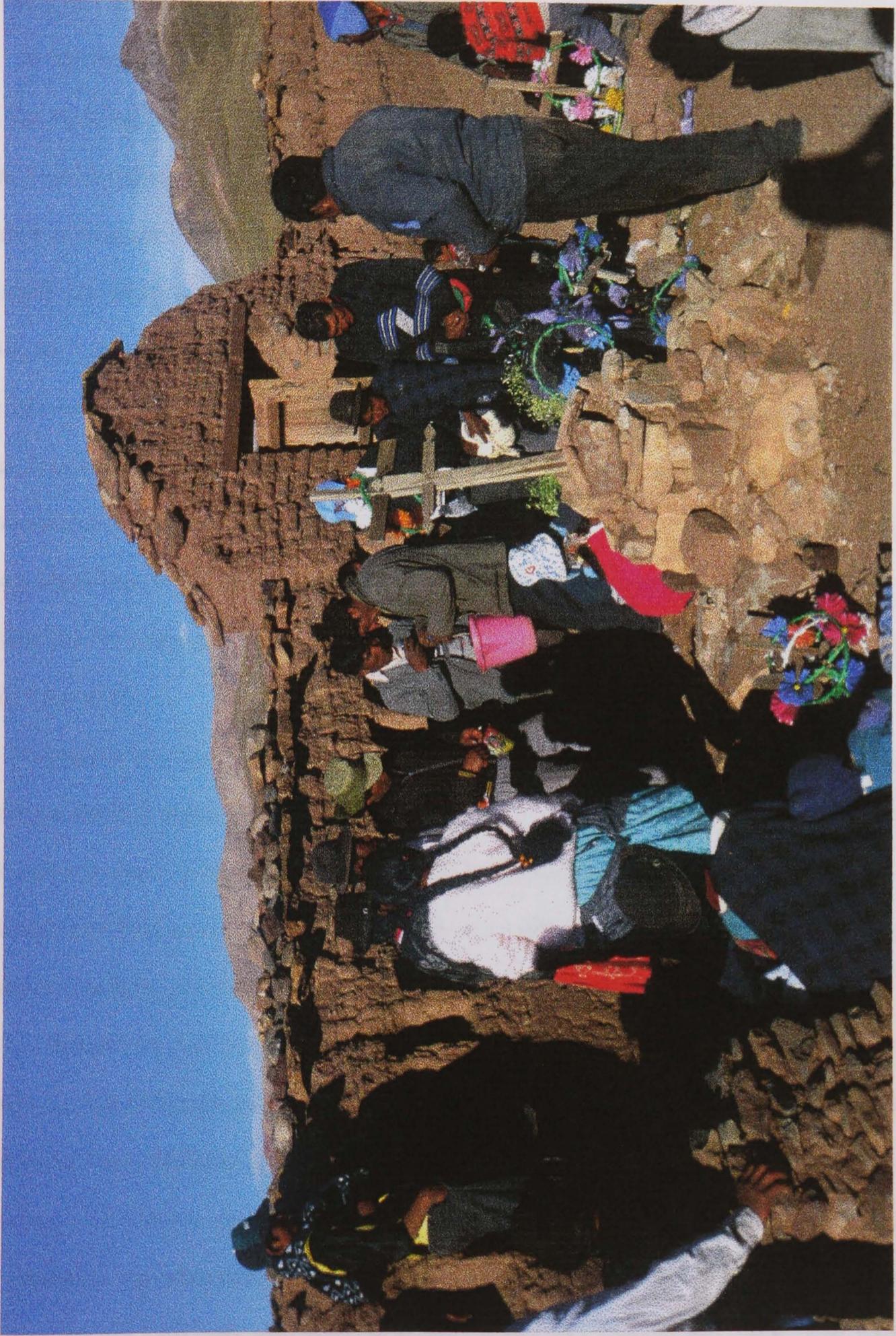


Plate 17. The cemetery at Todos Santos

later). The monte appears to be a metaphorical representation of the life of the deceased, growing, blossoming and bearing fruit before dying, and also possibly underlines a connection made in the Andes between the season of the growth of plants and the souls of the dead, as noted by Harris (1982) and Gose (1994).

It was during the preparations for Todos Santos that I first participated in the ritual that people in San Pablo call waki. This is very much a private event that takes place within a household: I was able to attend because I was living in the household of don Alejo, and had been working with the family in the preparations for the festival, baking t'anta wawas (bread babies) and some improvised biscuits, and endlessly gluing green plastic leaves onto the branch. When, on the evening of October 31st, my host's wife, doña Teodora, told me they were going to do waki, I was expected to go along, as this was also part of the preparations. This was the first ritual I had seen in San Pablo of the sort that Abercrombie (1998: 110) would label as 'more Andean' and which he also describes as 'clandestine': the only rituals I witnessed previously were the Christian Mass, on my first visit to the area, which was in the company of the parish priest from Tupiza, and the public, secular ritual and celebration for Independence Day, the anniversary of the Bolivian state, at the beginning of August (see Chapter 8).

Although it involves the dead, Todos Santos is generally a happy occasion with much drinking, eating, music and dancing. The dead of the family are remembered, but not in a very solemn way; the idea is to cheer up the souls with music, and for the living to make merry at the same time. Nevertheless, for a recently bereaved family it is rather different, since many of the rites are directly connected with the person who died. While people do not grieve openly, and the loss is not so recent as at a funeral or a vigil for the dead person's possessions, it is still felt; in looking through my fieldwork slides I found a photograph I had taken of one of the charango players at Todos Santos, and found I had unintentionally also photographed don Emiliano brushing away a tear (Plate 14). The rite is necessary to complete the life of the deceased, but I would suggest that for the family it is an experience like celebrating the first Christmas after someone has died in our own society; the family members must carry with them the memory of previous Todos Santos celebrations, when they were eating, drinking and dancing with the dead person rather than doing rites on their behalf.

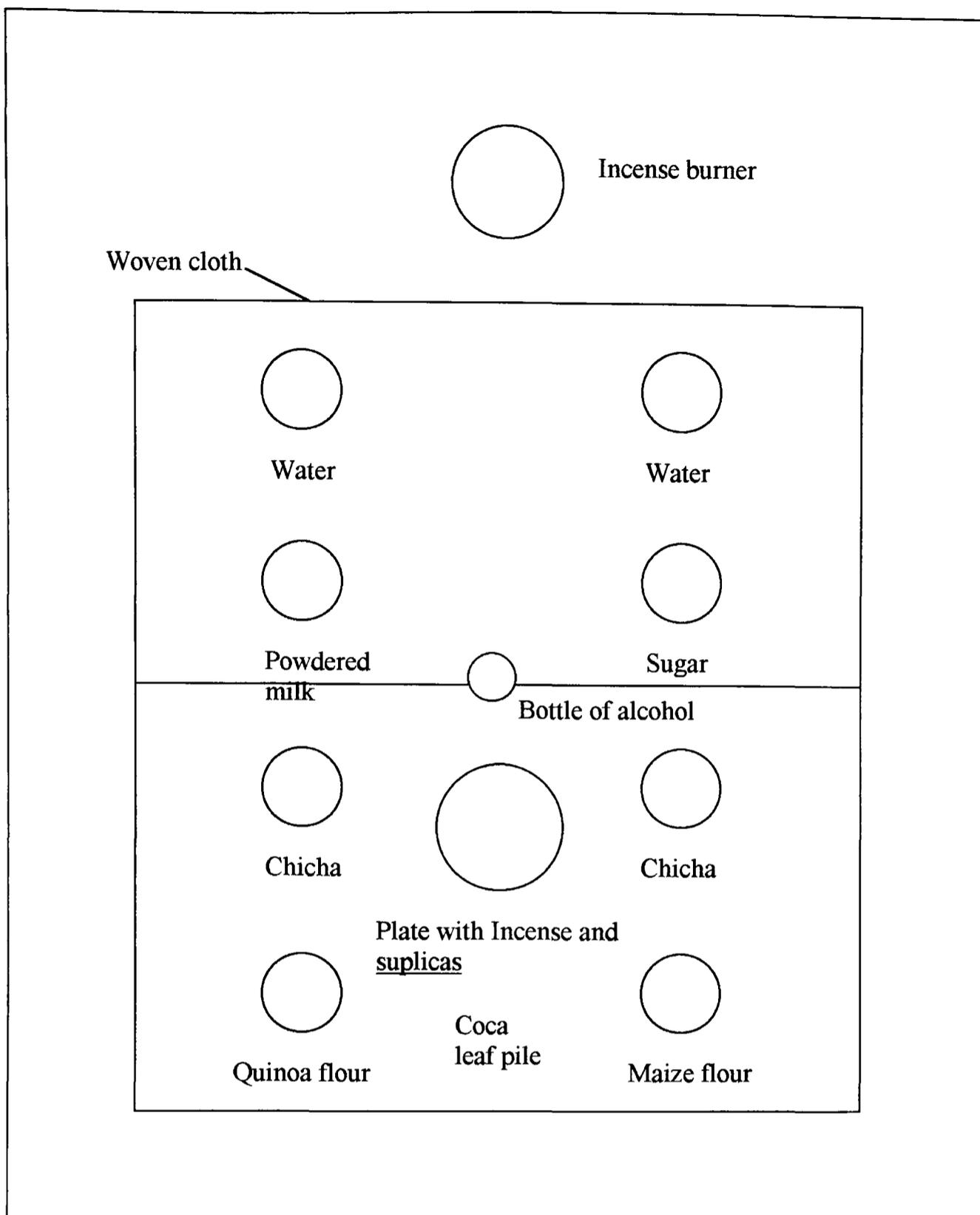


Figure 2. Ritual arrangement used in waki

I went across with doña Teodora from don Alejo's family compound to that of his father, don Emiliano, to the room where we had been doing most of the preparations for the coming festival, and in which the monte was eventually erected. The room was lit by a newly purchased paraffin lamp, running on the remains of the kerosene I had brought with me on my first stay with the Alejos, when I had thought I might need to do my own cooking and had brought a camping stove. Two cloths had been laid out on the floor, joined together at the centre, on which various objects had been arranged (see Figure 2). At the far end of the first cloth were two cups of water, and closer to the join were

two more cups, one containing powdered milk, and the other sugar. On the join between the two cloths there was a small bottle of alcohol, and then on the second cloth, close to the join, two cups of chicha (corn beer), and at the near end, two more cups, one filled with maize flour, and the other with quinoa flour. A ceramic vessel with burning incense had been placed beyond the cloth at the far end. In the middle of the second cloth there was a plate, also containing incense, together with two of the rectangular biscuits used in rituals throughout Bolivia, called misterios or suplicas, while a pile of coca had been placed at the end of the cloth, where don Emiliano was seated.

I guessed that don Emiliano had arranged the various objects, since he was the host, and was also known in the town to have been ‘something of a yatiri’ (literally ‘one who knows’, or ‘ritual practitioner’) in his younger days. At the time I was in San Pablo, don Emiliano was an old man, in his seventies, who found conditions in Sud Lípez a bit harsh, and so spent most of his time in the nearest large town, Tupiza, about 150 km away, at a considerably lower altitude. He claimed that he had long since retired as a ritual practitioner, but, when he was around, people generally deferred to his superior knowledge of correct procedures. His presence at the ceremony, however, was principally due to the deceased woman having been his wife.

Twelve people were present, although I know of no rule about the number of people required for waki, and, with the exception of me, these were all members of the family of the deceased woman, and were a mixture of men and women. Don Emiliano, as head of the household, and as someone who knew how these things should be done, was in charge throughout. The proceedings started with standard Christian prayers, ‘Our Fathers’ and ‘Hail Marys’ mumbled in Spanish by don Emiliano, who then took the incense burner, sprinkled powdered incense on it, and passed it over the arrangement on the cloths, while offering a further prayer. When he had finished he passed the burner to the next participant who repeated the actions, and likewise passed the burner to the next person, and so on until we had all burned incense and offered a prayer, except for one young schoolgirl, in her teens, who was scared, or reluctant, to do so. When everyone had finished, the last participant replaced the burner in its original position. I was required to do the same as everyone else, and it did not seem important that I could never quite remember the words of the prayers, particularly in Spanish, or that I would sometimes get things a bit wrong: the fact that I was participating was the important factor. This was something I found subsequently at all other ‘more

Andean' rituals: I was never permitted to 'observe' or to watch a performance, but was expected to 'work' along with everyone else: this was a condition of my being there, but also something greatly appreciated by those holding the ritual.

Everyone in turn, starting once again with don Emiliano, then took a pinch of the powdered milk, and a pinch of the sugar, simultaneously, one in each hand, from the two cups containing those foodstuffs, and dropped each into the cup of water immediately behind on the same side of the cloth. Everyone did this three times before repeating the action with the two types of flour on the other cloth. Each participant also picked up a few coca leaves from the pile, and dropped them into the two cups of chicha.

When everyone had finished we engaged in a session of reciprocal and ritualised coca chewing. Everyone present had with them some sort of bag containing coca: a few people in San Pablo use woven coca bags called ch'uspa, but the majority recycle the sort of strong plastic bags in which rice is bought, and everyone had received an ample portion of coca from don Emiliano, to add to his or her own supply, on entering the room. Coca chewing takes several forms in San Pablo: in the course of a normal day, one chews one's own coca, and perhaps offers some to a companion, out of friendship or courtesy, as an informal gesture; in the course of some festivities one is expected to call upon a partner to exchange coca bags in a more formal gesture of reciprocity; during waki, and some other events connected with the dead, such as the vigil for a corpse before burial, and the similar vigil for the possessions of the deceased eight days after the funeral has taken place, coca bags are passed from one person to the next in a circle, sometimes in a clockwise direction, and sometimes anticlockwise (I could never work out which way we were meant to be going).¹¹ During our session of reciprocal coca chewing, on receiving a new bag, each person took one or two leaves to place on the cloth in front of don Emiliano, and a few leaves to chew. At the end of each round of the bags, when they had returned to their original owners, a few of the coca leaves from the pile in front of don Emiliano were placed in the cups of chicha. While all this continued we smoked cigarettes,

¹¹ Harvey (1991: 8) notes that in Ocongate villagers only drink as a single community at funerals and at Todos Santos, when the living form a community in opposition to the dead. Coca is chewed in a circle, on similar occasions: the vigil for a corpse before burial, the 'eight days' vigil and during waki, when once again the living can be considered to be a community that opposes the dead. The directions are also probably significant: Harris notes that in northern Potosí a three stranded string is spun anticlockwise (that is, in the opposite direction to normal) with which to tie the neck, hands and feet of a corpse. In the rites known as huaquis performed in the herding communities of northern Chile, direction is also important, and a herder interviewed by Lagos draws attention to an outsider who poured a libation the wrong way during a televised performance (Lagos *et al.* 1996: 119).

which were, like the coca, provided by don Emiliano, and were passed around formally, as were strong alcoholic drinks and chicha. On receiving either drink, a person was expected to pour a libation, as when drinking in any other situation, and also to sprinkle a few drops into each of the cups of chicha. This continued for some considerable time, before the ritual was brought to a close by the recital of more Christian prayers.

Some of the men present then went to the cemetery with don Emiliano, taking with them the remnants from the ceremony, including all the chewed wads of coca from the mouths of the participants, and all the cigarette ends. I did not see what happened to the water and the chicha, but I suspect that was taken as well, and I did not go to the cemetery, since only men were supposed to go, but I was told later that the men had to circle the tomb of the deceased person, in this case don Emiliano's wife, on their knees, 'asking for pardon'. Likewise I did not witness the eventual fate of all the leftovers from the ceremony, and when I asked about this I got conflicting answers, some people saying they were burned, others that they were just thrown away.¹²

Throughout the ritual, although there seemed to be no formal rule of silence, people did not talk very much, but once it was over, normal activities recommenced: in the case I have been describing, of waki performed before Todos Santos, we continued with the seemingly interminable process of gluing plastic leaves on the monte, and on another occasion, when I did waki with some friends before their enfloramiento de llamas, we continued with the preparations for that ritual, which involved making miniature llamas from fat and quinoa flour, and preparing the strands of wool that were to adorn the llamas' ears the following day.

In don Emiliano's house, as we continued to prepare the monte, the conversation hinged around the subject of the dead, and of souls, which they insisted were not people. Don Alejo asked me if I believed in souls, to which I replied 'I think so'. He seemed satisfied with my answer, and went on to tell me that when the soul, or alma, leaves the body, then a person dies. Someone else present who heard him interjected and disagreed, taking the slightly different view that only when a person dies does the soul leave the body. I found myself confused about the journey that a soul makes away

¹² I suspect the remains may actually have been buried. The involvement of only men in this part of the task may be due to the greater vulnerability of women to the dangerous world of the dead and ghosts, which Harris (1982: 53) reports, and which the women of San Pablo appear to share. It is also worth noting that the rites known as huaquis performed by llama herders in the north of Chile, involve some actions that are performed only by men (Lagos *et al.* 1996).

from the land of the living: the separation of the living from the dead seemed, on the one hand, to take a considerable period of time – from the moment of death until the following Todos Santos, - and it seemed to occur in stages – death, the funeral, the eight days vigil and finally The Day of the Dead – but when I asked don Emiliano about this, he claimed that it only took a soul three hours to get to heaven (el cielo). As Harris suggests, perhaps we should heed Hertz’s caution that ideas relating to the fate of the soul ‘are in their very nature vague and indefinite: we should not try to make them too clear-cut’ (Quoted in Harris 1982: 61). Before anyone could leave don Emiliano’s house that night we had to finish the bottle of strong alcoholic drink (trago) that had been provided, and on returning to my host’s compound, doña Teodora thanked me for helping them with their ‘work’.

7.6 The word *waki*: the beginnings of a lexical investigation

As I have stated previously, people in San Pablo are bilingual in Spanish and Quechua, although Spanish is becoming the most widely spoken language, since it is the language in which children are educated at school. Waki is a Quechua word, but it is also present in Aymara, and in both languages it can be used in contexts outside that of the ritual that I describe in this paper. In an exploration of the semantic fields covered by the term, I have made the beginnings of a lexical investigation, using dictionaries of both languages. I have done this primarily to try to answer the questions ‘Why does this ritual have the name waki?’, and ‘what does the term waki imply?’. I chose not to concentrate solely on Quechua, since, according to colonial documents, the LÍpez region was, at least in part, Aymara speaking at the time of the Spanish conquest,¹³ and became Quechua speaking at a later date, possibly as a result of the influx of Indians from other areas to work in the mines.¹⁴ Although none of the dictionaries I have consulted mention the dead or a ritual involving them, they do give what, at first sight, appears a confusing array of possible meanings for the word. However, these meanings can be broken down into three broad categories. The first of these is the idea of working together for mutual benefit, as shown in the examples from Lira’s Quechua dictionary shown below:

¹³ As noted in Chapter 3, there were also some groups designated Uru in LÍpez in the sixteenth century in the region of San Pablo. These people may well have spoken a third Amerindian language.

¹⁴ An ecclesiastical inspection (Visita de Curatas) from the year 1680 states that in San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo, the principal mining centre, the Mass was said in Spanish, Aymara and Quechua. (Archivo Diocesano de Chuquisaca, Visita de Curatas, Lipes, 1680).

WAKI – *f.* Mancomunidad, union, asociación. Forma de trabajo en sociedad y al partir de intereses. *wakipi tarpuy* sembrar a medias un campo o lote de tierra. *wakipi llank'ay* Trabajar al partir¹⁵

WAKIKK- *m.f.* Mediero, persona que va a medias en algún negocio, trabajo, obligación. Comparte, persona que es parte en un asunto, obligación. Compartidor.¹⁶

WAKIY -*s, v.* Sistema de trabajo o negocio igualitario. Acción con que intervienen los consocios o medieros y su efectivo. Compartir, participar por igual de intereses, repartir o dividir una cosa con otro. Trabajar, negociar o hacer algo en forma igualitaria y de mancomun. *Kuska kuskamanta wakiy* compartir de mitad en mitad o igualmente.¹⁷

(Lira 1941; 1078-1081)

In the Aymara dictionary of De Lucca, waki is also described as an agricultural or sharecropping contract:

WAQUI *s* - Aparcería, trato de los que van a la parte en la aparcería. Arreglo, avenencia, trato.¹⁸
(De Lucca 1983; 449 col. 1)

The second idea, found in the Quechua definitions, and still in some ways related to the idea of working together, or sharecropping, is that of dividing or separating, sharing and that which is left over:

WAKI - *adj.* Medianero, que está en medio. *Waki perkka*: pared medianero.¹⁹

WAKI - *adj.* Restante, que queda o resta. *Wakinkunalla* los demás que restan. *Manan wakinkuna hinachu kani, suwa wach'okk, runa wakkachik* No soy yo como los demás ladrón, adultero, que hago llorar a los pobres. *Wakinmassinkunallawan*²⁰

WAKICHAKK- *n., adj.* Dicese del que hace separaciones excepcionando o posponiendo.²¹

¹⁵ 'Community, union or association. Way of working as a society with shared interests. *wakipi tarpuy*: to sow a field or plot of land by halves.' *wakipi llank'ay*: to work with shared interests.

¹⁶ 'Sharecropper, person who has a half share in some business, work or obligation. Share, person who is part of a matter or business. One who shares.' (The stem waki- + agentive nominalising suffix -q (kk in Lira's orthography). 'One who does waki').

¹⁷ 'Egalitarian system of work or business. Action by which co-partners or sharecroppers control their business and its ends. Share, participate with equal interest, or divide up something with another person. Work, do business or something else in an egalitarian form, or communally. *Kuska kuskamanta wakiy*: Share half and half, or equally.' (waki + unspecific nominaliser -y, which is also used to give a verb its infinitive form.)

¹⁸ 'Share cropping, agreement made by those who enter into a sharecropping arrangement. Agreement, compromise, treaty.'

¹⁹ 'Dividing, that which is in the middle. *Waki perkka*: dividing wall.'

²⁰ 'Remaining, that which stays or remains. *Wakinkunalla*: The others that remain. *Manan wakinkuna hinachu kani, suwa wach'okk, runa wakkachik*: I am not like the others, thief, adulterer, who makes the poor people cry. *Wakinmassinkunallawan*: Only go wherever with the others of your sort.'

²¹ 'Said of that which makes separations, making exceptions or subordinating.' (Waki + formative verbalising suffix -cha + agentive nominalising suffix -q (kk in Lira's orthography). 'That which makes waki').

WAKICHAKUY - v, s. Exceptuarse, excluirse de los demás, apartarse haciendo caso omiso de otros.
v.a. Entrar o participar como mediero en algún negocio o trabajo que otros toman parte.²²
(Lira 1941: 1078-1079)

The third idea present in the contemporary dictionaries is of preparation:

WAKICHIKUY - v. Prepararse, alistarse.²³
(Lara 1971: 306)

and in Aymara:

WAQUICHAÑA - Preparar, alistar, aderezar.²⁴
WAQUICHASIÑA²⁵ - Prepararse, alistarse, aderezarse.
(De Lucca 1983: p. 449 col. 1)

The three areas of meaning covered by the definitions of waki all have some relevance to the ritual. Taking the last meaning of ‘preparation’ or ‘getting ready’, waki, as performed in San Pablo, is always part of the preparation for some other ritual event: the llama marking ceremony; an offering for a mine; the departure of a llama caravan for the valleys; or the Day of the Dead celebration when a soul finally leaves the land of the living.

The remaining two fields of meaning, that of work done for mutual benefit and that of dividing or sharing, I see as somewhat related. An obvious application of the idea of working together, and one that is present in the definitions, is of working the land: sowing a plot of land by halves, or share cropping. The term waki is in fact used by Hardman (1988: 345) and by Carter and Albó (1988: 475) to signify sharecropping arrangements in Aymara speaking communities. Dividing the land, or its produce symmetrically is part of such an arrangement, and that which separates or divides, being

²² Excepting oneself, excluding oneself from the others. To become separated, passing over, or omitting the others. v. Enter or participate as a sharecropper in some business or work in which others have a share. (Waki + -cha, as above + pseudo reflexive -ku + infinitive -y. ‘To make oneself waki’).

²³ ‘Prepare oneself, get oneself ready.’ (Waki + causative verbal modal suffix -chi + pseudo reflexive -ku + infinitive -y. ‘To make oneself waki’).

²⁴ ‘Prepare, get ready, embellish.’ (Waki + causative verbal suffix -cha + nominalizing suffix -ña. ‘Making waki’).

²⁵ ‘Prepare oneself, get oneself ready.’ (As above, but including the reflexive suffix -si. ‘Making oneself waki’).

also, perhaps, that which is left over, is also part of the process. Although the Spanish term used in the Aymara dictionary, aparcería, translates as ‘share-cropping’, and the term mediero used in Lira’s Quechua dictionary translates as ‘share-cropper’, the arrangements to which they refer, where they are defined above, appear much more symmetrical than the usual understanding of the term – of an arrangement whereby a supplier of land receives from a supplier of labour a pre-arranged proportion of the output. Lira’s definitions in particular speak of an equal or egalitarian arrangement for mutual benefit. Carter and Albó write of an arrangement whereby one party supplies land, the other seed, both put in labour and the resulting produce is shared between them.

If we return to the ritual, and accept that the idea of working together on an egalitarian basis for mutual benefit is of some relevance, then it follows that the work done for the dead by the living, and the work done for the living by the dead can be considered of equal value. It is also apparent that while the dead receive help, which I am asserting on the basis of the testimony from people in San Pablo, this assistance takes the form of sustenance, of which liquids are the most important component, at the time of the ritual, the living expect help from the dead in return at some later time. As I have described above, this sort of formal reciprocal arrangement whereby one performs work for another person in the expectation that that person will return an equivalent amount of labour at a later date, is termed ayni in many areas of the Andes. Hence, it would appear that in doing waki, San Pableños are effectively entering into a relationship that is in some ways reminiscent of ayni with the dead. There is some support for this in Mayer’s work on reciprocity in the community of Tangor in the central Peruvian sierra. Mayer does not use the term ayni to refer to the exchange of work under conditions of generalised reciprocity, but acknowledges the use of this term in the Cuzco area, for an arrangement that he terms waje-waje (Mayer, 1974: 45-47). The notion of dividing or separating appears to also be related to that of equal shares and working together, and in the case of the ritual it may also be related to the notion of the separation of the living from the dead.

Anthropologists, linguists and historians working with Andean languages have a further source of lexical information, to which they frequently refer, that of the dictionaries of the Quechua and Aymara languages, compiled in the early colonial era, largely for the purposes of converting the Indian population of the Andes to the Christian religion. The two dictionaries from this era that are

most widely used by scholars today were compiled in the early years of the seventeenth century by two Jesuits, Father Diego González Holguín (Quechua) and Father Ludovico Bertonio (Aymara) both of whom can be considered as pioneers in the field of Andean linguistics. The two dictionaries were both published following many years of study by the two authors of their respective languages. These works form important sources of information about the meanings of Quechua and Aymara terms in the years following the Spanish invasion.

In the case of Quechua, in González Holguín's dictionary there is an emphasis on the idea of two things together:²⁶

HUAQUI o HUAQUILLA Dos Juntos. o *yanatillan* dos juntamente. o *yscay yscalla*, o *yscaynillan*.²⁷

HUAQUILLAN HUÑINACUNI Concertarse dos para hazer algo en conformidad y vnion²⁸

HUAQUIMANTA RURANI Hazer algo dos juntos igualmente y avna y conformes vno con otro.²⁹

(González Holguín 1952: p. 181 col. 2)

While in Aymara the emphasis is on sharing and merit or just deserts:

HUAQUE Parte, Porción, Precio. *Aycha huaque*; Porción de carne: *Ttanta huaque*: Parte de pan: *Tomina huaque*: Valor de un real: *Huaquetha*, *Lihuatha*³⁰

HUAQUECHATHA Dar vna parte.³¹

HAQUITHA Concertarse de hazer algo como es de ir a alguna parte, de beber juntos etc.³²

HUAQUISITHA Merecer, lo mismo que *huaquisitha*.

HUAQUISITHA, YATISITHA Tener obligación o serme lícito. Como el verbo precedente, y se pone en primera, segunda y tercera persona, según fuere la que tiene obligación, o aquella a quien es lícito.³³

²⁶ The spellings for *waki* used in the following definitions are those given in the seventeenth century dictionaries. *Huaqui* and *waki* have the same pronunciation.

²⁷ 'Two together, or *yanantillan*, two together, or *yscay yscalla*, or *yscaynillan*.' (*Waki* + limitative suffix *-lla*. 'Only *waki*').

²⁸ 'For two people to reach an agreement, to do something similarly and in association.' (*Waki* + *-lla* + universal comment suffix implying witness or affirmation. *Huñinakuniy* – to harmonise oneself or coordinate oneself).

²⁹ 'For two people to do something together equally, each in conformity with the other.' (*Waki* + nominal, case relational separative or ablative suffix ('from' or 'about')). *Ruray* (or *ruway*) to do or to make. 'To do from *waki*').

³⁰ 'Share, portion or price. *Aycha huaque*: portion of meat. *Ttanta huaque* a share of bread. *Tomina huaque*: value of a *real*: *Huaquetha*, *Lihuatha*.'

³¹ 'To give a share'. (*Waki* + causative verbal suffix *-cha* + verbal infinitive ending *-tha*. 'To make *waki*').

³² 'To harmonise with someone to do something, for instance, to go to somewhere or to drink together'. *Waki* + verbal infinitive).

³³ 'To have an obligation or make legal. Like the previous word it is used in the first, second or third person according to whoever has the obligation or is made legal.'

HUAQUESITHA Merecer. Como *Huaquesitha*, que está más arriba, y no es tan ordinario como este que aquí ponemos...³⁴

(Bertonio 1984: 148-149)

The term yanantin, or yanantillan, as González Holguín gives it, which includes the limitative suffix -lla, and which is given as a Quechua synonym for waki, has been discussed in depth by Platt, and denotes things that occur in pairs, such as eyes, or occur with an unequal symmetry, such as men and women. He explains the term in the following manner:

The term yanantin is made up of the stem yana- ('help-'; cf. yanapay, 'help') and in the termination -ntin: according to Solá (1978), -ntin is 'inclusive in nature, with implications of totality, spatial inclusion of one thing in another, or identification of two elements as members of the same category.' Yanantin can thus be strictly translated as 'helper and helped united to form a unique category.' But the gloss given by the Macha to the word is 'pair' (par) or 'man-and-woman' (qhariwarmi).
(Platt 1986; 245)

Perhaps, in the same way that the pair 'man-and woman' is yanantin, the living and the dead could be considered a pair with unequal symmetry that are also yanantin.

The Aymara definition given by Bertonio of 'share, portion or price' has been taken up by Platt (1988: 432-433; 1992a: 144), in two further articles, in which he comments on the use of the term to denote 'commercial profit' in documents of the nineteenth century. Although the notion of commercial profit may seem far removed from the ideas of symmetry and 'working together for mutual benefit', that I have discussed above, Platt takes Bertonio's definition of the term as 'share, portion or price' and argues that the term derives from the vocabulary of non-monetary redistribution (that is, redistribution by the different mechanisms of reciprocal exchange). He considers that its nineteenth-century semantic transformation suggests that in Andean thinking the redistribution of goods for monetary profit was still regarded as a legitimate and fair activity. He also draws attention to the term's meaning of 'that which is deserved', interpreting this as a portion earned as a result of some sort of collective work.

³⁴ To deserve. Like *huaquesitha*, which is defined above, and it is not so ordinary as that which we set down'

The idea of just rewards earned as a result of some sort of collaborative work returns us to the mechanism by which people carry out reciprocal work for one another in Lípez today, in which the helper earns his or her ‘portion’ or achura from the host, by collaborating in some task. This portion is in addition to any food and drink consumed during the course of the work. The early lexicon produced by Domingo de Santo Tomás seizes upon the most obvious definition, that of a portion of meat: the achura that I earned most often:

ACHURA Pieza de carne³⁵
(Santo Tomás 1951 [1560]: 230)

and the contemporary dictionary of Lira gives:

ACHURA Porción de pitanza o ración que uno elige cuando se hace una distribución amical.³⁶
(Lira 1941:27)

González Holguín’s dictionary offers many more general definitions of achura and variants of the word, where the emphasis is more on the idea of dividing and sharing. For instance:

ACHURARINI. Començarlo a repartir³⁷
ACHURAPAYANI. Dar mas parte, o mas vezes de lo que se deue a alguno.³⁸
ACHURA ACHURA. Las porciones o partes de la repartición.³⁹
ACHURAYOQ. El que tiene ya su parte.⁴⁰
(González Holguín 1952: 14)

This leads us to the idea that waki is the ritual whereby the dead receive their due part, payment, or ration, for the work they perform in helping the living. I would further suggest that reciprocal work is performed for achura in Lípez as a sort of compromise between ayni and monetary exchange.

This also throws more light on the workings of the informal mining sector of the seventeenth-

³⁵ ‘Piece of meat’.

³⁶ ‘Portion of the daily ration or allowance that one makes when an amicable distribution is made.

³⁷ ‘To start to distribute or share’. (Achura + inceptive suffix -ri + infinitive ending. ‘To start doing achura’).

³⁸ ‘To give extra, or, more often than is owed to someone’. (Achura + frequentative verbal modal suffix -paya + euphonic suffix -ni + verbal infinitive).

³⁹ ‘The portions or parts from a division or distribution.’

⁴⁰ ‘He who already has his part’. (Achura + possession suffix -yoq. ‘Achura owner’).

century, discussed in Chapter 3, and situates the work of the Indian mining workforce in both reciprocal and monetary domains. If we recall, Indian mineworkers would not stay in LÍpez unless they were allowed to carry off from the mine a piece of ore in addition to their daily wage (they would sell the pieces of ore to rescatiris who took it to the trapiches of Guaico Seco for refining). The piece of ore was their achura, their ‘just reward’ or daily ration, in addition to their pay (equivalent to the ‘food’ consumed while performing the task) for working in the mines, and without which they would not work.

The idea of waki as payment arises in the course of a published interview with a llama herder from the Atacama region of northern Chile, lying on the opposite side of the international frontier from the south-western corner of Sud LÍpez (Lagos *et al.* 1996). Here, a herder describes rituals which he terms ‘huaquis’ and describes as ‘payments to the earth’ (‘pago a la tierra’), but adds that on certain occasions ‘huaquis’ are directed to ‘the souls’ (‘las almas’), for instance on the occasion of the enfloramiento de llamas (llama marking ceremony) (*ibid.*: 120-121). The Chilean interview implies that ‘huaquis’ are paid in fulfilment of an almost legalistic ‘contract’ between the herder, the deities connected with the land and the dead.⁴¹ While there are both similarities and differences between the Chilean rituals and waki as it is performed in San Pablo, one point that is made clear in the interview is that the most important element of the ritual is the mixing of coca leaves with liquid (chicha, wine, blood or water) (*ibid.*) and as we have seen, the rituals I attended involved the placing of coca leaves in vessels containing chicha.

In summary, the lexical evidence, together with the testimony of people who perform waki in San Pablo de LÍpez, places the activity firmly in the field of reciprocal, work. I have further suggested that the nature of the reciprocal arrangement between the living and the dead in some ways resembles ayni, which I have outlined above in Mannheim’s terms as an arrangement between Runa, human beings, or Quechua speakers who live by the laws of reciprocity, as opposed to q’aras, mistis, or Spanish speakers, who do not. It also resembles the way in which people perform work for each other in LÍpez today, when they earn achura, or part of the result, or the product, of their labours.

⁴¹ Cf. The definition given in De Lucca’s contemporary Aymara dictionary for waki, which also hinges around the notion of contract or treaty.

7.7 Towards an Explanation of *Waki*: An Interpretation and Some Reservations.

I am satisfied that the relation between the living and the dead, as manifested in waki, is one of reciprocal labour and do not think that this goes very far beyond what people in San Pablo themselves articulate: their explanations involved both giving help to the dead and receiving help from them. It is also quite obvious that the living give help to the dead in the form of liquids to drink, which San Pableños stress as being important, and food to eat, which they do not stress so much, but which are also present in the ritual: the sugar, powdered milk, and two types of flour. These are the same foodstuffs that a newly dead person is given to take away from the land of the living along with his or her possessions, and which are burned in the ritual that takes place eight days after the funeral: at the 'eight days' ritual I described earlier, one of the tasks I was given was to sew little sacks out of cloth and fill them with the different kinds of flour, sugar and so on, so that they could be arranged in the cardboard house that my host's son Ruben had prepared, and which was destined for the bonfire of the dead person's possessions and miniature llamas. It is not so obvious, however, how the dead give help to the living. In this section I want to offer an interpretation, based on Peter Gose's work, but which goes beyond the explanations given by the people I have spoken to in San Pablo. I also want to offer my reservations about this sort of interpretive exercise. I did not come across Gose's work until I returned from the field, as it was only published at about the time I started my fieldwork, and so I did not get the opportunity to ask people in San Pablo directly if this is what they believe. Gilbert Lewis was more fortunate in that he was able to ask the Gnau of Papua New Guinea whether their penis-bleeding rituals were likened to menstruation, and received the answer 'no' (Lewis 1980: 2). I do not know what answer I would receive if I asked people directly about this explanation in San Pablo, but suspect that people would be tell me either that they do not know, or that they had not thought about it that way.

In his work on Huaquirca, Gose reports that the local population does ayni with the dead, not through waki, but through bringing contributions of alcohol to a funeral, which are handed over to the affines of the deceased for distribution to the assembled mourners, and which are recorded in a notebook. People in Huaquirca directly term this 'doing ayni with the alma', and also pour libations on the ground for the benefit of the dead person's soul. Gose has put together testimony from local

people with work on death by other anthropologists working in the Andean region, notably Catherine Allen (1988), Olivia Harris (1982) and Juvenal Casaverde (1970) to come up with a theory of how the dead give help to the living.

Starting with the testimony of people in Huaquirca, he describes how the soul (alma) of a newly dead person sets out on a journey westwards through a town of dogs, and across a river, the Map'a Mayo, which is sometimes crossed on the back of a black dog, or sometimes by means of a suspension bridge made from a cord.⁴² They then pass through a series of stages to the top of a mountain called Qoropuna, and enter the mountain following a judgement by either God or St. John the Baptist (Gose 1994: 125). Gose deduces that the almas must be of shrunken proportions because the river that they cross, the Map'a Mayo bears the name of a local river, which is a small but turbulent stream that poses no difficulty for the living, whereas for the dead it has expanded into a vast seething ocean. This he backs up with similar notions of the dead being miniature beings (Casaverde 1970: 208) or the land of the dead being a place of shrunken proportions (Harris 1982: 62-3). Similarly, the dead of San Pablo have a miniature houses constructed for them filled with tiny sacks of grain, and their possessions are carried away by miniature llamas. Gose further brings in the notion that the dead are desiccated with reference to Catherine Allen's work in which the ancestors are metaphorically likened to freeze dried potatoes (ch'uño) (Allen 1988: 172).

I cannot disagree with the observation that death is associated with desiccation in the Andes: this is quite obvious - corpses shrink and shrivel rather than rot away eaten by worms! However, from this Gose extrapolates to a hypothesis that the dead dry out in order to provide the living with water, and suggests that this is one reason why cremation is not widely practised in the Andes (Gose 1994: 129-30). He further postulates that water provides a cosmological link between the realm of death and agriculture, since, as the soul is desiccated by heat in the afterlife, its animating water is driven back into the land of the living where it is absorbed by plants (Gose 1994, 131). Other authors, such as Harris (1982) have noted the association of the rainy season with the souls of the dead. Returning to his observation that people in Huaquirca do ayni with the dead, it follows that, as repayment for the liquids in the form of alcohol that they receive at funerals, the dead provide water during the

⁴² There is likewise an association between the dead and dogs in San Pablo: at the ocho días ritual described earlier, Rubén Alejo had suggested slaughtering the dead woman's huge black dog to accompany the soul on its journey. I was quite relieved to see the animal still alive the following week.

rainy season. This returns him to the association between work and death that he has noted from fieldwork observations, which I mentioned in the discussion of reciprocity above, and he takes this further, with the hypothesis that the ‘work as death’ theme developed in relations of ayni with the living becomes a prelude to doing ayni with the dead (Gose 1994: 137).

It is tempting to apply Gose’s theories to the situation in San Pablo, where people likewise do something that resembles ayni with the almas, and where it fits in very neatly with my own observations. People in San Pablo say that they do waki because the souls are thirsty, and waki is performed in conjunction with other activities that could all be construed as requiring water: the llamas to be marked with ‘flowers’ require water since they need pasture to eat, the success of llama journeys of exchange ultimately depends on water since their purpose is to acquire agricultural produce, mining requires water, since minerals grow in the humid places in the earth – so the miner, don Reynaldo, told me – and the festival of Todos Santos takes place in November, when the rainy season is held to begin. The alternation of wet and dry elements in the ritual arrangement and the requirement to bring these elements together also brings to mind the alternation of the wet and dry seasons. I do not want to claim, however, that the people in San Pablo give drinks to the dead in order that the dead might give them water in return, since this goes far beyond their testimony, and, I suspect, beyond their knowledge. The people with whom I did waki, and made preparations for Todos Santos had quite vague ideas about the fate of the soul after death, frequently contradicted each other, and got into long discussions about it.

When I go back to San Pablo I will be able to ask people there whether they do waki in order that the dead give up water to help the living. I might receive a straight ‘yes’ or ‘no’ for an answer, but I could imagine someone like don Reynaldo, the miner, scratching his head pensively and saying something like ‘Well, it could be, it could be... I hadn’t really thought of it that way. What made you think of that?’. If people in San Pablo have not thought of it, then can we really propose it as an interpretation? If they have not thought of it that way, then exactly whose cosmology are we talking about? I therefore leave this interpretation as an open possibility, although one that admittedly has a lot going for it, which the reader can either take up or leave to one side.

7.8 *Waki* and Discourses of Identity in San Pablo.

In the preceding section I have set out my concerns about making interpretations of waki, and the cosmology of people in San Pablo, that go beyond the testimony of informants. I have less difficulty, however, in accepting that there is something expressive about ritual in general, and that participation in a ritual can be an expression or recognition that one is a certain kind of person: if not, one would not be performing the ritual. This returns us to the theme of discourses of identity or belonging in San Pablo.

I maintain that doing waki in San Pablo is particularly associated with belonging to that locality. Although I am certain that waki is not unique to San Pablo, and that similar rituals take place in other areas of the Bolivian highlands, and as we have seen in the llama-herding areas of northern Chile, it is not performed for just any dead, but for the dead of the locality: for dead family members and those that worked the land previously, and so have an intimate connection with the land of the area. This is obviously the case for the ritual I have described above, and my friend don Reynaldo, the miner, once told me that, in the context of a ch'alla for a mine, waki is performed for the benefit of those that worked the mine previously (los que trabajaban antes). The people who do waki in San Pablo are people of the area, and, unlike the case of civic rituals celebrating the nation-state, outsiders temporarily working in San Pablo generally do not attend (unless they happen to be anthropologists).

As I have stated previously, waki is performed on the eve of some larger festival or ritual, and it is generally true that the larger ritual too is an expression of belonging to the locality. In the case of Todos Santos, local music is performed throughout the various days of the festival, by men playing charangos and singing. During the festivities, reciprocity, manifested through communal work, becomes important in the acts of preparation for the festival and in doing ayni, or something that resembles it, with the dead through waki. I would postulate that for the duration of these activities, people prioritise reciprocity above market participation (literally in the case of some local men who had employment with the mining company, and who took more holiday than they were officially permitted), belonging to their locality above pertinence to the nation-state, and in short behave like the Runa: like the members of ayllu. The end of the festival is marked when the men put away their musical instruments on the last afternoon, and bring out their ghetto blasters, powered by car

batteries. The final night is then spent dancing to national, or even international Latin American music, as cumbia is blasted out into the cold night air in a sort of re-affirmation of belonging to the wider Bolivian nation. The dead are sent packing back to where they belong by this final musical gesture, as Harris describes at the end of the Laymi carnival (Harris, 1982: 58), but it also seems to me that at this moment people put aside something concerned with belonging only to San Pablo, and once again become the Bolivian citizens from a remote province who migrate to the cities in search of work, or are minor officials of the Bolivian government in the administration of that province. They do not entirely put aside the laws of reciprocity – one can still earn achura by helping to bake bread or helping to butcher an animal – but they give priority to ‘living from money’, that is, they cease to behave like Runa and ayllu members, and once again behave more like q’aras or mestizos.

