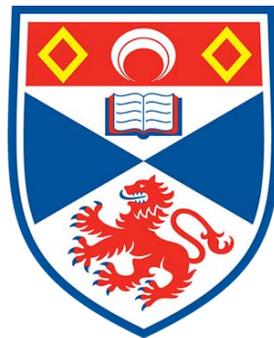


The Owners. Creative process and personhood in the
Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi
(Lambayeque, Peru)

Luz Helena Martinez Santamaria



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

at the University of St Andrews

December 2020

Candidate's declaration

I, Luz Helena Martinez Santamaria, do hereby certify that this thesis, submitted for the degree of PhD, which is approximately 90,000 words in length, has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree.

I was admitted as a research student at the University of St Andrews in September 2012.

I, Luz Helena Martinez Santamaria, received assistance in the writing of this thesis in respect of language, grammar, spelling and syntax, which was provided by Tim Hiley.

I received funding from an organisation or institution and have acknowledged the funder(s) in the full text of my thesis.

Date December 2020

Signature of candidate

Supervisor's declaration

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date December 2020

Signature of supervisor

Permission for publication

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews we understand that we are giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. We also understand, unless exempt by an award of an embargo as requested below, that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that this thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use and that the library has the right to migrate this thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis.

I, Luz Helena Martinez Santamaria, confirm that my thesis does not contain any third-party material that requires copyright clearance.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the publication of this thesis:

Printed copy

No embargo on print copy.

Electronic copy

No embargo on electronic copy.

Date December 2020

Signature of candidate

Date December 2020

Signature of supervisor

Underpinning Research Data or Digital Outputs

Candidate's declaration

I, Luz Helena Martinez Santamaria, hereby certify that no requirements to deposit original research data or digital outputs apply to this thesis and that, where appropriate, secondary data used have been referenced in the full text of my thesis.

Date December 2020

Signature of candidate

Acknowledgements

This thesis was only possible due to the generosity and patience of many people to whom I am deeply in debt. First, I want to thank my parents to whom I owe everything; this thesis was only possible with their contribution and effort. I want to also thank my husband who helped me finishing this thesis, with his support, patience and love. I am also grateful to many Inkawasinos: Julia Manayay Purihuamán, her mother Segunda Purihuamán Manayay, and her brothers, sisters and children who opened their houses and lives to me and made me feel part of their family; the brothers Oscar and Pascual Bernilla Carlos, and all the bilingual teachers of the Equipo de Materiales EIB (Educational Materials Team) who taught me all I know about the singular variety of Quechua they speak; Ana Cecilia Manayay Calderón, Rosa Manayay Vilcabana, Felicita Purihumán and all the weavers from ASAMCEI and other weavers' associations, expert weavers who patiently taught me their art; Natividad Cajo, Nativo Huamán, Cesar Sánchez and Mario Lucero Calderón, all active members of the *mayordomias* who let me participate in the festivities of their patron saints, and patiently answered my clumsy questions. I am also in debt to the presidents of the Peasant Community during my fieldwork: Cristobal Huamán, Salvador Sánchez, Julio César Manayay and Rolando Carlos; and to the mayors of the Inkawasi District Cesar Manayay and Fernando Díaz. Of course, the responsibility for the errors and misinterpretations in this thesis is all mine.

I am thankful for their support in Peru to David Salamanca Mamani and Soledad Mujica, part of the Oficina de Patrimonio Inmaterial of the Ministry of Culture; Carlos Elera Arévalo, director of the Museo Nacional de Sicán; and Pedro Alva Mariñas at the head of the Lambayeque Peasant Communities' organisation FEDECAL. At St Andrews, I am in debt to my supervisors Tristan Platt and Sabine Hyland, and to Paloma Gay Blasco and Christos Lynters for their support and patience helping me finishing this thesis.