As I have outlined above, the temptation was obviously present to interpret waki along the lines suggested by Victor Turner, or, perhaps, to see it as involving an act of rebellion, which serves ultimately to promote social unity in the manner described by Max Gluckman (Gluckman 1965: 259), but I had some residual dissatisfaction with the ideas of both authors. Firstly, going back to the idea of regulative rituals, I think waki could be understood as a regulative act, since it addresses the manner in which some larger ritual is performed. This, as I have already outlined, makes me inclined to see it more as part of practice. Secondly, although it is tempting to see waki either as a liminal period stressing the human bond between members of the former ayllu, or an act of rebellion against the forms of the Bolivian state, this model does not fit all the rituals that take place in San Pablo. San Pableños are at least as enthusiastic about attending Mass when the priest is in town, or shouting ‘¡Viva Bolivia!’, and ‘¡Gloria Sucre!’, affirming their membership of the Bolivian nation, between speeches at the celebration for Independence Day (see Chapter 8) as they are about doing waki. I think, however that there is a fundamental difference here, as in the cases I mention above, despite limited and directed acts of participation in these rituals, the ordinary woman or man of San Pablo is essentially watching a performance, either by the priest, or by the authorities of the town or province.

The idea of a fundamental difference between the sorts of ritual in San Pablo brings me to Abercrombie’s (1998) recent work. In rethinking some of the stances taken towards hybridisation and resistance that have been put forward by different writers on the Andean region, he rejects both

the notion of Andean religion being a complete syncretism of Andean and Christian beliefs in which one is not differentiated from the other, and also the notion of Christianity being a 'thin veneer' covering up older beliefs, such that an Andean peasant hears 'sun' when the priest says 'Christ' and 'Pachamama' when he says 'Virgin Mary' in an act of subversion of, or resistance to, the Christian message by its 'consumers' (de Certeau 1984: xiii). Abercrombie recognises both that many Andeans are sincere in their profession of Christian beliefs, and that they recognise a difference between 'more Andean' and 'more Christian' religious practices, although the qualities of 'Christian' and 'Andean' deities have to a great extent interpenetrated each other. He sees religious practices as existing along a continuum from 'more Andean' to 'more Christian' which also correspond to 'more public' and 'more private' or 'clandestine' performance contexts (Abercrombie 1998: 110-113).

I am largely in agreement with Abercrombie's views here, but, not wishing to distinguish secular from religious ritual would lump the civic rituals of San Pablo together with the 'more Christian' category as rituals that take place in a public context, as contrasted with waki and similar events that are organised by individual families and take place in private. Nevertheless, I feel that Abercrombie's categorisation misses one feature that for me formed the most obvious distinction between the two types. This concerns the degree of participation in the ritual that the ordinary woman or man experiences, and I base this on my experience participating in rituals in San Pablo. When the priest comes to say Mass, or when the town authorities celebrate a civic event, most of the populace forms an audience watching a performance: some participation occurs, the congregation in church sings hymns, and some members receive the sacrament, and in a civic event they join in with the singing of the national anthem, in between listening to the speeches given by the various town authorities, but the ordinary man or woman of San Pablo is a consumer of the event, in the sense that someone watching television is a consumer, and not a producer, as de Certeau would have it (de Certeau 1984: xii-xiii). In the 'more Andean' type rituals, however, those attending do so in order to work, or to help a friend or family member. I became aware of this at the ocho dias ritual described above, when doña Victoria kept giving me jobs to do: in addition to making sacks for the soul's food, I also helped to butcher the llamas that were to be eaten (earning my achura, of course), and had to go to the river to help wash those clothes belonging to the dead woman that were not

going to be burned. I found myself wondering if in doing all this work I was going to miss some important part of the proceedings, but while washing the clothes, I came to realise instead that at that point I was the ritual, or that I was producing it. I would therefore propose as a preliminary model that 'more Andean' and 'more private' rituals are also 'more participatory' or involve 'production' while those that are 'more Christian' and 'more public' involve 'consumption'.

In considering production and consumption, de Certeau distinguishes strategies from tactics, where strategies are deployed by subjects of will and power (the examples he gives are: a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution), all of which could be glossed together as 'producers', and serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it. Tactics, on the other hand, are 'procedures of consumption' or ways of operating deployed by users, another production that involves ways of using the products imposed by a dominant order. These involve the opportunities that are seized, and can include resistance and subversion: de Certeau gives the example of factory workers using the firm's machinery in work time to do their own projects (he calls this *La Perruque*. In the Essex factory where I was an engineer, it was common knowledge that on Saturday morning the workshops would be full of parts being machined for people's cars: 'Saturday morning jobs') (de Certeau 1984: 24-28).

Bell terms ritualization a strategy, and in the case of San Pablitos performing waki, ritualization is a strategy that makes them producers. During the ritualized practices of the Catholic Church the ordinary people of San Pablo are consumers, during the Mass, literally, of a eucharistic meal, and they deploy tactics of resistance when they snigger behind the priest's back, or express consent when he charges them not to drink too much during their celebrations, while knowing that they will most likely drink until they can no longer stand. When the ordinary people of San Pablo become the producers of their own rituals, then perhaps tactics of resistance are deployed more by the young people who have had a lot of contact with Bolivia's towns, and identify more with the popular culture of the nation rather than the practices of their parents. It is these young people who hold parties with ghetto blasters during Todos Santos and Carnival, when local music should be played. In general, though, it could be said that being producers is associated with having in accordance with the values of the old ayllu, while being consumers is what is involved in being a citizen of the nation-state.

7.9 Conclusions

The testimony of people in San Pablo and the lexical information I have cited point towards the relation between the living and the dead, as enacted in waki, to be a symmetrical and quite personal reciprocal relation, reminiscent of ayni, but also of the way in which people receive fair payment for working for one another: by earning achura. The dead are given food and drink by the living, the ‘products’ of their labour (even if they happen to have been bought with the money earned in cash-paid employment), and in return the living receive help from the dead in their various activities.

I have deliberately left it open for the reader to decide whether or not to adopt the idea that doing ayni with the dead is specifically connected with the dead drying out, and giving water to the living in the rainy season. It is quite possible, and fits very neatly with my observations, and with the ritual arrangement of objects used in waki, but I have not heard anyone say that this is the case. In expressing my reservations about adopting this explanation, I do not intend any criticism of Peter Gose’s work, which I like, and find at different points informative, challenging and subversive: he has done what anthropologists are in the business of doing, which is making an informed guess based on the testimony of his informants and the writings of other anthropologists who have worked in the area. It is perfectly clear from Gose’s writing which part is testimony, which is the work of other anthropologists, and which part is his own hypothesis. My reservations are more about applying somebody else’s informed guess to another community many hundreds of miles away, which seems tantamount to inventing a cosmology for them.

I have made a connection between rituals such as waki, which take place within the family and involve reciprocity, and the now replaced form of social organisation, the ayllu, contrasting it with that of the nation-state. If you like, this is my hypothesis, my informed guess, but I do not think it is too much of a leap in the dark beyond the testimony of San Pableños themselves would say, and is based on my observations of what was going on and the ways in which people act. I end this chapter with a preliminary proposition that, when people assert their belonging to the locality, and behave like members of an ayllu, they are the producers of their own rituals, while, when they behave like national citizens, apart from the few who hold positions of authority who orchestrate events, they

become the consumers of the rituals of other people. This proposition is taken up and expanded in the chapter that follows.

Chapter 8. Producing Locality in San Pablo: The Festivities for Independence Day and Carnival

8.1 Introduction: Producing the Locality and Consuming the Nation?

Following a discussion of waki, a ritual that involves reciprocity between the living and the dead, I ended the preceding chapter with some thoughts on rituals of the locality and rituals of the nation-state in San Pablo. This is the theme that this chapter picks up in taking a more detailed look at one celebration that is primarily concerned with the nation-state, Independence Day, and another celebration, Carnival, which, although important throughout the Bolivian nation, is celebrated in distinctly local styles in different areas of the country, including San Pablo, where it is emphatically, at least at first sight, a celebration that belongs to the people rather than to any outside entity such as church or state.

To recap my preliminary conclusions from the previous chapter, following Bell (1992) I considered ritualization as a strategy, and in the case of rituals of the locality, such as waki, or those associated with the Carnival celebrations I shall describe below, I suggested that it is a strategy that, using de Certeau's (1984: xii-xiii) terminology, makes its participants *producers*, meaning that they generate the ritual actions themselves, rather than form an audience or carry out specific actions in which they are directed by others, as happens during rituals of the nation-state and of the Catholic Church, when they become *consumers*. I further suggested that being producers in rituals of the locality carries the association of behaving in accordance with Andean values, or more specifically with the values of the ayllu that once organised the population of the area, while being consumers is what is involved in being a citizen of the nation-state. One of the aims of this chapter is to attempt to determine the extent to which this production/consumption metaphor holds true for the two celebrations to be discussed.

In the previous chapter I did not state exactly what San Pableños might produce through their rituals, other than the rituals themselves. Bell (1992) considers one of the purposes of ritual in general to be the production of ritualized bodies, and, thinking along similar lines, Appadurai (1995:205), takes as a preliminary stance the idea that rites of passage, in particular, are concerned with the production of what he terms '*local subjects*, actors who belong to a situated community of

kin, neighbours friends and enemies'. Taking his argument a stage further, he looks at a broad range of anthropological writings on ritual in small-scale societies, and asks whether this body of literature, covering such subjects as naming places, protecting fields, marking animals, marking the seasons and so on, is not in effect a literature that documents the socialization of space and time, or, in other words, is concerned with the spatio-temporal production of something he terms *locality* (*ibid*: 206). He considers that both social actors themselves and ethnographers misrecognise (Bourdieu 1977: 5-6) the purpose of ritual actions as humdrum and discrete – marking boundaries, naming children, greeting people, etc. – when in fact their governing telos is the production of locality, a quality that most ethnographers have tended to take as background rather than figure (Appadurai 1995: 207).

Appadurai makes a definitional distinction between the terms locality and neighbourhood. He uses the term neighbourhood to refer to situated communities characterized by their actuality and by their potential for social reproduction. Locality, on the other hand, he views as a complex phenomenological quality that is primarily relational and contextual, rather than quantifiable or spatial. It is concerned with a sense of social immediacy and interactivity, is expressed in certain kinds of agency and social interaction (*ibid*: 204), and is 'a structure of feeling which is produced by particular forms of intentional activity and which yields particular sorts of material results' (*ibid*: 208). In this respect, Appadurai's locality is partly synonymous both with sociality and identity, and it is this phenomenological quality that is produced by ritual. Locality and neighbourhood are related, in that neighbourhoods are the existing social forms in which locality is realized.¹

Neighbourhoods do not exist in isolation, but are historically grounded and contextual. A neighbourhood may be defined by its members in opposition to physical features of the landscape – forest, mountain, sea or swamp – but also socially in relation to other neighbourhoods: that is, it is always produced from, against, in spite of, and in relation to something else, or is grounded in environmental and social contexts.² This, however, returns us to the familiar dilemma of contexts: just as context can be viewed as both constructive of, and constructed by, texts (Howard-Malverde

¹ Similar ideas have been proposed by de Certeau, who defines *space* as a *practiced place*, produced by the operations that orient and situate it (de Certeau 1984: 117) and by Merleau-Ponty who differentiates *geometrical space* from *anthropological space*, determined by the phenomenology of existing in the world (Merleau-Ponty 1976: 3324-344). While Appadurai's *locality* resembles Merleau-Ponty's *anthropological space*, in being a phenomenological quality, his *neighbourhood* resembles de Certeau's *space*, in that it combines a geographical area with the social forms that exist in it.

² Appadurai uses the term *ethnoscape*, a landscape of peoples, in order to get away from the idea of 'cultures' as fixed, spatially bounded or homogeneous entities. Although he implies that this concept is particularly salient in view of contemporary global migrations and minglings of peoples, he also notes that neighbourhoods are always to some degree ethnoscares, since they involve the ethnic projects of others as well as the consciousness of such projects (Appadurai 1995: 208).

1997: 6) or both constitutive of, and the outcome of, social action (Dilley 1999: 18), so neighbourhoods are contexts, but at the same time both require and produce contexts (Appadurai 1995: 209). They provide the frame within which various kinds of social action take place, are also produced and imagined against some sort of ground, and at the same time generate the contexts in which they encounter other entities.

Appadurai regards the production of localities as always being context-generative to some extent, but notes that this extent is largely determined by the relationships that prevail between the contexts that neighbourhoods create and those they encounter, where questions of power and scale are salient (Appadurai 1995: 211). This brings us to the question of localities and nation-states, upon which Appadurai comments that while the localities of small-scale societies are still in a position to produce contexts within their own neighbourhoods, they are increasingly prisoners in the context-generating activities of the nation-state, which make their own efforts to produce locality seem feeble and doomed. Thus, the capability of neighbourhoods to produce contexts and local subjects is profoundly affected by the locality-producing capabilities of large-scale social formations to determine the general shape of all neighbourhoods within the reach of their powers (*ibid.*).

This - from the point of view small-scale societies – rather bleak view of relations between neighbourhoods and nations states is congruent with the ideas I put forward in the previous chapter, that people in San Pablo are producers when they perform the rituals of their locality, or rather, the rituals through which their locality is produced, while they are consumers of the ritual of the nation-state, imposed from without in the state's efforts to generate in its interior a homogeneous space in which people are mapped onto discrete and contiguous territories. However, my feeling is that there may be limits to the applicability of this model in the case of San Pablo: it does not rule out the possibility of employing tactics of resistance (de Certeau 1984: 24-28) and San Pableños do snigger behind the priest's back in church, or sometimes do not bother to attend ceremonies that commemorate the nation, or only attend those parts of them that they regard as relevant or interesting, but it does seem to rule out anything involving a greater degree of agency.

One possibility that I wish to explore in what follows is whether the people of San Pablo, through their rituals, create a locality that not only takes as its model the values of the old ayllu, but that also incorporates belonging to the nation in a 'creative' way that does not deny or ignore local values. This sort of approach would seem to fit more with my observations of peoples' ambivalence

between affiliations to the locality and the nation-state, while apparently not experiencing much contradiction between the two, than does a more straightforward model of domination and resistance.

In this chapter, I shall start by taking a look at Independence Day celebrations in San Pablo. Following a brief discussion of Independence Day in Bolivia as a whole, I move on to an ethnographic description of the 1995 festival, and then to a discussion of its events. In the latter part of the chapter, I move on to discuss Carnival, first as it is celebrated in Bolivia's cities, and then through an account of the festival that took place in San Pablo in February 1996. This is followed by a discussion first of ritual behaviour during Carnival and then by a more general discussion on the production of locality in San Pablo.

8.2 Independence Day

City people in Bolivia usually refer to their Independence Day celebrations by the title 'Fiestas Patrias' (Festivals of the Fatherland). These take place each year on 6th August of each year. In 1989, on my first ever day in Bolivia, I witnessed the celebrations in La Paz, where almost every house was adorned by the red, yellow and green colours of the Bolivian flag, where military parades were taking place, and a cavalcade of motorcycles drove past me escorting the then newly elected Jaime Paz Zamorra to take up presidential office. No doubt hundreds of patriotic speeches were being made throughout the city, and thousands of schoolchildren were singing anthems and reciting poems in praise of the heroes of independence, but I was not aware of this at the time, nor did I realise that householders caught not displaying the national flag were liable to be fined by the authorities.

Independence Day commemorates the founding of the Bolivian nation in 1825, when its lands became the last of the mainland South American dominions to achieve independence from Spain. The overthrow of the colonial regime was a criollo³ project, based firmly in liberal ideas imported from Europe (Pagden 1990: 133-153). It did not greatly involve the Indian masses, although there had been widespread Indian uprisings in the Andean region less than 50 years before: these, however, had alarmed the American-born white elite just as much as they had the colonial rulers.⁴ The heroes

³ That is, a project of the (classificatory) white elite, born in the Americas. I use the Spanish term 'criollo' here rather than the English 'creole' since this has different connotations.

⁴ A large part of the Andean region was rocked by Indian revolts in the years 1780-1782. Although the most widely known rebel leader, José Gabriel Tupac Amaru Inca, who sought to unite non-Spaniards under a banner of neo-Inca nationalism, was based in the Cuzco area of what is now Peru, other rebels were from the territory that forms present-day Bolivia: Tomás Katari from Macha in northern Potosí led a rebellion in 1777, and Julian

of Independence, then, were also criollos: the ‘Liberator’, Simón Bolívar, born in Caracas in present-day Venezuela, who gave his name to the new republic; Antonio José de Sucre, who became the first president of Bolivia, also from Venezuela; and the only home-grown hero of independence, Bolivia’s second president, Andrés de Santa Cruz, from the city of La Paz.

As well as the glories of the achievement of independence, Independence Day is also an occasion on which affronts to the Bolivian nation are remembered. Bolivia as a nation has never enjoyed much in the way of military success: it has lost territory to all of its neighbours, and its army’s only notable success was in the campaign against the handful of guerrillas led by Che Guevara in the 1960s, a campaign largely orchestrated by the United States (Dunkerley 1984: 147). Particularly poignant to Bolivians is the loss of the Litoral province to Chile in the War of the Pacific in 1879, which left the country without an outlet to the sea. Bolivian patriotism seemingly always includes some reminder of this loss, and the affirmation that the lost territories will be reclaimed. Despite the recent amendments to the constitution, which included the declaration that Bolivia is a multi-ethnic and pluri-cultural nation (see chapter 4 of this thesis), Independence Day is not an occasion on which the middle-class city population remembers to any great extent the Indian population of the Bolivian countryside (and, increasingly of its cities), or only does so in the form of sanitized representations of Indians in carefully orchestrated dances performed by whites and mestizos. By donning the costumes of ‘Indians’ for a performance, these make it abundantly clear that ‘Indians’ is exactly what they are not.

8.2.1 The August Celebrations in San Pablo

While ceremonies do take place in San Pablo that mark Independence Day in ways that are not dissimilar from those in the cities, the celebration that takes place there needs to be viewed in a wider context. Independence Day in San Pablo forms part, and the culmination, of a longer celebration at the beginning of August, which is generally known simply as ‘agosto’ (‘August’) and is not just a celebration of the nation. On the eve of 1st August, rituals are enacted that recognise the landscape as animated, when individual households make ch’alla, or libations, for their prosperity in the year to come.⁵ Throughout the Andes, August is a month associated with the forces of the landscape, away

Apaza, who became known as Tupac Katari, an Aymara speaker, laid siege to the Spanish city of La Paz in 1781 (see, for example, Stern (ed.) 1987. Although the name ‘Katari’ has been taken up by indigenous, and especially Aymara movements in Bolivia, I have not heard the names of these leaders invoked during Independence Day celebrations.

⁵ I have described the events of a ch’alla that took place for the 1st August in the Buena Vista mine in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

from the areas of human habitation (and cultivation in more hospitable regions): with the animate earth⁶ and with ‘devils’ that are synonymous with mountain spirits. The first of the month is particularly powerful. This is the day that the earth opens (‘la tierra se abre’), when everything is alive and all the things of the earth ‘must have power’.⁷ It is not just humans, animals and plants that are animated, but the rocks, springs and mineral veins and everything that we would normally consider inanimate.⁸ On this day one is not supposed to work the ground, disturb anything that grows in the earth, or gather firewood (which around San Pablo means uprooting shrubs), and any small cut sustained at this time will become infected.

While 1st August and its eve seem to belong firmly to an Andean order of things, and the relation of people to the land and to features of the landscape, the presence of the state intervenes on the following day, which is known as the ‘Día del Campesino’ (‘Day of the peasant’),⁹ a holiday in the official Bolivian calendar. In San Pablo, the presence of the state should be even more apparent on this day than in other places, as this also marks the founding of San Pablo canton, and so is a date that affirms the pertinence of people to the local administrative unit of the Bolivian state, mapping them onto their assigned territory. Celebrations for Independence Day start on the evening of the fifth, the main civic commemoration takes place on the sixth, and the event is brought to a close on the seventh. The Independence Day celebration in San Pablo is the responsibility of the town authorities, and a Festivities Committee is established to organise the event: in 1995 this committee comprised the subprefecto, the alcalde (mayor), the corregidor (magistrate), the commander of the military post, the auxiliary nurse, and two community members without special office. The provision of festive meals is financed by contributions from the households of the locality.

8.2.2 The August Celebration of 1995

In 1995 the Festivities Committee produced a programme for the events of the August celebration, which were due to start on 1st August, the eve of the anniversary of the province. This programme is reproduced in the Appendix. I did not arrive in San Pablo until the evening of that day, as I had been walking back from the neighbouring community of Pululus, and arrived late after

⁶ See Chapter 6 Section 6.3.1 for a discussion of female earth divinities in the Andean region. See also Howard Malverde (1995).

⁷ ‘... deben tener poder’. The quotes used here are taken from a conversation I had with don Alejo shortly after I arrived in San Pablo.

⁸ See also Gow and Condori (1982: 13-14) for a description of 1st August in a Peruvian Quechua-speaking community, and also Chapter 9 Section 9.5.1.a of this thesis.

⁹ Before the National Revolution of 1952, it was known as the ‘Día del indio’ (‘Day of the Indian’).

getting a bit lost crossing the range of hills that separates the valley of the Río San Pablo from the flat sandy expanse of Pululus pampa. I did, however, reach the town by early evening, and found the Alejo family in the kitchen, eating their evening meal as usual, with no hint that a grand procession ('Gran Desfile') was supposed to be happening or was about to happen. In fact, none of the events programmed for either 1st or 2nd August took place to my knowledge, and I recorded in my diary that the Día del Campesino 'never really happened'.

That the town authorities produced a programme listing events that did not take place, or that took place in a different order, or at completely different times from those listed was not unusual in San Pablo, as I was to find: at later dates, programmes for both Todos Santos and Carnival were posted around the village, and were completely ignored by the populace. Many of the events they listed were in fact private household affairs, were celebrations of the community, or had private sponsors, and the town authorities were not particularly involved with them (except as private individuals). As an ethnographer, I found these programmes useful at times, as they listed things that at least some of the local people thought ought to happen, or, at times, listed things that used to happen, and they provided a good lead into conversations about what really was taking place. It was tempting sometimes to think at some of the private or communal festivals that the apparent lateness of some of the events, according to the programme, or the complete absence of programmed items, could have been a comment by San Pableños that the celebrations had really nothing to do with those holding public office.

My main memory of the days leading up to Independence Day in 1995 is of doña Teodora's efforts to make costumes for Silvia and Juan Carlos to wear in the school performance, scheduled, according to the programme for 5 p.m. on 6th August, but which actually took place on the evening of 5th August. For what seemed like weeks, but was probably just days, whenever we went out herding together Silvia had been singing the songs to which her class were to dance. Her mother had asked me for the loan of my wide-brimmed hat as part of her costume, and had also asked me to save silver paper to make moons and stars to stitch onto Juan Carlos's jacket. The school performance is taken seriously, and parents go to considerable efforts to make sure their children are suitably attired: two years later I helped doña Concha to make papier maché animal heads for her children, and had seen don Reynaldo at Buena Vista busy with his sewing machine making costumes for his younger boys.

8.2.2.a The Eve of Independence Day

On the evening of 5th August, at about 8 p.m. the whole town assembled at the top of the grandly named Calle Bolívar, the track that leads past one wall of the Alejo's family compound towards the town's central square. There, the townspeople arranged themselves for a torch-lit procession that was to parade through the village streets. The town and provincial authorities were to head the procession, followed by the schoolchildren, the men, and finally the women of the community. Light was provided by torches made from tin cans, mounted on poles, with wicks of rags soaked in paraffin, and musical accompaniment was provided by the pan-pipe (zampoña) band, which features prominently in the printed programme, probably because the corregidor, who typed the programme, was also one of the musicians. I busied myself while we were waiting by tape-recording some of the pan-pipe tunes. The music played on zampoñas is similar in all the Lípez communities I have visited, and it does not seem to be associated with any particular time of year or festivity, unlike, for instance, flutes with carnival, or charangos with Todos Santos, but is used whenever music is required for civic occasions. Some, like don Reynaldo, the miner, would prefer the community to have instead a brass band, such as would play on civic occasions in Bolivia's larger towns and cities.

We paraded around the town (I tagged onto the end of the group of women) doing several circuits of the main streets, before finally coming to a halt in the civic theatre, a long, low building by the basketball pitch. The band played for a while as we gathered in the theatre, but was silenced as we were ushered into rows of seats and prepared to watch the children's performance. The school performance is orchestrated not by any of the regular members of the community, but by some of the schoolteachers, and on this occasion mainly by a married couple, don Abel and doña Severina, the teachers I have already mentioned in Chapter 5, who made a particular effort to enter into the life of San Pablo.

On this occasion the performance by the schoolchildren clearly gave a view of Bolivia that was orchestrated by outsiders to the community, but which was, at the same time, understood and appreciated by all. Some groups of children sang patriotic songs, while older boys gave grossly over-acted recitals of poems that related the heroic acts of the struggle for liberation from Spain. One group of children sang to accompany a stand-in teacher, a local boy called Guido, who strummed a hopelessly out of tune guitar. But most were involved in one or more dances. It was the costumes for these dances that had been the focus of all doña Teodora's attention, inventiveness and worry over the



Plate 18. Silvia dancing in the school's Independence Day production

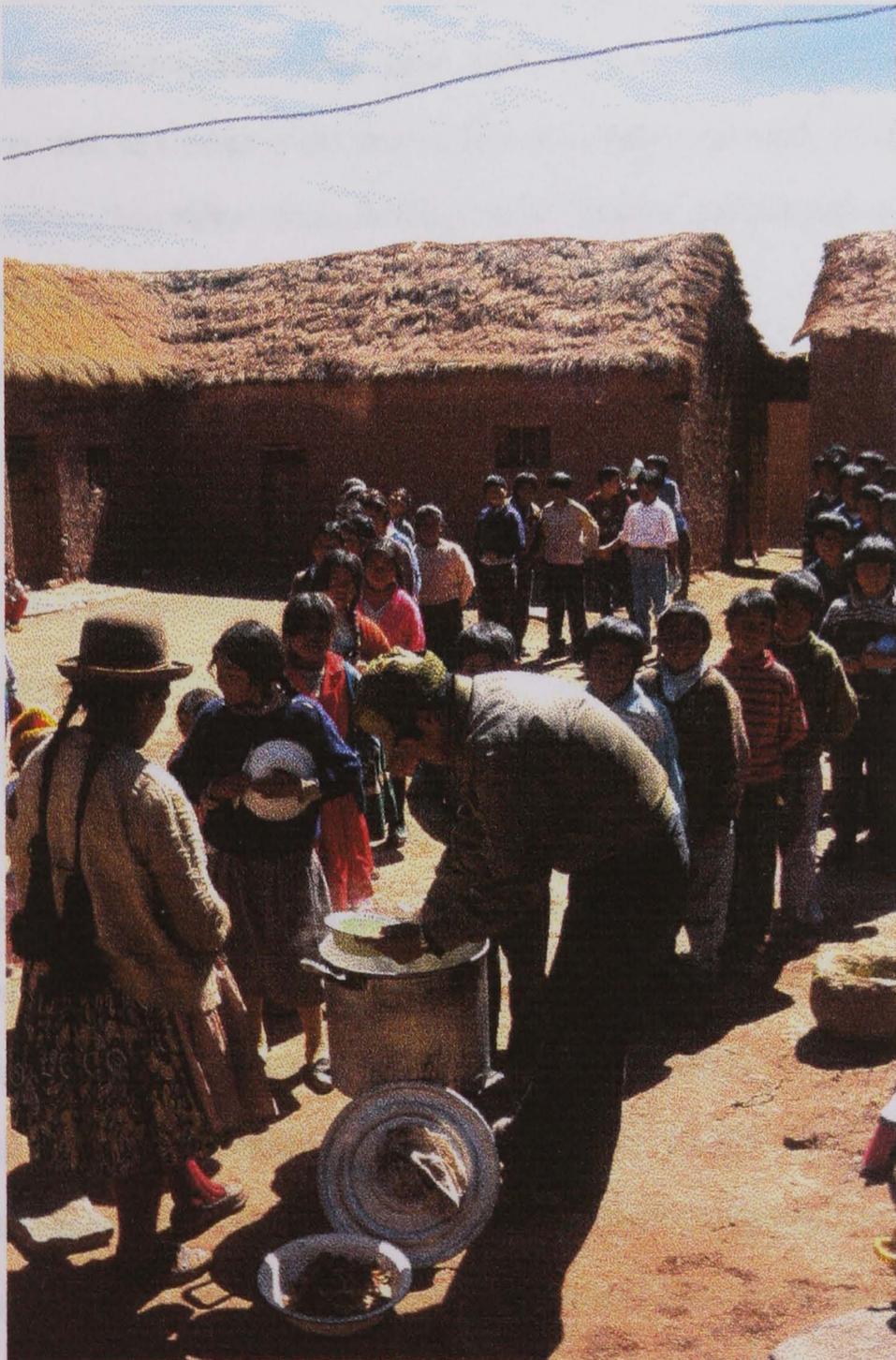


Plate 19. Independence Day breakfast for the schoolchildren

preceding days. Undoubtedly, the teachers had internalised government rhetoric about Bolivia as a pluri-cultural and multi-ethnic state, for the children were dressed in the costumes of the people associated with the different areas of Bolivia's national territory, and, most prominently, many of the boys, including young Juan Carlos, were attired in sandals, white trousers and ch'ullu (knitted hats with earflaps) to represent the ayllu of northern Potosí and danced to tinku rhythms. Many of the girls, including Silvia, wore the wide-brimmed hats and colourful skirts associated with the valleys of Tarija. None of the dances, however, featured llama herders from Sud Lípez.

My photographs of the event, taken mainly to provide souvenirs for the Alejo family, caused confusion when I showed them to friends, including other anthropologists, back in Sucre and Potosí, as photography made the costumes appear less makeshift than they really were. It took some doing to explain that the peasants I worked with did not wear homespun, and in the photographs they were wearing costumes in order to represent 'Indians' and peasants from other parts of Bolivia. That the children had to dress up in order to represent 'Indians' and peasants, as with the mestizos and whites who don 'Indian' costumes to dance in the cities, implicitly denies that this is what they are in their normal daily lives, and, as a result of the dances, Bolivia's Indian and rural groups were produced as 'other' to the people of San Pablo. Nevertheless, it is as 'Indians' and peasants that they are most likely to be understood by visitors to the area.

The children's costumes did not only represent groups of 'Indians' and peasants – one group of older boys dressed up in wigs, with cardboard cut-out guitars in a take-off of Bolivia's most famous (within Latin America) musical group, 'Los Kjarkas', the boys in question were obviously having a great time, and the joke was also enjoyed greatly by an audience accustomed to listen to taped music in the home on battery-powered ghetto blasters.

I have to admit that I tired of the schoolchildren's presentation long before the rest of the audience: after all, the parents present were watching their own children. We must have entered the theatre at about 10 p.m., but did not leave until after midnight, by which time we were shivering in our seats with the cold. Then, the zampofia band struck up once more, and we made our way to the plaza, where the authorities had placed t'ula (brushwood) for bonfires. For the next few hours (well, I only lasted until about half past three) we danced around the fire to the music of the band, and were passed strong alcoholic beverages provided by the authorities (the subprefecto, who belonged to an evangelical Protestant sect, and so did not drink, kept out of the way for this part of the celebration).

This seemed to me, in the naivety of the early days of my fieldwork, to be much more the sort of thing that Andean people should be doing than had the performance in the theatre. As a relative newcomer to the town, I was in high demand as a dancing partner, and was by no means short of drink, but the night was so cold that, when I did decide to call it a day, I thought I would never get warm again. Nevertheless, many comunarios had more stamina than me, and stayed up drinking until daybreak, which was, of course, the correct course of action to take: the following day, people would ask each other ‘Did you see in the dawn?’ (‘¿Has amanecido?’), a reply in the affirmative indicating that the person in question had been dancing and drinking all night.

8.2.2.b Independence Day

The following morning a good proportion of the men, and some of the women, of San Pablo were nursing hangovers. I am sure that the soldiers of the military post did fire their rifles to salute the dawn, and that someone must have let off some dynamite, as the programme stipulates, but most had fallen by the wayside by that time, and I was not yet awake. For those feeling up to it, a breakfast was provided by the authorities, of bread and sickly sweet coffee, in the compound of Lucho and Modesta’s house, but most of the takers were school-children. Although a civic event was programmed for the morning, this was taken up entirely with the preparation of a ‘patriotic altar’ in the plaza: the Bolivian flag was pinned to the wall of the church and in front of it, on a table, portraits of the heroes of Bolivian independence, Bolívar and Sucre, were arranged. A public address system was also set up, powered from car batteries, and throughout the morning there were intermittent bursts of music from the indefatigable zampoña band.

The authorities provided a communal lunch of soup and roast meat in the compound of the corregimiento (the corregidor’s office). Then, in the afternoon, the main civic ceremony of commemoration got underway. The town and provincial authorities lined up behind the table, and the men and women of the community assembled in front of it, men to the right hand side, and women to the left. For the next two or three hours we were to listen to a succession of speeches in praise of the nation from the authorities, and a repeat performance of some of the more patriotic songs and over-dramatised poems from the schoolchildren. We were also called on to sing the national anthem (one of my main memories is of the tone-deaf head teacher, who insisted on singing into the microphone), and to respond with ‘Viva’ or ‘Gloria’ as appropriate, as each speaker drew his (all the speakers were

men) speech to a close with the rallying cries of '¡Viva Bolivia!', '¡Gloria Sucre!' and '¡Gloria Santa Cruz!'. I did not record the speeches, and so cannot reproduce their exact words, but their flavour can be guessed by reading those recorded at a similar Independence Day ceremony in Peru by Harvey (1997: 28-29). They contained ample references to the heroes of independence, their deeds and achievements, and to the municipality of San Pablo and of Sud Lípez province as units in the organisation of the Bolivian state.

By the time the speeches drew to a close, clouds had gathered in the sky, and a number of the women were muttering that it looked like rain or snow. It had also turned cold once more. We were warmed up, however, by a spell of marching around the plaza, once again to the music of the ever-present zampoña band. By this time, the drinking of the previous night having continued sporadically through the morning, Pedro, the sub-lieutenant and temporary commander of the military post, was so drunk that he could hardly stand as he led his conscripts across the plaza to the great amusement of the group of women. All had to join in the parade at some point, conscripts, schoolchildren, men, women, visiting engineers from the mining company, and I was encouraged to march along with the women's group (although I always had the feeling at this sort of event that the authorities did not really know how to classify me).

As these events were drawing to a close, I was taken aside by the administrator of the mining company, who told me that his colleagues were about to hold their own barbecue, to which I was invited, but was not to mention to anyone else. This clandestine feast took place in the courtyard of the subprefectura, which the company had occupied, away from the eyes of most of the comunarios. A select few local people had been invited to join the engineers, those considered to be most important by the outsiders, and there was plenty of roast meat and bottles of beer for all. In spite of the engineers' precautions, the feast was hardly secret, after all some of the preparations had been made by Hortensia, the local girl who was the company's cook, so it was no surprise when it was gate-crashed by the zampoña band who were still playing heartily. However, the intentions of the geologists were clear: to celebrate the Independence of their criollo Bolivia apart from the company of those they saw as 'Indians' or peasants, even if these people did not exactly see themselves as such. Some celebrations continued the following day: we were offered breakfast once more, but this time by the military post, and later in the day there were some football matches, and an exhibition of the children's handicrafts.

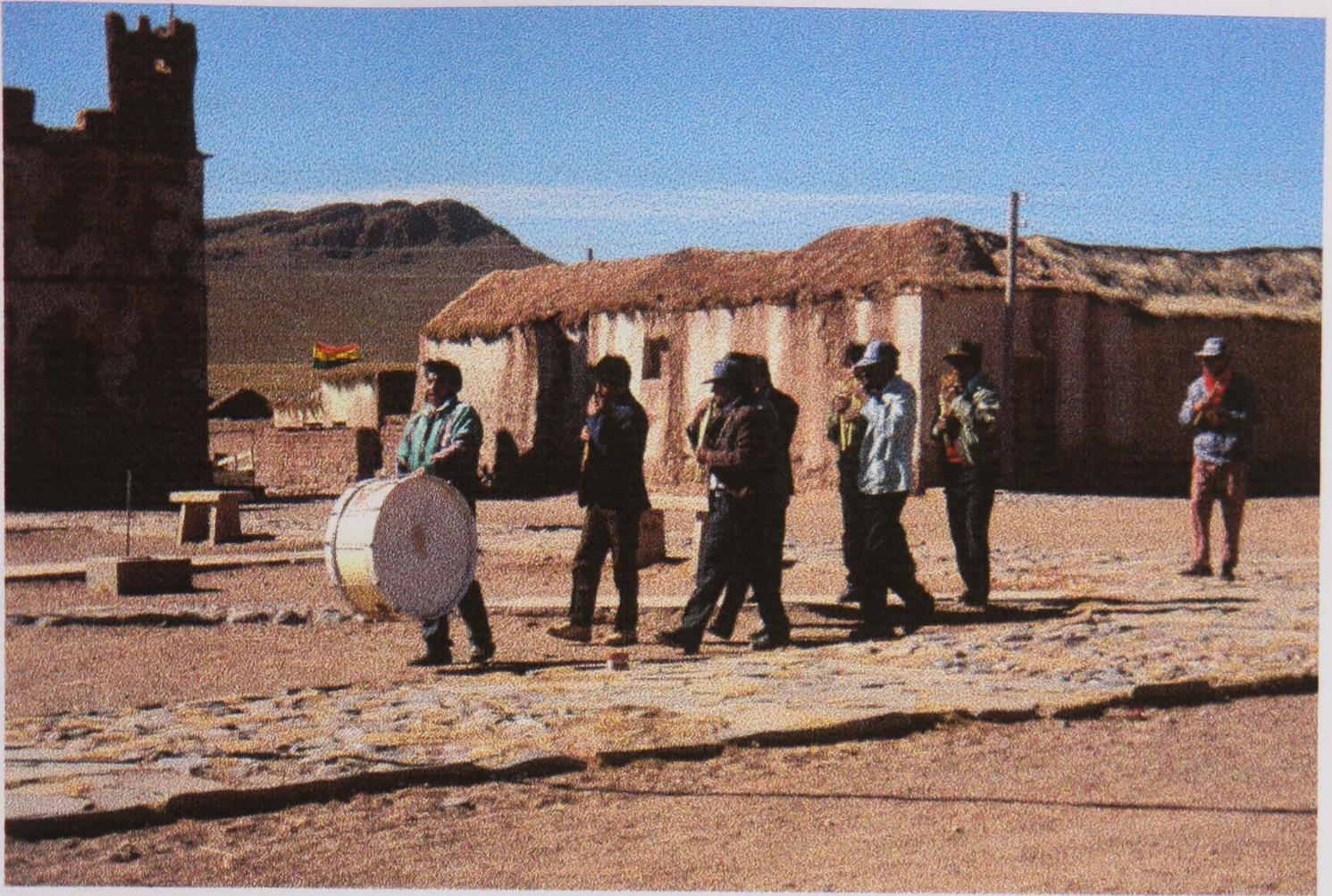


Plate 20. The zampoña band playing for Independence Day



Plate 21. Listening to Independence Day speeches in the plaza

8.2.3 Discussion

Taken in isolation, the events of 5th and 6th August do, to a great extent, appear to be in agreement with a model of 'consuming the nation', proposed in the previous chapter, and to back up Appadurai's view of local groups as prisoners of the efforts of nation-states to generate homogeneous space within their territories. For much of the official celebration, the bulk of the population forms an audience. They watch the schoolchildren's performance as they represent 'Indians' from other parts of the country, under the direction of schoolteachers from the cities. They listen to, and watch, the town authorities giving their patriotic speeches that recall the events of the criollo wars of independence, which, no doubt, also recall other speeches made previously in San Pablo, and probably others that the speakers have heard on visits to the cities and over the radio, given in Spanish in a stilted and extremely formal style. The actions performed by the audience at these events are directed by the authorities: the march around the plaza and the 'Viva!'s and 'Gloria!'s with which they are expected to respond to the speeches. In the opening paragraphs of this chapter I suggested that being *consumers* is something that the audience at a civic event shares with the congregation at a church service, and religious terminology pervades the civic commemoration of the nation: the table behind which the town authorities stand is an 'altar patrio', everyone sings the 'himno nacional' and the audience responses are as regulated and formulaic as responses to prayers in a church service. Further to this, under the direction of the schoolteachers, San Pableños implicitly deny that they are Indians or peasants, but represent these groups in a stage performance.

This is not to say, however, that everyone is wholeheartedly enthusiastic about the events, or that resistance is impossible. Some people do not bother to attend the civic ceremony: don Reynaldo, the miner, was not there – not in an act of defiance towards the nation, but, rather, one of disengagement from the politics of San Pablo – this caused the authorities a slight embarrassment during the march around the plaza, when they called for the co-operativistas to march, and no-one appeared.

However, in my opinion, this sort of model of consumption with the occasional act of resistance, although useful to some extent, does not fully explain the relationship between San Pableños and the Bolivian nation as realised in the August festivities. It should be remembered that the cantonal and provincial authorities at the official commemoration are not outsiders coming into the community to impose the locality of the state on local people, but are themselves comunarios with family in the

area, animals to tend and firewood to collect. A more complete picture might emerge from looking at the August celebration as a whole. As I have stated above, this starts, not with an official ceremony of the state, but with the ch'alla for the first day of the month.

The ch'alla can be said to concern the local population and the powers associated with the landscape, and in Appadurai's terms it concerns the production of locality, but a locality that differs from that which the state seeks to produce through the official commemoration ceremony. Like the official ceremony, the ch'alla also concerns memory, but unlike the narratives of the Wars of Independence, a memory that is not based in verbal narrative. Inspired by Connerton (1989), several recent commentators on the Andean region have looked at ways that these societies remember, ways that are not directly linked to the mental processes of individuals, and that could be termed social or collective memory. Some of these practices are discursive, while others are not. Connerton puts forward the idea that ritual and bodily practices constitute some of the most powerful sources of historical knowledge in most societies, and Abercrombie, in particular, locates Andean collective or social memory in such practices as song, dance, and ritual libations (Abercrombie 1998: 130, 189). The ch'alla for 1st August could be said to commemorate not a historical event, but a relationship between local people and the powers of the landscape, and claims for the people who perform it a continuity with those that inhabited the same landscape in the past. Nevertheless, in making a ch'alla San Pableños *re-present* this relationship with the landscape in the present, from the perspective of which it is reinterpreted. The ch'alla may tell a different story from the official ceremony, but this is not necessarily a story that denies or opposes the existence of the Bolivian state.

There is not, in my opinion, a straightforward opposition in the August celebration between a ritual of the neighbourhood, through which San Pableños produce an 'Andean' locality, and a ritual in which they consume a locality of the nation-state that is imposed from without. In general, the people of San Pablo want to belong to the Bolivian nation, and so, I believe, produce a locality through their own rituals that takes the state's presence into account, and incorporates it into what it means to be San Pableño. The August festivities are about being Bolivian, but being Bolivian in a way that is particular to San Pableños. Powers of the landscape may be outside the realm of the state, but they may be called upon to sanction the state's presence, and *locality* in San Pablo ignores neither the presence of the Bolivian state, nor the powerful forces of the wild.

The festival, after all, is understood as a whole, and is named simply 'agosto', a designation that rolls the indigenous ch'alla and official commemoration of the nation into one. A seemingly incongruous event is listed in the official programme for 1st August: at 8 p.m. on the eve of the 'Día del Campesino' ('Day of the Peasant'), which coincides with the Anniversary of San Pablo canton we are told that there will be a 'Realización de Guaque por las autoridades y pueblo en general' ('Performance of waki¹⁰ by the authorities and people in general'). As discussed in the previous chapter, waki usually takes place on the eve of certain household rituals, and concerns the maintenance of relations of reciprocity between the living and the dead, although the word can be used to mean 'preparation' more generally. The ritual, however, would not normally involve town authorities, or any sort of civic organisations. I suspect that no one did waki that night (and certainly saw no evidence of it), but that the corregidor in typing the programme had simply thought that it would be an appropriate event to include. Its inclusion suggests, however, a desire to enlist the powers of the landscape, of which the dead, who are necessary for the well-being of the local community, form a part,¹¹ in a reciprocal relationship to help with the maintenance of the canton, the most immediate unit of the Bolivian state, to which the local people all belong.

Other parts of the civic commemoration also suggest a belonging to the nation in a particular and local way. The drinking and dancing around bonfires in the plaza on the night of the fifth (lasting until dawn for those with sufficient stamina and resilience to the cold), recalls the all-night sessions of drinking and dancing held at Todos Santos and Carnival, and the communal meal served in the corregimiento recalls the meals provided by sponsors at other festivals – the succession of three-course meals in the houses of bereaved families that one must consume at Todos Santos, and the feast at the carnival Kacharpaya, which is described below.¹² On this occasion, however, there was not an individual sponsor, although the corregidor provided the labour (meaning that his mother did the cooking, since he was a single man) and the cost was borne through a levy raised on individual households.

In summary, I have suggested in this discussion that rather than produce a wholly alternative locality to that of the nation-state, people in San Pablo de Lípez produce through their rituals a

¹⁰ I have here spelled waki according to presently accepted conventions of Quechua orthography, in preference to the more Spanish spelling 'guaque' used in the programme (cf. the colonial spelling of waki as huaqui)

¹¹ Harris (1980: 81) places the spirits of the dead in the realm of the wild, the areas outwith the bounds of human habitation.

¹² This is even more apparent in the neighbouring community of Santa Isabel, where the August feast involves the passing of a roast llama head around the participants who have to tear off some of the flesh, or scoop out the brains.

locality that incorporates belonging to the nation, but which also appeals to powers of the landscape. I have looked at only one festival of the nation-state, and could have chosen another, the anniversary of the province, which takes place in December, and here there is no obvious connection with a more local festival. However, the official commemoration of this event is less pronounced – in 1996, the festival was marked mainly by football and basketball competitions between the various communities of the province rather than by speeches. In a similar manner to that in which Andean peoples recognise ‘more Andean’ and ‘more Christian’ aspects to their religious beliefs, so the people from San Pablo also distinguish between their neighbourhood and the state, and between ways of behaving that are most in accordance with each one, but both are necessary parts of what being San Pableño means today. Clearly, the relation between people in an isolated rural area, like San Pablo, and the Bolivian nation-state is always going to be unequal; however, the production of a locality that embraces belonging to the nation is one way in which local people can come to grips with this power imbalance, and construe themselves as effective social agents. It also means that the state encounters a modified image of itself in its officials at local level.

8.3 Carnival in Bolivia

I chose to write about Carnival as a festival of the community to contrast with the Independence Day celebrations of the nation-state. Harris (1982: 57), in describing Carnival celebrations among the Laymi of northern Potosí, declared them to be ‘a most dramatic proclamation of community’, and in San Pablo, the festival is, in various ways, the type of event that Appadurai identifies with the production of locality, in that it concerns the socialization of time and space. Carnival marks the end of the season of rains, it involves marking animals and also, at least in theory, fixes or traces out the limits of the community. However, just as the celebration of the nation-state in San Pablo involves elements that are more local than national, as I shall describe here, Carnival in Bolivia is a celebration that forms a national holiday and concerns the production of the Bolivian nation-state as well as that of the different localities where it is celebrated in the countryside. I shall start here by giving a brief consideration of the urban national festival, and then describe the celebrations that took place in San Pablo in February 1996.

Carnival celebrations in Latin America are, or at least began as, a European import: a legacy of the carnivals of mediaeval and early modern Europe. There, Carnival was the period of feasting that immediately preceded the fast of Lent in the Christian calendar, although as Bakhtin (1984: 6) emphasised in his study of Rabelais, it was a celebration that did not come under the auspices of the Church or any other kind of officialdom, but was a celebration of the people in general, with roots in older, pagan agrarian festivities. This mediaeval Carnival was a time of laughter and of suspension of the ranks and privileges of the established order. It was a time when the protocols of normal life could be parodied (*ibid*: 11) and at which resistance to the established order could be expressed (Le Roy Ladurie 1980: 319).

The anarchic laughter of the mediaeval Carnival seems far from the centrepiece of carnival celebrations in Bolivia's cities, the most renowned of which takes place in Oruro. This takes the form of a carefully choreographed and painstakingly rehearsed procession of dancers and musicians through the streets of the city, where pride of place is given to the dance groups of the city's elite and which is presided over by the municipal authorities. These carnival celebrations have become a symbol of Bolivian national pride, and the dances a representation of Bolivia's 'Indianness' that can be exported and displayed to foreign audiences. Abercrombie (1992: 295) sees the roots of this type of procession (or *entrada*, as it is known) in the elaborate ritual processions of the Renaissance court, introduced from Europe by the Spaniards, and in particular, the procession for Corpus Christi in which participants marched and danced in an order that reflected the social hierarchy, so that far from suspending the social order, these processions sought to emphasise it.

As mentioned above, many members of the more prestigious dance troops in the Oruro procession are from the city's elite - doctors, lawyers and other professionals - who in normal circumstances would distance themselves from practices considered 'Indian', but who, to dance in Carnival, don 'indigenous' costumes to represent their supposed 'Indian' past, or devil masks to represent the deities of the world of the urban miner. In so doing, they celebrate 'Indianness' but, as Abercrombie (1992: 280) points out, simultaneously reject it in describing their participation as homage to the Virgin of the Mineshaft. This saint is the patron of the city, and a representative of the Christian forces whose aim is to conquer the devils and civilize the Indian population. Conquest and conversion also appear as the themes of dramas enacted by some of the dance troops: the 'Incas' troop

acts out the drama of the 'Death of Atahualpa'¹³ and the 'Diablada' dancers give a representation of Saint Michael casting the demons into hell. Their participation terminates with a mass of repentance before the Virgin, in which they effectively reject the 'Indianness' of their display and emphasise their separation from Bolivia's rural population.

Elite participation in the Oruro carnival is something that has come about comparatively recently: Abercrombie notes that in the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries, there were two carnival processions in Oruro, a solemn procession for the elites and another for the urban working classes (Abercrombie 1992: 298). It was only as a result of the growing nationalist movement in the 1940s and the National Revolution of 1952, that members of the middle classes came first to dance in working class dance troops, and later to form their own elite versions of the same. He describes this participation as part of the nation-building project, in which nationalists found it necessary to romanticise Bolivia's 'Indian' past and so seek legitimacy for the post-colonial nation in 'primordial' ties with the national territory (Abercrombie 1992: 283).

The vision that Abercrombie presents to us of the Oruro carnival is a sombre one, with seemingly little in common with the peoples' celebrations of Mediaeval Europe. However, it is worth comparing the Oruro carnival's narratives of conquest and conversion – celebrating what is 'Indian' before rejecting it – with the European festival which Le Roy Ladurie links with pre-Christian, pagan, values, and describes as a celebration of 'burying one's pagan ways' and 'having one last pagan fling' before embarking on the penitential rigours of Lent (Le Roy Ladurie 1980: 307-8). Abercrombie also makes no mention of the behaviour of the carnival audience: it is not just a solemn celebration of Bolivianness, but a time when people enjoy themselves by drinking heavily and engaging in water fights. Although the audience generally respects the members of the dance troops, in their expensive and elaborately coutured costumes, who are left dry, each side of the street pelts the other with water filled balloons, boys try to soak the girls, and vice versa, Bolivians victimise gringo tourists and the odd balloon has even been known to hit the well-groomed wives of civic dignitaries watching the procession from the balcony of the town hall. This to me suggests that, formal though the processional proceedings of carnival may be, there is still some element in the urban Andean festival of the suspension of the normal order and way of life. Abercrombie also ignores the increasing numbers of dance troops of genuinely rural origin who travel to Oruro to participate in Carnival: these

¹³ See Lara 1989.

'authentic' Indians, however, are seemingly relegated to the end of the procession in the late evening, when the elite troops have already danced.

In the Andean countryside Carnival is linked to the agricultural calendar and in particular to the close of the rainy season and to the first fruits of the season's agricultural produce. In this respect there are both similarities and differences with the Carnival celebrations of mediaeval and early modern Europe from which the name of the festival derives: Le Roy Ladurie (1980: 311) similarly associates the European Carnival with fertility and the agricultural cycle, although the European Carnival was a winter festival taking place before the growing season, whereas carnival in the Andes takes place at the end of the growing season, shortly before harvest. In the case of the Andean celebration, it is also possible that Carnival celebrations swallowed up preconquest festivities held at a similar time of the year.¹⁴ Although people in the countryside are obviously aware of the celebrations that take place in the cities,¹⁵ rural communities have their own specific ways of celebrating the feast. It is a time when a community may be reaffirmed by its comunarios making journeys on foot to the outermost boundaries of their communities (Rasnake 1988: 243-246), or when visits to its far-flung reaches may take place (Harris 1982: 57).

8.3.1 Carnival in San Pablo

In San Pablo, Carnival celebrations tend to go on for more than a week, since the festival is preceded immediately by the ideal time for the enfloramiento de llamas (the llama marking ceremony in which the animals are marked with tassels of coloured wool threaded through their ears). This ceremony should take place on the Thursday before Carnival, which is known as comadres¹⁶ but in practice happens whenever the llamas' owners have time, and sometimes happens within carnival week itself, but no later than its final Sunday (domingo de tentaciones). Llama marking is a matter for individual households, and much of the Carnival celebration is also a household celebration for which each family prepares its own chicha (corn beer). Sometimes, although not always, one or two motivated individuals will step forward as sponsors, particularly for the farewell feast or kacharpaya held on the Thursday of Carnival week. Carnival in San Pablo is thus celebrated both at household

¹⁴ Guaman Poma, mentions that sacrifices of gold, silver and livestock to the sun, moon, stars and gods of the highest mountain peaks took place in Inca times in the month of February, when carnival normally falls (Poma de Ayala [1614] 1993: vol.1 177-180).

¹⁵ Olivia Harris notes for the Laymi of northern Potosí that they regard the festivals of All Saints and Carnival as muntu intiru (Spanish mundo entero) that is, worldwide (Harris 1982: 59).

¹⁶ The day on which women are supposed to celebrate ties of fictive kinship.

and community level, and neither church nor state really enter into the proceedings although both are implicitly present.

In 1996 one of the sponsors, or alferezes (standard bearers), for Carnival was my host, don Alejo and the other was don Marcelino, the husband of doña Isabel, one of the village shopkeepers. In this year the exploration activities of the foreign-owned mining company present in the town were at their peak, and they too held a Carnival celebration, which had to take place immediately before the official holiday, since the majority of the company's employees from the cities, who were on site at the time, wanted to descend to Tupiza and watch the parades taking place there. Although Carnival does not come under the auspices of the town authorities, someone, either the corregidor or the alcalde, produced a programme for the celebrations, similar to that produced for the August celebration, which was posted on a wall just outside the plaza. This was completely ignored by the celebrating villagers, although, when I questioned them, they did acknowledge that some of the events it listed were those that should ideally take place.

8.3.2 The Carnival Celebration of 1996

In the weeks leading up to carnival the most notable activity in the households I frequented was chicha (corn beer) making. Although I was frequently asked to stir the pots of bubbling liquid, I was never present for the entire process, and even though I got more than one woman to explain it, I am still vague about some of its details. Most households made corn beer for their own consumption, and for that of any guests who happen to visit them at that time, but the Alejo household prepared a larger quantity, as they were to host the kacharpaya, and doña Teodora was helped by another woman, whom she said she had helped in a similar way in the past.

Chicha preparation has by-products that are quite delicious. One is janch'i or anch'i as it is pronounced in San Pablo. This contains the solid residues of maize, and has the consistency of porridge. Herrero and Sánchez de Lozada's (1979) Quechua dictionary states that this is fed to pigs, but in San Pablo there are no pigs, and anch'i is a delicacy for humans to enjoy: around Carnival time a visitor to any household is likely to be offered a mug-full. Sometimes the solid residue is collected, squeezed and pressed into balls that are wrapped up in string. I can make no sense of the scribbled name for this I have recorded in my fieldnotes, but, when cooked, this has the consistency of a steamed pudding, and is, in my opinion, even more delicious than anch'i.

8.3.2.a The Mining Company's Ch'alla

Although, as I have mentioned, the ideal day to mark (enflorar) llamas is the Thursday immediately prior to carnival. In 1996 I cannot recall any families holding their ceremonies on this day. One reason was that the mining company, La Barca, had employed a considerable number of San Pablino men that year, and was to hold its own Carnival celebration on the Friday. This was the only occasion I can recollect when the engineers and geologists got involved in any way in a community celebration in San Pablo: they had kept a remarkably low profile at Todos Santos, and at carnival the following year completely shut down their operation, and pulled out all their employees for the week. In many ways the ch'alla (which involved both llama sacrifices and libations) held by the company was an odd celebration that reflected more an urban-elite perception of what is 'Indian', based on those perceived as urban 'Indians' by the professional classes – the mestizo-cholo sector of Bolivia's cities with its miners, market vendors and artisans – than it did any San Pablino understandings. Nevertheless, the head of operations in San Pablo did make a show of consulting a few San Pablinos about how things should be done, and it did bear some similarities to the description of a ch'alla for the Buena Vista mine that don Reynaldo gave me (See Chapter 6, Section 6.3.3).

The company held a ch'alla for each of its three exploration sites, to which all of its local employees were invited. Some of the geologists invited me to the event held on Cerro Morokho, the mountain between San Pablo and Esmoruco and to which we all travelled on the backs of quad bikes through a snowstorm. When I say all, I mean all the people invited, plus the white llama that was to be sacrificed, which was blindfolded and tied unceremoniously with ropes onto the luggage rack of one machine. Once at the site, the drivers left us and returned to town to collect the remaining participants while we waited. Finally, about ten of us were assembled: quite an elite group, comprising the head of operations at the San Pablo camp, two more geologists, the company doctor, a couple of company employees from Oruro and three local men employed by the company, don Alejo, Lucho and Justiniano, as well as a gringa anthropologist.



Plate 22. Taking a llama to the mining company's ch'alla

The ritual that followed might well be described as a version of the rituals of urban miners'.¹⁷ Someone had brought along a ghetto blaster with tapes of cumbia music that were played throughout the proceedings, and a rock that overhung the site was designated 'Nuestro Tío' ('Our Uncle') in reference to the devil of the mines. Beer, coca and cigarettes, provided by the company, were passed around, and an offering or despacho, purchased from a city market stall was arranged on a stone slab. We each placed 12 of our coca leaves on the offering, were ourselves decorated with streamers and confetti by the geologists, and poured libations with our beer, calling '¡Jallalla!', an Aymara term that has become part of city miners' vocabulary and is roughly translatable as 'Life!', and '¡Por la Buena hora!' ('For good times!'). Although the ritual was intended to reflect the rites of urban miners, the head of operations was concerned not to offend local sensibilities, and hence allowed don Alejo to arrange the despacho on its stone platform to his own satisfaction, while the other two Lipeños present slaughtered the animal by slitting its throat, and extracting the animal's heart while it was still beating. All this was done to the sound of the music from the ghetto blaster. The heart was buried almost immediately beneath the rock that the geologists had designated as the 'Tío'.

All of the participants were handed plates on which were placed coca, confetti and sweets. Blood from the slaughtered animal was then poured onto the plates and the whole lot was offered to the Tío under the rock. The Lipeños lit a fire from brushwood that had been collected from the surrounding area, and the offering was burned after don Alejo had muttered an inaudible oration over it, and the lungs from the slaughtered llama were also thrown onto the fire.

We continued at the site, drinking beer and chewing coca, and I helped the two Lipeños butcher the llama. We later found that the two remaining groups making ch'allas at the other exploration sites had not bothered to do this, and brought their llamas back to San Pablo whole. At some point don Alejo left, although I do not recall exactly when, but in his absence, the remaining two Lipeños grew critical of some of his actions during the ritual, claiming that it had not been performed in the correct, Lipeño, way. Perhaps the dissent arose from the ceremony having no direct precedent, but bearing a resemblance to more than one ritual known locally.¹⁸ Before we all left the site, once more by quad bikes, the head and feet of the llama were buried for the Pachamama, a deity that no doubt meant different things to the different people present: the earth-mother of popular urban folklore, to the

¹⁷ I attended rituals involving llama sacrifices on a number of occasions at urban mines, at a small co-operative in Potosí and at the large COMSUR mine in Porco. At the latter, although management had made available a large workshop area for the proceedings and some of the geologists were asked to perform certain ritual functions, the event was clearly orchestrated by the workforce, who had called in an urban ritual specialist or yatiri to officiate.

¹⁸ A description of the form a ch'alla for a mine ideally should take is given in Chapter 6, Section 6.3.3.

urban geologists; and the animate, Holy Earth (Santa Tierra), to which San Pableños pour libations, or the female deities, t'alla and wirjines¹⁹ of the Lipeño landscape, to the Lipeños present. Following this, the butchered llama meat was loaded onto one of the vehicles and we returned to San Pablo.

Back in town, the feast planned by the company was due to take place in Lucho and Modesta's compound. Our group was the first to arrive back, so we had to wait a considerable while for the remaining groups to return and butcher their animals. The large quantity of roasting meat was accommodated for cooking over three iron bedsteads, under which fires were lit from local brushwood and charcoal brought by the geologists from the cities. The feast was underway by the middle of the afternoon, but at first the San Pableño employees arrived alone, without their wives and families. It is not usual for men to celebrate alone in San Pablo (excepting those times when a man might drink with a male companion in one of the town's stores), but, this being an unusual occasion, the men had not been sure of the extent of the invitation. The head of operations, however, soon realised what was happening, and cleared up the uncertainty by insisting that the families of the employees should be present. They came, and we ate and drank for much of the afternoon in the pouring rain. I do not recall whether any locals not employed by the company gatecrashed the celebration.

In many ways the company ch'alla was an unusual event, incongruously taking place in the countryside, but orchestrated by city people to suit their own needs and those of their workers with mining backgrounds from places like Oruro.²⁰ That there was some sensitivity to local ways of doing things can be put down almost entirely to the diplomacy of the head of the mining operation. However, the free food and alcohol made it a popular addition to the more usual round of Carnival celebrations with the local people.

8.3.2.b The Start of Carnival

Local Carnival proceedings really started to get underway on the following day. I was staying at Buena Vista at the time, but walked down to the town in the morning to find the normal activities of the town to be in suspense. In the Alejo family compound, I found don Alejo and a friend, don Juan,

¹⁹ T'alla are female deities, such as mountains that are considered female (for instance the local mountain Barillita, the consort of Cerro Bonete is a t'alla). Wirjin clearly derives from the Christian 'Virgin', and is used for female deities connected with the earth. In Lipez, the hole in the earth in which libations are poured, or an offering is placed is also termed a wirgin, rather than pujyo (pujgio) as it is called in Chile (Lagos *et al.* 1996: 116).

²⁰ In Bolivia's cities, ch'alla are made by the middle classes and by businesses, as well as by miners.

together in one room, and both very drunk. They were playing Lipeño carnival music, with don Alejo playing a long end-blown flute, and don Juan, a small drum or caja. Don Alejo was not the easiest person to deal with at the best of times, and with his drunkenness had become quite aggressive towards everyone, including members of his immediate family and me. His aggression towards me consisted of contrasting his status as an indigenous Lipeño – ‘Yo soy indígena de esta parte’ (‘I am indigenous to this area’) he declared – with my status as an outsider, and what was worse, an anthropologist who had come to ‘steal information from the community’. He declared himself to be the leader of the community, presumably in reference to his role as carnival sponsor,²¹ and that the community did not want any anthropologists working there, whether Bolivian or foreign, for the only reason they had permitted me to stay was that I was a woman. He also claimed to have sent a Bolivian anthropologist packing when he had been alcalde a few years previously. His tirade against me was interrupted by the arrival of his son Ruben with his new girlfriend, Francisca, usually known as Pancha, with whom he would shortly be setting up house. She immediately received a torrent of abuse from her future father-in-law, and looked very uncomfortable. Doña Teodora looked worried, as she always did when her husband became drunk (he was always one of the most enthusiastic revellers at any celebration), and she became short tempered with the children so that they started to cry.

Since don Alejo’s drunkenness was likely to continue for several days, I decided to return to Buena Vista to sleep. I wanted, anyway, to be on hand in case don Reynaldo, who had left for town on mining business, returned ready to perform a ch’alla for the mine (he did not). However, my staying at Buena Vista seemed to further aggravate don Alejo, who seemed, in his drunken state, somewhat paradoxically to be rather possessive of the gringa anthropologist, and to resent my friendships with other families. I was glad in the circumstances to return to the mine and to the conversation of the girls, Nancy and Marina. The mine seemed to be in a different world to the rest of the village throughout Carnival: while San Pablo played and danced to local flute music, the family at the mine turned on their radio and listened to the brass bands playing at the national celebration in Oruro, in what I saw as an attempt to affirm their pertinence to the national community of Bolivian

²¹ The only other position of authority he held at the time was catequista – meaning that he was empowered to provide instruction to children in the Catholic faith before their first communion, and to say Mass in the priest’s absence, although I never witnessed him do this.

miners and to deny that to San Pablo. The children at the mine meanwhile fought each other with water pistols, in imitation of the revellers of the urban celebration.

8.3.2.c Don Emiliano's Llama Marking Ceremony

In spite of my brush with don Alejo on the Saturday, I went along to attend his father, don Emiliano's llama marking ceremony the following day at the old man's estancia or campo wasi (see Chapter 5) known as Cieneguillas ('Little Marshes'). This estancia lies about ten kilometres from San Pablo village in the direction of San Antonio de Lípez, but is only about six or seven kilometres from Buena Vista. The llama marking ceremony is called 'enflorimiento de llamas' which literally means 'making the llamas flower'. The llamas 'flower' in two ways: firstly the strands of coloured wool which are threaded through their ears are known as t'ika (Quechua – 'flowers'), but a female llama is also said to be flowering when she becomes pregnant, and, according to San Pableños, the llama marking ceremony is 'to ask for more llamas'; that is, it concerns the fertility of the herd. This sort of animal marking ceremony takes place in herding communities throughout the Andes: Penny Dransart (1997:85) has described similar rites in Isluga, on the Chilean side of the Cordillera, which are likewise said by social actors to be concerned with the reproductivity and fecundity of the animals, and the interview recorded by Lagos *et al.* (1996: 123), also in northern Chile, describes the ceremony in terms of 'payments' to the dead and the deities for the animals and the pasture they consume. It is the association with the fertility of the animals that is the most pressing reason for marking llamas in San Pablo: the coloured wool does serve to distinguish one person's animals from another's, but San Pableños can all recognise their own animals without this assistance.

Every family who owns llamas in the San Pablo area holds some sort of llama marking ceremony, but not necessarily every year. San Pableños say that they do not perform such elaborate rites as they used to, and claim that they used to perform the sort of ritual that they now associate with the people of Pululus,²² thus marking a cultural distance between themselves and their neighbours on the other

²² Rubén Alejo, who has matrilateral kin in Pululus, described this ritual to me, which I recorded in Quechua and transcribed with his help. With its sacrifices directed towards the Virgin (with both the Christian Virgin and the wirgines of the Andean landscape being implied simultaneously), it resembles, more closely than the present-day San Pablo ceremony the Chilean ritual described by Dransart (1997). I have never heard any music at an enfloramiento in San Pablo, but Rubén states that the rites would music played both on charango, and on mandolin, accompanied by a small drum. One of its main features was that the sterile female llamas, the payruma, who are often the lead animals of the herd, would be retained after the other animals had been released and decorated with many 'flowers'. The question arises here of whether these sterile females receive such elaborate treatment in order that they become fertile, or whether they are perhaps considered as a special 'third gender'. Rubén also makes links between animal and human fertility, describing how, after the release of the

side of the hills. Some people today perform more elaborate ceremonies than others: my friend doña Andrea claimed that her family mark their llamas but do not observe any 'customs'. An obvious reason for this is that her brother-in-law, who tends the herd, has converted to an evangelical Protestant sect and will not take part in any rituals that appealed to ancestors or powers of the landscape. Presumably, it must be acceptable to ask for the fertility of the animals, so long as the help of non-Christian powers is not invoked directly.

For don Emiliano's ceremony, I arrived at Cieneguillas at about midday, not realising at that point that I had already missed some important parts of the ritual. As with so many of the festivals of the locality held in San Pablo, the eve of the celebration is when the most serious ritual events take place, when people do waki to ask help of the dead, and when, before a llama marking ceremony small llama figurines are made from fat and quinoa flour. The following year, I participated in waki before the enfloramiento held by don Ramón and doña Nazaria. Apart from the llama figurines, this was also when the strands of wool with which the animals were to be marked were prepared. I did not see the fate of the small llamas made from fat, but suspect they were disposed of, along with the residue from waki by the men, probably being buried in a propitious spot connected with the herd. Dransart (1997: 89) writes of a similar vigil in Isluga that it seems like a wake, although she does not make a direct connection with the dead, and Lagos *et al.* (1996: 121) record that huaquis performed before an enfloramiento are for the souls. Waki in San Pablo is similar to the wakes held for a corpse before burial, and before a dead person's soul departs from the land of the living, eight days after the funeral.

A llama had been slaughtered before I arrived. Outside the llama corral was a freshly dug mound, decorated with coloured wool, where, I presumed, the owner had interred the animal's heart, or perhaps its feet. On arrival I was offered chicha and anch'i, and a few minutes later the bulk of the llama herd arrived from the opposite end of the valley and were herded into the corral immediately outside the house. I was surprised at the number of llamas, around eighty beasts (including a few strays from someone else's herd that had been rounded up accidentally), for when I had spoken previously to don Emiliano he had said that he owned 'just a few' animals. Admittedly, those we were marking included animals belonging to his two daughters, doña Fortunata and doña Prima.

animals, the men would play at catching and lassoing the women, until all fell down. He closes his account with the words 'chantaqa runakuna quedakunku machasqa' ('... then the people would all be drunk'). Although there is a certain amount of nostalgia in his account, Rubén was also placing a certain amount of distance between himself and his San Pableño family and the people of Pululus, whom he saw as 'more Indian'.

Once the animals were inside, the corral was closed with ropes across its entrance, over which blankets were slung.

Several people had assembled to help mark the animals: don Alejo's two eldest sons, Rubén and Oscar, don Emiliano's two daughters, Lucho, now recovered from the excesses of the Company's ch'alla, with his wife, Modesta, don Atilio's son, Raúl Nina, one of the conscripts from the military post, who was a local boy – like Oscar performing a tour of duty back home – and several women I did not recognise. Don Alejo was not there, and was, I presume, either sleeping off his hangover of the previous day, or well on the way to getting another one.

To mark the start of the ceremony, don Emiliano walked around the outside of the corral in an anti-clockwise direction, carrying a vessel filled with burning incense or q'uwa (an aromatic herb). He was followed by one of his daughters carrying chicha, which she sprinkled on the herd, and by Rubén carrying a bag of maize flour, handfuls of which he also threw over the animals as the three walked round. As soon as this was completed, we all retired to the house. At one end of the main room, a table had been set up with a ritual arrangement of objects (see Figure 3): a woven cloth covered the table, and on it were placed three bells, a piece of fringed material, several woven coca-bags, or ch'uspa, a larger woven bag, or wayaqa containing two maize ears and a cup that was to receive offerings of chicha, alcohol and coca.²³ The above items were all enclosed within the boundary of an extended llama wool rope. In my opinion, the presence of maize and its derivative chicha are of particular importance here: as explained in Chapter 5 of this thesis, the main work of the llama herd, apart from producing meat for human consumption, has in the past been to journey to the valleys to exchange salt and other highland produce for this crop. It was not until long after the event that it struck me that the ritual arrangement in the house was the llama corral in miniature: the rope represented the stone walls of the enclosure, while the llamas themselves were represented by the bells, which lead animals would wear on their journeys; when men would carry their coca to chew in ch'uspas as they walked with the pack animals, and the small bags of maize ears represented the large costales filled with maize that the animals would carry on their way back to the highlands. Significantly, the substances sprinkled on the animals to start the ceremony, with the exception of the

²³ It is the joining together of liquids (alcohol or chicha) with coca that the herder interviewed by Lagos (1996: 121) sees as central to the rituals he calls huaquis. Here, San Pableños join coca with liquids, but I have heard no one use the term waki for this. In San Pablo, the manner of chewing coca, in a circle, seems to be waki's most defining element.

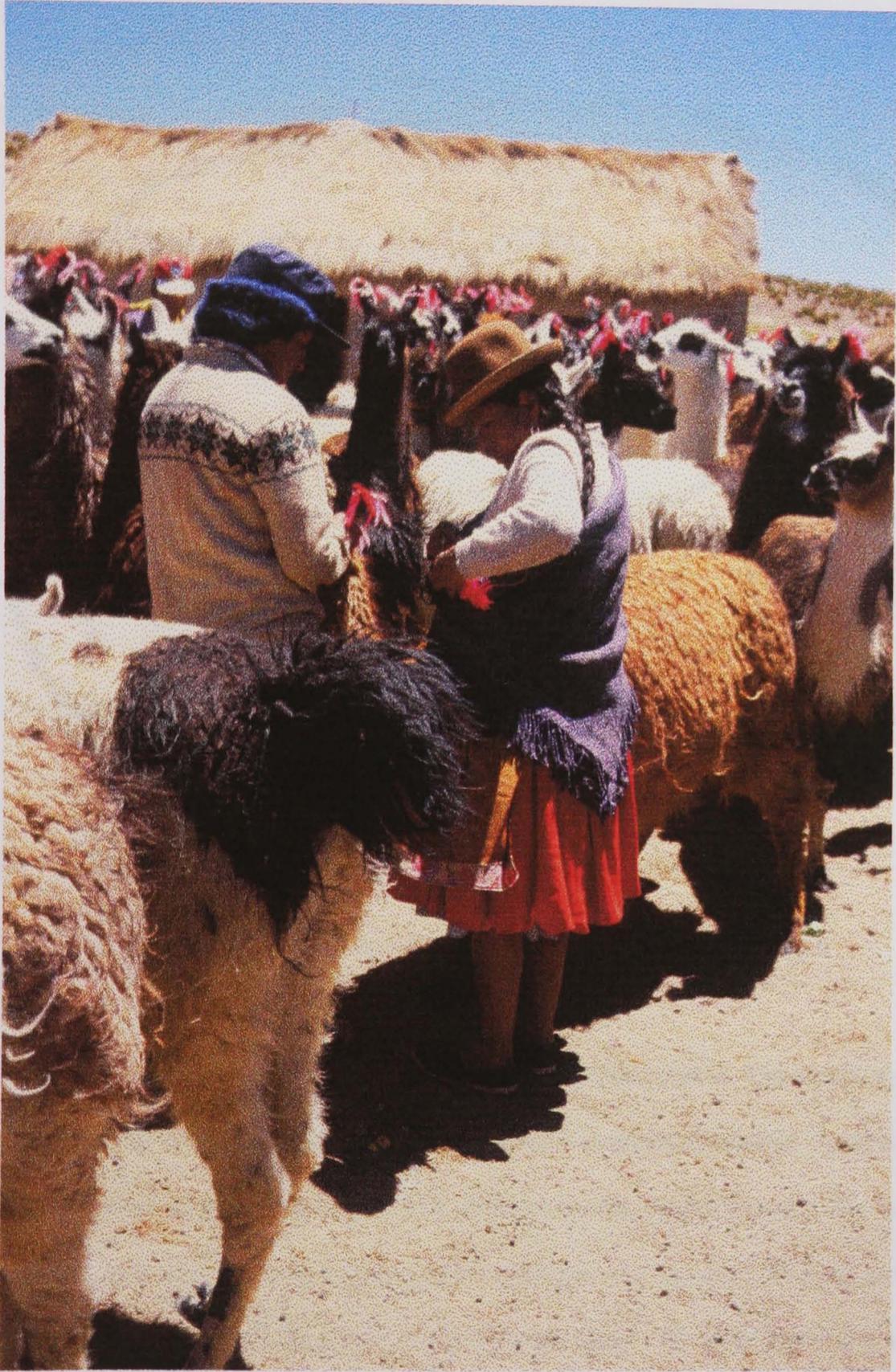


Plate 23. Don Emiliano's enfloramiento de llamas

q'uwa, which is burned in the course of many rituals, were also maize flour. and the maize derivative. chicha.

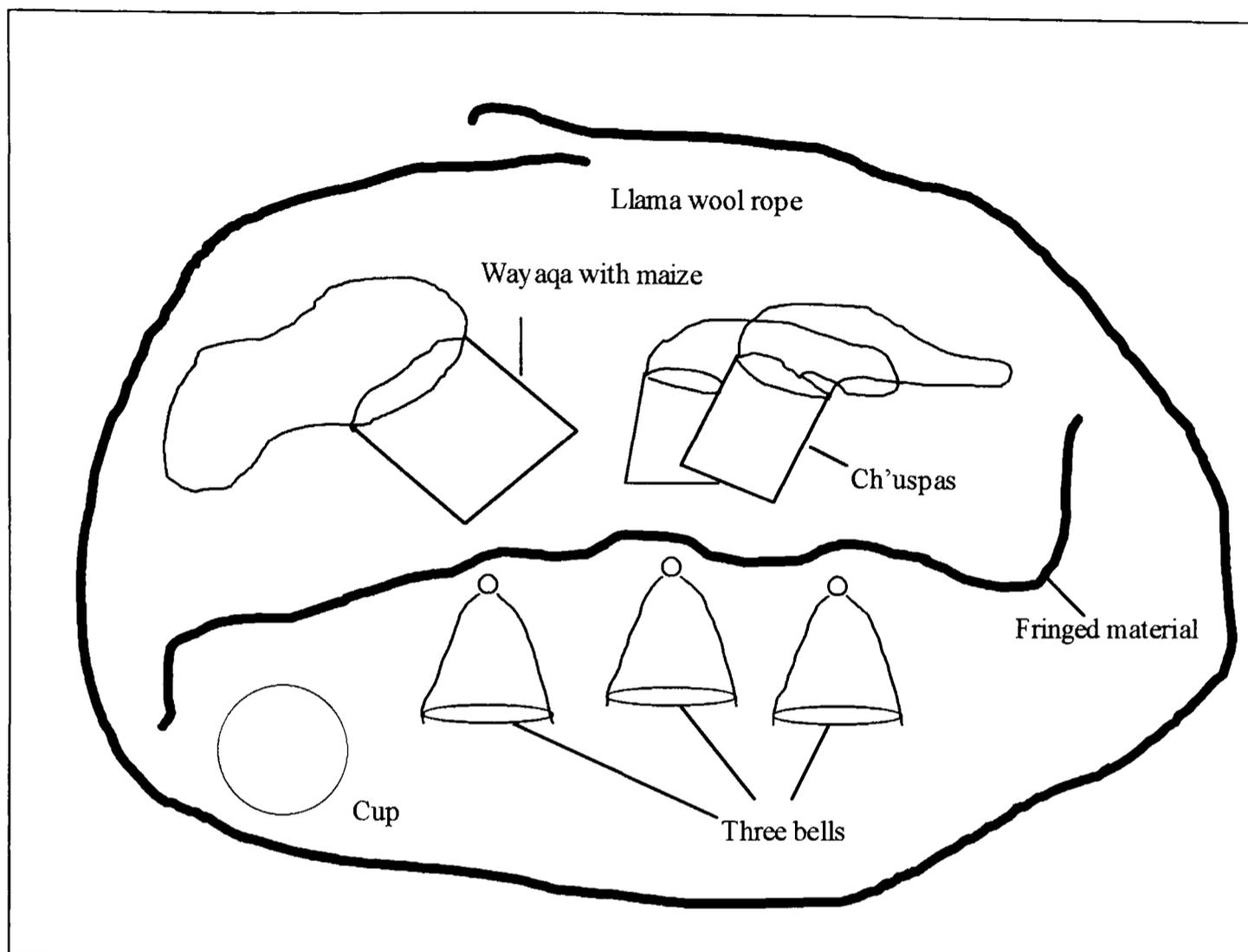


Figure 3. Ritual arrangement for enfloramiento de llamas

Corn beer and strong alcoholic drinks were handed out to all present. On receiving a drink, one was required to pour libations into the cup within the ritual arrangement before drinking. Coca-bags were ritually exchanged in pairs, that is, not in a circle as would happen in waki, and on receiving a bag from a partner, one was required to put a couple of leaves into the cup. This ritualised drinking and coca chewing continued until the bottle of alcohol was empty. We then moved out to the corral to start marking the animals.

During the actual marking, participants worked in pairs, usually of a man and a woman, although the number of men being greater than that of women meant that at times two men worked together. The procedure was normally that one or two of the men would catch a llama, and then one man would hold it by the ears, while a woman threaded a needle with appropriately coloured wool (the colour depended both on ownership and on the sex of the llama) and then pierced the soft part of the

animal's ear, threading the wool through the hole. Some llamas were quite docile while this was being done, but others put up quite a fight, and a few animals managed to escape by leaping the corral walls. Through most of the procedure I was asked to guard the entrance to the corral with its makeshift barriers. This meant that I had ample time to take photos, although don Emiliano was a bit annoyed with me that I had not yet given him the photos I had taken at Todos Santos (and I was finding it very difficult to explain to him that I could only get slide film developed in La Paz). I was asked to thread wool through the ear of one young llama, but had quite a lot of time to observe. The following year when I helped don Ramón and doña Nazaria enflorar their llamas, I was given much more work to do: I ended up doing the man's job of holding the animals by the ears – not, I think, because I was particularly large and strong, or because, being a gringa I was regarded as being of ambiguous gender or as some sort of honorary man, but because after a few minutes everyone realised my total incompetence when it came to threading needles.

From time to time, some participants would retire into the house for more drinks and a rest, and eventually when all the animals had been marked, excepting the escapees and the animals that belonged to someone else, the ceremony was brought to a close in the same way as it had begun, by the host and two members of his family once more walking around the outside of the corral, this time in a clockwise direction, wafting incense over the animals, and sprinkling them with chicha and maize flour. The barriers at the entrance to the corral were then removed and the animals released back onto the hillsides. All participants then retired once more to the house, where they were invited to a meal, the central part of which was meat from the llama that had been slaughtered in the morning. I believe the drinking that followed continued long into the night, but, as evening started to draw in, I made my way over the mountains, back to Buena Vista.

It is easy to see this ritual in the context of 'producing locality' to use Appadurai's terminology. It is a seasonal activity that invokes the powers of the land and the local landscape, and also says something about what people in the area do, or at least, what they ought to or used to do, that is, make journeys to the valleys to fetch maize. To reinforce the point, local actors distinguish their enflorimiento from that of a neighbouring community, implicitly stating 'we are different from them', or even, in this case 'they are how we used to be, but now we are more civilized', even if this is tinged with a certain amount of nostalgia and regret.

8.3.2.d Carnival Visits in San Pablo

As I mentioned above, the town authorities in San Pablo produced a programme for Carnival, which bore very little relation to anything that actually took place. One of the events programmed was a series of visits by the townspeople in general to the outlying estancias, where they were to be received and feasted by the estancia owners. These visits were quite carefully laid out in the programme, in a list that specified the name of the estancia, the name of the owner and the date and time at which the visit was due to take place. Visiting is a feature of Carnival in many Andean communities: Harris mentions that visits to the villages within, and sometimes beyond the confines of the ayllu are a highlight of Carnival among the Laymi (Harris 1982: 57), and Rasnake writes about the Yura of southern Potosí journeying on foot to the outermost boundaries of their ayllu, and back again, during the festival (Rasnake 1988: 243-246). When I talked to people, they confirmed that these visits to the estancias of fellow comunarios should indeed take place, and that doing the round of visits was one of the ways that San Pableños celebrate Carnival, explaining that the owners of the houses visited were obliged to provide food and chicha for their visitors. Buena Vista, where I was staying at the time, was listed as one of the places to be visited, and Nancy and Marina had been busy preparing chicha, but they did not appear to be expecting many visitors, and there had been no mention of cooking a large meal, or of slaughtering an animal.

As far as I know, none of the estancias listed by the authorities actually received such a visit. All visiting that did take place was confined to the Tuesday, and to houses within the town itself. On this day, when I arrived in the town, I heard music coming from the house of don Francisco Porco, the director of education. I found a group of people assembled in his courtyard, the men playing flautas (long, end-blown flutes) and cajas (small drums). Everyone was served both corn beer and alcohol diluted with fruit juice by don Francisco and his wife, and as the party was about to leave, the men took a few haba (broad beans) and barley plants from his patio (although in general there was no cultivation practised around San Pablo, a few people did grow some plants in their courtyards where they could be irrigated and would receive some protection from the icy winds). After decorating the house owners with streamers and confetti, the party moved on, playing music and dancing as it went. We went on to visit several more houses, those of don Marcelino, don Ramón, doña Concha and her neighbour Bernado, as far as I can remember, for in each house we were plied with alcohol. and by evening were all quite drunk. In each house, the house owner was regaled a few ears of barley or



Plate 24. Don Sabino playing flute for Carnival

stems of broad bean plants by the musicians, as, after all, Carnival is the festival of the first fruits of the harvest, even though people in San Pablo hardly grow anything at all. I was told later that the Tuesday of Carnival was the day that people ch'alla – or make libations for the well-being of – their bread ovens, but I saw no evidence of this happening at any of the houses we visited.

The Wednesday of Carnival was taken up mainly with a ch'alla for new town hall (alcaldía), the ground floor of which had recently been completed (its roof was to blow off shortly afterwards in a strong wind). I made a brief visit to my room in the Alejo family compound, only to find that it had been taken over by a plaster saint from the church and two dead sheep, in preparation for the kacharpaya or farewell ceremony due to take place the following day.

8.3.2.e The Kacharpaya

Thursday was the day of the 'farewell' to Carnival, the climax of the festival, and it was for this festival that don Alejo was sponsor: as he declared, he was the Alferez de San Lucas (the standard bearer of Saint Luke). Saint Luke was the plaster saint from the church who had come to occupy my room for the festivities. The first part of the Kacharpaya²⁴ took place in the Alejo family courtyard. The flute-playing musicians who had visited the houses two days previously, and had also been at the alcaldía the day before, were present again, but this time wearing slightly more elaborated costumes: they carried a woven cloth, two bags – a ch'uspa for coca and a wayaqa for barley – various bits of greenery, barley and broad bean plants like the ones taken from don Francisco's patio two days previously, and they were adorned with confetti and streamers. This was the year in which several of the men, including some of those playing musical instruments, had employment with the mining company based in town, and some of the work-clothes associated with the company also had become incorporated into the costumes – all the musicians wore the fleece-lined caps with ear-flaps that had become popular with employees and also plastic safety spectacles. I was told later that the male musicians of carnival were known as machu. Some of the women of the village danced to the music waving white flags (banderas), and I was told that the women should sing, although none of them did.

Don Alejo was officiating and he offered each new guest to arrive a gourd filled with chicha and accompanying strong alcoholic drinks. He was already quite drunk, or perhaps had never really sobered up since the start of Carnival. His temper had not improved noticeably from the previous

²⁴ Kacharpaya, from Quechua – kacharpariy- to dispense with someone's services, bid farewell, or throw out.

Saturday, and he was still abusive to all around him. He still succeeded in making me feel uncomfortable, and his particular point of contention with me was that he did not want me to take photographs, a wish I was quite prepared to respect, but a prohibition that rebounded on him somewhat when he found that a number of young teenage girls had arrived who were from San Pablano families, but who had been brought up in the cities. These girls had all brought their cameras with them to record how Carnival was celebrated in their 'home' village. He tried to stop these girls from taking photographs also, but their families were present, and they were not prepared to allow the sponsor of the festival tell them what they could or could not do. In my room, Saint Luke was still in place, and the dead sheep surrounding him had been slit in half.

Outside, don Alejo made a speech of welcome to the assembled crowd. He spoke in Quechua, which was quite unusual for any sort of official pronouncement in San Pablo, where so many of the younger generation prefer to speak Spanish. It should also be remembered that don Alejo himself conducted a large part of his life in Spanish, being an employee of the mining company, and one of the few who was kept on by the company when it reduced the scale of its operation the following year. As Harvey (1999: 217) points out, in a situation of Quechua/Spanish bilingualism one language implicitly stands as context for the other, that is, to speak in one language always implies not to speak in the other. His use of Quechua for the address thus involved a conscious decision, and responded to two needs. Firstly, despite the increasing use of Spanish by the younger generations, Quechua is still the language of the neighbourhood, and its use emphasised the local nature of the festivity and the importance of local forms above those of the nation. He might also have considered Quechua to be appropriate in the context of a festival of the community since this is the language most appropriate for dealings with the supernatural powers and forces associated with the landscape. It was also, however, a response and challenge to the outsiders present, the girls from the city and the gringa anthropologist, an attempt to exclude them, and at the same time to emphasise his authority. His choice of Quechua showed that he was not going to let his authority as festival sponsor be undermined by admitting the language of the city, of outsiders, and of a different kind of authority. He was able to maintain control over the situation, threatened as he saw it by the presence of outsiders, by not admitting the other language, and thus denying to others the possibility of ranking him as a Quechua speaker and 'Indian' in opposition to the Spanish-speakers from the city. However.



Plate 25. Bringing Carnival to doña Concha's patio



Plate 26. The sheep-quarterming ritual

his attempt to conduct the proceedings in Quechua was only partially successful, as he had to resort to a large number of Spanish loan words and phrases in order to express himself clearly.

He declared Saint Luke to be the patron Saint of the event, adding the explanation (in Spanish) that this was because he was 'lo más malo de todos los santos', which could be interpreted as 'the most bad (or evil) of all the saints', or as 'the most powerful of all the saints', since 'malo' can be used to signify both 'bad' and 'powerful' in the Bolivian countryside. The patron saint of Carnival seems to combine both meanings: he is powerful, but, as I shall explain shortly, being 'bad' seems also to be an important aspect of Carnival behaviour.

We were served a meal of qalapari, the soup made from ch'arki and maize, followed by roast llama meat. Some of the guests later complained in private about the meanness of the portions, making comparisons with the feasts of previous years. Despite don Alejo's work with the mining company, the family were not regarded as particularly wealthy, and others had told me privately that they had debts in Tupiza that they were unable to cancel. Following the meal, the musicians took up their instruments once more, and women danced to accompany them. Several men were nominated by don Alejo to each take hold of one leg of one of the halved sheep carcasses, and to dance until the half carcass was pulled apart and the sheep was quartered. This was clearly intended as an honour, and the men chosen by don Alejo were all men to whom he wished to show respect, including don Abel, the schoolteacher, who had recently become godfather to Alex Herbert, the youngest child of the Alejo household. The sheep carcasses did not always come apart easily just with dancing and pulling, and sometimes assistance from someone with a knife was needed.

Immediately after the sheep quartering dance, the guests, dancers and musicians left the courtyard and made their way, still playing and dancing, to the plain on the eastern edge of the town, beyond which lie the mountains Condor Wasi and Cerro Santa Isabel. Don Alejo's daughter, Silvia, referred to the plain thereafter as Kacharpaya Pampa. Here Carnival was brought to a close by a ceremony over which don Alejo presided once more, and during which libations were poured over a stone and into a hole hollowed out in the earth beneath it. Once this ch'alla had been performed, the dancing continued even more riotously than before, and the flag-bearing women dancers started to chase the male musicians and to hit them with stems of barley: some ran, chasing and being chased, far into the countryside. Silvia later told me that the women 'bring carnival to the men', and that when they

eventually came to a halt they would give the men alcohol to drink, chew coca, and pour more libations. By this final action, Carnival would be 'released'.

For those of us left behind on Kacharpaya Pampa, the festivity continued, but its tenor changed. Carnival flutes were cast aside and were played no longer, but other types of music were called for: someone suddenly asked me 'Where's your charango? Aren't you going to play now?', but, as all this was new to me, I had left the instrument behind. Rubén took up a tune on the quena that I had been teaching him and the dancing continued. Don Alejo in an instant forgot his bad temper, and both he and doña Teodora called for me to take photographs of them as they danced. Before leaving the pampa, to return to the town, don Alejo called for us all to go down on our knees and ask for pardon for our 'bad' behaviour during the week of Carnival.

Although this was described to me as the end of the festival, the party continued throughout the night. The carnival flutes may have been put away, but music was now provided by battery-powered ghetto blasters and people danced to cumbia tapes as they had on the final night of Todos Santos back in November. On this final night, Nancy and Marina arrived from the mine: they had not been present on other days, they said, because they did not like the flute music, but were happy to dance to the music of the cities.

Olivia Harris, commenting on Carnival among the Laymi, makes an explicit connection between that festival and the souls of the dead who arrive for Todos Santos. In her interpretation, the souls of the dead remain in the land of the living for the entire rainy season, and become the devils of Carnival,²⁵ which are dispatched from the land of the living at the end of the feast (Harris 1982: 58). There are striking similarities between the festival that Harris describes and Carnival in Lípez: although the dancers in San Pablo are not named as devils, and do not wear the black goatskins worn by the Laymi, they festoon themselves with plants, visit houses in the village, and at the end of the feast are accompanied out of inhabited space to a flat place where, among the Laymi, according to Harris, the devils are sent packing, and where San Pablo people say that 'Carnival is released'. No

²⁵ While devils seem a particularly Andean feature of Carnival both in the cities and in the countryside, there is an interesting parallel in the carnivals of mediaeval Europe. Le Roy Ladurie notes that several anthropologists and historians have interpreted the European celebrations as fertility rites, and have interpreted some of the macabre masks worn by carnival participants as demons and dead souls. In Europe, as in the Andes, he notes, it was commonly held that the dead moved among the living, and influenced the next growing season (Le Roy Ladurie 1980: 311). It would seem, therefore, that similar themes appear both in mythical European traditions and in pre-Hispanic Andean beliefs. It is difficult therefore to state with any sort of certainty the origin of present-day Andean beliefs about the dead. The most likely explanation would seem to be a convergence of the two traditions, in a similar manner to that suggested by Salazar-Soler for Alchemical and pre-Hispanic Andean beliefs about metals and minerals (Salazar-Soler 1992: 216).



Plate 27. The kacharpaya

one I spoke to in San Pablo, however, would affirm any association between the carnival dancers and the dead, and I had been told at Todos Santos that the dead depart at the end of that festival. Harris heard similar assertions among the Laymi, and gets round the apparent contradiction, firstly by reminding us that ideas relating to the fate of the soul after death are by their very nature vague and indefinite, and secondly, by proposing that although the ghosts of individuals are expelled at the end of Todos Santos, the dead, as a collective presence remain with the living until Carnival.

Although I could get local people to make no conscious association between Carnival and the souls of the dead, it is worth noting that the male Carnival dancers are called machu (meaning in Quechua 'old' or 'of great age'). Catherine Allen (1988: 54-57) notes from Sonqo in Peru that this is the name (usually in the plural machukuna) applied not to the recent and remembered dead, but to the long-ago dead, the remnants of a gigantic race that lived before the age of the sun,²⁶ and differentiated from the direct ancestors of present-day people who are known as Machula Aulanchis, which she translates as 'Our Old Grandfathers'. These long-ago dead are generally considered to be malevolent, but are also connected, like the recent dead, with the fertility of the earth. Spedding (1993: 14) likewise differentiates the long-ago dead who have lost their individuality from the souls of the more recently departed, associating only the former with the divinities of the under (or inner) world, Ukhupacha (Manqhupacha in Aymara), while the latter are said to belong to the upper world where the saints dwell, Hananpacha (Alaypacha or Alaxpacha in Aymara); and Flores Ochoa (1979: 77) specifically mentions the long-ago dead of pre-Colombian burial sites in connection with Carnival in Paratía, Peru. Bearing this in mind, I have reservations about applying Harris's interpretation of Carnival as a farewell to the dead as well as to the rains without further testimony from people in San Pablo, particularly relating to the identity of the machu dancers. Harris's theory admittedly fits well with Gose's (1994: 126-131) explanation of doing ayni with the dead, and the dead drying out to provide water for the living, discussed in the previous chapter, but in that Chapter I expressed my reservations about Gose's hypothesis, which in turn derived in part from Harris's work. I do not intend any criticism of Harris's ethnography here, my reservations concern the justifications for applying an interpretation of events that take place in a Carnival celebration several hundred miles

²⁶ The belief that our present age, the age of the sun, is only the latest in a series of ages of the world, separated from each other by cataclysms called pachakuti, is widespread in the Andean region. People in San Pablo likewise talk about an age before the sun, when the people of the chullpas (tombs, or archaeological remains in general) lived by cultivating their fields.

away to those that take place in San Pablo, without further corroboratory testimony from the people of San Pablo themselves.

8.3.3 'Bad' Behaviour at Carnival

Before returning to the central theme of this chapter, the production of locality, one aspect of the LÍpez Carnival that deserves some comment is the confrontational behaviour of my host, the festival's sponsor don Alejo, and his discursive references to Carnival and being 'bad'. He referred to Saint Luke, the patron of the festival, as the 'más malo' ('most bad') of all the saints, asserted that one has to be 'bad' during Carnival, and finally, that when the festival ends one has to get down on one's knees to beg God's pardon for having behaved so badly in the week that is coming to a close. Don Alejo's change of behaviour at the very end of the festival had been striking: instead of telling me I was not wanted, or, at one point, threatening to kill me, he was urging me to take photographs of his family and the other revellers as they danced, and to take up my musical instrument. There are two facets of this behaviour that I want to consider here, the first being drunkenness, and the role of drinking in Andean communities, and the second ritual behaviour, especially those festivals that involve either anarchic behaviour or role reversal.

It would be a difficult task to name an ethnography of the Andean region that makes no reference to drinking and to drunkenness. All the festivals I have attended in the Andean region have involved drinking alcohol, pouring ritual libations and eventually getting drunk, and in these circumstances, drinking to the point of being drunk is not only acceptable, but is the expected and correct way to behave. In fact, I think I annoyed don Alejo at the start of the Carnival celebrations described above by attempting to stay sober in order to be in a reasonable state to record events in my fieldnotes. I do not think I was fully integrated back into the family until I did get drunk one night, and they were finally able to have some fun at my expense. Several authors have commented on the integrative aspect of this sort of drinking in the Andes (Allen 1988: 24, 137-150; Harvey 1991: 1-2): it is an act of sharing and collaboration through which community is created and sustained and locality is produced. They have also noted the disapproval with which solitary drinking meets from Andean peoples (Allen 1988: 148) and I vividly remember Nancy from Buena Vista expressing her concern that don Juan, one of the co-operative miners, was drinking too much, and relating to me tales of a woman she had known in Telamayu who drank alone.

Both Harvey and Allen have also commented on the role that alcohol plays in bringing people into contact with the supernatural world. The use of alcohol in libations and offerings has been noted at various points in this thesis, but in addition to the alcohol offered to the various powers of the landscape, the alcohol consumed by participants in a ritual is also significant. Harvey comments that drinking is about putting life into an activity being undertaken, animating and strengthening it and about increasing the reproductive potency of both the community and the resources that sustain it (Harvey 1991: 12). Drinkers drink both to become animated, and to animate the powers of the landscape, but in order to engage fully with the power achieved through drink, they must pass from a relatively controlled, animated stage to a more emotionally charged and uncontrolled experience. Harvey also notes that there are parallels between drunks, the dead and mountain spirits that are sometimes articulated directly in the Peruvian community where she worked. She regards drink and drunks as indispensable for the creation and continuity of the community, as the dead and mountain spirits are for continuing fertility (Harvey 1991: 13).

Harvey concentrates on the verbal aspects of drunken interaction, and identifies three principle features of the language of drunks: joking; expressions of pride and despair; and confrontation (Harvey 1991: 15). While on other occasions of drinking with people in San Pablo, a great deal of joking took place, which Harvey associates with the early animated stages of drunkenness, I would suggest that don Alejo's speech during Carnival contained numerous examples of the second and third features, expressions of pride and despair and confrontation, characteristic of people who get further drunk and move beyond the animated stage. Like examples that Harvey (*ibid.*: 17-18) cites, don Alejo's speech was characterized by claims to self-worth that centre on the right to authority in the neighbourhood: assertions such as 'Yo soy indígena de esta parte' ('I am a native of these parts') and 'Yo soy el líder de este pueblo' ('I am the leader of this community'). Like the people of Ocongate, in a drunken state don Alejo is able to confront the issues that underlie the ambiguities of his social position, both abruptly and directly: he wants to claim power and authority through his indigenous identity, and attachment to the local landscape, but his family's continued presence in Lípez, with the decline in llama herding, and his possession of but few animals, is made possible only through his paid labour with a foreign owned company controlled by city people and foreign gringo bosses. These foreigners, authoritative figures with the potential power to extract wealth from the local landscape, did not look so different from me, the anthropologist who had come to 'steal information'.

Once again according to Harvey (1991: 8), drunks are not responsible for what they do or say.²⁷ They do not remember what happens when they get drunk, and distance themselves from the event by claiming that it is the drink that speaks rather than the person drinking (*ibid.*). I would suggest that don Alejo here uses this immunity from responsibility acquired through drink, as well as that conferred on Carnival participants who are exhorted to be 'bad', as licence to air some of his grievances and to have a go at people to whom he would normally respect; but to fully develop this point, we need to consider briefly some theories of ritual, and in particular of rituals of rebellion.

Although this chapter and the previous one have looked at ritual, they have not focussed particularly on the behaviour of social actors. This has been the subject of a large amount of anthropological literature and has attracted a wealth of interpretations. Leach, understood rituals to regulate the passage of time, the year is marked by a succession of festivals, where each festival represents a shift from the normal or profane order of things to an abnormal, or sacred, order and back again (Leach 1961: 134). He divided each festival into phases, in a similar manner to van Gennep (1965) before him, of normal time preceding sacralisation or separation, which would be followed by marginality and finally aggregation, before a return once more to normal time. He also noted that different sorts of behaviour were associated with each phase. Contrasted with the normal behaviour of everyday life were three types of ritual behaviour: formality, masquerade or revels and role reversal. While formality and revelry tended to mark the separation and aggregation phases of the ritual, the marginal or liminal phase could also involve role reversal, for which he cites examples in both ethnographic literature and in accounts of the festivities of mediaeval Europe (*ibid.*: 135-136).

Leach has by no means been the only anthropologist to comment on ritual behaviour. Victor Turner (1969) concentrated on the marginal or liminal stage of rituals, which he saw as characterised by a blend of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity and comradeship. He saw the liminal phase as a phase of levelling, of a dimension of society that opposes the structures and hierarchies of the politico-legal system, which he characterised by the terms *anti-structure* and *communitas*. Gluckman (1965) looked at rituals involving role reversal in Swaziland, which he saw as drawing attention to the potential conflict the authority of the king could cause. For him, the power of such 'rituals of rebellion' lay in exaggerating real conflicts of social rules and in affirming that in spite of these

²⁷ Harvey points to the use of the past tense suffix –SQA in Quechua speech, used to report actions in which a person did not participate personally, or did not fully, or consciously, participate, such as when dreaming, when drunk or when very young. (Harvey 1991: 8).

conflicts there was still unity. In similar vein, the Soviet literary critic, Anatoly Lunacharsky, proposed the idea in the 1930s that folk festivals such as Carnival were a kind of safety valve for the passions of the common people, that might otherwise be directed towards revolution (Holquist 1984: xviii).

In his work on Rabelais, Bakhtin puts forward a view of Carnival that directly opposes Lunacharsky's stance that was prevalent in the Soviet Union at his time of writing. Rather along the lines of Turner's *anti-structure* or *communitas*, Bakhtin saw Carnival, a festival of the people, as a time outside the established order: it was marked by the suspension of ranks, privileges, norms and prohibitions, and was a feast of change and renewal (Bakhtin 1984: 10). However, rather than being just an alternative expression of community, as Turner implies, Bakhtin sees Carnival as a time when real acts of rebellion could take place with impunity, sanctioned by a popular festive form consecrated by many centuries. Thus, festive behaviour can be used as a sanction to inflict a severe punishment on one's foes, to settle one's accounts, and there is no clear dividing line between what is play and what is life (Bakhtin 1984: 263-268).

It is this interpretation by Bakhtin of behaviour during the mediaeval European carnival that I think can be helpful in looking at don Alejo's exhortations to the people of San Pablo to be 'bad' during the Andean Carnival. He uses the sanction provided by the festival, during which one was supposed to be 'bad', together with that similarly provided by drinking alcohol, to inflict a punishment on those with whom he felt he had a score to settle; the girl, already pregnant by his son, who was about to become an affine, and who would shortly become responsible for Rubén setting up his own household; the girls from local families who had grown up in the cities, and so did not really belong; the gringa anthropologist 'stealing information' from the community; and by extension, the other gringos from the mining company, to whom he had to behave as a subordinate and who were in the position of potentially being able to steal his province's minerals. The sanction provided by Carnival enabled him to flout norms of respectful behaviour, and were not forgotten, but commented on later by comunarios. Carnival behaviour was not just cathartic, enabling the festival sponsor to express his frustrations before returning to work, and normal respectful behaviour, the following day. His intention had been to inflict damage, and to make others both respectful and wary of him.

8.3.4 Producing Locality at Carnival

It is tempting to look at the San Pablo Carnival celebrations as a time when locality is produced, and to see this locality as an alternative to that which involves the nation-state. The state appears to be set aside temporarily, as the bounds of the neighbourhood are, at least in theory, reaffirmed, as animals are marked and the powers of the landscape propitiated. Local state officials might produce a programme for the celebration, but this is ignored by the townspeople, as if to let these officials know that their titles and duties do not extend to the festival, in which their only roles are as private individuals and household members. At the Independence Day celebrations the children represented 'Indians' in their staged performance, but at Carnival they and their parents are the real thing. This model, although useful as a first approximation, nevertheless, does oversimplify the relationship between local community and the state, and on closer analysis is not entirely satisfactory. It also does not provide an adequate explanation of some of the events of Carnival. To reach a fuller understanding of these, it will be necessary look at them in a wider historical and cultural context. I have already brought ideas of narrative and social memory into the discussion of the August celebrations in San Pablo, and will attempt to do something similar for the events of Carnival.

In many areas of the Andes the time of Carnival is known as Pujllay, the Quechua term for 'play' (Allen 1988: 182-189; Flores Ochoa 1979: 90). According to Allen, in the Peruvian community of Sonqo it is a time for boisterous sexual play and ritual fighting, which is now reduced to competitive dance, but which formerly took the form of real fighting between different ayllu, or the divisions thereof, with stones and slings and which could lead to death. This encounter went by the name of tinku or tinkuy. Platt (1988: 393), writing of the ritual battles that take place today between the two moieties of Ayllu Macha, similarly describes them as pujllay, and sees them in terms of ritualising existing conflicts between the two factions, and of arriving at a solution to these conflicts that is also sanctioned by ritual. Carnival, we might then see as a time for sorting out relations between the various internal divisions of a group, or for equilibrating relations between them, through extraordinary behaviour that is classified as play. What I want to suggest here is that it is also a time for equilibrating relations with larger, or outside entities.

The model I set out at the start of this section tends to see local forms of organisation as more-or-less autonomous, or independent of the nation. However, for the ayllu and other rural social groups of highland Bolivia this cannot be the case, since these groups have been part of larger entities, Inca and

Spanish empires, since before the European invasion, and have to a great extent been shaped by these. Some of the changes that ayllu leadership underwent during the colonial and early republican eras have already been discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.3. It has also been posited, in Chapter 3, that being ‘Indian’ was as much a fiscal as a racial category: in the colonial era, Indians paid tribute to the Spanish crown, while mestizos and Spaniards paid tithes and value added tax. After independence, tribute payments were retained by the government of the republic, as they provided a large proportion of state revenue. It is to the matter of tribute payments that I shall now return.

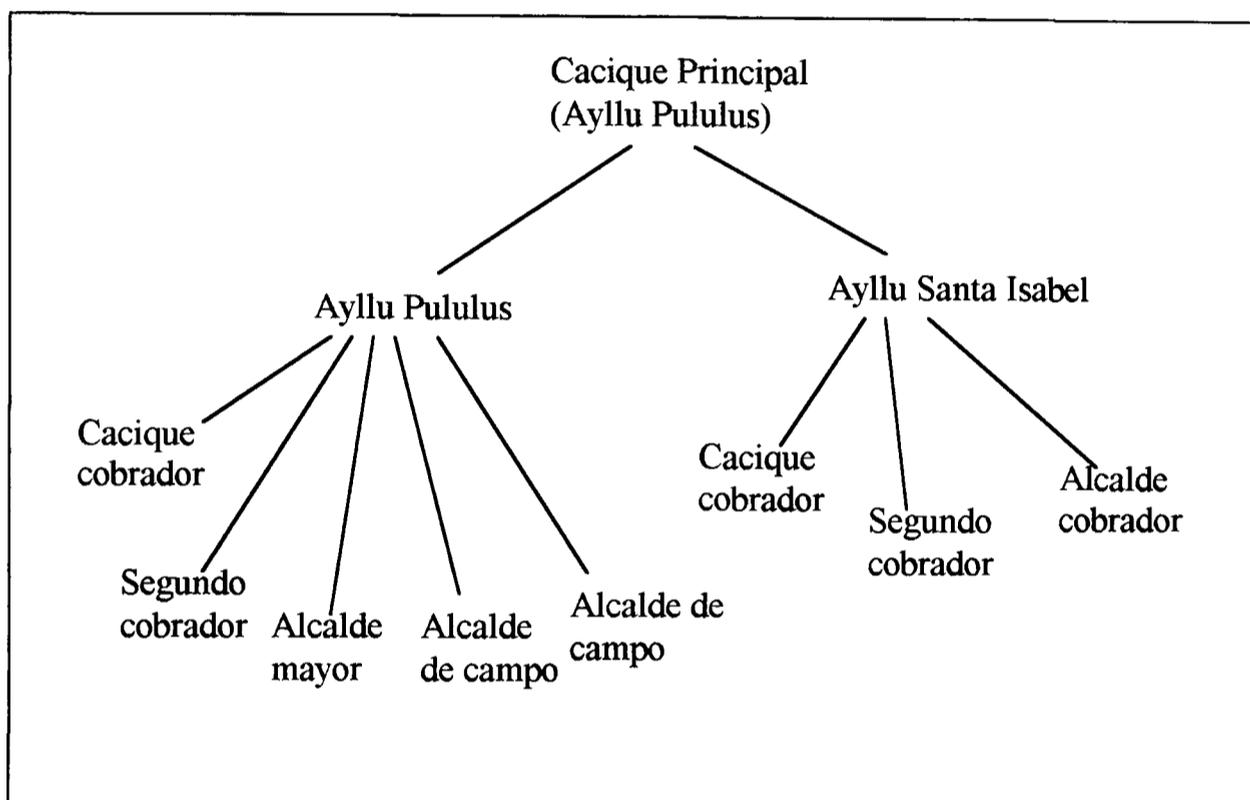


Fig. 4 The ayllus that paid tribute in San Pablo in 1841 and the positions of authority therein

To recap, in the nineteenth century, the Lípez ayllu paid tribute in two instalments, for which they were charged as forasteros or agregados (incomers, rather than natives) at three and a half pesos for each six-month period. This was due in two instalments, the first due at Christmas, and the second in June at San Juan. However, as I have described in Chapter 5, Section 5.3, due to the calendar of activities of the ayllu of San Pablo canton, the tribute due at Christmas, was actually paid at Carnival. Hence, in Sud Lípez, there is a historical link between Carnival and relations with the state. From the 1841 census (revisita) (ANB rev. 493), it appears that the tribute for two ayllu, Pululus and Santa Isabel, was delivered in San Pablo, the capital of the canton, while that for the remaining ayllu the Sud Lípez area was delivered in San Antonio de Lípez and San Antonio de Esmoruco. A closer

inspection of the census gives further information about how two ayllus were organised for tribute collection (see Figure 4). There was only one cacique principal (head chieftain), a man from ayllu Pululus, the larger of the two ayllu, who was responsible for collecting the tribute from both ayllus. Ayllu Pululus had five further officials, two cobrades (tribute collectors) and three alcaldes (mayors). The smaller ayllu had just three officials in 1841: two cobrades and one alcalde cobrador (a later census of 1871 also shows an additional cobrador). The positions of authority in the two ayllu hence derived from the requirement to collect tribute. It is tempting to speculate, though, that the two ayllu may have been the two halves, or moieties, of a larger entity. I want to suggest here that, rather than celebrating the local group's autonomy, a central part of San Pablo's present-day Carnival celebration, through a collective act, remembers Carnival as a tribute-paying event, and also recalls the relationship between the divisions of the ayllu that organised the area and the relationship between the ayllu and the state that the payment of tribute implied.

The part of the Carnival celebration to which I refer is the quartering of sheep at the kacharpaya, or farewell ceremony. I got very little explanation of the significance of this from local people beyond the usual 'Its traditional' ('Es costumbre'), so what follows is very much my own interpretation. I focus on this particular event, however, because of the similarity it bears to a ceremony of conquest and incorporation into the Inca state described by the sixteenth-century chronicler and extirpator of idolatries Cristóbal de Albornoz, and analysed by Platt (1988). We have already seen how narratives of conquest enter into the urban Carnival celebration. Albornoz writes of a ceremony in which the Inca (or his representative) and a local chieftain each took hold of the wing of a live falcon, and pulled until the bird was torn asunder. Inca and chieftain would each retain his half of the bird. This appears to have been, in effect, an oath of loyalty by the chieftain to the Inca, signifying that henceforth, Inca and the chieftain would have to remain as closely linked as the two symmetrical halves of the bird (Platt 1988: 413). Platt compares the Incaic ceremony with a present-day rite in Macha ayllu in which a hen, cut in half, is divided between the representatives of the two moieties of the ayllu following a game of 'tug-of-war' between the two sides. The Macha rite appears to be another version of the tinku, in that it deals with the internal relations of the ayllu, but the Inca ritual is concerned with relations with an outside entity. My contention here is not just that the sheep-quartering ceremony recalls the organisation of the ayllu of the area, but also says something about the relationship between these ayllus and the tribute-collecting state.

Platt sees the Incaic falcon-dividing ceremony as a rite of conquest that expressed new relations of power within the Inca state, but which was based upon a cultural logic shared by both local chieftain and Inca: a logic that involves the ambiguous 'inequality' of symmetry or 'light disequilibrium', such as that between the two moieties of present-day ayllu that are symmetrical, although one half takes precedence over the other, or that between the two halves of a married couple, where man and woman are complementary, but where the man takes precedence at least in the public sphere. Thus a conquered people could understand their relation with the conquering regime of Cuzco as balanced, but with a slight disequilibrium that legitimised the supremacy of the Inca (*ibid.*: 414). A conquered people would henceforth owe 'tribute' to the Inca, in the form of services, such as work in the fields belonging to the state or the solar cult, and in return would continue to enjoy access to their own lands.

In further works, Platt (1982, 1984) has explored the indigenous conception of the relationship between tribute paying ayllu and colonial and republican regimes. His interpretation of this follows similar lines to that set out above: an ayllu paid its (monetary) tribute to the state as part of a 'pact of reciprocity', which in turn guaranteed it access to its lands. Platt (1984) documents the unrest that followed republican attempts to make 'Indians' into private landholders, and Rasnake (1988: 256) suggests that this relationship with the state, conceived as a state-ayllu pact, was an underlying factor behind indigenous peoples retaining the ayllu as their unit of social organisation.

The sheep-quarterming rite of Carnival appears still to reflect both the internal structure of the two ayllus that would deliver their tribute to the Bolivian state at Carnival (in a similar manner to the chicken divided at Macha or the tinku), sorting out the internal relations of the group, but also the (unequal) symmetry of the state-ayllu pact (like the falcon-dividing rite of Incaic times), sorting out relations with a larger outside entity. I would, therefore, suggest that the sheep quarterming rite is a social or collective memory of the tribute payments made at Carnival in an earlier century, and of the structure of the ayllus that once organised the local population, through which the present-day population of the area claims continuity with the earlier form of organisation, and with the relationship represented between the local group and the state. That the ceremony has persisted, and is still salient, even though both tribute payment and the ayllu themselves have disappeared, perhaps indicates that present-day relations between local group and state are still conceived in a similar way.

or that contemporary relations between the local group and state enter into a dialogue with those of the past.

Rasnake (1988: 255-259), writing of Yura,²⁸ has looked at the way in which a symbolic dialogue takes place between ayllu and state at Carnival. In his analysis, it is through the rites of carnival that state control is defined as an element of social life. Visits to the boundaries of ayllu lands reaffirm the salience of the state-ayllu pact, while the focus of attention in the centre of ayllu territory is a stone pillar of ambiguous symbolism – it is a symbol both of the overall unity of Yura, while also being one of Spanish rule, and by extension, the imposition of state power.

In San Pablo, the link between Carnival and the state is through the tribute payments that were formerly made at this time of year. It is a time for sorting out relations, or settling one's accounts, both internal and external, through pujllay, which we might see as the extraordinary behaviour that is sanctioned at this time – not just the ritual of the division of sheep, but also through 'being bad' as well. Carnival in San Pablo thus resembles Bakhtin's Carnival in that the 'play' it sanctions can be used to deliver a serious blow against one's enemies, but it also resembles, somewhat contradictorily, the city Carnival, as its end result, rather than suspending or turning upside-down the social order, is more often to emphasise it.

In the present-day Carnival celebration of San Pablo, a locality is produced, but it is not a locality in which the state is set aside, but one that includes it: throughout the celebration, the state is always present by implication. This may be obvious at times, for instance, when local powers are invoked to ch'alla the new town hall, but is also sometimes not so obvious, as when the men playing music, attired as machu (old ones), enter into the dialogue between past and present by incorporating part of their work clothing (for work with a powerful outside entity) into their costumes, incorporating a new relationship into their locality. The final acts of Carnival likewise suggest dialogue and a reaching of equilibrium between local and larger entities, as flutes were set aside to make way for a final night of revelry to the strains of the new music of Latin America and the Bolivian nation.

8.4 Conclusions

I started this chapter with the tentative conclusions suggested in Chapter 7 that, following de Certeau (1984), during rituals of the nation-state local people are cast in the role of consumers, using the products imposed by a dominant order, and that they become producers in the 'more Andean' or

²⁸ An obvious difference with San Pablo is that the ayllu is still the basic unit of social organization in Yura.

'more private' rituals of the local area. This stance dovetailed neatly with the hypothesis of Appadurai (1995) that rituals with a local character in small-scale societies, such as naming places, marking animals, defining boundaries and so on, all in effect concern the socialization of space and time, or the spatio-temporal production of the phenomenological quality he terms locality. Appadurai also argues that while small-scale societies are in a position to produce locality within their own neighbourhoods, they are at the same time prisoners of the context-generating activities of nation-states, in relation to which their own efforts to produce locality are rendered feeble and ineffective. In this Chapter I have been exploring whether the production of locality through ritual in San Pablo de Lipez is not more creative than Appadurai would allow, and whether the people of San Pablo do not create a locality which incorporates belonging to the nation in a way that does not deny or ignore local values. Indeed it could be argued that locality and 'nationality' are mutually constitutive.

This chapter has looked at two celebrations in San Pablo, one that could be considered to be largely of the Bolivian nation-state, and the other that seems more to concern the locality. However, as we have seen, powers of the locality and the landscape enter into the festival of the Bolivian nation, and the presence of the state is never far away in the festival of the locality. The inequalities of power between remote provincial town and the nation may suggest a model of consumption of a locality imposed from outside in rituals of the nation and the production of an indigenous locality in those that do not concern the nation but, while this does form a useful first approximation, it does not give us the whole picture.

Both celebrations included acts of social or collective memory. The August celebrations included a ch'alla that brought the powers of the landscape into the festival of the nation-state, while at Carnival, the quartering of sheep recalled the structure of the ayllu that once organised the population of the area, and also their relationship with colonial and republican regimes. In both cases, it could be said that the people claim continuity with their past, with the forces of the landscape, but also of the obligations and expectations of a relationship with a larger, powerful entity. These acts of social memory help to produce a locality that is both particular to the people in question and the geographical area in which they live, and yet also responds to and incorporates belonging to a larger, national entity.

As I suggested for the Independence Day celebration, the production of a locality that incorporates belonging to the nation, in a specifically San Pablino way, is one way that enables people to get to grips with the imbalance of power, and also to construe themselves as effective social agents. Harris (1982: 69), writing about the Laymi, suggests that today the sources of outside power are beyond the reach of Laymi culture, and that the present-day ayllu of northern Potosí have not been able to forge a pact of reciprocity with the Bolivian state. I have suggested here that the notion of a state-ayllu pact has not been entirely 'forgotten', but that present-day relations with outside entities enter into dialogue with older notions of relations with the state. Thus, belonging to the Bolivian nation is defined as an element of social life in San Pablo.

Chapter 9. Talking about the Past in Sud Lípez: Shaping, Discourse and Intertextuality in Three Stories about the Colonial Era

9.1. Introduction

Most ethnographies of communities in the Andean region make at least some reference to the stories told by their inhabitants about the past – stories that the ethnographers label as myths, mythic histories, oral histories, or oral traditions – and proceed to analyse them in a variety of ways, according to their theoretical orientations. In so doing, the ethnographers carry on a tradition started by the Spanish colonizers of the sixteenth century of privileging oral narrative over other types of memory. As Abercrombie (1998: 130) emphasises, most forms of social memory in Andean societies are not construed, or even construable, through verbal narrative, but instead are to be found in the landscape, in rites of pilgrimage that take place in it, in the libations that are poured onto it, and the way people live in it. While the previous chapter touched on ideas of ritual and social memory in San Pablo, this chapter focuses on some of the stories told to me by San Pableños. For Spanish chroniclers and present-day ethnographers alike, oral narratives constitute more familiar and understandable sort of historical knowledge than does social memory encoded in the landscape and ritual acts, and it is perhaps no coincidence that a large fraction of the stories I heard in Sud Lípez concerned the ‘Time of the Spaniards’, the colonial past of the region, when its people had already been colonized by people who thought of history in terms of words and books.

On my first visit to Sud Lípez I was made aware of physical traces of the colonial era, when Padre Estanislao, the Polish priest, drove me to the ruined seventeenth-century mining camp at San Antonio de Lípez, and I saw the ruins of mines, ore processing plants and the houses of mine owners and workers. I also heard toponyms that echoed this colonial mining past, and included words and phrases familiar to me from historical works: Fundición Wayq’o, literally ‘Smelting Gorge’, Relave - a community named after mineral rich mud that is the waste from refining, but which can be reprocessed by a further cycle of washing, and Estancia Trapiche, where ‘trapiche’ is a Spanish term meaning ‘small mill’ - in Spain ‘trapiche’ can refer to a press for olive oil, but in the high Andes it is invariably a mill for crushing minerals. It was, however, several weeks before I started to hear stories about the past.

I heard no stories that were, to me, particularly coherent, until one morning in September 1995, when I was finding it hard to think up things to do and questions to ask, and hung around the plaza hoping that something, or someone would turn up. I was in luck. Over on the other side of the square, don Francisco, the director of education for the province, was showing around the town the newly arrived sergeant, who was to be in charge of the military post for the next month. As I went up to join the two men, don Francisco was explaining how the carved blocks of stone around the church doorway had been brought from the ghost town (pueblo fantasma) at LÍpez, by which he meant the ruins of the Spanish mining camp I had visited with the priest. Documents and historical works name it as San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo. The present-day community, which is lower down the mountain, is officially called San Antonio de LÍpez, but local people call it just LÍpez, to distinguish it from the other San Antonio of Sud LÍpez, San Antonio de Esmoruco.¹

Don Francisco continued by showing us a large, black, worked stone, measuring several feet across, and resembling a cogwheel, situated near where the road from Tupiza enters the town, stating that this too had been brought from LÍpez. To this day I could not say for sure what purpose this stone served, but suspect that it may have been part of an ingenio, or crushing mill: when I visited LÍpez again I found among the ruins of ingenios many pieces of the same type of rock, with indentations showing where the hammers that crushed the ore must have fallen, but the stone in San Pablo had been worked in quite a different way. On returning to the plaza, don Francisco told us the tale of how the old mining town came to be abandoned, after the Devil had been chained to a rock on the peak of the mountain by priests, and a plague had arrived in the form of a woman, and had all but wiped out the human population. I persuaded don Francisco to let me tape his story a couple of months later, and a transcription of this recording is included below, along with two other versions that I recorded from other narrators.

In the months that followed more people in and around San Pablo told me stories about the past. These stories were passed on by word of mouth, rather than written down, and were typically tales that parents would tell their children in the evenings, that adults would sometimes tell each other on occasions such as a vigil, when they needed to fill the long hours of the night, but more frequently were just the subjects of allusions made in the course of daily conversation: for instance, someone

¹ I have discussed the naming of the two San Antonios in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.a.

looking towards Cerro Lipez might just happen to mention that there is, or was, according to one of my narrators, a devil on its summit. Although don Francisco mentions in his story that he had once started to collect such stories by writing them down, as I discuss below, making this claim appears to be part of his personal agenda, and I know of no one else who has done so. As I have mentioned in previous chapters, nearly all people in San Pablo read and write, take pride in their level of education, and make regular use of their literacy skills in corresponding with family members who are away working in other areas (although there is no postal service to or from San Pablo, anyone travelling in roughly the right direction is recruited as a messenger). That stories about the area have not been written down is, I think, due less to any great value being put on oral procedures, or any feeling that to write down such stories would be in some way inappropriate, than to the idea that it would be pointless to make the effort to write down things that everybody knows anyway. I was asked on several occasions 'Why do you want to record that story? Everybody knows it'.

I became interested in the stories, not only on the basis that they might contain information about the colonial past of the area, or that they revealed ways of apprehending the world that can be understood in terms of the conceptual framework in which they rest, but also because in the course of telling the histories, I found the narrators often told me quite a lot about themselves, their present situations, and about the discourses that are current in the area. It seemed that in the act of narrating the past, people brought in a variety of discourses, some belonging to the past, albeit seen from the perspective of the present, but also many belonging to the present: discourses of belonging, or identity, their own individual preoccupations; discourses that justify the positions of their communities; and discourses of outsiders who come to Sud Lipez on various sorts of business. It is on the manners in which other discourses enter into stories about the past, that is, their 'interdiscursivity' (Fairclough 1992: 104) that I want to focus in this chapter, although not so exclusively as to disregard what people say took place in the area, or expressions of Andean or Lipeño preoccupations that enter into them. Furthermore, the stories were told to me, a foreigner, and undoubtedly contained explanations thought appropriate to my situation.

I have selected from the various stories I collected, three myths about the colonial era, since this era is an obvious focus to choose, given the colonial past of the area and its liberal sprinkling of

ruins, and I think local people would agree that they all belong to one type or genre.² They also illustrate well the points I want to make, although I could have focused on stories of more ‘mythical’ times, and carried out a similar analysis. That the four narrators I use here are all men is accidental: women in LÍpez know stories, which they tell to their children, and I did record some from doña Concha, although not about the colonial era. I shall begin the chapter by sketching out an outline of the approach I am taking here to myth, oral tradition and history, and then move on to recap the approach I am taking to text, discourse and discourse analysis. The largest section of the chapter is occupied by transcriptions of the stories, along with biographical details of the narrators, details of the recording circumstances and a discussion of each story in turn, and the final section discusses the ways in which discourses of power relations enter the narratives.

9.2 The Writing of the Speaking of History: Interpreting the Histories of Other People

In attempting to analyse the stories that the people of Sud LÍpez tell about the past of their region, the approach that I am taking here owes much to Rosaleen Howard-Malverde’s analyses of oral histories³ told in the peasant community of San Pedro de Pariarca in the Central Highlands of Peru (Howard-Malverde, 1989, 1990). In these works, in addition to examining the conceptual framework in which the stories rest, Howard-Malverde looks at the singularity of the accounts of her narrators, and relates them to their particular, present-day, concerns, highlighting the different discourses that appear in their narrations, and to which they give voice in other situations (Howard-Malverde, 1990; 46-47). She takes the view that the interplay between communicative resources, individual competence and the goals of participants give narratives an emergent quality which means

² Howard-Malverde (1990: 44-45), in her work on narratives from the central highlands of Peru, mentions two narrative types distinguished by the inhabitants of the community, San Pedro de Pariarca, where she carried out her study. These are *kwintu* (Sp. *cuento* - story) and *leyenda* (Sp. *leyenda* - legend), and the critical distinguishing factor between the two concerns the spatial setting of the narrated events. Stories where the action takes place in an undefined space are labelled *cuento*, whereas those where the space is defined are termed *leyenda*. Although I found that people in San Pablo used the two terms synonymously, I did find that I stories of the colonial era, which define both the space and time in which the narrative unfolds, were considered to be slightly different from stories about animals ‘*The fox and the wallata*’ (*wallata* being a large goose-like bird) or ‘*The fox and the condor*’ which could have taken place anywhere, or at any time, and stories of different eras ‘*The time when animals and people were more like each other*’ or ‘*When there was no sun*’ which do not specify where the action took place.

³ I use the term ‘oral history’ here to refer to stories that are told about the past, rather than ‘oral tradition’, which I would use for anything, whether or not a story, that is passed on by word of mouth. I differentiate ‘oral history’ here from life histories and eyewitness testimony, for which I would use the term ‘oral reminiscence’.

that no two performances of a story are ever exactly the same, and identifies three ways in which individual narrators shape their narratives. She defines *emotive shaping*, as the way that narrators demonstrate sympathy or antipathy towards the protagonists of the story, sometimes through interjections, and sometimes through intonational features, while *commentative shaping*, involves metanarrative comments offering different kinds of explanation, including the specification of sources of knowledge, and the sorts of information given to an outsider, such as an ethnographer, which might be omitted with a local audience. The third form of shaping, and that with which I am most concerned here, is *manipulative shaping*, the process whereby collective models are appropriated by individual practitioners, and reshaped in innovative ways.

This type of approach taken by Howard-Malverde, and which I am taking here, differs in emphasis from many previous analyses of oral histories and myths that have been carried out by anthropologists, without seeking to deny their usefulness. I would place together in this category, for instance, the approaches of both Jan Vansina and R. Tom Zuidema, which, although differing radically from each other, are comparatively unconcerned with the details of their sources.⁴ I have chosen to carry out a more subjective analysis of some of the oral histories from Sud Lípez because, having worked with people I had come to know well, I found approaches that all but ignore the teller of the tale, his or her audience and the conditions of telling, generally unsatisfying. My approach is thus similar to those that have been taken both by Howard-Malverde and by Elizabeth Tonkin, and emphasises that histories, whilst they concern the past, are constructed in the present and are told to

⁴ Vansina, working in Rwanda, the Congo and Burundi, treats oral narratives as history, and has shown that they can be a useful tool for recovering the histories of peoples that did not use writing. He regards his informants as channels for the transmission of information, and has been careful to develop a methodology that meets with the demands for reliable sources made by professional historians. (Vansina, 1965). His treatment, however, ignores both the mythic element of narratives, and the social conditions of their production, including the teller of the tale, although in his later work he does take some account of both the performers and the conditions of performance of oral narratives (Vansina 1985: 33-39)

A contrast with Vansina's approach is provided by Zuidema's structuralist interpretations of Inca oral traditions and histories that were written down by Spanish chroniclers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Despite the seemingly historical nature of these testimonies, which include genealogies of the Inca rulers, Zuidema virtually disregards the idea that they might tell of historical events prior to the Spanish conquest: that these sources derive at least in part from historical 'reality' is less important to him than the way that this reality is conceived and represented. Zuidema, instead of using Inca myths to reveal a chronology of events leading up to the Spanish invasion, as previous analysts had done, uses them to hypothesise about the structures of Inca society: the structures of kinship and marriage alliance, the administration of the irrigation system and its relevance for *ayllu* and moieties, female age grades, and the Inca calendar, its relation to religion and to the system of sight lines (*ceques*) with shrines (*huacas*) and points for astronomical observation that emanated from Cuzco (Zuidema, 1990). All in all, Zuidema's work forms an impressive achievement that has revolutionized the thinking of archaeologists about Inca society. However, although he is concerned to identify 'reliable' Spanish sources, his treatment of the texts involves only a superficial consideration of either the interests of the Spanish scribes in writing them or the motivations of their informants in passing on the information.

listeners. Tonkin (1992: 3) describes history as ‘representations of pastness.... made by persons in interaction, situated in real time and space’, and maintains that the telling of histories is a purposeful social action. Howard-Malverde similarly writes that ‘“here-and-nowness” informs the intentions and motivations of the speaker or author’ (Howard-Malverde 1990: 4).

Howard-Malverde acknowledges the theoretical grounding of her work in de Certeau’s study of the historiographical operation (de Certeau 1988), making the point that the writing of history and the speaking of history are really not so very different. She sees striking similarities between de Certeau’s approach to history, vindicating the position of the writing subject, and the way that oral histories are constructed in a society far less dependent on writing than our own (Howard-Malverde, 1990; 3). I have likewise found in de Certeau’s writing many points that are as applicable to the oral historian as to the historian writing history. Like historiographers in Western society, oral historians divide the present from the past, or the living from the dead, and interpret that which is absent (de Certeau, 1988: 2-3): a western historian interprets documents from archives, while oral historians in Sud Lípez interpret the traces formed by the physical marks on the landscape, along with the verbal traces of the stories they have inherited from their forebears. The traces of the past, however, are always configured according to the structures of perception that govern our present (Ahearne, 1995; 12). History is hence not a clear mirror of the past, but a localised fabrication of the present: a product of a place and its procedures, and the result of a human activity, or a practice (de Certeau, 1988; 57).⁵

Notably, many of the points that de Certeau makes are just as applicable to the operation that an ethnographer performs in writing about the spoken histories of other people as they are to the production of these histories themselves: after all, as Abercrombie has pointed out, while historians play on the duality of the term ‘history’ as meaning both the accounts produced through their action of writing history and the more common-sense meaning of ‘what really happened’ in the past, anthropologists use the term ‘ethnography’ to describe both what they write and the process of fieldwork through which they acquire material, the subject of their writing (Abercrombie, 1998, 409). Like written history, ethnographic writing sets itself up as knowledge of the other, and

⁵ Foucault makes a similar point when he states that historical descriptions are ordered by the present state of knowledge (Foucault, 1972; 5).

through citations, its texts summon others to appear, much as a judge summons witnesses at a trial (de Certeau, 1988; 94).

9.3 Text, Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Before turning to the stories themselves, I want to return briefly to some of the concerns and ideas concerning text, discourse and discourse analysis that I discussed towards the end of Chapter 2. In that Chapter, I argued, while not fully endorsing the culture-as-text metaphor, that a variety of non-linguistic phenomena could be treated as discourse. In this chapter, however, in looking at instances of spoken language, I am returning to a more restricted and conventional use of the term – from the point of view of linguistics – although the approach I am taking and the arguments I am making have not changed significantly.

Starting with the notion of ‘text’, this has been the subject of numerous theoretical treatments: definitions offered have ranged from the narrowly linguistic, to the all embracing and indeterminate, including the metaphorical uses that have arisen in anthropology. Ricoeur takes the view that text is a product, defining it as ‘any discourse fixed by writing’ (Ricoeur 1991: 43), or ‘meaningful action’ that is similarly objectified.⁶ This definition involves fixity, distantiation from both the circumstantial reality of its production and the intentions of its author, and interpretation by a reader of the world it projects (*ibid*: 56-58). It is with this autonomy of the text from its conditions of production, that seems to point the way towards a more structural type of analysis, with which I have problems, and with which Moore takes issue in an article that is otherwise sympathetic to Ricoeur: she points out that texts are not produced in a vacuum, but are the products of particular sociocultural and politicoeconomic conditions, and questions whether Ricoeur’s theory deals adequately with the reception of texts by the audiences for which they are produced (Moore 1990: 115).

I am more inclined to go along with some of the ideas set out by William Hanks, who, in a review article, suggests that text can be treated not only as a product, but also as a process and mode of social action. He locates text within the social matrix in which discourse is produced and understood, and a key factor in his definition is interpretability by a community of users (Hanks

⁶ A useful review of Ricoeur’s work is given in Moore (1990).

1989: 95-96). His view of text as a communicative phenomenon emphasises the permeability of the boundaries that separate the text from the broader social environment beyond it (*ibid*: 103-106).

As I explained in the earlier chapter, my approach to discourse lies somewhere in the middle ground between those linguistic approaches to discourse analysis that focus on texts, and the more abstract and theoretical approaches to discourse that refer to the different ways of structuring knowledge and social practice (e.g. Foucault, 1972, Foucault, 1979). This middle ground is the area that Hanks identifies as likely to be the most fruitful for anthropologists engaging in studies of text and textuality (Hanks, 1989; 100) and is also the ground where Fairclough situates his approach to text-oriented discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992), seeking to combine detailed analysis of concrete instances of spoken or written discourse with a more theoretical orientation than is usual in linguistics. Although Fairclough employs many terms that Foucault uses, his approach owes much of its theoretical inspiration to Bakhtin and Gramsci.

In this chapter, the texts I have taken are the transcripts of stories that were told to me orally, and which I recorded, and subsequently transcribed (and translated). I am thus dealing with texts that are ‘products’ in a sense that is familiar to linguists. However, my interpretations of these texts inevitably reach out beyond the transcribed product to the specific social, cultural and political conditions of their production: after all, I was present at the telling of the tales, know the people telling them, and take the view that at least some of what was said has been determined by the actual historical circumstances in which they were told. The stories I heard were not learned by rote, and would have been made up not only of the words that their narrators had heard in the past when they were told the story – and there do seem to be some phrases that Lipeños recognise coming from these stories – but of snatches from other discourses that are current in and around the area, and which affect the lives of the people who live there. The stories are addressed to an audience, sometimes just to me, sometimes to those back where I came from, an imagined audience in a far away country, but sometimes also to members of the narrator’s family. These people hearing the story will, in future dialogue, take up what they have heard, transmit it to others, refer to it, or perhaps criticise it, as it becomes part of the context in which new versions of the story are produced.

The outline I have given above of my understanding of the transmission of stories in Sud Lipez could be described as ‘dialogic’, where ‘dialogism’ is a term that has been taken up by academics to

categorise Bakhtin's approach to dialogue and discourse.⁷ This concept has been used in subtly different ways both in Bakhtin's own works (and those of other members of the Bakhtin circle, such as Vološinov (1973[1929]⁸)) and in those of his commentators, and it suggests not only dialogue between speaking or writing subject and addressee, but also 'double voicedness', the presence of two distinct voices in one utterance (see Vice, 1997: 45). One particular concept that is particularly relevant to this chapter is what Kristeva (1986: 37) has termed intertextuality. Intertextuality describes how discourse is made up of words already spoken by others, which are re-uttered and projected towards future discourses: as Bakhtin writes, 'there are no neutral words' (Bakhtin 1986: 293), there are always previous and authoritative, utterances that set the tone for what is said.

Intertextuality is a particular focus of Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis, and he divides it into two categories: 'manifest intertextuality', where other texts are explicitly present in a text under analysis, and 'constitutive intertextuality', which he also labels 'interdiscursivity', which describes the 'configuration of discourse conventions' that go into the production of a text; that is, how it is made up from the different discourses that surround it (Fairclough 1992: 104). As will be shown, different discourses enter into the narratives of oral histories, and other texts are present and obvious to different degrees.

9.4 Transcriptions and Translations

I did not use tapes very often during my fieldwork: on the technical side, persuading a cassette recorder to work well when full of red dust from the mountain Condor Wasi was no easy matter, but, apart from this, I found it difficult and inappropriate to switch from informal conversations with people I knew well, and in whose houses I was a guest, to conducting taped interviews with them which inevitably involved a greater degree of formality and a corresponding change in our relationships. The only situation in which I found the tape did sometimes help was that of

⁷ Although I have concentrated here on dialogism as applied to language and discourse, as Holquist has explained, Bakhtin's concept has wider implications, both for epistemology and consciousness (see Chapter 2).
⁸ Vološinov's work 'Marxism and the Philosophy of Language' (Vološinov 1973 [1929]) is one of the disputed texts that some scholars claim may have been written by Bakhtin himself. Whether this were the case, or whether the similarities of the ideas contained in the work with those of Bakhtin were the result of the two authors having belonged to the same intellectual circle and having shared ideas in the 1920s, or whether the claim for Bakhtin's authorship, made in the 1970s, which was neither confirmed nor refuted by Bakhtin, was motivated by Bakhtin's name having been 'rehabilitated' in the eyes of the Soviet authorities at the time, whereas Vološinov's had not, is not one of my concerns here. I have therefore cited the disputed text by the name of the author under which it was published.

storytelling, when the presence of the tape did encourage people to reflect before speaking: to reflect on the story, on the possible audience that might hear them speaking at a later date, and on the ways in which they wanted to present themselves to that audience. The stories I discuss in this chapter were all taped in Sud LÍpez: those in Quechua were transcribed in San Pablo with the aid of don Alejo's son Rubén, and the remainder at a later date in St. Andrews.

Since, in my analysis of the three stories, I refer to features of the texts, for ease of reference I have included transcriptions and translations of my tape recordings in the body of this chapter, rather than in an appendix, although this does make the chapter more cumbersome. It should be borne in mind, however, that neither transcription nor translation is a transparent or neutral procedure. In the examples that follow I have tried to follow some of the recommendations made by both Fairclough and Ruth Finnegan whose work concerns oral traditions.

Transcription is a difficult and time-consuming process, which is neither self-evident nor culture free (Finnegan 1992: 195). Leaving aside such inevitable occurrences as unclear sections of tape - ethnographic recordings are not made in studio conditions and inevitably have words obscured by rustling plastic bags and babies crying - there are practical difficulties concerning what should be included and what should be left out: should every hesitation, or false start made by the narrator be recorded in the interest of accuracy, or does such a 'full' transcription seem unnecessarily pedantic? No system can show everything, and that adopted will inevitably be a matter of judgement, made according to the nature of the research project and the sorts of features of the text that are to be shown. Some systems of transcription attempt to show such features as intonation, stress, pausing and changes of volume,⁹ but it is always going to be difficult to convey others, such as the facial expression and bodily gestures of the speaker.

In the transcriptions that follow I have opted for a system rather less elaborate than the minimum level recommended by Fairclough (1992: 229), whose examples are much more concerned with turn taking in conversation than are the stories here (in which only one person speaks, barring my occasional interventions, misunderstandings and requests for clarification), but more detailed than the minimum suggested by Finnegan (1992: 196) who, however, notes how contentious transcribing can be, and resists the idea of there being a 'correct' text somehow existing 'out there' in its own

⁹ References for transcription methods in this category are given in Fairclough 1992: 229.

right (Finnegan 1992: 195). I have occasionally omitted some of my own responses, interjections like ‘I see’ or ‘Yes’, but I have not removed all of them, having done so mainly where these overlap and interfere with the narrator’s speech.

If transcription necessarily imposes an interpretation on speech (Fairclough 1992: 229), then so also does translation. There is no such thing as a neutral, literal or exact rendering, and translation involves decisions over models of meaning, delimitation of units, purposes, audiences and so on (Finnegan 1992: 188). The translation of oral traditions such as myths and folk tales brings added problems: it is necessary to walk a tightrope between the sorts of over-florid literary translations criticised by Hymes, who argues that closer renderings of words and structures sometimes give a better representation of the original (Hymes 1981: 39-40) and the ‘literal translations’ criticised by Andrzejewski that ‘give the impression of the supposed primitive level of the original’ (Quoted in Finnegan 1992: 189). In my translations I have attempted to stay faithful to the narrations, rather than translate what I think they should have said, while rendering the translation into readable English. I have, however, included in my translations more information about sources of knowledge than would be normal in spoken English, because, as will be seen below, sources of information are an important feature of both Quechua and the Spanish spoken by rural dwellers in Bolivia. In the texts that follow, the original language transcriptions are in bold type while the translation is in normal script.

9.5. The Three Stories

9.5.1 The Treasures Left Behind by The Spaniards, and Why the Ground Burns in August.

Narrator: don Reynaldo

9.5.1.a The Narrator

Since I have already written extensively about don Reynaldo, the leader of the mining co-operative at Buena Vista, I shall not include any further biographical details here, but refer the reader back to Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1.a for this information.

9.5.1.b Recording Circumstances

This was one of the stories that don Reynaldo told me during the course of one of my first visits to the mine, at the beginning of December 1995. I did not record it on that occasion, but made a note of it, and later asked if I could record it during a coca break when we were working in the mine prior to Carnival, at the end of January the following year. The first version was shorter and lacked the contextualising historical preamble of the recorded version. In the following transcription there are a number of gaps where the words are unclear in the recording. There were two reasons for this: the tape was not moving very smoothly through my recorder, and kept starting and stopping (probably because of the amount of dust that gets into everything in San Pablo), and also because we were chewing coca, and I had not yet realised that the rustling of plastic bags is a sound that can all but obliterate most voices. Don Reynaldo is also a very quietly spoken man, who nonetheless narrates with an air of authority. He also narrates in a tone of quiet amusement, irony and humour.

9.5.1.c The Narrative

Don Reynaldo: Bueno, nosotros habíamos sido, pues, colonizados por los españoles, cuando Francisco Pizarro vino. ...[unclear] un buen tiempo ha sido... Bolivia antes era Alto Perú [unclear]. por los españoles.

So, we had been, well, colonised by the Spanish, when Francisco Pizarro came. ...[unclear] for a good while it had been.... Bolivia used to be 'Alto Perú' [unclear]...by the Spanish.

5 Después de mucho tiempo la gente se ha dado cuenta... ha pensado en ir a tratar de independizarse de España.

After a long time the people had realised.... had thought about trying to become independent from Spain.

Por tanto, se han sublevado contra los españoles las gentes de estas partes, más notable que se ha hecho en Bolivia era... el don Pedro Murillo... [unclear].. en la Plaza Murillo en La Paz, que usted conoce, ¿no?

So, the people from these parts had arisen against the Spaniards. Most notable of all that was done in Bolivia was....don Pedro Murillo...[unclear]...in the Plaza Murillo in La Paz, you know it don't you?

M.B.: Sí...

Yes...

10 Don Reynaldo:

Entonces la guerra de independencia comenzó cuando se han sublevado.

So, the war of independence started when they arose.

La gente quince años ha peleado para separarnos de España ¿no?

The people fought for fifteen years to separate us from Spain, didn't they?

Y así... Después de los quince años de guerra han firmado un armisticio al final y los españoles tenían que retirarse...[unclear, possibly dejando] nosotros como un país libre y democrático.

And so, after fifteen years of war they signed an armistice in the end, and the Spaniards had to withdraw...[unclear, possibly leaving]...us a free and democratic country.

15

A los españoles han quitado... a todos los españoles, patrones que antes habían en las minas en todo Bolivia, ¿no? Con los mitayos.

They took [everything] away from the Spaniards... from all the Spaniards, who had been the owners of the mines in all Bolivia, hadn't they? With their mitayos.

Luego mandaron una fecha cuando estos señores patrones españoles tenían que separarse bien. En esta fecha, tenían que salir de Bolivia, y tendrían de ser capturados si [unclear, possibly tardaran] de esta fecha.

Then they ordered that on a certain date those Spanish gentlemen and patrons had to separate themselves completely [from us]. On that date, they had to leave Bolivia, and they had to be captured, if they remained after that date.

20

Luego los señores de éstos tenían que irse [unclear] forma... lo más rápido posible salir de Bolivia.

Then, those gentlemen had to get out, [unclear] ...in a way, they had to get out of Bolivia as quickly as possible.

Estos señores, como antes no habían movilidades, llevaron en sus carritas todos los productos que tenían de las minas, es decir, de la plata.

Those gentlemen, as in those days there was no motorised transport, carried with them in their carts all the products they had [taken] from the mines, that is to say, silver.

Llevaron. Entonces los señores, al final, tenían que descansar en los caminos de sus carros.

They carried it. So, the gentlemen, in the end, had to rest by the sides of the roads, [tired] from pushing their carts.

25

Entonces los señores dejaron, eligieron un lugar, dejando, enterrando sus objetos de plata, sus botoncillos de plata, sus cosas más se han arruinado... al lado de los caminos, de muchos caminos, de todas las minas son, de tantas minas.

So they left behind...they chose a place... leaving...burying their silver objects, their little buttons of silver...their other things were spoiled, at the sides of the roads, ...of many roads, ...from all the mines.... from so many mines.

Así dejaron enterrando, con el fin de... con objeto de volver, y recoger sus objetos, pero ya no volvieron.

So they left behind, burying, with the idea of, ...with the aim of coming back to collect their objects. But they never came back.

30 **Entonces se dice, se cree, que estos lugares donde han enterrado los españoles, hace arder en los días de agosto, en el primero de agosto arden.**

So, it is said, it is believed, that those places where the Spaniards buried [things] are made to burn on the days of August, on 1st August they burn.

Fuegos, como nosotros creemos, como forma de azul, nosotros mismos hemos visto, mucha gente ha visto.

Fires, as we believe, as we ourselves have seen, like... blue fires...many people have seen them.

35 **Y cuando vamos el día siguiente al lugar donde ha ardido, entonces, la tierra del lugarcito está negra, tiznada, como si hubiera un fuego encima, pero no hay ni una leña, nada, solamente las tierras están negras, tiznada, pintada.**

And when we go on the following day to the place which was burning, well, the ground of the exact site is black, stained, as if there has been a fire on the surface...but there is no trace of firewood, nothing, except the ground is black, stained, painted.

M.B.: ¿Solamente la tierra?

Just the earth?

Don Reynaldo: ¡Clarito! Se supone que estos lugares tienen que ver con los objetos de plata de los españoles.

Exactly! It is supposed that these places have something to do with the silver objects of the Spaniards.

40 **Siempre se ven al lado de los caminos de carreta.**

They are always seen at the side of the cart tracks.

M.B.: ¿Algunas personas han descubierto objetos de plata?

Has anyone found any silver objects?

Don Reynaldo: Algunas personas han descubierto...[unclear] cavarlo por muchas carreteras. como están ardiendo aquí. er... con cuchillo.

Some people have discovered...[unclear] by digging by many of the roads... as they are burning here....er.....with a knife.¹⁰

Quince días que se ve, cuando están ardiendo, a cavar con cuchillo...

For fifteen days they can be seen, when they are burning, then ...to dig with a knife.

45 **Entonces el día siguiente [unclear]. ... si ellos lo cavan... vamos a ver. sin cavarlo con cuchillo se pierde.**

¹⁰ Sallnow (1989: 212) mentions that in Qamawara, Peru, one has to remove gold ore from the ground with a silver spoon.

So, the following day [unclear] if they dig there, let's see, ...unless they dig with a knife it gets lost.

No lo encuentran. Si, no lo han encontrado.

They don't find it. Yes, they didn't find it.

Por tanto, entonces, es necesario cavarlo con cuchillo.

So, because of that, it is necessary to dig it up with a knife.

Mucha gente han encontrado. Han encontrado también con detectores, también han

50

encontrado. Botoncillos de plata más que todo, se veían con estos. vasitos, platillos....

Many people have found [things]. They have also found things with detectors, they have also found.... Little silver buttons, more than anything, and you see with these...goblets, plates....

M.B.: ¿Todo de plata?

All made of silver?

Don Reynaldo: Esto es la historia, la historia que contaron...

That's the story...the story that they tell....

9.5.1.d Discussion.

Like the other stories I am considering here, this text deals with the colonial era coming to an end, and the Spanish colonists meeting with some kind of misfortune: here, unlike in the remaining stories, the wealthy mine owners do not get killed, but merely lose all their precious possessions in their rather comic haste to carry them away out of the country, when threatened with capture by the republicans.

It is a text for which the idea of intertextuality, or interdiscursivity, to use Fairclough's terminology seems particularly relevant. The narrator, don Reynaldo, seems to waver between giving me a lesson in the history of the Bolivian nation, and telling me something specific about the locality, which is grounded in more general beliefs which are widespread throughout the Andes about the month of August, and particularly about the first of that month.

He starts his story with the history lesson (lines 1-15). This section of the story seems to belong to a generalised discourse of Bolivian nationalism, and celebration of the independence of the nation: the sort of discourse that enters into the political speeches that can be heard in San Pablo, and any

other Bolivian town, on Independence Day,¹¹ and is also found in school history text books – like the one that the narrator showed me proudly when I first went to stay with his family, which was a remnant from the days when the co-operative was comparatively prosperous, and when the Buena Vista campamento had its own school. This discourse emphasises the idea of a shared past belonging to all Bolivian people: when don Reynaldo mentions the Wars of Independence, he talks about ‘the people’ wanting to become independent from Spain, and rising up in rebellion (lines 4, 6 and 11), where ‘the people’ is ostensibly a homogeneous category, and one with which the narrator identifies – ‘the people’ fight for fifteen years ‘to separate *us* from Spain’ (line 11). There is, however, a certain irony or contradiction here: Harvey has pointed out that in Peru, Independence Day speeches that trace the chronology of the events of the struggle for independence, draw upon knowledge that is associated with literacy, Hispanisation and prestige. It is with the literate, Spanish speaking and prestigious groups in Bolivia that don Reynaldo wishes to associate himself, rather than the Quechua speaking peasantry of the area in which he lives and from which his family originates, particularly when talking to me, a gringa. It is unlikely that the education the narrator received in primary school, or the history books he has read independently, would emphasise, as Pagden has done, that the wars of independence from Spain were very much a project of the criollo elite of Latin America. However, as a miner from a rural area, who doubtlessly ends up on the receiving end of a fair amount of racial and cultural prejudice in his dealings with mestizos and ‘whites’ in the cities, don Reynaldo would obviously be aware of the deep racial, cultural and economic divisions that continue to underlie Bolivian society which is still far from homogeneous.

The narration takes a more personal turn when don Reynaldo goes on to mention Pedro Murillo, one of the heroes of the wars of independence, and the square named after him in La Paz, right at the heart of the seat of government of the nation where the presidential palace is located. By making it clear that he knows the square, he is further identifying himself with the Bolivian nation, and at the same time, establishing himself as a man who has travelled and has personal experience of the ‘white’ and ‘mestizo’ areas of Bolivia’s cities. He does this through a metanarrative remark that

¹¹ Penelope Harvey has written about Peruvian Independence Day in the town of Ocongate, the capital of Quispicanchis province in Cuzco department, and gives transcriptions of some of the speeches given by the authorities of the town. Although the dates of key events and the names of some of the heroes of Independence differ between Peru and Bolivia, the speeches that Harvey has recorded in Ocongate are very similar in form and style of public oratory to those I heard in San Pablo (Harvey 1997: 29). Abercrombie’s description of Independence Day in Cantón Culta, Oruro Department, Bolivia, mentions similar speeches taking place. (Abercrombie 1998: 91-93).

establishes a point of commonality with me, knowing that I must have visited La Paz, and must also have personal knowledge of Plaza Murillo. On a later occasion, just after his family had been away on business connected with the mine, I arrived at Buena Vista to find that they had acquired two very urban looking pigeons: Nancy told me that they were from La Paz, and her father added, with a wry smile, that they had caught them right in Plaza Murillo and had carried them away under their jumpers. I could not help but be amused at the thought of don Reynaldo and family, catching pigeons in full view of the Palacio Quemado, with its armed guards in Napoleonic style uniforms.

I could not imagine the next part of the story, the part that concerns an armistice, and the Spaniards having to leave the newly independent country, carrying with them all of their possessions (lines 12-29), occurring in any history book. I would suggest that this episode serves not only to make sense for the narrator of his country's history, but also to bring the story to a local level, since any Lipeño will tell you that the Spaniards had mines in their area in colonial times. I could not say, however, whether this episode was a result of his own process of logical deduction, which I suspect to have been the case, or whether this was an episode in the story that he had heard from someone else.

Don Reynaldo told me the story after I had asked him if he knew any histories or stories about the San Pablo area. What I consider to be a second discourse, one that relates something that happens in the locality, follows his description of the Spaniards leaving and burying their treasures. In lines 30-40, he describes how the ground burns in August, and more precisely on 1st August, with blue flames, and how these places where there are fires, that burn apparently without the aid of any firewood, correspond to the sites where Spaniards buried their treasures. Behind this simple description of something that happens in the locality, and which the narrator claims to have witnessed personally (line 33), there lies a much more 'Andean', and unstated, discourse about the nature of the world and the forces that govern it, that don Reynaldo chooses not to explain, but which remains an implicit assumption.

Beliefs about 1st August held in San Pablo were discussed in Chapter 8 in connection with the August festivities in the area. On the eve of this day, one should ideally make an offering or ch'alla for the well being of one's household or for the productivity of one's mine. Similar beliefs about the month of August, and in particular the 1st of the month, are prevalent in many parts of the Andean region, as can be verified by a rapid glance at a few Andean ethnographies: for instance, Allen

(1988: 153); Nash (1979: 155); Gow and Condori (1982: 17-18); and Platt (1987b: 251) who mentions that this is the time at which the ‘uncles’ (Tíos, the devils of the mines) ‘bring out all their buried wealth which burns in the frozen nights of the South Andean mid-winter’.

Don Reynaldo chooses to distance himself from the above ‘more Andean’ discourses in his story (although he does, of course, in practice make offerings to the ‘Andean’ chthonic deities for the productivity of his mine sometime during the month of August, as long as he has sufficient money for such a celebration), and instead emphasises the connection of the August fires with the birth of the nation-state. That he should choose to mix a discourse of Andean cosmology and things that happen in the locality with a discourse of Bolivian nationalism is not entirely without logic. As I have described in Chapter 8, the beginning of August is quite a holiday season, with the ch’alla that is performed in homes and mines for the 1st of the month, the subsequent hangovers that sometimes last for a few days, and, after this, the Independence Day celebration that takes place on the night of the 5th and on the 6th. In San Pablo, people talk about all these events under the general umbrella term of agosto, without distinguishing whether they are talking about the indigenous ch’alla, or the Hispanic celebration of the nation-state. That don Reynaldo chooses to emphasise one above the other, I think, shows his desire to distance himself from the people of San Pablo, in order to ally himself with the more Spanish speaking and mestizo elements of Bolivian society.

On the evening of 31st July 1997, when we were about to burn a q’uwa for the mine (see Chapter 6), I reminded don Reynaldo about his story of the blue fires and the treasures of the Spaniards in the hearing of the handful of workers he had recruited to help with the mechanisation of the mine. None of them appeared to be familiar with the tale in the exact form that don Reynaldo had told it, but they did not contradict it either. One of the workers suggested that veins of mineral burn on that night, and Doña Felisa’s nephew, Javier, added that the veins of silver that cross the mountain, Condor Wasi, do so also. They agreed with me when I suggested that everything is alive at that time, but, rather than being concerned with the whole day, they placed most emphasis on the first hour, between midnight and 1 a.m., when, Nancy told me, a ‘virgin’ appears in the moon, after which ‘everything opens up’.¹²

¹² Wachtel explains well the ambiguity, or double voicedness, surrounding the term ‘Virgin’ in Andean societies, where it is intertextual in that it has resonances both in the Andean and Christian traditions: the term is used to refer to the Virgin Mary, who is celestial and Christian, to ‘wirjines’ that are female chthonic deities associated with specific places, and to the Holy Earth (Santa Tierra) (Wachtel 1990: 64-65). Howard-Malverde

Don Reynaldo passes quickly from this backgrounded discourse of Andean belief back to his own experience, and to, I suspect, snatches of information he has heard directly from other people. He makes it clear that he and his family have seen the fires, and that even if they have not discovered any treasures, then there are other people who have (lines 42 and 49-50), and explains how one should go about the exercise by digging with a knife. He even brings his story up to date by mentioning that some people have found metal objects, mainly little silver buttons, using metal detectors.

Validating, or giving to a story authority through personal testimony, is something that all the narrators I quote in this chapter made a point of doing, whether speaking in Spanish or Quechua: even though they obviously have not personally witnessed the events of the story, they give eye witness testimony of having seen traces of what took place; of knowing the places involved, or of knowing people who have found the treasures. Validation of sources of information is a feature of the Quechua language, in which there exists a class of suffixes, generally labelled 'validators'.¹³ Although this class of suffix has been lost from the Quechua spoken in Bolivia, sources of information are still important, as is the idea of validating what is said: see, for example, below, the Quechua version of the story of Lípez, narrated by don Francisco, which is liberally sprinkled with the word **ninku**, 'they say' (**ni** (to say) + **nku** (3rd person plural present tense), indicating that he cannot personally vouch for the events in question, and with past tense verbs ending in **sqa** + person marker, a tense commonly used for narrating events that have not been witnessed personally.¹⁴

(1995) makes the point that wirhina, when used by monolingual Quechua speakers in northern Potosí, refers only to the animate earth, not to the Virgin Mary. She contrasts this with the use of the term Virgen by bilinguals in the nearby towns to refer to the Virgin Mary, and their use of the term Pachamama (a term perceived as Spanish by the monolinguals) to refer to the animate earth. My understanding of the situation in San Pablo is that its people are somewhere between the two cases that Howard-Malverde describes, and so are aware of both traditions. As I mentioned in Chapter 8, people in San Pablo, particularly when talking about festivals that used to take place in the area, also use the term wirjin in a slightly different context, to refer to a hole in the ground in which sacrificial offerings (to chthonic beings) are placed. Nancy did not explain exactly what sort of virgin she understood to appear in the moon.

¹³ These form part of a group known usually as enclitic, or universal, suffixes, since they can be added either to verbs or nouns. In Cuzco Quechua these take the form **-mi**, **-si** and **-cha** (**-m**, **-s** or **-ch** when they follow a vowel), where **-mi** denotes events that the speaker is personally willing to vouch for, **-si** hearsay evidence, and **-cha** conjecture or doubt (Mannheim, 1991; 128, Cerrón Palomino, 1987; 266). Howard-Malverde refers to this type of suffix as 'class-free modal suffixes with epistemic value (evidentials)' (Howard-Malverde, 1988; 128)

¹⁴ This contrasts with the defined past, or preterite tense, in which verbs terminate in **-rqa-** which is normally used to attribute direct, personal knowledge of an event. Although the **-sqa-** tense is frequently labelled 'pluscuamperfecto', or pluperfect, it does not correspond strictly speaking to the English 'I had been' etc., but rather to events that the narrator has not witnessed, but which he or she has heard about: Calvo Pérez labels this tense also as 'reportative' (Calvo Pérez 1993: 107). The Spanish spoken in the rural areas of Bolivia is similarly sprinkled with pluperfect constructions which label information that is hearsay or conjecture, a category for which conventional Spanish has no equivalent, rather than pluperfect in the usual sense (see Howard-Malverde, 1988; 132).

Concern for validating information has also been carried through into the Spanish spoken in rural areas. In the text above, don Reynaldo is careful to validate, and at times express doubt, where information about the locality is concerned: in line 30, for example, the idea that there are fires in the places where the Spaniards left their treasures is qualified both by 'se dice' ('it is said') and 'se cree' (it is believed), whereas personal validation is given in line 32 'nosotros mismos hemos visto' ('we ourselves have seen'). Note, however, that such qualifiers are absent from the first part of the story, the part that I have suggested comes from a discourse of Bolivian nationalism, most probably based on school history text books, and I would suggest that the Spanish he uses here is an image of the Spanish of the sources from which he has received this information, that is, a 'city' Spanish spoken by the educated classes who write text books for schools.

9.5.2 The Landslide at Santa Isabel

Narrator: Don Balvino

9.5.2.a The Narrator

Don Balvino is the guarda fauna or park ranger in the community of Santa Isabel, and has been head of the gold panning co-operative in that community, in which he also operates the radio. According to the census record held in San Pablo, don Balvino was 34 years old in 1994, and he is married with five children. Like many comunarios from Santa Isabel, and unlike any from San Pablo, don Balvino practises a limited amount of agriculture: he has land in a valley called Estancia Grande, which is at a lower altitude and where cultivation is possible. He is bilingual in Spanish and Quechua, and has a good command of both, but Quechua is his first language.

9.5.2.b Recording Circumstances

I have heard the story of the landslide at Santa Isabel from several people, including don Reynaldo, the miner, and an old man in Santa Isabel whose name I do not remember, but have made only the one recording, from don Balvino. This recorded version contains more detail than I heard from other people, who could tell me little more than there had been a landslide during the time of

the Spaniards and that many people had been killed. I first met don Balvino when I visited Santa Isabel before carnival in 1996, when I presented myself at a meeting of the village authorities: a formal necessity, although all present seemed aware of my identity and knew that I had lodgings in San Pablo. I came across him at a later date during the visit to the San Pablo area of a Peruvian camellid geneticist working with an NGO on a project concerning vicuñas: don Balvino, being one of the guarda faunas was able to show the visitor where herds of the animal roamed. It was on this occasion that I discovered that don Balvino knew some stories, and that he was quite a good narrator. I made the recording at a later date, during a visit to Santa Isabel for the Independence Day celebrations of August 1997.

9.5.2.c The Narrative.

Don Balvino

Vamos a... vamos a hablar respeto a esta mina Santa Isabel. Estoy hablando aquí, desde la comunidad de Santa Isabel.

We are...we are going to talk about this mine, Santa Isabel. I am speaking here, from the community of Santa Isabel.

En primera instancia er....comenzaremos por el sector.. que se llama sector Vera Cruz.

In the first instance er...we shall start in the sector that is known as Vera Cruz.

5 **En estos lugares años, hace años atrás... ya había pasado en una fiesta que había tenido en el campamento minero Santa Isabel Candelaria.**

In those places, many, many years ago.... there happened in a festival in the Santa Isabel Candelaria mining camp....

10 **En este lugar [tenían] que hacer unas misas los sacerdotes y los alferados de la mina que tenían para poder hacer procesión una planta que se llamaba en Quechua sach'a, o sea que en castellano la plata blanca, una grande de tipo árbol y eso que ponían... a una procesión y daban la misa para poder sacar más producción en la mina.**

In this place the priests had to say some Masses, and the standard bearers [or sponsors] from the mines, in order to make a procession, had a plant that is called sach'a in Quechua, that is to say, in Spanish, white silver, a big sort of tree, and this they put in a procession, and gave the Mass, in order to increase production from the mine.

Pero en esta parte ¿Qué a pasado? Los españoles, los que estaban alferados, estaban atrasados para poder llegar a la misa y seguramente se habían quedado, ya. se habían llegado cuando ya estaban en procesión de la santa misa casi al final

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de la misa y llegó la gente de..ebri... y estaba de ebriedad.

But in this part, what happened is that the Spaniards, who were the sponsors, were late in arriving for the Mass, and it is certain they had stayed behind, and they arrived at the Mass when the procession was already taking place, almost at the end of the Mass, and they arrived, these people drunk...in a drunken state.

Después ya comenzaron a discutir con el sacerdote. Allá comenzaron a pegarlo '¿Por qué usted ya ha comenzado? ¿Por qué usted no ha esperado a nosotros?'

Then, they started to argue with the priest. There, they started to hit him. 'Why have you started? Why didn't you wait for us?'

Después de eso, él largó de la imagen que se llamaba santísimo.

After this he [the priest] let go of the statue that is called 'the holiest'.

20

Y tenemos hasta el momento la imagen santísima. Ya han quebrado sus vidrios como se puede decir a uno.. en una vista.

And we have until this moment, the 'holiest' statue, and its glass panels have broken, how shall I say, at one...on one side.

Y tenemos, otros ya conocemos en estas épocas.

And we have others that we know from these times.

Seguramente ya fue... terminó la procesión y se fue el sacerdote hasta el lugar er... llamado Vera Cruz.

It is certain that he went...the procession finished, and the priest went to the place er... called Vera Cruz.

Este sector que estaban los campamentos, campamento minero español antiguo.

This sector, where the mining camps were, the old Spanish mining camp.

25

Y allá comenzó a poner, como dicen, las palabras de descomunión y seguramente comenzó a mover los cerros y se derrumbó y no quedó nada.. totalmente tapados los lugares hasta el momento que vemos este lugar, se ha movido casi todo el sector.

And there he started to recite, as they say, the words of excommunication, and sure enough, he started to move the mountains which slid down, and nothing survived, it was totally covered, until the moment we are seeing now - this whole place has moved, almost all the area.

30

Pero después de eso... de mucho tiempo aquellos,... ya en el año cincuenta y nueve o cuarenta, encontraron muchos, algunos... cosas, prendas en estos sectores, como decir, platos, copas de chapa de oro y de plata y muchas otras cosas más.

But, after this, after much time, those.... in the year '59 or 40, they found many... some things, things from the houses in these areas, like plates, silver and gold plated goblets, and other things.

Y así pasaron tiempos, pero en estos momentos ya se encuentran total destrizados estos lugares y también... en aquellos tiempos también se han encontrado unas ollitas ya er..... de barro.

And so time passes... but in those moments, everything was totally destroyed in those places, and also...at those times as well, they have found some pots.... of er...clay.

35

Siguen habiendo algunos... algunos indicios de qué ha pasado en aquellos tiempos.

There are still some signs of what happened in those times.

En este sector en el momento se encuentra un son.. un sonido, como se puede decir, como un ruido en un sistema de agua, es un lugar muy accidentado que ha quedado.

In this area at present one finds a...a sound, how can I say, like the noise from a water system, the place has remained very rough ground.

En este sector no se puede llegar... hay un sonido y además uno quiere desmayar en este sector especialmente sólo, no se puede alojarse en este sector.

You can't get over this ground, and there is a noise, and also you also feel like passing out in this sector, especially when you are alone, it is not possible to stay there overnight in this sector.

Y también en este lugar, siempre, como decíanme antes los cóndores toman agua, pero no sé cómo.

And also, in this place, as they used to tell me, the condors drink water, but I don't know how.

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En este sector se encuentra... agua. No se ve, pero hay algunos er, como se puede decir, unos hondos... unos pujyus y por esos que entran para poderse bañar y tomar agua.

In this area they find water, but you can't see it. But there are some, how shall I say, some deep...some holes, or wells, and through these they can enter, and bathe, and drink water.

Esto es la única historia que nosotros conocemos en este sector y esto sería todo

This is the only story that we know about these parts, and that is all.

9.5.2.d Discussion

In this story, catastrophe once again befalls the Spanish mine owners of colonial Lipez: this time they are buried by a landslide after having acted disrespectfully towards the priest saying Mass for their mines. A significant difference between this and the previous story, which was set rather vaguely in the area, however, is that the events unfold against the background of a specific place: the colonial mining camp at Santa Isabel, site of some of the earliest mineralogical exploitation in the area.

At the start of the narration, don Balvino is clearly conscious that he is not only talking to me, but that I am going to take away my recording of his voice, and will play it back to an audience somewhere far away. He makes it obvious that he is addressing his narration to this audience by stating that he is speaking from the community of Santa Isabel (lines 1-2), and by naming places carefully throughout his narration.¹⁵ He has experience of speaking to far away people, as the community's radio operator, and I suggest he uses this experience to create a very clear narrative, but also a narrative in which he is quite conscious and careful of the impression of his community, of which he is a leading member, that he is creating for the outside world.

In a manner that is reminiscent of don Reynaldo's mixing of discourses of Bolivian nationalism and of Andean cosmology, don Balvino's initial description of the procession and Mass that took place in colonial times seems to mix a discourse about Christian religious rituals (a procession followed by a Mass), with a discourse that is possibly about local ceremonies containing non-Christian elements performed for the productivity of a mine, involving a certain type of tree, once again, suggesting a dialogue between Andean and Christian beliefs. He refers to the tree in Quechua, using the noun sach'a, which although translated in dictionaries by the umbrella term tree, he obviously intends to refer to a particular type: rather than use the Spanish word 'arbol' he gives the explanation 'una grande de tipo arbol' ('a large plant, a sort of tree'), and gives its Spanish name as 'plata blanca' ('white silver').¹⁶ I do not know of a tree bearing the name plata blanca, and trees are very few and far between in Sud Lípez, but the name also refers to a type of silver ore, and is a term that is in use today, as it was in colonial times.¹⁷ That a plant should be associated with a mineral ore, and with the productivity of a mine, is not without precedent: Harris and Bouysse-Cassagne note claims by miners in the Siglo XX mine of northern Potosí that minerals reproduce (wawachi) like potatoes (Harris & Bouysse-Cassagne 1988: 256), and Salazar-Soler, citing the extirpator of idolatries, Cristóbal de Albornoz, the chronicler Bernabé Cobo and the seventeenth-century metallurgist, Alonso Barba, notes a coincidence of beliefs between colonial Spaniards, and

¹⁵ However, the importance of the naming of places in Quechua narratives has been shown by Howard-Malverde, who suggests that 'for many Andean peoples, the oral narrative, with its recitation of place names in connection with the deeds of local culture heroes in bygone times, is the oral counterpart of the written document of land title' (Howard-Malverde 1989: 57-58).

¹⁶ Interestingly, Rasnake gives sach'arana as a synonym for jach'arana, the term used for mountain spirits among the Yura. He could not, however, elicit an etymology of the term from his informants.

¹⁷ See, for example, Arzáns de Orsua y Vela (1965: Vol. 1 p. 143).

Andeans of the same epoch, that metals grow like agricultural produce in the ground (Salazar-Soler 1992: 202-205).

The tree, however, quickly passes from the narrative, and the description that follows is of the priest performing the Christian Mass, and the trouble that follows with the drunken Spaniards, who are the sponsors of the fiesta, and presumably the owners of the mines, arriving late and behaving badly. Their unacceptable behaviour leads to the excommunication of the mining camp, and causes the mountain to move and fall down upon them. Howard-Malverde has argued that the efforts of the Catholic church to stamp out idolatrous practices in colonial times, and on into the twentieth century, has left its mark on the image of the clergy as expressed in popular culture (Howard-Malverde, 1990: 59). The priest in this story is certainly represented as an anti-heretic upholder of orthodoxy, although in the discourse surrounding him there is present a degree of ambiguity: the scene is certainly reminiscent of an 'extirpation of idolatries', but this extirpation is reversed, in that it is directed against Spaniards rather than indigenous people and their religious practices. By naming the people who behave badly as Spanish, the narrator deliberately establishes a distance between himself and them, and at the same time separates the colonizing religion from the colonizers.

The whole episode has a close parallel in one of the versions of the oral history of San Pedro de Pariarca that Howard-Malverde presents: this likewise involves a priest and concerns a festival and a procession that go wrong. In this case, however, it is the indigenous cacique who starts the procession before the arrival of the priest, and who subsequently absconds with the church's ornaments, before being cursed by the priest and turned to stone. In this case, the 'extirpation of idolatries' is directed in the usual manner, with the power of the colonial church being used against indigenous people.

The statue that gets broken links the past to the present, and enables the narrator to validate his story with commentative shaping that corroborates the events of the story.¹⁸ The statue can still be seen, apparently, in the church of Santa Isabel, with one of its glass panels still broken as a result of its accident. As further validation, don Balvino mentions that there are other statues dating from the

¹⁸ Howard-Malverde suggests that this sort of commentary is common in narrative performances that take place in the presence of an ethnographer, who does not have the cultural background of a native speaker (Howard-Malverde 1989 5). In the case of San Pablo, I found this true to a certain extent, but also noted that at times this sort of commentary was considered by Lipeños to be part of the story, and the sort of comment that would be included when narrating the story to children.

same era (lines 17-19). I never saw inside the church at Santa Isabel to confirm this – during my stays in the village its doors were always firmly locked, and I suspect it was only ever opened when the present-day priest comes to say Mass, once a year, and on a few other festive occasions.

The final part of the recording consists of more commentative shaping. The narrator passes to the present, and to things that are now common knowledge about the place where the landslide happened, and which lend further weight to the narrator's evidence. In a similar manner to don Reynaldo, don Balvino describes how people have found objects dating from the colonial times: gold and silver plated cups and plates, and clay cooking vessels. Don Balvino states as evidence, or as a trace of the past, probably drawing on personal experience, that the place where the landslide happened is still strange – it is hard to reach, there is a strange noise of water there, one is liable to pass out there, especially when alone, and it is not possible to sleep there (lines 34-35). He adds, on the basis of hearsay evidence that condors go there to drink, although there is no obvious source of water, but qualifies this, possibly on the basis of personal experience, that there are some deep holes there, and it is through these that the birds can pass to find water.

As noted in the commentary on don Reynaldo's story, in telling this story, don Balvino marks his Spanish with markers that validate the information he gives to different degrees. The beginning of his narration of the colonial part of his story, he uses the pluperfect tense twice, indicating that he has no direct knowledge of the events in question, but that it is a story that he has heard, and twice in the course of the narrative he uses the word 'seguramente' ('surely' or 'certainly') as a qualifier, showing that some of his statements are arrived at by supposition or logical deduction. In the final part of his story, when the narration turns towards things people say about the area, he qualifies one of his statements using 'como decianme antes' ('as they used to tell me'), again underlining his lack of personal knowledge on the issue.

9.5.3 The Story of LÍpez

(The Story of the Devil and María Picha Picha at San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo)¹⁹

I found this next story to be widely known in and around San Pablo and San Antonio de LÍpez, and recorded it from three different narrators, each of whom told a version that differed in some respects from those of the others. A fourth narrator told a version that was different yet again, but proved elusive when I tried to get him to make a recording. I persuaded two of the narrators to tell me the story in Quechua, as well as in Spanish (the third, don Reynaldo, did not want to be recorded speaking Quechua, although it is his maternal language).²⁰ On the pages that follow I first present the different versions of the story, then offer some general comments on what I term ‘layers’ of intertextuality present in the narratives, before moving on to discuss the different discourses that enter into the stories of each of the three narrators. All three versions show what Howard-Malverde terms ‘manipulative shaping’, in which narrators, in telling the story, have points to make that somehow concern their own situations at the time of the telling of the story, and thus make the events of the story and the event of its telling of the story overlap, so that the histories produced are especially localised products of a time and of a place.

9.5.3.a Version 1. narrator: Don Francisco

9.5.3.a (i) The Narrator

Don Francisco is in his mid fifties, and is one of the best educated men of his generation in San Pablo. He attended teacher-training college (normal) and achieved the position of Director of Education for the entire Sud LÍpez province during the Sánchez de Lozada administration. This was a considerable achievement for someone from a remote area of the countryside. Although his duties have required him to spend a considerable amount of time in Tupiza, where his family now has a house, he has maintained his links with San Pablo, where the family has recently opened a shop, and

¹⁹An earlier analysis of this story was presented as a paper at the *Kay Pacha symposium*, held at the University of Wales, Lampeter, in April 1998, and is currently in press (Bolton 1998). In that analysis I concentrated much more on the ‘Andean’ discourses in the narrative than I am doing here, where one of my aims is to emphasise the highly intertextual nature of some of these discourses and concepts.

²⁰Another example of the narrator’s desire to ally himself with the Spanish speaking sections of society

where his animals graze with the herd of his mother-in-law, doña Nicasía. Although don Francisco's first language is Quechua, his family speaks Spanish in the home.

9.5.3.a (ii) Recording Circumstances

I have described in the introduction to this chapter how I first heard this story from don Francisco, in September 1995, and how it was the first story about the past that I heard in Sud Lípez. I made the recording at a later date, in November 1995, in don Francisco's office, and on that occasion requested narratives in both Spanish and Quechua. Looking through my notes made after hearing the story for the first time, the only differences were that on the first occasion don Francisco had described the promiscuity in the mining camp in the form of incest, brothers living with sisters and fathers with daughters, while on the second occasion he gives a more elaborate version, telling how people would get married in church several times each day, with an amusing commentary on how they would enter and leave the church by different doors.

9.5.3.a (iii) The Narrative.

a) The Story in Spanish.

M.B.: Don Francisco, ¿me puedes contar un poquito de la historia de San Antonio de Lípez, como... como la gente ha llegado a abandonar el pueblo?

Don Francisco, could you tell me a little of the history of San Antonio de Lípez...how...how the people came to abandon the village?

Don Francisco Muy bien señorita, con referencia yo puedo decir lo siguiente, algunas leyendas que... más o menos... de la gente antigua.. yo he llegado a captar.

Very well, señorita, on reflection I can say the following, there are some legends, more or less.... about the people of the old times.... that I have managed to hear.

5 **Se ha llegado porque tenía una antología, esto, como una leyenda, escribiendo ¿no? por tomar [notas] en eso.**

It has been kept because I had an anthology, which I made like a legend, by writing, do you see? By taking notes in it.

Sin embargo algunas puntas principales se va a comenzar.

Nevertheless, I'm going to start with a few important points.

Se sabe que el Lípez antes era un pueblo seguramente de los Españoles ¿no? o que más antes que gozaron demasiado la riqueza mineral de Lípez.

It is a well known fact that Lipez used to be a town of the Spaniards, isn't it? And that in former times the people enjoyed far too much the mineral riches of Lipez.

10 **Y como tanta riqueza la gente... ya no habia respeto, ya no había una cosa de cristiandad especialmente ¿no? Mucha corrupción, corrupto ¿no?**

And with so much wealth the people.... there was no respect, there was no longer anything left of Christianity especially, do you see?

Se..se sabe que muchas veces al día se casaba la gente dos, tres veces.

It is also well known that a person would get married many times in a day, two or three times.

15 **Se descasaban también así, porque había una iglesia antigua que entraban por la puerta principal era para... para casarse; para descasarse la mujer por otro lado, el hombre por otro lado, así más o menos.....**

They would get 'un-married' as well, like this.... because there was an old church in which they entered by the main door to get married, and to get 'un-married' the woman would leave by [the door on] one side, and the man through the other side, like that, more or less.

M.B.: Y así entonces...

As so...

Don Francisco: Existen las puertas grandes hasta ahora en esas murallas en Lipez.

The huge doors are still there among the ruined walls of Lipez.

Bueno, como la gente gozaba en allí... ya.. ya no utilizaba ni leña nada dicen: utilizaban hasta ch'arki, utilizaban hasta maíz, harina maíz, lo hizo con eso.

Good, well, since the people were so well off, they no longer used firewood [to cook], so, it is said, they used ch'arki and they even used maize, maize flour, they did it with these things.

20 **Así antes se cocinaban, porque seguramente en este lugar, no hay tanta leña también, allí eso deben.**

That was how they cooked in those days, because I'm certain that in that place there isn't much firewood, so they had to do this.

Las paredes dibujaron con harina de trigo así suciamente y eso existe hasta ahora podemos ver en cualquier rato existe en la seña en allá, en las murallas,... ya.

They painted the walls with wheat flour, like this, dirtily, and this still exists to this day; even now we can see, anytime we like, the marks there in the walls.

25 **Y como había dicho yo que existía tanto corrupto el sacerdote seguía cumpliendo con su doctrina de cristiandad entonces se dice... se sabe que en unos de estos momentos en pleno ofertorio de la celebración de una misa donde el padre celebraba en Latín creo que era antes ¿no? 'Dominus noviscus' tenía que decir así, pero el padre seguramente el diablo ha tentado, y no ha dicho así, había dicho 'qori palomita', había dicho.**

And as I have already said, there was so much corruption there. The priest continued doing his duties with his Christian doctrine, they say, it is a well-known fact that in one moment in the middle of the offertory, which the priest used to celebrate in Latin in the old days didn't he? Saying, 'Dominus noviscus'²¹ he was supposed to say, like that, but he had, I'm sure, been tempted by the Devil, and didn't say it like that, but said 'gori palomita'²² that's what I've heard he said.

30

Bueno, el padre se dio cuenta porque estaba hablando así esas palabras se renegó seguramente el padre y se quejó a Potosí, dicen, a los padres, a sus superiores.

Well, the priest realised [something was wrong] because he was saying those words like that, and he became very annoyed with himself. I'm certain that this priest complained to Potosí, to the other priests, his superiors.

Entonces los padres de Potosí inmediatamente se movilizaron.

So the priests in Potosí immediately went into action.

Tres padres se comisionaron a Lípez.

Three priests were commissioned to go to Lípez.

Llegaron a Lípez y el diablo como estaba reinando en allí se presentó

35

inmediatamente en los Lípez con sus carcajadas etcétera, más o menos dicen así ¿no?...y la comisión sacerdotal que llegaron... había un encuentro con el diablo en la plaza, de la puerta enfrente de la iglesia, más o menos se queda así.

They arrived in Lípez and the Devil immediately presented himself to them there, with his cackling laugh etcetera. That is more or less what they say, isn't it? And the priestly commission that arrived.... there was an encounter with the Devil in the plaza across from the door of the church; it was more or less like that.

Había un diálogo con el diablo:

“Qué macho es usted, usted es muy guapo. Usted puede dejar este librito en la punta. Si deja este librito usted será dueño de todo este lugar.”

40

There was a dialogue with the Devil

'How tough you are, and how smart! You could leave this little book on the summit...if you leave this little book you could be the owner of all this place'.

El diablo aceptó gustosamente y subió al cerro de Lípez a la punta, el pabellón. con sus carcajadas. con su risa, otros dicen con su guitarra dicen eso como sería ¿no?

The Devil accepted with pleasure, and climbed Cerro Lípez to the summit, the cairn, with his cackling laugh, with his smile, others say with his guitar, that's what they say, that's how it would be.

Entonces apenas, apenas no más es que llegó el diablo a la punta.

²¹ My knowledge of Latin is not sufficient to state with any certainty whether Don Francisco quotes the Mass correctly, but he would have been accustomed to hear the church service in Latin in his younger days. The present day priests that come to San Pablo de Lípez are Polish, but say Mass in Spanish only.

²² 'Golden dove'

So the Devil just, only just arrived, just made it to the summit.

Cansado llegó el diablo en la punta donde existía una piedra... decían entonces sobre esta piedra tenía que dejar el libro.

The Devil arrived tired at the summit, where there was a stone... they said then that he had to leave the book on this stone.

Cabal había una piedra, allí tenía que dejar el diablo el libro.

There was a stone just in that place, and it was there that the Devil had to leave the book.

Apenas llegó, dejó el libro allí, se dio media vuelta, se apareció amarrado el diablo.

He had just arrived, put the book down and went to turn round, and he found himself tied up.

50 M.B.: **¿Cómo se ha amarrado al diablo?**

How did he become tied up?

Don Francisco: **Se apareció amarrado el diablo con cadena dicen ¿no? Seguramente algún milagro o qué sería ¿no? Pero más o menos estaba así. El diablo no podía bajar, estaba amarrado por mil años.**

He became tied up with a chain, they say, don't they? It must have been a miracle or something, but it was more or less like that. The Devil couldn't get down; he was tied up for a thousand years on the summit.

M.B.: **¿. Y todavía está. ?**

And is he still there?

55 Don Francisco: **En la punta.**

On the summit.

M.B.: **...¿Y todavía está en la punta?**

And is he still on the summit?

Don Francisco: **En la punta del cerro, sí.**

On the summit of the Cerro, yes.

Entonces el diablo sufrió una lastima, lloraba una lastima, tanto lloraba, le hacía temblar el cerro; el frío, lluvia todo tenía que soportar en la punta se hace un poco hoyo, dicen, más o menos hasta ahora esta hoyo existe en la punta según la gente cuando llueve se ve este hoyo, notorio dicen.

And so the Devil suffered terribly, he cried terribly, he cried so much that he made the Cerro shake. The cold, the rain, he had to endure all that. On the summit he made a little hollow: they say that, more or less, until this day this hollow still exists on the mountain top, and according to the people, you can see this hollow when it rains, it is notorious they say.

Bueno así pasó las situaciones.

Well, the situation was like that.

Repentinamente en el pueblo de Lipez una mujer apareció en allí donde ellos le denominaban María Picha Picha: esta era una enfermedad.

All of a sudden in the town of Lipez there appeared a woman that the people there refer to as María Picha Picha. This woman was a sickness.

65

A cada casa llegaba, y toda la familia comenzaba a morir; en una casa llegaba toda la casa comenzaba a morir, toda la familia.

She would arrive at each house and the whole family would start to die; she would arrive at a house and the whole house would start to die, the whole family.

Seguramente ya la gente se dio cuenta la gente se dio cuenta quien era esta mujer, reclamando ¿no? esa mujer ‘cualquiera permiten ustedes a nuestro hermano que a llegado sufrir así que está amarrado en la punta’.

It is certain that the people already knew who she was, this woman who went about crying ‘You people, how can you have allowed it to happen, that our brother, who is tied up on the mountain top, is suffering?’

70

Ustedes ‘como van a permitir eso’ más o menos, diciendo así ¿no? esa mujer que se llamaba María Picha Picha quien era como una plaga, una enfermedad.

You people how can you allow this to happen?’, more or less like that, I think, that woman called María Picha Picha who was like a plague, a sickness.

Seguramente la gente ya se dieron cuenta ya no quisieron encontrar se escaparon algunas a la iglesia, algunas al socavón a lo más profundo socavón posiblemente, pero María Picha Picha donde sea que este tenía que entrar sea iglesia, sea socavón donde sea que este tenían que morir.

75

I’m certain that the people realised this, and no longer wanted to meet her, but to escape, some to the church and others to the mines, to the deepest *socavón* possible, but wherever it was María Picha Picha was able to enter, whether church or *socavón*, wherever it was they had to die.

Entonces ya no pueden escapar. Los restos, los más vivos, los más guapos como se puede decir ¿no?....

So, they could no longer escape. Those remaining, the most lively, the strongest, as you could say, couldn’t you?

Ellos pensaron en escaparse de este lugar. Se escaparon se dice aquí a la orilla del río de San Pablo de Lipez una cosa de treinta, o cincuenta, hombres y mujeres debe ser esto.

80

They thought about escaping from the place completely. They escaped, they say, to here, to the banks of the Río San Pablo, something like thirty to fifty people, who must have been both men and women.

Y vieron al cerro Lipez de este punto acá, y del Cerro Lipez no se veían nada; estaba ahumado como con viento, como con una ahumadero así...no se veía.

And they looked towards Cerro Lipez from this point, and could see nothing of the Cerro; it was covered in smoke, like with wind, or with an incense burner...nothing could be seen.

Y es penoso aquí viviendo en esta orilla del río. Ya ha pasado una semana así posiblemente entonces ..ya poco a poco se vuelve a aclarar el cerro se ve ya se ve el cerro, ya se ve más y más, más, más.

85

And it is difficult here, living on the banks of the river. When a week or possibly more has passed the Cerro little by little is starting to become visible again, and they can see more and more, and more.

Entonces agregaron “podemos volvernos”, se juntaban, seguramente, para planificar y pensaron para volverse ¿no? Pero de la idea... dicen de la idea que “no”.

So they got together ‘Perhaps we could return there’, they would certainly have met together to make plans and to think about returning wouldn’t they? But they said ‘no’ to that idea.

“A uno no más hay que mandar porque todos podrían morir no conviene.”

“We have to send just one, because it would be no use if we all were to die”

90

“Uno mandaremos y clarito va a volver, si hay vida va a volver, si no hay vida se queda se muera allí.”

“We will send one person, and surely he will come back, if there is life there, he will come back, if not, he will surely stay there and die.”

Delegaron a uno de los más machos seguramente y ha ido pues a Lipez de aquí. Han esperado dos días, nada, tres días nada, cuatro días nada, se ha muerto. ‘No hay vida siempre ¿Qué vamos a pensar?’

They delegated, I’m certain, one of the toughest among them, and he then went to Lipez, from here. They waited two days, nothing, three days, nothing, four days, nothing ‘He must be dead’, they told themselves, ‘There is still no life there, what should we think’.

Entonces no hay vida siempre... Qué vamos a pensar hoy día. De esta manera se ha quedado abandonado como murallas hasta ahora como se ve.

95

So, there is still no life at [San Antonio de Lipez]. What are we going to think now? In this way it has remained abandoned, just the walls remain, as you can see.

Y aquí bueno se arrepintieron, dicen, la gente en la orilla del río aquí en el pueblito de San Pablo.

And here, the people repented, they say, on the banks of the river here in the little town of San Pablo.

“Primeramente ahora si tenemos que construir la casa de Dios”

“First of all, now, we have to build the house of God.”

Habían construido la casa de dios aquí abajo están las murallas.

They constructed the house of God downstream from here, where there are some ruined walls.

100

Alli vivía en algunas cuevitas la gente pero primeramente ellos han construido la iglesia. Esto había el origen de la creación de San Pablo. Esto pues es todo.

They lived there, the people in some little caves, but first they built the church. This was the origin of the creation of San Pablo. That is all.

b) The Story in Quechua

Don Francisco Unay Lípez-pi llanka-ku-sqa mina winay-paq. Kawsa-sqa-nku chay-pi porque mina ka-rqa ¿no? mina ka-qti-n, un gozo tremendo.

For a long while a mine was worked in Lípez, for the extraction [of its minerals]. They [the people] lived there because of the mine, didn't they? When the mine was there they lived tremendously well.

Corrupción... mana-ña respeto ka-q-chu, ni tatamamas, ni wawas, ni familias nada nada nada...

Corruption...there was no longer any respect, no mothers and fathers, nor children, nor families, nothing, nothing, nothing...

5

Chaymanta ni-nku chaya-nku uj día kinsa kuti-ta tawa kuti-ta casa-ra-q ka-nku chay punku principal-manta llegu-nku kasa-ra-q y deskasa-ra-q llujsi-nku uj lado punku-manta qhari uj lado punku-manta warmi.

So, they say, ...they would arrive... in one day they would get married three or four times, those getting married arriving through the main door and those getting unmarried, the man leaving through the door on one side, the woman through the door on the other side.

Hasta kunan chay iglesia punku-pi nota-ku-n tiya-n chay... chay laqayas... chay thantaya-na-paq.

Until this day you can see in the door of that church those ruins, ...that decaying thing.

10

Ajina ni-nku y padre tiya-q ashka iglesia ka-nku [] pirqa (?).

So it was, they say, and there was a priest, there were so many churches...[] walls.

Padre celebración misa-ta y de repente padre panta-sqa. Chay ofertorio momento-pi mana-ña menos parla-nta-qa parla-sqa-chu sino 'qori palomita' ni-sqa.

The priest celebrated the mass, and suddenly he made a mistake. In that moment of the offertory he no longer said the words, but said 'Golden dove'.

Entonces padre rabia-ku-n ima-qa chay diablo molesta-n wiñay-paq-ta.

So, the priest got angry ... "That Devil is becoming a great nuisance."

15

Padre jamu-sqa Potosi-man... Potosi-man jamu-spa-qa comisionados ka-nku Potosi-manta-qa kinsa padres chay-ta qha-wa-q y padres chaya-n Lipes-man.

The priest came to Potosí, to Potosí. When he came to Potosí some people were commissioned, three priests, who arrived in Lípez to take a look at things.

Inmediatamente chay diablo ima-chay presenta-ku-n.

Immediately that devil whatever he was presented himself.

Chanta-qa padres ni-n “Qué guapo qan ka-sha-nki”.

Then the Padres said, “How handsome you are!”.

Punta-man llojsi-lla-chu chay librito saqe-mu-y chay-ta saqe-mu-nki chay-qa qan dueño ka-nki chay llajta-manta.

20

Can you just go from here to the summit and leave this book there?...If you leave it there you will be the owner of this town.

Diablo acepta-sqa tukuy sonqo llojsi-sqa asi-spa fuerte-ta qapa-ris-pa, wakin-qa ni-nku guitarra-n-ta toka-spa ni-nku

The devil accepted with all his heart, he left laughing heartily and shouting, others say playing his guitar.

Diablo ñak’a-y-lla-ta punta-man chaya-yku-sqa chaya-sqa mana chaya-sqa chay punta-pi ka-sha-n-qa uj rumicito chay-pi saqe-sqa liwru-ta chura-sqa liwru-ta.

The devil got to the summit; he just arrived, almost dead. Just at the summit there was a stone, and there he left the book, he put the book in place.

25

Tijra-yka-mu-sqa wata-sqa ruku-ri-n diablo mana-raj mana-raj ri-mu-n-chu entonces el diablo sufri-n una lastima chiri-ta wayra-ta para-ta... tukuy ima-ta sufri-n.

He turned around, and he was tied up, ensnared. He could no longer go back. The devil suffered terribly, the cold, the wind, the rain, he suffered every possible thing.

y chay-manta quepa-n presenta-ku-n Lipis-pi uj warmi suti-n María Picha Picha.

And the next thing was, there appeared in Lípez a woman called María Picha Picha.

Chay-qa onqo-y-cha kan-man ka-q seguramente sapa wasi-man chaya-n tukuy familia entero wañu-pu-nku.

30

She would have been a little sickness, surely, she arrived at each house and all the family started to die.

Uj wasi-man chaya-n onqoy-spa wañu-ra-pu-nku, uj wasi-man chaya-n onqoy-spa wañu-ra-pu-nku.

She arrived at a house, and when they got sick they started to die.

Runa-lla thantaya-n onqoy ka-sqa-nta dios-pa kacha-n ni-nku waki-nqa waki-nqa onqoy plaga ni-nku imana-sqa-nku y ayqe-sqa-nku wakin-qa socavones-man wakin-qa igesias-man tukuy jaqay-man

35

The poor people were worn out from the sickness being there. It was God’s emissary, some said. Others said that it was a sickness, a plague. What could they do? They ran away, some to the *socavones* others to the churches all of them to there.

Pero María Picha Picha-qa may-pi-pis ka-shan taripa-lla-q-puni taripa-lla-q-puni.

But María Picha Picha wherever they went she could reach everywhere, she could find them everywhere.

De manera wakin vivitos ka-q-kuna ayqe-mu-sqa-nku kay llajta San Pablo suti-n chay mayu kantu-man.

So that...some others who survived fled away to here, to this town called San Pablo, to the banks of this river.

40 **Chay-man ayqe-mu-sqa-nku más guapitos una cosa de treinta o cincuenta jina.**

They fled away to here, the strongest, something like thirty or forty, like that.

Ayqe-mu-sqa-nku y kay-pi tiya-sqa-nku unay-ta qhawa-ris-pa sapa kutis Lipsis orqo-ta, Lipsis orqo-ta mana yacha-ku-n-chu tuti-lla-q laqha-pi ka-sha-n.

They fled away to here, and here they lived for a while, they began to watch all the time Cerro Lipez, but they didn't know anything about Cerro Lipes ...it was lacking light, like night.

Pero poco a poco aclara-sqa hasta sutiya-n hasta aun claro hasta aun claro, hasta aun claro ruwa-rqa-pu-n.

But, little by little it began to clear, until it was clear, until it was clear, until it had become clear.

45 **Entonces ñaka-wa-q-man. Lipsis entonces pensa-nku kuti-pu-ya.**

So they would have suffered. So they thought about returning to Lipez.

Pero entre ukhu-manta thantaya-lla-nku-taq mana kuti-sunman-chu entiru-n-chu kashana uj nincheqtaq uj nincheq ri-na-n qhawa-mu-na-n si kunan ati-sunman icha qhawa-y-ta jaqay-pi o ka-sha-n ka-sha-lla-n-puni chay onqoy.

But they were all worn out. "We could not all return. One we say, one we say could go and look, and see if perhaps now we would be able to [go back] or whether that sickness is still there".

50 **Entonces acuerdo chura-ku-sqanku guapun ka-q ri-sqa kuti-mu-na-n ka-rqa isqay día-manta kinsa día-manta suya-sqa-nku mana kuti-mu-n-chu dicen que ni isqay día-pi ni kinsa día-pi ni tawa día-pi.**

So, one of the strong ones went, in order to return for two days, for three days they waited. They say that he did not return, not on the second day, nor on the third day, nor on the fourth day,

Seguramente chay runa-raq wañu-pu-lla-n-taq chay orqo-ta ri-spu-na-taq wicha-ri-spa no sé o onqo-lla-puni ka-sha-n no sé, pero la cosa que mana kuti-mu-n-chu.

Surely that person must already have died when he went up that mountain [to the town]. I don't know, or the sickness was still there, I don't know, but the thing is that he didn't come back.

Entonces mana kuti-mu-qti-n-qa mana vida ka-n-chu pachan chay mayu kantu-pi

llajta-pi pero primero pensa-nku dio-spa wasi-n-ta ruwa-y-ta iglesia-ta.

So he didn't return, there was no life they stayed on the banks of the river and thought that they should build God's house, the church.

Chay iglesia hasta kunan kay-pi ka-sha-n. Chay laqayas chay-man ura-pi pay-kuna-taq cuevitas-pi tiya-ka-q ka-nku, más o menos. Chay jina forma-manta chay San Pablo llajta origen chay ruwa-rku-y qallari-ku-y nin-kama.

That church is here to this day. From that ruin, just below there, they used to live in little caves, more or less.²³ That is more or less the origin of the San Pablo town what was done, and how it began.

9.5.3.b Version 2: Don Bruno

9.5.3.b (i) The Narrator

Don Bruno is an old man in his seventies, who lives at an estancia, called Estancia Pabellón, about one kilometre beyond the ruins of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo, where he tends his herds of sheep and llamas. His wife is now blind, and his children and grandchildren still make annual journeys of exchange to the valleys. Don Bruno is a native Quechua speaker for whom Spanish is his second language: he speaks Quechua in the home, and his wife is one of the few people I came across in Sud Lípez who know very little Spanish at all. I recorded the story from him in both languages, although he reverted to Spanish at the end of his Quechua story when he remembered some important information and wanted to make sure that I understood.

9.5.3.b (ii) Recording Circumstances

I met and chatted with don Bruno and various members of his family on several occasions when I visited San Antonio de Lípez. We talked about a number of things, such as his regret that the festivals in the community were no longer celebrated in the correct manner: he did not really like the music the young people played from cassettes, and complained that in former times people did not get so drunk since they drank chicha rather than cane alcohol. I recorded the story of Lípez from him in November 1995, although I first heard him tell it about two months earlier, but did not record

²³ The ruin of the old church lies beneath a cliff, about a kilometre downstream from San Pablo. When don Francisco says 'under there', I take it to mean 'under the cliff'.

it then as I had lost my tape recorder. On both occasions his story differed from that of don Francisco, as it omits any mention of the Devil. My recording session with him took place on the hillside above his estancia while he was watching his sheep, and the quality of the recording is not very good, since, once again, we were chewing coca from rustling plastic bags. It was also a windy day, and while we were talking snow started to fall quite heavily. Back in San Pablo, my recording of his story was greeted with considerable interest in the Alejo household as don Bruno is a padrino (godfather) to either don Alejo or doña Teodora (at different times both claimed him as a godparent). They had not heard from him for a considerable time, and were pleased to find out that he was still alive.

9.5.3.b (iii) The Narrative.

a) Spanish Version.

Don Bruno El cuento antiguo te contaré señora. Lo que los sufrieron aquí, tanto desastre, en lo que sé de éste mis abuelos sabían contar, de final, Simón Melo, y sabían contar, como dicen que ha terminado con el peste este pueblo.

I shall tell you the old story, señora. That disaster that the people here suffered.

What I know is what my grandparents used to tell, more precisely, Simon Melo, used to tell how they say that this village was finished off by a plague.

5 **Entonces sobrepasados a nuestro señor Dios que ofendiéndole se han casado con otros, con otros, por allá ha mandado al final un castigo... gravísimo, entonces dicen que ha llegado una señorita quien ha aparecido en la punta con el camino, bailándoles,... bailándoles con una pañuelo verde...**

So the people here had taken advantage of God, offending him by getting married again and again, and for that reason God finally sent a terrible punishment. So, they say that a young lady arrived, who appeared on the highest point of the road, and she came dancing for them... dancing for them, with a green handkerchief...

M.B. (having misheard) ¿Con una pollera verde?

With a green pollera?²⁴

Don Bruno: **10** **Sí, sí, sí... Con pollera verde... con pañuelo verde también. An..y con una chaqueta blanca, esa debe ser.**

²⁴ Pollera - the wide skirt worn by city market women, and now by many women in rural Andean communities. I had misheard don Bruno at this point, but he clearly found my suggestion, that the woman was wearing a green skirt, acceptable, and incorporated it into his narrative.

Yes, yes, yes....With a green *pollera*...with a green handkerchief as well. An...and with a white jacket, that's how it must have been.

Entonces se les ha bailado a la entrada, y al comenzó el pueblito se le perdió... se desapareció. ¿A donde se va?

So she danced for them until she reached the town entrance, and at the beginning of the town she vanished, she disappeared. 'Where does she go?'

Antes de una media hora se empezó a morir la gente, poco a poco... poco a poco, y más y más... más, siguiente mañana, siguiente mañana.

Less than half an hour later the people started to die, at first a few, then a few more, and then more and more and more the next day and the day after that.

15

Dicen que se ha terminado así este pueblo, dice que se terminó... Y dicen que... algunos, unos cuantos cristianos, sacerdotes, los que están sacristanes, que conocen la palabra de Dios se les han quedado un poquito. Éstos los habían enterrado allí mismo adentro de sus casas.

They say that the town was finished off like that; they say that it was finished off. And they say that some, a few Christians, priests, sacristans, who knew the word of God, a few of them remained. These buried the victims where they died, there, inside their houses.

20 M.B.:

¿Sí? ¿Adentro de sus casas están enterrados?

They were buried in their own houses?

Don Bruno:

An... No habían venido del cementerio. An...

Yes, they didn't go to the cemetery.

M.B.:

¿En que año pasó eso?

In which year did this happen?

Don Bruno:

¿En qué año? ¿Quién puede saber? Mis abuelos también me dijeron que no saben pues. El cuento también ellos sabían. Es cuanto puedo contarle de la historia de este antiguo pueblo.

25

Don Bruno:

In which year? Who knows? My grandparents also told me that they didn't know, and they knew the story as well. That's what I can tell you about the history of this ancient town.

b) Quechua Version.

Don Bruno:

Ari tanto desea-nki señora quizás algo de estudiante ka-nki jamu-nki ka-sqa karu-ta kay historia-ta apa-ku-q kay llaqta-manta.

Yes, you want this story so much, *señora*, perhaps you are something of a student, and you come from so far away to take away the story of this village.

Um... Entonces yacha-rqa-ni abuelu-y Simón Melo cuenta-wa-q pay-pis cuentos-lla-ta yacha-q hina-ta ni-nku-ta yacha-q abuelos-nin-manta y willawa-q.

Um...well, I learned [the story]. My grandfather, Simon Melo, told stories to me. He also knew stories, and likewise he heard them from his grandparents, and told them to me.

5

Arí chay punta-ta wasayku-sqa...uj warmi qomer pollera-yoq, qomer panuelo-ta asi-spa tusu-spa, yuraq chaquetilla-waq llajta tuku-rpa-ku-sha-n chay chawpi falda-pi.

Yes, on that peak there appeared a woman, with a green pollera and a green handkerchief, laughing and dancing, with a white jacket, ending up in the town, on that central hill.

Chay-man chinka-yku-sqa y hasta uj-ta-wan mana-ña ni may-pi mana ruku-ri-sqa-na-chu chay-pi chinka-sqa y runa-qa chay rato-manta wañu-y-ta qallari-sqa como qaylla-n qaylla-n qaylla-n qaylla-n astawan astawan.

10

Then she disappeared from view. She was nowhere to be seen ...She disappeared there, and at that moment the people started to die, like one after another, after another after another, more and more.

Jina chay runas wañu-spa tuku-ku-sqa pero sobrepasa-sqa-nku ancha-ta dios tata-ta qaylla-nti-n qaylla-nti-n, uj warmi-wan uj warmi-wan kasa-raq ka-sqa-nku.

That was how the people died, and were finished off. But they took advantage of God the Father; they were getting married with one woman, with the next woman, and the next and the next.

¿A ver que le parece? Entonces diostata castigo-ta cacha-mu-sqa. Chay hina-pi-taq maskha-chus tiya-n runa dios-pa parlara-n-ta entiende-q convence-q mana chay-ta ruwa-q chay-qa queda-rqa dios-manta y chaymanta-taq chay runas-ta chay queda-spa chay-ta ampara-sqa pacha wasi-n-pi ukhu-pi. Mana ka-sqa-na-chu ni may-manta asta-wan runa tiya-q.

15

Well, what do you think? So God sent a punishment. In that place there lived a number of people who understood and were convinced by the word of God. He didn't do it to them. They remained, because of God, and then those people those that remained he protected within their houses. There remained no more people living anywhere.

Mana uj chunka-pis ka-sqa-chu chay hina-pis tuku-ku-sqa kay llajta-qa, ... an y los últimos an... chay hina-pis tuku-ku-sqa-n-wan-qa ya hasta...

20

Not a tenth part of them remained. It finished them all off like that, that town, yes, and the last ones...It finished them off like that until...

Hasta imayna-manta sombrero-pi qolqe-ta manu-ku-sqa-nku....an sombrero-pi chay timpu-pi-taq qolqe-ta manu-sqa-nku y chay timpu-pi-taq ka-sqa ch'arki-wan wayk'u-sqanku, sara-wan wayk'u-sqa-nku.

And they lent each other silver in hatfuls, an... in hatfuls in that time they lent silver, and in that time as well, they would cook with *ch'arki* and they would cook with maize.

25

Entonces mandó el dios... an dicen que se cocinaban con esto con harina maíz, con ch'arki... an con maíz.

So, God sent...well, they say that they cooked with that, with maize flour, with *ch'arki*, er...with maize.

Entonces mandó el castigo de Dios que se les despidió en los últimos eso estoy olvidando.

So God sent the punishment that got rid of them to the last few. I was forgetting that.

Es lo que pasó en este pueblo. Con harina flor con cebada, con trigo así moliendo con esta harina se reboqueó ah... la pared. Este blanquearon con harina flor.

That is what happened in this town. They plastered the walls with flour, with barley, with wheat, milling it like that, with that flour.

30 M.B.:

Ah, sí,...sí.

Ah, yes...yes.

Don Bruno

... la pared, se blanqueó con harina blanca.

...the wall was whitened with white flour.

M.B.

¿En qué lugar está la pared de harina y de... cosas? ¿En la iglesia grande?

Where is this wall made of flour and other things? Is it in the big church?

Don Bruno:

En la iglesia grande, an... todo de eso se ha arruinado, esto se ha perdido tal vez en pedacitos. Y cuando era chico, entonces, evidentemente sabía donde, sabía sacar granitos de trigo y granitos de cebada.

35

In the big church, ah....everything is in ruins, this has perhaps all been lost, in little pieces. And, when I was a boy, I obviously used to know where to pull out little grains of wheat, and grains of barley.

M.B.

Pero ya no quede, ¿no? No hay nada ahora.

But there is nothing left now, is there. There is nothing now.

Don Bruno:

Ahora no hay nada.

Now there is nothing.

M.B.

Han sacado muchas cosas del pueblo ¿no?

They've taken many things from the town, haven't they.

Don Bruno:

An...

Um...

40 M.B.

El altar de la iglesia, ahora las puertas están abajo ¿no? en el pueblo.

The altar from the church, and now the doors are below, aren't they, in the new village.

Don Bruno:

An... están abajo. Eso es lo que pasó con eso en finalizar el cuento.

Um...they are down below. That is what happened with them, bringing the story to an end..

95.3.c Version 3. Narrator: Don Reynaldo

9.5.3.c (i) The Narrator.

See above and Chapter 6 for biographical details.

9.5.3.c (ii) Recording Circumstances

I first heard don Reynaldo tell the story of Lítez on the same occasion as I first heard his story about the Spaniards and their treasure, in December 1995, when I noted it down, but did not record it. I did not record it until December of the following year. A few days before making the recording I had come across the narrator in Tupiza, on my way to San Pablo, when he was having some trouble with a court order demanding that he pay a fine incurred because of some outstanding debts left by some former members of the co-operative. He did not have any cash, and was faced with the prospect of imprisonment for non-payment. I was able to lend him half the money he needed, and thus help him avoid jail, and later in San Pablo put it to him that he could pay me back by working with me in the evenings for a couple of weeks, answering questions and telling me stories: his family were staying in San Pablo at the time, since don Reynaldo and his compadre, don Juan, had been commissioned to put a new roof on the alcaldía. I recorded the story of Lítez in one of the sessions we held.

There are some differences between the story told to me in the recording session and that which I had noted down on the earlier occasion I heard it. These differences in part concern the amount of detail given, but also the end of the story: the part from line 50 onwards is entirely new information. This new part consists largely of what Howard-Malverde terms manipulative shaping on the part of the narrator, which relates to his personal circumstances at the time of the recording session.

9.5.3.c (iii) The Narrative

Don Reynaldo **Cuentan, pues, que cuando estaban trabajando en LÍpez había mucha plata, se ganaba mucha plata entre los trabajadores o los habitantes del lugar del campamento.**

They say, then that when they were working the mines of LÍpez there was an abundance of silver; they could earn a lot, the mineworkers, or inhabitants of that place.

Se prestaban dinero, pues, en sombreros, sin medida, sin contar, porque tenían mucha... mucha plata.

They would lend money, like this, in hatfuls, without measuring it, without counting, because they had so much, they had a lot of silver.

Esa plata era pues plata genuina, sin pesos, no... pesos no, así... era de plata pura entonces ya no tenían esa voluntad de contar, sino que se prestaban sin medidas.

This silver was, then, genuine silver, it wasn't weighed, it was unweighed...it was, then, pure silver, and they could not be bothered to count it, but would lend it unmeasured.

Tenían suficiente plata, y hasta ahora muchos viejos, de tiempos atrás, entonces muchos viejitos aún tienen su plata original, líquida, corrida...

They had plenty, and to this day some old people, from the old times.... so, many old people still have their original silver, liquid silver, flowing silver....

10 **M.B.** **Líquida?**

Liquid silver?

Don Reynaldo: **Líquida, corrida, sólida corrida... ya pero plata ensayaban.**

Liquid flowing, solid flowing... but it was silver they were assaying.

Eso ha causado... cuando había mucha plata y menos víveres.

This caused.... when there was a lot of silver, few provisions.

Mucha gente había. Eso ha causado que el Tío haga... haga sus cosas en LÍpez... el diablo... y el diablo ya en lo que sigue es cuando haya mucha plata era represivo a la gente.

There were many people. This caused the *Tío* to come and do... to do his business in LÍpez, the Devil...and the Devil, in what follows, when there was a lot of silver, he repressed the people.

Se casaba pues este señor, invitando a otros personas se casaba cada día dicen.

He would get married, then, this gentleman, inviting different people he would get married each day, they say.

Había muchas iglesias en LÍpez, muchas iglesias allá... hasta ahora se ven las murallas, sí. Se casaba bastante el tío ...entraba en la iglesia, se casaba con una mujer, al otro día con otra mujer cambiando de fisonomía, y así.

There were many churches in Lipez, the old walls can be seen to this day. He got married a lot, the *Tío*, he would go into the church, and would marry a woman, then another day he would marry another woman, changing his appearance, like that, you see.

20

Y así antes habían curas, no habían padres, y estos curas se empezaban a loquearse cantaban y hablaban, y en hacer la misa no hacían lo que es legalmente, y han sospechado que algo había en Lipez.

And at this time there were *curas* [priests], there were no *padres* [fathers], and these *curas* started to play the fool, to sing and to chatter, and in saying mass, they didn't do the things that they were supposed to do, and they began to suspect that there was something amiss in Lipez.

25

Por esta razón han llamado a un obispo a Lipez. El obispo ha hecho que hagan todo legal en las fiestas, ha puesto todo legal en las misas, y todo, ha intencionado que hable, entonces, ha revisado la iglesia.

For this reason they called a bishop to Lipez. The bishop made them do everything correctly in the *fiestas*, he put everything right in the mass, and he wanted to preach, so he inspected the church

Y han revisado los calzados. Dicen que el Tío tiene solamente dos dedos. Y han revisado los calzados y por allí han descubierto el Tío. Solamente por tener dos dedos. Es así el Tío.

And he got them to inspect everyone's feet; they say the *Tío* has only two toes. So they inspected everyone's feet, and so discovered the *Tío* through doing that, just because he has only two toes. He's like that the *Tío*.

30

Entonces el obispo le ha dicho 'Bueno ya que estás aquí' le ha dicho 'lo vamos a poner en forma legal, tranquilo.

So the bishop said to him 'How good that you are already here!' he said to him 'Now, lets make this official, we don't want any problems.

Llévame este libro' era una Biblia pequeñita amarrado con una cadenita. 'Llévame y me lo dejas en la punta del Cerro Lipez. Me lo dejes este libro y toda esa gente va a ser tuya.'

Take this book', it was a little Bible tied together with a small chain, 'Take this book, and leave it on the summit of Cerro Lipez. If you leave this book there for me, then all the people here will belong to you'.

35

El Tío... se fue cargando el libro livianito al principio y de allá llegando a ser pesado, a sentar el peso más y más y más, y al llegar en la punta de Lipez ya no había podido levantarse y la cadena ya no se ha desatado.

The *Tío* went off carrying the book; it was light to begin with, but gradually became heavier and heavier, he felt the weight more and more, and more, and on arriving at the

summit of Cerro Lipez he could not raise himself from under it, and the chain held him fast.

Por este asunto el Tio estaba un buen tiempo amarrado en la punta del Cerro Lipez.

Because of this the *Tio* was tied up for a long time on the top of Cerro Lipez.

40 **Mientras ha llegado en... había una epidemia justamente en el campamento de Lipez. Toda esa gente se murió con dolor de estomago.**

In the meantime there arrived an epidemic right in the Lipez mining camp. All the people there died with stomach pains.

M.B. ¿Cómo ha llegado la peste?

How did this epidemic arrive?

Don Reynaldo Una peste, una enfermedad....

A plague, a sickness...

M.B. ¿Cómo ha llegado en Lipez?

But how did it get to Lipez?

45 **Don Reynaldo Er....Se llegó en forma de una persona, una mujercita, así, entonces no sabían quien era, de donde era, pero cuando llegó esta mujercita empezó a enfermarse la gente. Todos tenían que enfermarse.**

It arrived in the form of a person, a little woman, like that. And so the people didn't know who she was, where she was from, but when this woman arrived the people started to get sick. They all got sick.

Mucha gente ha muerto, y se ha terminado pues con dolor de estomago. Y una vez que se había terminado la gente, el Tio recién se escapó del Cerro de Lipez.

Many people died, dying with stomach pains. And once the people had been finished off, the *Tio* only then managed to escape from Cerro Lipez.

Llegó en el campamento y estaba vacío, no había nada, no había gente, entonces dijo que se va a ir.

He arrived in the mining camp and it was empty, there was no one, there were no people. Well, he said that he would go to another place.

50 **M.B. ¿Se ha ido?**

And did he go?

Don Reynaldo 'Me voy a ir a otro lugar, a Pulacayo' ha dicho, 'Volveré en el tiempo del juicio, en el año dos mil, a partir del año dos mil'

Don Reynaldo: 'I shall go to another place, to Pulacayo', he said, 'and I shall come back on judgement day, in the year 2000, following the year 2000'.

M.B. Tres años más.

In three years time...

55 **Don Reynaldo Sí 'volveré'. Entonces, según creen o cuentan, 'el año 2000 voy a empezar a ver esta zona de los Lipez porque mucha gente va a volver aquí'.**

Don Reynaldo: Yes ‘I will return’, so, as they believe and as they say ‘in the year 2000 I shall return to look at this area of the LÍpez, because many people will return here’.

Esta es la razón más o menos hasta el momento en todo este sector no se puede trabajar.

This is the reason, more or less, why until this day in all this area it is not possible to work the mines.

Esto entonces es la situación por aquí. No se puede entrar. Por más que venir empresas... y sus cosas... entran todo para trabajar.. y lo mismo... Se nota...

That, then, is the situation here. It is not possible to enter. Each time the big companies come, with their things, they bring everything to work...and the same thing happens.... you notice....

60 **M.B.** **No han encontrado nada...**

They’ve found nothing....

Don Reynaldo **No, pues hay, dicen, pero no se puede trabajar en forma más regular y más completa..... Eso es todo.**

They say that there is mineral here, but it is not possible to work it in any sort of organised, regular way. That’s all.

9.5.3.d Layers of intertextuality in the narratives.

On repeating this story to people from outside the LÍpez area, both in Bolivia and Scotland, the reactions I got varied between those who understood it as of entirely Christian origin, and those who saw it as largely Andean, but with a superficial Christian gloss. Having now had time to reflect upon it, I see it in its different versions as neither, but as highly intertextual and dialogic: that which we might think to be the base of the story, the memory of something that took place in the area, with its debauched Spaniards, priests, devil and mysterious woman, is itself the result of a dialogue, although not a pacific one, between indigenous pre-Hispanic ideas about the nature of the world, and the Christian doctrine, imposed upon indigenous people by the Spanish colonizers, along with its extirpation of idolatries. Upon this base layer, which already draws on a number of discourses, contemporary narrators impose the discourses of their own personal preoccupations, of hegemony in the nation and the region, of ideas about the nature of the world – which themselves result from the colonial dialogue – and of the contemporary priests and evangelical Protestant preachers who come to the region. We have already seen something of this in the previous stories, where the double-voicedness of terms such as ‘virgin’ and ‘Devil’ has been noted. It is this superposition and

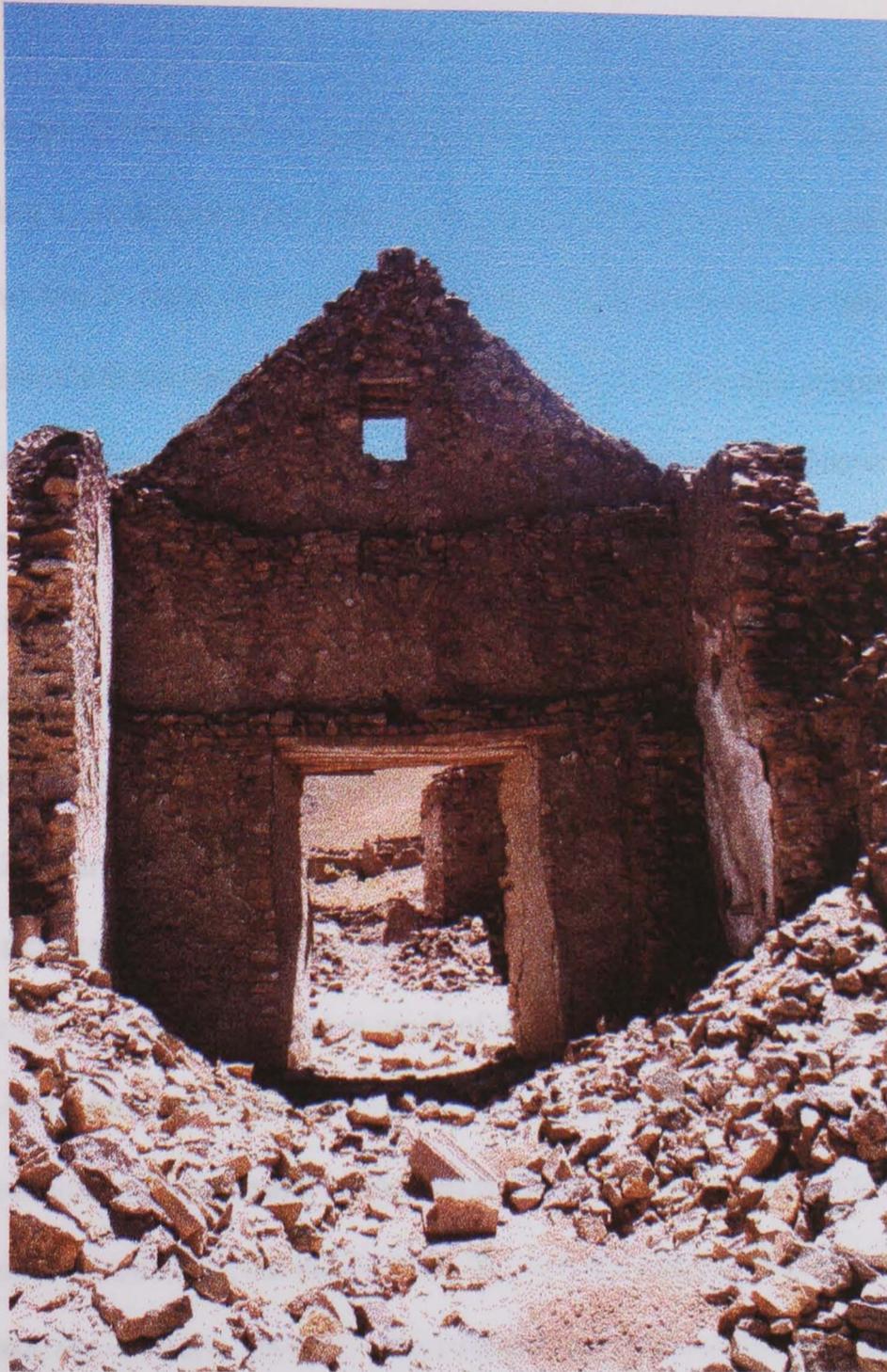


Plate 28. The ruins of San Antonio's church

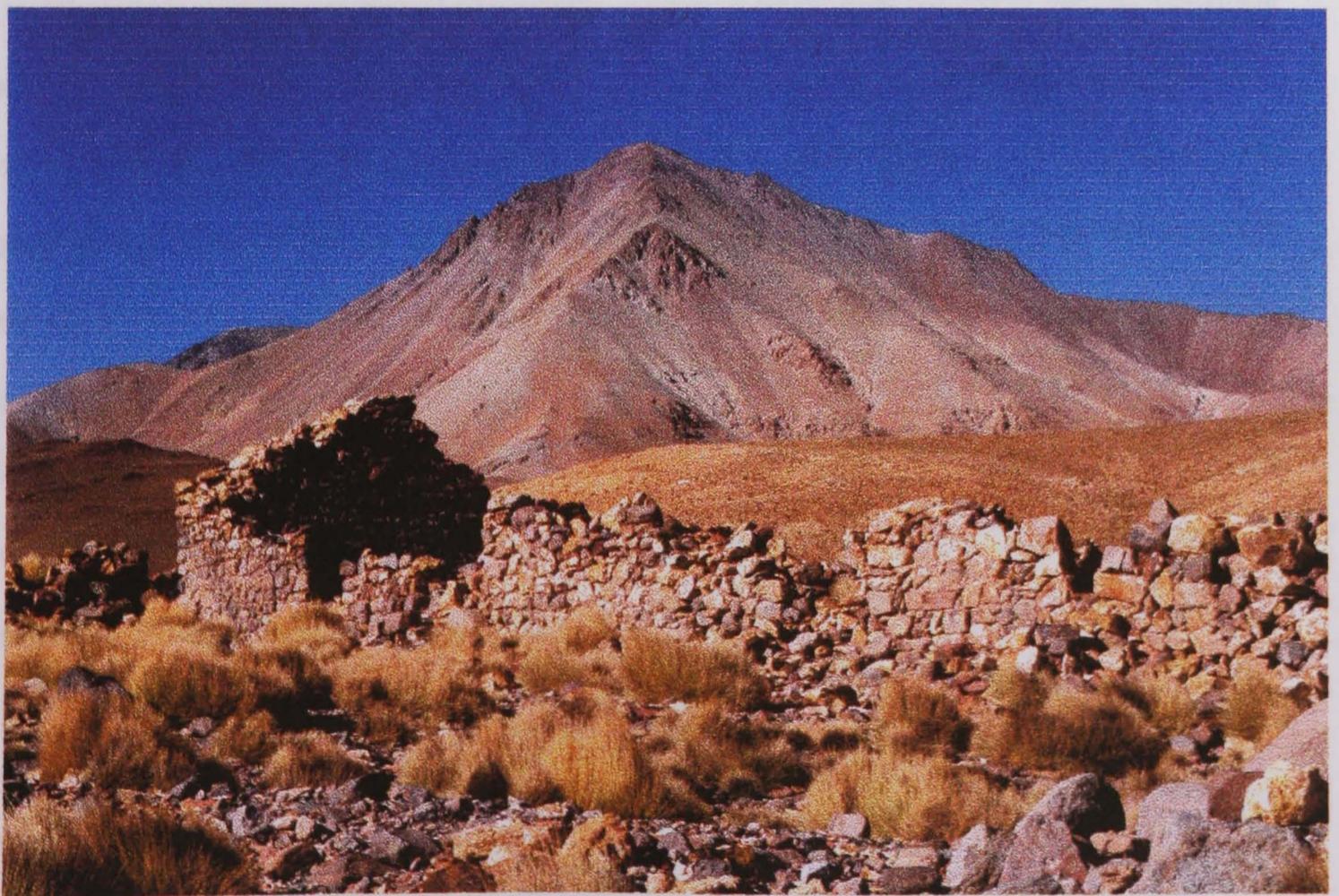


Plate 29. Cerro López, where the Devil was enchained

intermingling of types of contemporary discourse upon ideas dating from colonial times, already themselves drawing upon different discourses, that I term a layering of intertextuality. It is my intention in this section to make clear some of these layers and the discourses that enter into them.

It is obvious that the three narrators here are telling the same story, of a plague which all but finished off the inhabitants of the colonial mining camp of San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo. The story of the plague is very probably based upon something that actually happened in the area. As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, there is some documentary evidence that Lípez might well have suffered an epidemic in the early years of the seventeenth century: a report on the mines of Potosí department written in the early nineteenth century claims that the settlement was destroyed by the great plague of the year 1719 (ANB Minas t. 41; 640-640v), while Arzáns de Orsua y Vela writes extensively of a sickness that swept across the Audiencia de los Charcas in that year, causing much loss of life in the city of Potosí itself and in much of the surrounding area (Arzáns de Orsua y Vela, 1965; vol. 3; 81-96). Although Bakewell (1988:99) conjectures that the mine workings had all but exhausted the deposits made accessible by the adit constructed with the money of the Potosí entrepreneur, López de Quiroga (Bakewell, 1988; 99), it is not inconceivable that while this may have been the case, the epidemic could also have reached and decimated the mining centre, and that the memory of this event could have been passed on through succeeding generations of Lipeños.

The whole story is reminiscent of a biblical episode, perhaps most notably of the Old Testament destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19),²⁵ which likewise deals with the destruction of cities where the people behave badly, and contains allusions to other stories from the Bible in certain parts: perhaps the tenth plague of Egypt (Exodus 12), and possibly the Devil's temptation of Christ (Matthew 4 i-xi; Luke 4 i-xii), although, in this case, in the Lípez story the roles are reversed, and priests tempt the Devil. These biblical stories would have first been heard in the Bolivian countryside from the mouths of priests, in the teachings and sermons of the Catholic evangelisers of the colonial era, who would also have been extirpaters of idolatries, charged with stamping out indigenous practices.²⁶ The episode of the temptation of the Devil might also draw upon hagiographic writings

²⁵ Similarities between some Andean oral histories and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah have been noted by in some previous studies, for example, Morate-Best 1988 and Hillman 1994.

²⁶ While we cannot know precisely what sermons were preached in colonial Lípez, examples of the sorts of sermons used by colonial priests, in Spanish, Aymara and Quechua are given in the *Doctrina Cristiana para instrucción de los indios* produced in 1583 by the Third Provincial Council of Lima. In addition to sermons that make use of the biblical stories I have mentioned (Sermon xiiii mentions the destruction of Sodom and

and colonial images of the temptation of Saint Anthony, the patron saint of the mining camp, who, coincidentally, was invoked in mediaeval times for protection against plague (Ciriaci 1962: vol II, 127-128).²⁷ The main church of the colonial mining camp was very richly decorated with religious iconography, some of which survives to this day, and it is reasonable to expect that its art works would have included scenes from the life of the town's patron saint.²⁸ In the act of telling the tale, however, the words of colonial priests become mixed not only with those of the present-day Catholic priests who visit the area, but also with those of the preachers from the evangelical Protestant sects that are now so widespread in Bolivia with their different slant on Christianity, and who do not regard Catholics as being Christians at all.

Like the previous story of Santa Isabel, it seems reasonable to understand the first part of the story of LÍpez, the part concerning the Devil and the priests, which is present in the versions of don Francisco and don Reynaldo, as drawing upon the memory of extirpations of idolatries, or stamping out of heretical practices by the Catholic clergy. Although it is tempting to interpret the devil, in this context, as an Andean deity that has been covered up by the colonial gloss of 'Devil', I would suggest that the relationship between Christian Devil and Andean deity that he embodies is not so straightforward and is far more ambiguous and intertextual. Bouysse-Cassagne has pointed out that, in colonial times, recourse was made to indigenous traditions in the instruction given to the Indians in the Christian doctrine, for instance, the indigenous deity Tunupa was equated, by the clergy, at times with Saint Thomas and at others with Saint Bartholomew (Bouysse-Cassagne 1997: 162-179), and Taylor points out that Supay, a figure that corresponded in pre-Hispanic times to the souls of the dead, was identified with the Devil of Christianity (Taylor, 1979; 52-53). Bouysse-Cassagne contends, the imagery of the Christian hell, populated by its deformed and hybrid monsters, offered indigenous people the opportunity to continue depicting their gods of antiquity (Bouysse-Cassagne 1997: 192).

Gomorra (Pereña, 1985; 652)), the *Doctrina...* gives details of indigenous religious practices, in order to aid priests in their duties of stamping them out (*ibid*: 253-283).

²⁷ Saint Anthony the Patriarch, also known as Saint Anthony of Egypt, was probably the saint for whom the mining camp was named (see Chapter 3). MacCormack shows several paintings of the temptation of Saint Anthony and the temptation of Christ, by Flemish artists, which entered Spanish collections during the early colonial period (MacCormack 1991: 31-33). Similar scenes were reproduced in the Americas by colonial artists.

²⁸ The gilded altar and several colonial oil paintings from San Antonio de LÍpez are held in the museum of the Convent of Santa Teresa, in Potosí.

The subsequent fate of the Devil, after he succumbs to temptation, of being enchained on the summit of a mountain is not unique to the Lipeño myth: Wachtel has recorded a similar ending to a myth from Chipaya, an Uru speaking community to the north of the Salar de Coipasa, in which the Devil, after having raped the Virgin of Copacabana, is pursued by Saint Michael, and through a journey by a subterranean river, reaches the Chilean port of Antofagasta, where a priest traps him and leaves him in chains on the summit of a mountain, like the Lipeño Devil (Wachtel, 1990; 546). Both Wachtel and Bouysse-Cassagne, in discussing the Chipaya myth, make an identification between the Devil and the god Tunupa, but fail to pass any comment on the episode involving the priest. His imprisonment on the mountain does, however, suggest some connection with a mountain deity.

The woman who arrives, who is the personification of the fatal sickness, succeeds in turning the world upside down: not only does the sickness remove the colonising Spaniards from the scene, but the mines become unproductive and the fortunes of the survivors are reversed. This turning around of the world order suggests to me something that ethnographers and ethnohistorians of the Andean region term a pachakuti: a turning around of the world, the end of one era and the beginning of another, in which the existing people die and others come to take their place (Harris & Bouysse-Cassagne 1988 244). A pachakuti arrives in a similar manner in an episode related by Allen in her account of an oral history from Sonqo, in Cuzco department, Peru, which also deals with the destruction by plague of that community, a destruction which the author estimates to have taken place in the 1720s; at much the same time as that given in the nineteenth century report for the plague at San Antonio del Nuevo Mundo. In Allen's account, the pachakuti was heralded by the arrival in the community of a little man blowing a conch shell trumpet (Allen 1984: 156 and 1988: 101-102).²⁹

The term pachakuti exists in a complex discursive relationship with the Christian understanding of the end of the world. The manner in which the pachakuti arrives in the story seems not only Andean,

²⁹ Allen quotes one of her informants as narrating:

But then, those people got finished off too! It was the *Pisti Timpu* [Era of Plague]. There was a plague. So it was. At that very moment a little man came to make the plague, laden down with a pack and blowing a conch shell. It seems he crossed the Q'ellu Unu; it seems he crossed the Wankarani. So it was.

but also biblical, and is reminiscent of both the Tenth Plague of Egypt, brought by a ‘destroyer’ (Exodus 12 xxiii) who passes over the houses of the Jews while smiting the first born in the houses of the Egyptians, or the two angels that arrive to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah, whom Lot entertains (Genesis 19). It could be argued, however, that these biblical events, related by priests, would have been understood by native Andeans in the colonial times as pachakutis that turned the world upside down. Perhaps this interplay of Christian and Andean ideas contributes to the ambiguity of the narrators towards the woman who brings the plague, for at times she seems to be an emissary of God, but at others a friend of the devil. Her name is part Spanish and part Quechua: María, suggesting the Virgin Mary, while Picha Picha derives from picha- (Quechua - to clean or sweep) - and who literally sweeps away the old order.

Our understanding of the term pachakuti, as it existed in colonial times, comes from the writings of Spanish colonizers and their interpretations of the testimony of indigenous informants, and we also know that the term was used by the evangelising priests of the colonial era, supposedly as an indigenous term that provided a useful approximation to the Christian concept, to denote the end of the world or final judgement (Harris & Bouysse-Cassagne 1988: 246, see also Pereña 1985: 755). Harris and Bouysse-Cassagne further note that the present-day Aymara population uses the term juicio (judgement) to denote pachakuti, but at the same time juicio, meaning the Christian Day of Judgement, is also part of the discourse of many of the numerous evangelical Protestant sects that operate in the Andean region. I have never heard anyone in San Pablo speak of a pachakuti, but the term juicio is frequently used: don Reynaldo uses it in his version of the story of Lípez, as I shall discuss below.

There is one part of the story that is present in the versions of all three narrators, and seems almost formulaic: the description of the opulence of the mining camp. Don Francisco tells us that they would burn ch’arki (dried meat) or maize instead of firewood, and painted their walls with wheat flour; don Bruno tells us that they exchanged silver in hatfuls, cooked with ch’arki and plastered the walls with flour, and don Reynaldo tells us that they exchanged silver in hatfuls. I once played back my recording of don Bruno’s voice in my room in the Alejo family compound in San Pablo. Doña Teodora overheard and, as well as being interested to hear the voice of her padrino

(godfather) and to learn that he was still living, she told me that she recognised the story through hearing him recite these lines.

While the three narrators may well be relating the same historical event, and using the formulaic description outlined above, there are considerable differences between their respective versions: don Bruno does not mention the presence of the Devil in the mining camp; don Reynaldo only mentions the woman whose arrival is linked to the devastating plague after I prompt him twice; don Francisco and don Reynaldo disagree about whether the devil is still tied up on the summit of the mountain or whether he has gone away; and don Francisco is the only narrator who brings San Pablo into the account. A further narrator, whom I did not get the opportunity to record, don Hernán, an occasional miner in the co-operative, told yet another version, in which there was not only one woman who brought the plague, but three people, described as 'diferentes clases de gente' ('different sorts of people'), who danced in the plaza causing anyone seeing them to sicken and die: one of these was called María Picha Picha, and another was called Pisti (Spanish, peste-plague). In the following sections I shall discuss the ways in which the different narrators shape their narratives.

9.5.3.e Don Francisco's story.

While don Francisco makes almost no reference in his narrative, either to me, his immediate audience, or to any idea that I might be taking the story away for others to hear, he is extremely careful of the impression he creates of himself. Hardly any personal testimony enters into his story, unlike other narrators both of this story and of others, he does not claim to have heard it from his grandparents, nor does he describe his knowledge of any of its locations in a very personal way. Instead, he seeks to portray himself in a role that he sees me performing, as someone who collects and writes down local stories from the older generations (Spanish version lines 3-6), presumably on the basis that this is how someone with education should act: it is almost as if he wants to give the impression, at this point, that he is not a local person at all.

For most of his narration, he speaks as an upholder of Christian orthodoxy: although his narrative is quite humorous, he emphasises that the people 'enjoyed far too much the mineral riches of Lípez' (Spanish version, line 9), describes their behaviour as 'corrupt' (Spanish version, line 11), taking the

side of the priests, and specifically comments on their lack of family values (Quechua version, lines 3-4). However, he is also careful to point out that these people were Spanish, in an act of disidentification, which underlines the idea that they were neither Lipeño nor Bolivian. However, he becomes less clear on this matter towards the end of his story.

His episode of the priest making a mistake in the Mass provides another opportunity for don Francisco to display his superior education, and consciousness that he lives in a heteroglot world: he tells us that the Mass used to be celebrated in Latin, and provides us with what is an image, or representation, of how this language used to sound to him (Spanish version, lines 26-27). He is not sure however, of the name of the language, which he has to confirm with me: on the first occasion he told me the story, he had suggested that the priest used to celebrate the Mass in either English or French. The sounds of Latin are contrasted with the phrase, half Quechua and half Spanish, the priest comes out with by mistake, which here enters the Spanish version of the narrative with the Quechua term untranslated, as a real Quechua word rather than a representation of the language, although here the language is used to denote the influence of the Devil. The phrase ‘Golden Dove’ does not sound particularly blasphemous or heretical to Western ears, which associate doves with the Holy Spirit. In the popular songs of the Andes, however, palomita usually refers to a sexually desirable woman. I have not heard the phrase qori palomita in these songs, but qori q’enti is the hummingbird (or picaflor in Spanish). In the same tradition of popular song qori q’enti refers to a person of either sex who cannot stay with one sexual partner, but flits between partners, like the hummingbird between flowers. Hence the offending phrase suggests possible sexual connotations and even that the priest could have been eyeing up the women in his congregation.

The three priests that arrive in Lipez from Potosí evoke the numerous official commissions and delegations that arrive today in the province from the departmental capital, representing various official bodies, and proceed to meet with the various San Pablo authorities in the plaza, before being conducted into the subprefecto or alcalde’s offices. His episode involving the confrontation in the plaza between the priests and the Devil is told with considerable humour, and the image he creates of the Devil setting off up the mountain, laughing and playing his guitar (Spanish version, lines 41-42; Quechua version, lines 20-21) is quite comic. The whole episode evokes more than anything the sort

of discourse that occurs when anyone in San Pablo tries to persuade someone else to do something, whether or not it is in that person's interest.

The narrative takes a different turn once the devil has been chained up on the mountain. The narrator suddenly has sympathy for him, and uses emotive shaping to describe how he must have suffered in the wind and the rain, and how he cried, making the mountain shake (Spanish version, lines 51-55). In the two versions of don Francisco's tale the ambiguity of the mysterious woman who arrives is most apparent: while in the Spanish version she sympathises with the devil, berating the people for having left 'our brother' (Spanish version, line 66) to suffer on the mountain top, in the Quechua version, the people, already suffering the effects of the plague, suggest that she is God's emissary visiting punishment upon them (Quechua version, line 32).

The final part of the story, when the survivors of the plague flee to a site near San Pablo, seems to set out don Francisco's agenda, as a leading member of the community of San Pablo, one of its authorities, with an official position under the Sánchez de Lozada government, and one of the most respected people in the town. By this point in the story, it seems to interest him no longer that the people of Lípez were Spaniards, but it is more important that those survivors, reaching the site of San Pablo, had repented of their former sins, and had become righteous. This is another example of an episode that calls to mind stories of biblical flights from danger: the flight from Egypt, or from Sodom and Gomorrah (perhaps the strong person who goes back but perishes owes something to the tale of Lot's wife). Those that remain then build the church close to the site of San Pablo, before even building houses for themselves (Spanish version, line 95, lines 97-98). In these last lines, don Francisco makes it clear that the whole point of telling the story is not to tell a tale about the mining camp of Lípez, but to tell the story of the origin of San Pablo: that this town was founded by those fleeing from the old mining camp, at the time the most important town in the region, who had nevertheless repented of their sins and become good Christians, justifies the position of San Pablo as capital of the region, even though this might be challenged by discontented comunarios from Santa Isabel, or those of Esmoruco, whose town is larger. The direct discourse of the survivors deciding to send someone back and then discussing their future suddenly sounds like the sorts of discussion that take place between San Pablo comunarios at one of their meetings.

The Quechua and Spanish versions of don Francisco's story, although not strictly speaking parallel texts, enable me to demonstrate the points I have made in previous sections about the need to specify sources of information both in Quechua and in the Spanish spoken in rural Quechua speaking areas of Bolivia. Throughout the narrative, the past tense in Quechua is marked with -sqa, the reportative past tense, and the occasional use of ni-nku (they say), while in Spanish hearsay knowledge is marked by dicen (they say) rather than by the use of the pluperfect as a reportative tense.

9.5.3.f Don Bruno's story

Don Bruno's story is the only version that I have recorded from a member of the present-day community of San Antonio de Lipez: don Bruno's estancia is in fact the closest inhabited dwelling to the ruins of the old mining camp. Although his narrations are brief, this proximity to, and personal knowledge of, the locality are very much in evidence in a discourse of familiarity with, and belonging to, the same place. He starts his narration in both languages by telling me that he knows the story because he heard it as a boy from his grandfather, whom he names, and in Quechua he adds that his grandfather in turn had heard it from his own grandparents, thus creating an impression both of the long association of his family with the place, and of the age of the story. He is much more precise in describing where the events took place than are either of the other two narrators: the woman appears at the highest point of the road (Spanish version, line 6), and dances to the village entrance where she disappears (Spanish version line, 12), and the location where she disappears is given even more precisely in Quechua as being 'in the town, on that central hill' (Quechua version line, 6). At the end of his Quechua narration, when he suddenly remembers some additional information, he adds personal testimony to the narration, by explaining how, when he was a boy, he used to pick out grains of wheat and barley from the walls of the church.

The narration is clearly addressed to me: in the Spanish version his opening words are 'I shall tell you the old story, señora' (Spanish version, line 1), while in Quechua he adds more comments, and speculates on my motives ('...perhaps you are something of a student') for journeying so far to 'carry

away' the story of the place (Quechua version, lines 1 - 2). He was clearly conscious that I would be 'carrying away' his story, would make use of it, and that others would hear it, and persuaded me to pay him a few Bolivianos for his efforts. When we had finished making the recording he commented on the part he had at first forgotten, adding wryly that his memory was bad 'because I had not yet paid him'.

His discourse throughout the tale is ostensibly that of an upholder of Christian orthodoxy, stressing that the people had offended God: at first, in both languages, the offence is to have got married again and again (Spanish version lines 4-5, Quechua version lines 11-12), but at the very end of his Quechua narration, when he remembers some more information, it seems that the punishment sent by God might be for being wasteful with products of the earth or for using them badly (Quechua version, lines 20-26). Although he does not appear in any way to identify with the people who die, there is one instance of emotive shaping in the first line of his Spanish version, when he speaks about the people suffering such a disaster, where he shows a certain amount of sympathy for them.

Most of his shaping of the story is emotive or commentative: rhetorical questions, such as '¿A dónde se va?' (Spanish version line 13), the Spanish interjection '¿A ver, qué le parece?' (Quechua version line 13) and metanarrative comments such as 'eso estoy olvidando' (Quechua version lines 25-26). There is, however, I believe, one instance of manipulative shaping: the part where he mentions that the people who died were buried inside their own houses (Spanish version lines 18 - 21, Quechua version, line 16). As I mentioned above, don Bruno is not too happy about the way things are being done nowadays, and, at the time I recorded this story, a manufacturer of the flavour enhancer monosodium glutamate, which San Pablo people invariably added to their cooking, based in Uyuni, had made it known that they needed animal bones, and were willing to pay for them. Mostly, people just saved the bones from the animals they slaughtered, but several people, both in San Pablo and San Antonio, who were somewhat more enterprising, had started looking for places where bones had been buried in the past. Several had been excavating among the ruins near San Pablo, and don Bruno's daughter could usually be found digging up bones from among the ruins of San Antonio. All involved insisted that the bones they were excavating were not human, and they did not dig in the cemeteries, but don Bruno's assertion that the victims of the plague were buried in

their own houses, a part of the story that he marks as hearsay, particularly in the Spanish version, I think expresses some discomfort with this practice, and shows his own doubt about the animal origin of the bones. I have to admit, that after having heard don Bruno's story, every time I saw doña Teodora adding monosodium glutamate to the soup, it would cross my mind that we were probably eating the ground up bones of dead Spaniards!

Don Bruno's code switching towards the end of his Quechua narrative, I consider to have been largely for my benefit: he knew that my understanding of Quechua was by no means perfect, and wanted to make sure that I would understand the information he had just remembered. His previous code switch in line 13 is of the sort that Howard-Malverde considers typical of bilingual situations, a switch from Indian to European language for metanarrative comments (Howard-Malverde, 1989: 62).³⁰

9.5.3.g Don Reynaldo's story

One notable feature of don Reynaldo's version of the story of Lípez is that, unlike those of the other two narrators, it lacks any real note of censure about the behaviour of the people in the mining camp. The discourse he uses to describe their way of living is taken, I suggest, from his experience as a present-day miner: he refers to them as 'workers' ('trabajadores') (line 2), he is careful to describe the purity of silver they were extracting (lines 9 & 11), and notes that they were making a good living from their mines. That the people did not behave correctly is attributed to what happens when there is a lot of silver around (lines 14-15), which is also responsible for the presence of the Devil, who throughout the narrative is referred to by the affectionate miners' nickname, the Tío. In his version it is the Tío who gets married again and again, deceiving the women in question by changing his appearance, rather than the miners themselves, which again removes the responsibility for wrongdoing from them.

When he gets to the formulaic part of the story that relates the opulence of the mining town, and how its inhabitants would exchange silver in hatfuls, he goes further than the other narrators in claiming that this was 'original, liquid, flowing silver' ('plata original, líquida, corrida'). On a

³⁰ Howard Malverde draws attention to Hymes' observation that the North American indigenous language, Wishram, is a language of 'tradition', whereas English is a language of 'interpretation' (Hymes 1981: 129).

number of other occasions when we were working in the mine, he would relate to me stories about other miners or other mines, and whenever he described a vein of pure silver, he would add that it was liquid. I did not understand why pure silver should be a liquid, and asked him on a number of occasions why this should be, without receiving an answer that satisfied me entirely. When I came to review my data, I was inclined to interpret his remarks, rather speculatively, along the lines suggested by one of the lines of enquiry I had followed in a search of colonial Quechua and Aymara dictionaries for vocabulary relating to metals and minerals: that metal was understood to flow in mineral veins like the blood of animals, or the sap of plants (Bolton 1993: 92), but there was little else in his discourse to support this, and I remained unconvinced by this line of argument. It was not until much later that, in trying to find out something of the productivity of the LÍpez mines in the seventeenth century, I started to read Bakewell's (1975) study of silver production in the district of Potosí. There, my attention was drawn some pages that explained the difficulties and discrepancies in converting plata corriente (current silver) into pesos ensayados (assayed silver).

Plata corriente was the silver produced directly by refiners, which could be of variable quality, unlike the measured pesos ensayados, the official coinage produced by the mint (Casa Real de la Moneda) in Potosí. Bakewell (1975: 79) mentions that prior to the establishment of the mint, in 1572, this low quality silver from the refiners served as the medium of exchange in the form of lumps or bars. Although the boom in silver production in LÍpez occurred long after the establishment of the Potosí mint, the remoteness of Potosí from the LÍpez mines makes it seem likely that silver probably did circulate there in the form of lumps, bars, or even hatfuls of this refined, but unmeasured metal. The term corriente in Spanish means 'current' (as in 'currency'), that which circulates as a medium of exchange, but it also has the meaning of 'flowing' or 'running'. It would therefore seem more than likely that this 'flowing' silver led to don Reynaldo's description of pure silver as a 'liquid'. In fact, the Spanish term he uses for it, 'corrida', also means 'running', but more in the sense of 'three days running', and it would also seem likely that the use of this term is a half-remembered reference to the plata corriente of colonial times.³¹

³¹ Olivia Harris, commenting on the uses of money in northern Potosí, notes that Laymi women are often reluctant to make conversions of goods into cash 'because of the excessive fluidity of money' (Harris 1989: 244). One way in which money is fluid here is that it is readily converted into alcohol by the women's husbands.

Don Reynaldo's discourse is humorous for much of the narrative: the devil getting married again and again is comic (lines 17-18), as are the priests, who fool around, sing and chatter, before they realise that something is not right (lines 20-22), and the episode with the bishop, who finds the devil by inspecting everybody's feet (lines 26-28). The episode of the bishop putting everything in order brought to my mind the record of a colonial ecclesiastical inspection dating from the seventeenth century that I had seen in the archives (Archivo Diocesano de Chuquisaca, Visita de Curatas, Lípez, 1680), but on reflection, it is more likely that don Reynaldo brings into this section something of the discourse of lawyers, with whom he must have had to deal on numerous occasions, rather than churchmen: his bishop is preoccupied with making everything 'legal' rather than holy.

I had to prompt don Reynaldo twice before he would mention the woman whose arrival heralded the plague (I prompted him as I wanted to check that he knew this part of the story), and once he had mentioned her, he quickly turns the subject of the narrative back to the Tío. I think one reason for this is that we had been talking earlier, and on other occasions, about the Tío of the mines, but that another reason why he finds the woman irrelevant is that he is manipulating his story so as to make a point about mining in the area: he is putting forward the idea that it is not possible for any large company to work the mines at present because the Tío has gone elsewhere. He is the only narrator to state this, and several other people I spoke with in San Pablo told me that the Devil is still there on the summit. It is in this part of the discourse that one of don Reynaldo's own preoccupations comes through.

At the time we made the recording, the right of don Reynaldo and his family to work the Buena Vista mine had come under threat from the American-owned mining company based in San Pablo, who, with the permission of the state mining company COMIBOL were taking samples from the Buena Vista workings. I was concerned about this since the chief geologists with the company had told me, during the course of a drinking session in Tupiza, that COMIBOL was effectively looking for a loophole in the co-operativists' contract, and should the samples look promising, would be seeking to get them evicted. The American-owned company was concerned that this should be done without them having to pay thousands of dollars to the evicted miners in compensation. After hearing this, on the earliest possible occasion I had talked to don Reynaldo, who refused to appear at all concerned about the situation, about the possible need to find a good lawyer. His statement that it

is not possible to work the mines of LÍpez in any sort of regular or organised way, thus seems like a statement of defiance or nonchalance in face of this threat. Notably, the first time don Reynaldo told this story to me, before the threat from the mining company materialised, this part of the story about the Devil going away from LÍpez was not present.

Don Reynaldo has the Devil go away to Pulacayo, a mine just to the north of Uyuni, which was the site of one of the wealthiest silver mines of the nineteenth century, belonging to the Huanchaca mining company (Lora 1977: 35-36), but has him promise to return 'en el tiempo de juicio' ('at the time of judgement') in the year 2000. Here the ambiguity and intertextuality of the terms juicio and pachakuti become apparent. In don Reynaldo's story, although judgement day may come in the year 2000, the Tío is going to return after this date, when many people will again populate the LÍpez region, presumably because, with the Tío's presence, it will be possible to work the mines again. Rather than try to interpret don Reynaldo's ideas about Judgement Day as a veneer of Christianity covering up an older belief system, in which the world will be turned around by a pachakuti, I believe he, like other Lipeños, is well aware of the ambiguity of the term juicio when he uses it, and that two contradictory ideas about its meaning exist in his mind: that juicio will be the end of everything, and that it will be the start of a new era. This is something I have noted from other Lipeño people, who at times try to resolve this contradiction: a further story that don Balvino told me, ended with a reversal in the fortunes of two mountains which again would happen at juicio. The story demanded a changing around of the world order, but in order to reconcile this with the Christian concept of the end of the world, don Balvino fitted his reversal into 'the final decades, right at the end of the world'.

9.6 Intertextuality and Discourses of Power in the Stories.

Fairclough has drawn attention to the importance of the relationship between intertextuality and hegemony. He makes the point that intertextual processes are not limitless, but are constrained by power relations, and also that, conversely, they can be conceived as processes of hegemonic struggle in the field of discourse, which affect, as well as are affected by, wider hegemonic struggles (Fairclough 1992: 102-103). The stories from Sud LÍpez I have discussed concern power relations in

different ways: in that they concern the time of the Spaniards in Sud Lípez, they are obviously about the colonial situation, and it is notable that all concern the downfall of the Spaniards, rather than any other events that happened during the colonial period; they are, however, told in the present, and discourses reflecting past power relations inevitably become mingled with, and seen from the perspective of, the present.

If, as seems more than likely, some sort of disasters did befall the Spaniards working the mines of Lípez and Santa Isabel at some time during the colonial era, probably in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, then it also seems likely that at least some sections of Spanish colonial society would have viewed these events, like our present-day narrators, as a divine punishment for sinful behaviour. After all, this is how Arzáns de Orsua y Vela describes the various disasters, including the bursting of a large dam in 1621,³² that, by his time of writing, had befallen the city of Potosí (Arzáns de Orsua y Vela 1965: vol. 2 p. 123), not that this appears to have worried unduly the mining entrepreneurs of that city.

Although to try to describe what happened when these sorts of explanation for the disastrous events involving divine punishment that happened in Lípez passed from the mouths of religiously minded Spaniards to those of indigenous people is a largely speculative exercise, I suggest that both their significance and their tone would have altered. Rather than act as a warning to other Spaniards against bad behaviour, the stories, as they are told now, and as I suspect they were told in the past, seem to revel in the plight of the colonizers and to contain humorous episodes and role reversals: people over-indulge in sex, priests clown around and laugh when they should be serious, and they tempt the Devil rather than be tempted by him. I would speculate that telling these sorts of stories, based as they seem to be, on biblical episodes, functioned for indigenous people in later colonial times rather like the carnivalesque rituals and humour of mediaeval Europe that Bakhtin discusses in his work on Rabelais (Bakhtin, 1984): as a charter of freedom to inflict damage on the dominant sections of society.³³ Whereas Bakhtin proposes the sanction for carnivalesque humour derives from a universal, or pan-human element that pre-exists the official social order (which defers to it on

³² This was one of the dams that held water in reservoirs above the city on the slopes of the Kari Kari massif. This was the water that supplied the city and turned the huge water wheels of the city's ore crushing mills.

³³ Le Roy Ladurie makes a similar point in relation to carnivalesque satire in sixteenth-century Provence: that the humorous satires of the carnival season were used to attack the rich and the high-ranking religious orders (Le Roy Ladurie 1980: 312-316).

occasions) in the colonial Andes the sanction for indigenous peoples' humorous jibes at the Spanish and their priests comes from the religion, and religious stories, of the colonizers themselves. It was all right to criticise the Spaniards, laugh at their misfortunes, and make them appear ridiculous if that criticism and humour came in the guise of a moral and religious tale demonstrating the wages of sin.

Narrators of the present day are clearly faced with a very different social order, of a society whose rhetoric venerates the heroes of the Wars of Independence from Spain, as don Reynaldo demonstrates in his first story, and in which it is perfectly legitimate to criticise and mock the Spanish colonizers of the past. The anti-Spanish elements in the stories, rather than being subversive and carnivalesque, now appear no more than part of the mainstream discourse of Bolivian nationalism (although it is still slightly subversive to make fun of the priests). Two of the stories I have discussed in this chapter, Story 1 from don Reynaldo and don Francisco's version of Story 3, seem very much to support the existing social order: that of the hegemony of the nation-state, and of Spanish speaking and literate groups within Bolivian society, with all of which their narrators want to be associated. Don Francisco also supports in his story, as in daily life, the apparatus of local government and its officials, put in place by the government in power at the time the story was recorded.

The narrator of Story 2, don Balvino, although quick to identify those behaving badly in his story as Spanish and not Lipeño, does not really say much about present-day power relations in his story. However, some more subversive elements enter into the two remaining versions of Story 3. Don Bruno is rather dissenting about the present-day order of things: both in his veiled criticism of contemporary practices that enter into his story, and in the more candid comments he made to me outside the recording session. Although he talks about the Spanish as having been wicked, he displays a certain nostalgia for the way things were done in the more recent past, when he was a boy and when, according to him, people did not get so drunk in the festivals, and music was played live, not from tape recorders. Although he does not say as much, these former times were also when the social organisation of his community was along different lines, when the authorities were those of the ayllu rather than the canton.

Don Reynaldo seems to have changed his tune, from one of support for the nation-state in his first story, to one of dissent, at least where problems involving mining companies are concerned. In his

version of Story 3, the events are re-emphasised, and in place of don Francisco's smug satisfaction at having got rid of the corrupt Spaniards, don Reynaldo seems more to lament the loss of a golden age for miners, which has been replaced by a time of hardship, in which his only real satisfaction is to see that it is harder for the large companies that would evict him from his mine than it is for him. His story is ludic and funny, and pokes fun at the priests, but also threatens the present order with extinction at the end of the century. Don Reynaldo was never, at least when talking to me, overtly critical of the mining company that was seeking to evict him, and to be heard to be so would have been to express an unpopular opinion in San Pablo: the mining company was operating with the full support of the town and provincial authorities (its offices had been set up in the building of the subprefectura), and was generally held to be supporting the town (although some dissenting voices said privately that it could have done more), and was expected to bring it future prosperity. Don Reynaldo here makes use of the form and humour of a traditional tale to make a point about the futility of his opponents' enterprise. Here don Reynaldo uses the story against the existing social order rather as I have suggested indigenous people may have done in colonial times.

Although our knowledge of how stories like those I have discussed in this chapter were used in the past is not, and probably never will be complete, using these stories as an example does illustrate, albeit somewhat speculatively, Fairclough's points about intertextuality and power relations. What I have taken to have been a discourse of dissent in colonial times, in the guise of a religious or morality tale, is transformed into one of support for contemporary power relations in the words of some narrators, while in the words of others it is transformed once again in an attempt to undermine the hegemonic order, which in turn constrains what may be said, or at least the ways in which people may say it.

9.7 Conclusion: '...any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations'

This chapter has looked at the various forms of intertextuality that enter into three stories that were told in Sud LÍpez during my fieldwork period, and which all concern the colonial era. I have contended that intertextuality is an important part of them on a number of levels. My first thoughts on starting to write this chapter were to describe the different present-day discourses that narrators

weave into the stories that they tell: discourses that are in different ways relevant to them personally, and that reflect their own lives and preoccupations, thus demonstrating that the histories they tell, while ostensibly about the past, are products of a particular time and space. Having done this, and having reflected further, it has become apparent that intertextuality is relevant to the texts of the stories in more ways than I had anticipated.

Firstly, the substance of the stories is related to prior texts of stories that the narrators have heard in the past, which themselves are at times reworkings of biblical tales, along with the physical remains of the colonial era that can be seen in the area. This local production of history, however, also now becomes interwoven with history as it is taught in school, as it is written in school textbooks, and with the sorts of discourses that enter into these texts.

Secondly, some of the concepts that enter into the stories are themselves intertextual: ideas such as juicio, diablo, and virgen are double voiced and have resonances both in Christian texts, both past and present, such as Bible stories and sermons, and in pre-Hispanic Andean beliefs. What is 'Andean' and what is Christian becomes an increasingly difficult question to answer, and perhaps not a good one to ask: while, as Abercrombie maintains, present-day Andean people may distinguish between what is 'more Christian' and what is 'more Andean' (Abercrombie, 1998; 110), their perceptions of these categories is already the result of a dialogue between two ways of apprehending the world that started in colonial times and continues to the present day.

The language in which stories are told can also be construed as intertextual, in that it mirrors in the styles of speaking of the different people of the world in which they are told. The Spanish used by narrators reflects many of the preoccupations of the Quechua language, particularly where sources of knowledge are concerned, in which these narrators would have first heard stories from previous generations of storytellers, and the voices in the stories are images of the different speech genres that the narrators hear in everyday life, from the rather pompous speech of the priests, to the language of discussion³⁴ and decision making used in community meetings.

Finally, the stories as they are told inevitably involve discourses expressing power relations: discourses expressing past power relations are reaccentuated and rearticulated, and made relevant for

³⁴ There is obvious scope here for further investigation into the different sorts of intertextual contexts engendered by the two languages Spanish and Quechua, for example, the use of a phrase in one language might well suggest to the hearer a range of inter-texts not brought forth in the other language. Although this is beyond the scope of this present chapter, it could well be a topic for further study.

the present day, sometimes to support current hegemonies and sometimes attempting to undermine them.

I have described the ways in which the above facets of intertextuality interact as a 'layering', of present discursive formations overlaying those of the past. Kristeva (and Fairclough) write of intertextuality having horizontal and vertical 'dimensions' to describe much the same sort of process (Kristeva 1986: 37). I am not convinced that either metaphor, geological deposition or co-ordinate geometry, is completely adequate to describe the dynamic process by which texts and discourses interact to transform and restructure one another, but would fully go along with a phrase that Kristeva used in describing Bakhtin's insight into literary theory, that '...any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another' (*ibid*; 37).

Chapter 10. Conclusions

10.1 Rural Community and Nation-State in Bolivia: The Case of San Pablo de LÍpez

Through an examination of the history, economic activities, rituals and oral histories of the people of San Pablo de LÍpez in southern Bolivia, I have sought in this thesis to understand the sorts of relations that have come to exist between rural Andean groups and the Bolivian nation-state, and in particular how rural people understand themselves in the face of the state's nation-building activities. The community in question, San Pablo, lies in a remote area and so is geographically isolated from the rest of Bolivia, but it is by no means isolated culturally since its people frequently travel to the cities; a number of outside entities, notably mining companies, are active in the area; and the history of the area is one of plurality and mixing of peoples. One consequence of its situation was that, on coming into the area, I found it difficult to understand its people in terms of the categories, runa or ayllu members and mestizos or q'aras, that appear in so many ethnographies of the region, the categories of or those imagined by outsiders. The corollary of this was that I was not tempted to view them as a 'pristine Indian' group, but was led to examine the sorts of discourses that underlie their contemporary understandings of themselves. A further consequence of San Pablo's situation was that discourses emerging at the level of the nation, in particular the present official emphasis on pluralism and multi-culturalism, reversing earlier trends at homogenisation and assimilation of the Indian population, were heard and had repercussions at the level of the locality.

This thesis does not claim to give a complete picture of life in San Pablo. Other aspects of social life could have been foregrounded – gender and language use being two areas I have not covered in any depth, as I mentioned earlier – but the selection I made was not random, and had its purposes: in particular, the focus on history allowed me to look into the sorts of discourse surrounding categories of people in the colonial and early republican eras, and into the sorts of dialogues that took place between discourses involving these categories throughout the historical periods in question. This suggested to me that the sorts of discourses emerging from the historical process of dialogue now enter in turn into dialogue with the contemporary discourses of identity and ethnic differentiation at the level of the nation that I have outlined above, and also with other contemporary discourses taking place at the level of the locality. This I have termed a three-dimensional intertextual process.

My early impressions of the people of San Pablo were that they looked in two directions: inwards towards their local area and outwards towards the wider nation, alternating between seeing themselves as local indigenous people and national citizens, or 'Indians' and mestizos. However, my analysis in the end suggested something slightly different; that rather than displaying ambivalence or ambiguity the people of San Pablo adopted indeterminacy as a strategy producing themselves as something outside the categories of others, thereby putting themselves beyond the categories of the nation and the sorts of stereotypes that operate at national level. This became particularly apparent when looking at rituals of the locality and of the nation, which were not as easily separable as they at first appeared.

10.2 Mestizaje, Intertextuality, Discourse and Power: Theoretical Points Arising From the Thesis

I have situated this study within the framework of studies of mestizaje, or hybridity of peoples and cultures, in Latin America, an area of study that looks at social inequalities in Latin America and at perceived degrees of 'indianness' and 'non-indianness'. Mestizaje, and differences between peoples that are expressed in 'racial' terms, as I have stated earlier, have less to do with phenotypical characteristics such as skin colour, or even descent, than with factors such as language, dress, dwelling place, social class, occupation and economic status. I have shown in Chapter 3 that 'racial' differences in colonial times were, in the final analysis, concerned more with legitimacy, occupation and the payment of different sorts of taxes than they were with physical characteristics.

In Chapter 2, I outlined the two main theoretical stances that analysts have taken towards mestizaje. The first saw it as a liberating, counterhegemonic discourse of indeterminacy: a means by which people could break free of the social controls and stereotypes imposed by the dominant sections of society, and seemed particularly applicable to the situation under colonial rule. The second approach, largely present in works dealing with the post-colonial era and in particular with the countries of Central America, saw mestizaje as a discourse of homogenisation and nation-building, propagated by the elite sections of society. This approach highlighted the way in which the modern nation-states of Latin America have denied recognition and authenticity to ethnic and indigenous peoples within the national boundaries whose goals differ from those of the wider nation. If I appear to have taken the former stance rather than the latter, this is not because I deny its validity or usefulness – discourses of homogenisation, assimilation of the Indian population and the mestizo

nation were, and still are, a feature of post-revolutionary Bolivia – but because I have taken a ‘bottom-up’ rather than ‘top-down’ approach to the topic, looking largely at the ways that a rural group can manipulate and escape the categories of others. My approach might well have been different had I decided to focus directly on the elite and national discourses that appear in this thesis as background rather than figure. The debates between the different analysts writing on the subject of mestizaje are reflected in turn in the debates currently taking place within the Latin American nations between pluralism and multi-culturalism, a discourse that originated in international organisations concerned for the rights of indigenous peoples, and the nation-building homogenisation that has been the dominant discourse in most Latin American countries since independence from Spain.

I have approached the subject of rural community and nation-state in Bolivia through theories of discourse, where I have taken discourse to constitute not only extended samples of spoken or written language, but the different ways of structuring social practice. Discourse is hence the site of ‘management of meaning’ (Holy 1994), through which such factors as ethnicity, identity and power relations are generated, transmitted and received. From the various chapters of the thesis, theoretical points have arisen in three broad areas: the first concerns intertextuality and the historical dimension of the study; the second examines the links between discourses and material practices; and the third, considerations of power. I shall deal with each of these in turn in the sections that follow.

10.2.1 Intertextuality and the Historical Dimension of the Study

The model I have proposed to explain the process of mestizaje, and the ways that contemporary people in Sud Lípez and other parts of Bolivia categorise themselves and others, attempts both to take into account the historical dimension and to avoid reifications of such groupings as ‘Indian’, ‘mestizo’ and ‘Spaniard’, and of ethnic groups in the more abstract sense. Central to this model is the concept of intertextuality.

Intertextuality, as I set out in Chapter 2 of this thesis, is a term borrowed from linguistic theory and literary criticism that was introduced by Julia Kristeva, but which owes much of its inspiration to Bakhtin’s ideas of dialogue. It emphasises the heterogeneity of texts and the diverse and often contradictory elements from which they are made. It is a process that I have termed ‘three-dimensional’ since it can be considered to have horizontal and vertical axes: the horizontal axis being that of dialogues that take place in the present; while the vertical axis is the way in which a text is oriented towards the corpus of texts that precede it and form its context. Fairclough (1992), building

on Kristeva's idea, has further distinguished between 'manifest intertextuality', when other texts are explicitly present in a given text, and 'constitutive intertextuality' or 'interdiscursivity' which deals with the way that different discourses and discourse types enter into a text.

Although, in the greater part of the thesis, I am dealing with discourses in the abstract sense, rather than extended samples of speech or writing, I have found the concept useful for looking at concepts such as the social categories of 'Indian', 'mestizo' and 'cholo'. Contemporary people's understanding of such terms can be thought to result in part from a dialogue that takes place in the present. This is a dialogue that is formed from the different discourses about ethnicity in the Andean region: for instance, the current official discourse of pluralism and ethnic diversity enters into dialogue with ideas about homogenisation, assimilation of the 'Indian' population, and the 'mestizo' nation. In Bolivia these discourses also dialogue with more overtly racist discourses dating from before the National Revolution, but which I would argue are still present in the popular imagination, of 'indios', 'mestizos' and 'blancos'. At the level of rural communities, contemporary dialogues concern rural people's own perceived degree of 'Indianness' and whether the traditional Andean form of social organisation, the ayllu, remains salient for them or whether their interests might not be better served by putting aside such structures that separate them from those of the Bolivian state. For individuals, these sorts of debates concern their own obligations to the community: their continued observance of certain rituals, their willingness to accept political office (both local positions and those linked to the structure of the state) and to act as sponsors for certain festivals.

Nevertheless, contemporary dialogues such as those outlined above have as their context the dialogue that began with the encounter between sixteenth-century 'Spaniard' and 'Indian', and continued through colonial and republican eras, which in turn had as its context the dialogues between the different nations of the Spains, and those between the different pre-conquest groupings of indigenous Americans. The post-conquest dialogue involved not only those ways of classifying people that were designated by the Spanish ruling classes, but also the ways in which those categories were understood by the indigenous population and the various intermediate groupings of people. Chapter 3 of this thesis has attempted to portray the shifting ground of 'racial' classification in Lípez in the colonial era, along with the bases on which such sorts of classification were made – revolving more around the payment of taxes and legitimacy than skin colour or parentage. I suggested at the end of that chapter that contemporary ambivalences of affiliation experienced by the people of Lípez

may stem in part from colonial dialogues that concerned categories of people and tax payments, and to the simultaneous obligations to colonial authorities and local organisations to which the colonial population was subject.

I have suggested in Chapter 8 that this mechanism might be illustrated in the sheep-quarterming rite of Carnival. Here the contemporary dialogue is formed by people's attempts to sort out relations between themselves and with outside entities through being 'bad' throughout the Carnival celebration. The sheep-quarterming rite, although local people offer no explanation for it, in my interpretation recalls historical attempts to sort out both internal divisions and relations with powerful outsiders: it recalls the pre-Hispanic rite of conquest between the Inca and a subject chieftain in which a falcon would have been torn apart, and also the payment of tribute to colonial and republican governments, that would have taken place at Carnival time in previous centuries. The payment of tribute recalls in turn the different understandings of tribute by colonial and republican regimes and by the rural groups who paid it, for whom tribute was part of a state-ayllu pact, through which the ayllu was guaranteed continuing access to its lands. It also recalls the ritual battles (tinkus) held in other parts of the Andean region, which are concerned with reaching internal equilibrium.

Chapter 9 returned to texts in the more strictly linguistic sense: the samples of spoken text that I recorded, which were the stories that Lipeños tell about the past. Here, the intertextual process is apparent once again: the horizontal, or dialogic, axis of the process is apparent in the discourses that individual narrators bring into their stories: discourses that relate to their personal situations, ideas of Bolivian nationalism, the pre-eminence of San Pablo in Sud Lípez province and more 'Andean' discourses about what happens on 1st August, for example. The vertical axis of the intertextual process is apparent, however, in the concepts that the narrators employ: in terms like 'juicio' ('Judgement') that combines ideas of the Christian 'Day of Judgement', first introduced by the colonial evangelisers of the Catholic Church, and prominent in the discourse of contemporary evangelical protestant sects, with the Andean idea of pachakuti, the turning around of the world order. A similar dialogue between different traditions is apparent in the use of terms like virgen (or wirjin), which in a bilingual community like San Pablo recalls both the Christian tradition of the Virgin Mary and the Andean concept of the animate earth. In the case of the metal silver, the unrefined silver (plata corriente) of colonial times, that flowed between people when it was exchanged without formal

measure, has literally become 'flowing', when don Reynaldo insists that pure silver is a liquid, although he often insisted that it can be cut with a chisel.

The concept of intertextuality is not only useful in that allows for the inclusion of a historical dimension in a discussion of mestizaje and the categories of people, both past and present, in the Andean region, but is also valuable for looking at the different concepts that contemporary Andean people use in describing their world.

10.2.2 Discourse and Material Practices

The central chapters of this thesis looked at the relationship between discourse and material practices: Chapters 5 and 6 dealt with economic activities in the San Pablo area and Chapters 7 and 8 concentrated on some of the rituals that take place there. The argument of these chapters is that discourses, particularly those concerned with identity, are reflected not only in institutions (such as the school), but also in everyday life in San Pablo. What one does, whether it be earning cash through employment or commerce, herding llamas or mining, what one eats and one's general level of education all say something about who one is.

That occupation should be related to discourses of Bolivian nationalism and ethnic identity is hardly surprising, given the historical dimension to ethnic and national identities that I have outlined above. As was explored in Chapter 3, one of the key indicators to 'racial' identity in colonial times was occupation, and we have seen how the Spanish authorities of those times acted decisively to put back into their rightful places those 'Indians' who overstepped the mark by taking up occupations considered the preserve of Spaniards.

The occupation on which I focussed for much of Chapter 5 was llama herding. Today, although llama herding is still a potent symbol of belonging to the locality of San Pablo, its strict economic importance has diminished in recent years, and people live by a variety of other means. Those that do still live from llamas (such as the people of the neighbouring community of Pululus) are considered by San Pableños to be different from themselves, and are regarded with a mixture of nostalgia - since they live how San Pableños used to live - and condescension - since many are less educated than San Pableños, speak less Spanish than them and travel less. It would be fair to say that a discourse of ethnicity that is linked to occupation comes into play here, and that San Pableños think Pululeños are more 'Indian' than themselves. At the same time, of course, many San Pableños have kin in Pululus.

In San Pablo, literacy skills appear to have displaced weaving as the most widespread textual practice. Literacy is associated with prestigious Hispanic knowledge, and the school has always been the place of learning for practices linked with the state, such as writing and the Spanish Language. Weaving, an obvious activity for pastoralists keeping wool-bearing animals, is predominantly a female occupation. It was probably the case in former years that boys learned to write while girls learned to weave, as Arnold (1997) notes for Qaqachaka, making the textual practice linked to the state predominantly male. Nowadays, however, girls as well as boys attend school and have ambitions to continue their education elsewhere, making the association between literacy and the state a less gendered discourse.

Chapters 7 and 8, which focused on ritual, started by attempting to divide rituals of the state from rituals of the locality, once again linking discourses of local and national identity to the things that real people do. However, in conclusion I found that that the divide between the two classes of ritual was by no means so clear cut as it had at first appeared. Delving into a ritual of the nation, the Independence Day celebration, uncovered practices associated with the locality, and with the propitiation of the animate earth, while a ritual of the locality, Carnival, was ultimately inseparable from the presence of the state, and the relationship between the local community and larger entities. I ended Chapter 8 with the idea that, instead of producing their own locality and consuming the nation, the people of San Pablo are more innovative or have a greater degree of agency than this model allows, producing a locality that includes belonging to the nation-state, but in a way that is distinctly their own. This agency is linked to considerations of power, which is the theme I shall take up in the following section.

10.2.3 The Question of Power

In a study of a rural group and its relationship with the Bolivian nation-state, considerations of power are never far away. Throughout the thesis, power has been a central theme, and even when it has not been to the fore in the discussions, it has always been present somewhere in the background.

By power, I do not refer primarily to the power of physical domination – the coercive power of the state – although in a state that has been subject to a number of military governments in recent years this type of power should not be ignored altogether. After all, as I argued in Chapter 4, the memory of military repression has served to unite miners as an imagined community; during my period of fieldwork, the occupation of the mines of Amayapampa and Capacirca in northern Potosí

were ended by the intervention of armed soldiers and police; and in Sud LÍpez, the mine owner from Santa Isabel was evicted from the Lipeña mine by force by the military conscripts based in San Pablo when a larger company acquired the right to develop it.

Nevertheless, I am here concerned with the more subtle means by which power is exercised. In considering power, Weber (1978: 942) began with the definition that power is the possibility of imposing one's will on other people (by whatever means), but went on to define 'domination' as the power that results from a socially recognised position of authority. According to him, a social group may accept a system of domination for a variety of reasons, ranging from coercion to emotional attachment, but when its members uphold an order because of their belief in the legitimacy of the system, then the leaders have 'authority'. Authority, then, is legitimate domination. It is with legitimised domination that I am primarily concerned here in the relations between state and rural community: the people of San Pablo accept the authority, and hence the legitimacy, of the Bolivian state.

It could be said that two sorts of authority are exercised in an Andean rural community like San Pablo; 1) the authority of the nation-state over the local community; and 2) the exercise of authority by members of that community holding special office, such as the corregidor. Rasnake (1988: 267) has argued that the form of power or domination exercised by the occupants of positions of authority in ayllu Yura is cohesive rather than coercive: their power is to bring people together in the context of group ritual and to bring about consensus when disputes threaten group unity. While I am largely in agreement with Rasnake here, in the case of San Pablo I would draw attention to the ambiguities inherent in certain positions of authority. The positions of subprefecto and section alcalde were both occupied by local men, but the subprefecto is also a presidential appointee, occupying a position of authority in the structure of the nation-state, and reporting to the prefecto of Potosí department, while the alcalde is an elected representative of a national political party. Both are considered important within the local community. The division between national and local sorts of authority is hence not as clear as it would at first appear, and may become even less so with the advent of municipal councils under the law of popular participation.

The authority of the nation-state over the local community is the successor to the colonial situation – the colonization of the Andean population by Europeans that started in the sixteenth century. In the early years of colonization, Spaniards attempted to impose their authority on the

colonized population in part by making use of some of the structures and institutions of the Inca state that were already in place. However, in addition to subjecting native Andeans by military force and to putting in place institutions such as the encomiendas designed to extract tribute from them, their enterprise also involved the attempted colonization of Andean minds or imaginations: as was explained in Chapters 3 and 4, the Andean population was resettled into grid-patterned towns to facilitate the teaching to them of Christian doctrine and orderly life habits (buena policía). The extent to which the colonization of the Andean imagination met with success is a matter upon which analysts are divided: Wachtel (1977), for instance, has argued that even the early rebellions and millenarian movements of the mid sixteenth century demonstrated the assimilation by the Indian population of some of the categories of the colonizers, while Platt (1984), writing of rebellions in northern Potosí at the end of the nineteenth century, is more of the opinion that symbols of the colonizers were mapped by the colonized onto existing categories of thought. The idea of dialogue between the traditions of colonized and colonizer ultimately makes both points of view redundant. It not only allows for the persistence of elements of both native and imported traditions, and the recognition by the people in question that different traditions do exist, but also for the possibility of something more innovative taking place than cultural borrowing or the rearrangement of categories of thought.

I have made reference to several different theoretical approaches to power in the course of this thesis, and have found these useful to differing degrees in their application to the case of San Pablo. In Chapter 2, I briefly touched on the work of Foucault. For him, power was problematic and contested. It was not imposed on individuals by particular sections of society, but was developed from below through certain ‘microtechniques’, such as examination and disciplinary procedures (Foucault 1979). These techniques functioned to convince the ‘powerless’ of their powerlessness, the ‘powerful’ of their powerfulness and to produce the ‘docile bodies’ that are demanded by modern forms of economic production. As I stated in Chapter 2, I would go along with Fairclough (1992) in holding that Foucault exaggerates the extent to which people are manipulated by power, and are helplessly subject to its immovable systems. Foucault’s theories seem to leave little possibility for resistance or agency.

Appadurai’s (1995) view of power is less subtle and in many ways more conventional than that of Foucault, since for him power is developed primarily from above. The local groups, he considered, have the power to produce the phenomenological quality he terms *locality* in their own immediate

geographical areas, but he sees them simultaneously as relatively powerless in the face of the context-generating activities of larger entities such as nation-states. As I have already hinted, and shall develop more fully below, I find it hard to understand the people of San Pablo as such helpless 'prisoners', but would wish to attribute to them a greater degree of agency.

Gramsci's approach, through the concept of hegemony, which succeeds in avoiding the reduction of government by the state to coercion, is more subtle and useful. Gramsci saw the supremacy of one class or section of society over another, or of the state over the majority of the population as an unstable equilibrium that is achieved through the construction of alliances and popular consent. Although Gramsci's concept, as such, does not take into account the sort of historical process I have outlined above – of dialogue between different traditions, and of the resultant discourse entering in turn into dialogue with the discourses of dominant groups – this is exactly the sort of process that Fairclough has in mind when he employs the concept of hegemony in his social theory of discourse. For Fairclough, hegemonic struggle is a struggle that centres upon intertextuality and the articulation of prior texts and discourses, and discourse is both the site of hegemonic struggle and at the same time is a stake in it.

Finally, I found de Certeau's ideas of production, consumption, strategies and tactics, useful when considering ritual in San Pablo. Rather than portray people as being helplessly caught up in structures of power, de Certeau allows for the possibility of resistance. These were the ideas that I employed in Chapters 7 and 8, in attempting to separate rituals of the nation from rituals of the locality. Ultimately, however, I found it was not as easy as it had at first appeared to separate productive from consumptive practices and the tactics of consumers from the strategies of producers.

To reiterate, what I am asserting here is that the people of San Pablo de Lipez produce themselves, through various material practices, as something other than the stereotypes of rural people imagined by outsiders. They are neither runa nor mestizos, and do not simply behave sometimes as one and sometimes as the other, as had been my initial impression. They produce their own locality, but it is a locality that incorporates not only their immediate neighbourhood, but also the fact that they belong to the wider Bolivian nation. They do this in a way that is their own. Hence, they produce an understanding of the state that owes something to the dialogic, intertextual process that I have outlined above, and also something to the discourses that take place in the present at both local and national levels. Their understanding of the state is also arrived at through a process involving agency

and innovation, the end result of which is something that is subtly different from the understanding of the state held by outsiders, city people and bureaucrats. The suggestion that this is a process that might be considered 'creative' leads me to consider not only theories of power, but also the concept of agency.

I see agency as essential to the process by which San Pableños arrive at an understanding of themselves and the state. It is agency that enables them to put themselves beyond the categories that others imagine, or to adopt a strategy of making themselves indeterminate – difficult for people coming into the community from outside to 'pigeon-hole'. They inherit discourses of identity that are the outcome of dialogues that reach back to colonial times and beyond, but they do not merely adhere to them, accepting the categorizations of the past, and nor do they merely rearrange elements as bricoleurs. Instead, they make meaning of the discourses they inherit and those they encounter in the wider nation. In so doing they may adopt elements from different discourses, but in so doing they transform them.

10.3 Final Remarks

This thesis does not pretend to offer a tidy, universalising or general theory about the relations between local groups and nation-states. Instead, it has taken the situation of one group, the people of San Pablo de Lípez, and has looked at the history of the area and at the various activities in which its people participate. I have used these various activities as sites for thinking through the relations between the particular group and the Bolivian state, but would be wary of using them as generalisations beyond the general circumstances of the area in question. I have not provided a complete or once-and-for-all picture of San Pablo. There are other areas and activities I could have considered, and other types of theoretical approach I could have taken to the data.

I have looked primarily at how the people of San Pablo produce themselves as something other than the stereotypes current in the wider nation, beyond the categories of others, and at the understanding they have of the role of the state. I have not attempted to answer questions regarding the limits to people's agency, or whether the altered image of the state produced at local level ultimately has any effect on the way the state is seen by people outside San Pablo, and in particular by the people of Bolivia's cities and those in the higher echelons of government. These are questions that lie well beyond the scope of this study. It could be argued that by accepting the state and its

goals, albeit in a subtly transformed way, the people of San Pablo ultimately reproduce it. However, there remains the possibility, with the coming of municipal government and 'bottom-up' government, that outside officials of the state will encounter the transformed understanding of the nation held by the state's local officials – its alcaldes and corregidores. In this way they will enter into dialogue with the local discourses of the nation-state, and local officials in turn with that of central government. This may, therefore reproduce similar processes of dialogue as described above with respect to discourses of the past and the present. Here one might detect the possibility of local agency having a global, or at least national, effect.

Appendix

Programme for the Independence Day Celebrations of 1995

Programa General de Festejos al CLXX Aniversario de la Independencia de Bolivia

República de Bolivia

1825-1995

INVITACIÓN

El Comité de Festejos, al CLXX aniversario de la Independencia de de [sic] nuestra patria Bolivia con juntamente con las autoridades se conplasen [sic.] invitarles a todos ustedes a presenciar las diferentes actividades programadas en justo homenaje a la independencia de nuestra patria.

COMITÉ DE FESTEJOS

Presidente		Sr, Santos Huayta Choque
Vicepresidente		Prof. Marcario Proco Mollo
Secretario Acienda [sic]		Sbbt. Pedro Crespo Rubin de Celis
Secretario de Actas		Sr. Avelino Nina
Vocales	1ro.	Fermin Porco
	2do.	Francisco Apaza
	3ro.	Pablo Ramos

AUTORIDADES

Sr. Santos Huayta	Sub-prefecto de la provincia
Sr. Prof. Marcario Porco M.	H. Alcalde Municipal de la 1ra Sección
Sr. Fermin Porco	Corregidor del canton

1RO. DE AGOSTO

Hrs. 18:00	Gran concentración de Autoridades alumnado Puesto Militar y Pueblo en general, en la Altura Final Calle Bolívar.
Hrs. 18:30	Gran Desfile de te s [sic] en justo homenaje al aniversario de Cantón San Pablo de Lípez Capital de Provincia, recorriendo las principales arterias de la población y asiendo alto en la principal 10 de Noviembre.
Hrs. 19:00	Acto Cívico sujeto programa especial y desconsentación.
Hrs. 20:00	Realización de Guaque por las autoridades y pueblo en general deseando la unidad de la comunidad.

DOS DE AGOSTO

Hrs. 8:00	Emberamiento [sic] general de la Población
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Hrs. 9:30	Concentración de Autoridades alumnado de la unidad escolar Colorados de Bolivia, puesto Militar y Pueblo en General
Hrs. 10:00	Acto Cívico en justo homenaje a la creación del Cantón San Pablo de Lípez y día del Campesino en la Plaza principal 10 de Noviembre
Hrs. 12:00	Almuerzo Escolar
Hrs. 13:00	Actividad Deportiva por los diferentes Clubes existentes dentro del cantón.
Hrs. 18:00	Desembanderamiento del la Población en general

CINCO DE AGOSTO

Hrs. 7:30	Embanderamiento de la Población en general como (propiedades particulares, Instituciones Públicas y Establecimientos Educativos).
Hrs. 8:00	Desayuno ofrecido por el cuerpo de Junta Escolar.
Hrs. 12:00	Almuerzo de camaradería ofrecido por la junta escolar
Hrs. 19:00	gran presentación de teatro escolar ofrecido por unidad educativo "Colorados de Bolivia".
Hrs. 18:00	Gran concentración de Autoridades, alumnado, Puesto Militar y Pueblo en General en la Altura final Calle Bolívar.
Hrs. 18:30	Gran Desfile de teas protagonizado por las autoridades Alumnado y Puesto Militar y Pueblo en General, asiendo alto en la Plaza 10 de Noviembre.
Hrs. 21:30	Acto Cívico sujeto a programa especial.
Hrs. 22:30	Fogataailable acompañado por la banda de Zampoñas y brindis de honor en la plaza principal con la participación de las autoridades instituciones y pueblo en general deseando a la unidad de todos los Bolivianos.
Hrs. 24:00	descanso general de la Población.

SEIS DE AGOSTO

Hrs. 6:00	Saludo de alba, de este grandios día con salva de dinamitas, descargue de fusilería, repique de campanas y toque de campanas, dianos por la banda de zampoñas con la participación de comité de festejos.
Hrs. 8:00	Desayuno ofrecido por el comité de festejos.
Hrs. 9:00	Erección de Altar Patrio en la Plaza Principal 10 de Noviembre a cargo de comité de festejos.
Hrs 10:00	Concentración de Autoridades Alumnado puesto Militar asociaciones deportivas, trabajadores empresa cooperativa,

- comerciantes minoristas y Pueblo en General, frente al Altar Patrio y la presencia de la banda de zampoñas
- Hrs. 10:30 Acto Cívico en conmemoración al CLXX aniversario de vida de nuestra patria Bolivia.
- Hrs. 11:00 Desconcentración encabezada por la banda de zampoñas para el desfile en honor de nuestra patria Bolivia.
- Hrs. 11:30 Inauguración y entrega de las obras realizados por la Honorable Alcaldía Municipal “escuela” Colorados de Bolivia y oficinas de la Dirección Distrital con la participación de autoridades, alumnado, personal docente y pueblo en general.
- Hrs. 12:00 Almuerzo de camaradería ofrecido por el comité de festejos patrios
- Hrs. 17:00 Acto social en el Teatro Escolar a cargo del comité.

SIETE DE AGOSTO

- Hrs. 9:00 Acto Cívico y jura a la Bandera por el Puesto Militar adelantado GCAVII en justo homenaje a las fuerzas armadas de la nación.
- Hrs. 10:30 Gran presentación gimnástica a cargo alumnos de la unidad educativa “Colorados de Bolivia” y puesto militar.
- Hrs. 13:00 Juegos populares a cargo de comité de Festejos.
- Hrs. 14:00 ~~Actividad~~ Deportiva.
- Hrs. 18:00 Desembanderamiento general de toda la población.

Glossary

- Achura** Quechua. A small portion to which a worker is entitled after participating in a task. Also used in colonial times for the piece of mineral that an Indian worker could take from the mines to sell.
- Agente municipal** Spanish. Post of authority at the level of canton. The agente municipal reports to the section alcalde.
- Agosto** Spanish. August. Name given to the festivals that involve a ch'alla and the Independence Day celebrations that take place at the beginning of August.
- Agregado** Spanish. Stranger. Migrant incorporated into an ayllu other than that of his place of birth.
- Alcabala** Spanish. A value added tax on commercial transactions paid, in theory, by Spanish residents of the American colonies.
- Alcalde** Spanish – ‘mayor’. In LÍpez each section of the province has an alcalde who is elected and is a representative of one of the national political parties.
- Alcaldía** Spanish. Town Hall.
- Alferez** Spanish. Standard bearer. Designation given to the sponsor of a festival.
- Alma** Spanish ‘soul’. Used for both the body of a dead person and the non-corporeal entity that survives death.
- Almuerzo** Spanish. Lunch.
- Anchi** Quechua. A sort of porridge that is a by-product of making chicha.
- Ayllu** Quechua. A self-defined rural social group, or landholding collectivity. Membership of an ayllu usually involves access to land, ritual actions and responsibilities, residence and kinship ideology.
- A pulso** Spanish. Unmechanised. Used for work in mines.
- Ayni** Symmetrical reciprocal arrangement for performing work.
- Arroba** Spanish. A unit of weight equal to 11.5 kg.
- Ayni** Quechua. A symmetric and egalitarian form of reciprocity, usually involving exchange of labour.
- Azoguero** Spanish. Silver refiner of the colonial era, who extracted silver from its ores by the mercury amalgamation process.

<u>Barreno</u>	Spanish. Long pointed iron bar, for making holes for dynamite.
<u>Barretero</u>	Spanish. A skilled face-worker in a mine.
<u>Cacique</u>	A word introduced to the Andes by the Spaniards, but originating in the Caribbean. Throughout the colonial period it was applied to native authorities who might otherwise have been titled <u>kuraka</u> (Quechua) or <u>mallku</u> (Aymara).
<u>Cacicazgo</u>	Chieftainship.
<u>Caja</u>	Spanish. Literally ‘box’. Used for a small drum.
<u>Caja Real</u>	Spanish. The Royal Treasury.
<u>Campamento</u>	Spanish – ‘camp’. Used for mining settlements.
<u>Campesino</u>	Spanish – ‘peasant’. Term that became a euphemism for ‘Indian’ in Bolivia following the revolution of 1952.
<u>Campo Wasi</u>	Spanish -Dwelling out of town, usually consisting of a few adobe buildings and a corral, near which a family’s llama herd will roam.
<u>Cancha mina</u>	Spanish. Area around the entrance to a mine.
<u>Carburo</u>	Spanish. Calcium carbide – used to fuel miners’ lamps.
<u>Casta</u>	Spanish. Literally, ‘caste’. Designation given to the various ‘mixed’ categories of people in the colonial era who fell between those considered Spanish and Indian.
<u>Catastro</u>	Spanish. Land register that forms the basis for a private land tax.
<u>Cencerro</u>	Spanish. Animal bell.
<u>Cerro</u>	Spanish. Mountain.
<u>Chachacoma</u>	Quechua. A medicinal herb.
<u>Charango</u>	Small mandolin-like instrument with five pairs of strings.
<u>Chaskiri</u>	Quechua (with Aymara ending). Labourer employed to carry mineral from the mine. (Literally ‘messenger’).
<u>Chicha</u>	Spanish. Weak, slightly sour beer brewed from maize. In Quechua
<u>Cholo/a</u>	A label given to someone who is considered neither <u>mestizo</u> nor Indian, but between these categories. The masculine form is almost universally offensive, but the feminine form can be a form of endearment. Market women of Peru and

Bolivia's cities have also taken up this negative label with pride, to emphasise their strength and success.

<u>Cienega</u>	Spanish. Marshy area.
<u>Cofradía</u>	Spanish. Lay fraternity dedicated to the cult of a particular saint.
<u>Cobrador</u>	Spanish. Tribute collector.
<u>Comunario/a</u>	Spanish. Member of a rural community.
<u>Compadrazgo</u>	Spanish. Literally 'co-parenthood'. Bond of fictive kinship.
<u>COMIBOL</u>	Acronym. Corporación Minera de Bolivia. Bolivia's state mining company.
<u>Condenado</u>	Spanish – 'condemned'. Malevolent ghost.
<u>Corregidor</u>	Spanish. Judge or magistrate. Office that would have been held by a Spaniard in colonial times, but now, in San Pablo, an office that rotates annually among adult males of the community.
<u>Costal</u>	Spanish. Large woven bag, usually striped, for carrying produce on the backs of llamas.
<u>Criollo/a</u>	Spanish. A person of Spanish descent, but born in the Americas.
<u>Cuadro</u>	Spanish. Vertical shaft in a mine.
<u>Cumbia</u>	Spanish. Popular Latin American music.
<u>Ch'alla</u>	Ritual offering. Libation, or a larger event of which libations form a part.
<u>Ch'arki</u>	Dried meat.
<u>Ch'uñu</u>	Quechua. Freeze dried potatoes.
<u>Ch'uspa</u>	Quechua. Woven bag in which coca is carried.
<u>Desmontes</u>	Spanish. Waste rock dumps outside mines.
<u>Despacho</u>	Spanish. Offering.
<u>Diablo</u>	Spanish. Devil.
<u>Dirigente</u>	Spanish. Leader, director.
<u>Encomienda</u>	Spanish. Grant made to successful Spanish colonizers in the early years of the conquest. They did not give title to land, but the right to collect reasonable tribute from a group of Indians through their 'natural lords'.

<u>Encomendero</u>	Spanish. Recipient of an <u>encomiendas</u> . An <u>encomendero</u> was able to receive tribute from the lands granted to him in the form of produce, or labour from its Indians, but he was not permitted to reside there. Spanish.
<u>Enfloramiento</u>	Spanish. ‘Flowering’. Ceremony in which domestic animals are marked with strands of wool that are threaded through their ears.
<u>Estancia</u>	Spanish. Dwelling, or group of dwellings, outside a town (c.f. <u>campo wasi</u>). Often translated in ethnographies as ‘hamlet’, however, the <u>estancias</u> of Sud LÍpez, with a few exceptions, comprised just one house and its associated llama corral.
<u>Faena</u>	Spanish. Communal task.
<u>Forastero</u>	Spanish. In colonial times, an immigrant Indian no longer living with his original kin or ethnic group, who did not pay the full rate of tribute. In contemporary usage, an immigrant or outsider resident in a rural community.
<u>Guanaco</u>	Wild Camellid.
<u>Guarda Fauna</u>	Spanish. Park ranger.
<u>Guardatojo</u>	Miner’s helmet.
<u>Illa</u>	Quechua. Lump of pure mineral that is festooned with streamers in mining rituals.
<u>Ingenio</u>	Spanish. Can be used generally for ‘factory’, ‘mill’ or ‘plant’, but used in this thesis in the context of the ore crushing mills of the colonial period.
<u>Jilaqata</u>	Aymara term for chieftain. Used in present-day Quechua and Aymara speaking communities to denote a specific <u>ayllu</u> post of authority.
<u>Jornalero</u>	Spanish. Labourer paid by the day.
<u>Jukeo</u>	Ore theft.
<u>Juko</u>	Quechua. Literally ‘owl’, but used for an ore thief, since these often operate by night.
<u>Kacharpaya</u>	Quechua. Farewell ceremony.
<u>Khipu</u>	Quechua. Device for recording information by means of knotted cords.
<u>Kuraqa</u>	Quechua. Chieftain.
<u>Lawa</u>	Quechua. Soup thickened with flour.

<u>Lejia</u> or <u>Llipta</u>	Ash that is chewed with coca
<u>Llallawi</u>	Quechua. A llama with three toes.
<u>Llullucha</u>	Alga that grows in the high marshes, and which is collected by Lipeños. It is added to soups, either fresh or dried.
<u>Lloqullo</u>	Quechua. Music performed for <u>Todos Santos</u> on charango.
<u>Machu</u>	Quechua. Literally ‘old one’. Used for musicians at Carnival.
<u>Mallku</u>	Aymara – ‘chieftain’. Quechua – ‘condor’.
<u>Mestizaje</u>	Spanish. Literally, ‘miscegenation’, but a term that has come to stand for the biological and cultural mixing of the different people who have come to inhabit the Americas.
<u>Mestizo</u>	Sometimes termed <u>misti</u> . Literally, one of ‘mixed’, that is Spanish and Indian, blood, but also a complicated category that denies Indianness.
<u>Minga</u>	Hired mine labourer of the colonial era, and professional miner able to command a higher rate of pay than a <u>mitayo</u> .
<u>Mink’a</u>	Quechua. Asymmetrical form of reciprocal work.
<u>Mita</u>	From Quechua ‘ <u>mit’a</u> ’ - literally ‘turn’. The system of compulsory Indian labour introduced by the viceroy Toledo for working the mines of Potosí.
<u>Monte</u>	Spanish. Literally ‘mountain’ or ‘scrub’. Used for the branch that is decorated for a <u>nuevo</u> at <u>Todos Santos</u> .
<u>Mozo</u>	Spanish. Literally ‘servant, but used for an Indian without ethnic affiliation.
<u>Mitayo</u>	Indian drafted to work in the Potosí mines.
<u>Mulato</u>	Spanish. Person said to be of mixed African and European descent.
<u>Nación</u>	Spanish. A vague concept in colonial times that incorporated ideas of lineage, territory, custom and language.
<u>Nuevo</u>	Spanish – ‘new’. Used to denote a new soul.
<u>Ocho Días</u>	Spanish. Eight days –the vigil performed for the possessions of the deceased, eight days after burial.
<u>Originario</u>	In colonial times, an <u>ayllu</u> Indian living among his original kin group, who would be liable to pay tribute at the full rate.
<u>Organización Territorial de Base (OTB)</u>	

Spanish – ‘Grassroots Territorial Organization’. Entity given the legal status to represent a community at the level of municipal government under the Law of Popular Participation.

Pachamama Quechua. ‘Earth Mother’. A difficult concept, and a term that, in my experience, is used more by city people than by rural dwellers. The city representation of what rural people believe may be a benign earth-mother, but the Holy (female)Earth, to which rural people pour libations, like other Andean deities, is more ambiguous, being neither good nor evil.

Pachakuti Quechua. Cataclysm that separates two different ages of the world.

Palliri Quechua. One who gathers ore from the slag-pile. Palliris are often women.

Paqarina Quechua – ‘dawning place’. Landscape feature from which the ancestors of a group of people were said to have emerged in ancient times.

Paraje Spanish. Workplace in a mine.

Participación Popular Law of decentralization introduced by the Sánchez de Lozada government.

Payruma Quechua or Aymara? Sterile female llama.

Pijcha- Quechua. To chew coca.

Pique Spanish. Narrow, sloping tunnel in a mine.

Piri Quechua. Accompaniment to hot drinks made from flour, fat, salt and a little water.

Pito Quechua. Toasted barley flour.

Plan de Todos Legislative package introduced by the Sánchez de Lozada Government, embracing decentralisation, privatisation and educational reform.

Pollera The wide skirt worn by many Bolivian market women and also by the women of San Pablo. This is the dress considered typical of cholas, being neither the homespun attire of rural communities, nor the Western style clothing worn by the middle classes.

Pujyu Quechua. Hole or well.

Pupusa Quechua. A plant with medicinal properties from which a herbal infusion is made.

Qalapari Quechua. Soup made from maize and ch’arki, eaten on certain festive occasions.

<u>Quebrada</u>	Spanish. A steep-sided ravine or gully.
<u>Quinoa</u>	Andean cereal crop (<i>Chenopodium quinoa</i>).
<u>Quintal</u>	Spanish. Unit of weight of approximately 55kg.
<u>Qurpa</u>	Quechua. Literally ‘banquet’, but also used in colonial times for the portion of ore to which an Indian mine worker was entitled.
<u>Q’aqcha</u>	Quechua. Informal miner mainly of the 18 th century. <u>Q’aqchas</u> would enter mines on religious and public holidays to extract minerals.
<u>Q’ara</u>	Quechua. Literally, ‘naked’. Used for someone who is not affiliated to a local entity, and is taken to be ‘uncultured’ or ‘uncivilized’.
<u>Q’uwa</u>	Quechua. An aromatic herb that is burned in offerings.
<u>Reducción</u>	New towns established by Spanish colonial administrators for the Indian population, to facilitate, among other things, their instruction in the Christian doctrine.
<u>Repartimiento</u>	Spanish. Colonial division of the viceroyalty.
<u>Rescate</u>	Spanish. Informal mining practice of the colonial era.
<u>Rescatiri</u>	Spanish. Independent operator who buys and sells metal ores.
<u>Revisita</u>	Spanish. A census of the Indian population taken in the colonial and early republican eras.
<u>Runa</u>	Quechua. Person, human being. Often used to denote Quechua speaking members of <u>ayllu</u> , in opposition to Hispanicized <u>mestizos</u> .
<u>Sajra</u>	Quechua and Aymara. Evil or hidden.
<u>Sambo</u>	Spanish. A person said to be of mixed Amerindian and African descent.
<u>Sik’i</u>	Quechua. An edible plant.
<u>Sindicato</u>	Spanish – ‘union’. Peasant communities were encouraged to register as <u>sindicatos</u> following the revolution of 1952.
<u>Sirk’i</u>	Quechua. Wart. Also used for mushroom.
<u>Socavón</u>	Adit. A horizontal tunnel bored into the mountainside to intercept a vein of mineral.
<u>Socio</u>	Spanish. Associate or shareholder.
<u>Subprefecto</u>	Spanish – ‘sub-prefect’. The highest state authority at provincial level.

<u>Suri</u>	Quechua – ‘rhea’. Large flightless bird that inhabits both the high mountain and tropical areas of Bolivia. Also known as <u>ñandu</u> .
<u>Tierras Comunitarias de Origen (TCO)</u>	Spanish – ‘Original, communally-held lands’. Land belonging to an indigenous group, over which the group is given rights under the Bolivian state constitution adopted in 1994.
<u>Tío</u>	Spanish. Literally ‘Uncle’. Name used by miners to refer to the Devil, the owner of minerals.
<u>Todos Santos</u>	Spanish. All Saints (Day).
<u>Trapiche</u>	Spanish. Small ore-crushing establishment.
<u>Trago</u>	Spanish. Strong alcoholic drink, usually industrial alcohol diluted with fruit juice (made from a commercially produced powder).
<u>T’alla</u>	Aymara. Female deity, for example, a mountain peak.
<u>T’anta wawa</u>	Quechua. Literally ‘bread babies’. Small loaves baked for <u>Todos Santos</u> .
<u>T’ika</u>	Quechua. Flower. Coloured wool with which llamas are marked.
<u>T’ula</u>	Quechua. Shrub that is collected for firewood.
<u>Uru</u>	A label applied in colonial times to Indians living by hunting and gathering, rather than agriculture or pastoralism. Although there are ethnic and linguistic similarities between groups to which the label is applied today, the colonial label designation probably hid more complex social groupings.
<u>Vecino</u>	Spanish – ‘neighbour’. Used sometimes to denote <u>mestizos</u> in opposition to <u>ayllu</u> members.
<u>Vicuña</u>	Wild camelid (relative of the llama and alpaca) highly prized for its fine wool and now a protected species.
<u>Vizcacha</u>	Quechua. Rabbit-like Andean rodent.
<u>Waki</u>	Quechua. In Lípez, a ritual of reciprocity between the living and the dead.
<u>Wayaq</u>	Quechua. A small woven bag.
<u>Wayq’o (Guayco)</u>	Quechua. Ravine or gully.
<u>Wayra</u>	Quechua. Literally ‘wind’. Used in colonial times to denote a wind furnace for smelting silver.

<u>Wirjin</u>	From Spanish 'Virgen'. Female earth deity. Also a hole that is hollowed out to accept libations or offerings.
<u>Yanacona</u>	Quechua. An unaffiliated Indian craftsman of the colonial era.
<u>Yanapa</u>	Quechua. Help.
<u>Yareta</u>	Moss that can be dried and used as a fuel.

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