This investigation was generously financed with a Formación del Profesorado Universitario (FPU) grant from the Spanish Ministry of Education (Grant reference: AP2010-1578 EDU/61/2011), between December 2011 and December 2015, and supported between 2016 and 2017 by the Museo Nacional de Sicán.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
The owners: creative processes, personhood and decoloniality	5
The ‘ontological turn’ in the Andes: animism, technology, mountains and politics	7
<i>Cosmopolitics and postcolonial history</i>	
Mastery and personhood	15
<i>Amerindian mastery</i>	
<i>Mastery and technical knowledge</i>	
<i>Creative processes and personhood</i>	
Decolonizing academia: vulnerability and collaborative anthropology	25
<i>Collaborative Anthropology</i>	
Chapter 2 The Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi	40
<i>The highlands of Lambayeque and the ‘Huancabamba Depression’</i>	
<i>Lambayeque Quechua</i>	
<i>The northern coast and highlands</i>	
<i>The northern shamanism</i>	
<i>Note on orthography</i>	
Chapter 3 <i>Amitunchik</i> : the owners of land and people. The <i>mayordomía</i> fiesta system and (post)colonial land struggle	61
Land ownership, the <i>mayordomías</i> fiesta system and identity in the 18 th - 21 st centuries	64
<i>The town and the parish of Inkawasi: colonial haciendas and land struggle in the 18th century</i>	
<i>The end of the colonial order, republican haciendas and the mayordomías system</i>	
<i>The Agrarian Reform</i>	
<i>Neoliberalism and the new threads over the land</i>	
Ownership, kinship and fertility in the <i>mayordomía</i> fiesta system	87
Conclusion	94
Chapter 4 Building kinship and community: households, the Inkawasi community church and the ownership of the immaterial	95
Building kinship: the <i>minka</i> inter-household solidarity and the <i>wasi lanta</i> rite	99
<i>Wasi lanta or haircut of the house</i>	
The household: co-residence, commensality and making/owning	111
<i>Technical and dwelling transformations</i>	
Building Community: the Inkawasi church rethatching and the ownership of the immaterial	117
<i>The declaration of the Inkawasi church rethatching as ICH of Peru: commodification of culture and identity</i>	
Conclusion	127
Chapter 5 Weaving the world: technology, personhood and textile craft production	128

Textile craft production in Inkawasi: weavers' associations and training courses	130
Technical encounters: weaving and sewing from shape-patterns	133
Organizational encounters: associations and the <i>ayllu</i>	143
Growing textiles	147
<i>The upay and the material</i>	
<i>Inverted worlds: people and things</i>	
Conclusion	157
Chapter 6 The Owners of the animals: the <i>kwartu</i> relation and cattle fertility	159
Cattle raising and the capitalist economy in Inkawasi	163
Raising cattle: the <i>kwartu</i> relation, love and care	167
<i>The kwartu descent theory</i>	
The owners of the animals: mountains and ownership	174
Illas and swirti	
<i>The owner of the animals</i>	
Conclusion	183
Chapter 7 Making persons: appropriation and ownership	185
Making persons	189
<i>Conception, pregnancy and ethno-obstetric procedures</i>	
<i>Birth</i>	
<i>Placenta and post-partum period</i>	
<i>The shutinshikuy, the entrance in the Christian and human realms</i>	
<i>Form, force and descent: the kwartu relation</i>	
Midwives and biomedicine	207
Becoming an owner: the <i>lanta</i> , or first haircut	211
Conclusion	216
Chapter 8 A world of owners: mountains, shamanism, power and alterity	218
<i>Sirkakuna</i> : power, duality and alterity	220
<i>Encantos, colonial mastery and alterity</i>	
Northern shamanism: vision and control	228
A World of Owners	234
Conclusion	235
Chapter 9 Conclusion: appropriation, ownership and dependency	237
Archives & Bibliography	246

List of maps, photos & figures

Photo 1. Bilingual teachers at Sicán National Museum	39
Map 1. Location of the Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi, and of the Lambayeque Quechua area	42
Photo 2. Panoramic view of the town of Inkawasi	44
Table 1. Lambayeque Quechua writing	59
Photo 3. Virgen Dolores celebration, 15th September 2009	66
Photo 4. Virgen Mercedes celebration, September 2016	73
Table 2. <i>Mayordomias</i> of Inkawasi	79-80
Table 3. Nicknames/animals of the Inkawasi <i>ayllu</i>	92
Photo 5. Man carrying adobe to make bricks in Inkawasi, 2009	99
Photo 6. Inkawasi church ridgepole change, 2010	102
Photo 7. Roofing with adobe, house of Luis Céspedes 2010	104
Photo 8. <i>Kidamyentu</i> ritual meal	112
Figure 1. Church roof division for the thatching <i>fayna</i>	118
Photo 9. Inkawasi church thatching 2010	123
Photo 10. <i>Ichu</i> straw for the 2010 church thatching	124
Photo 11. Inkawasi-Awana association promotional ad	131
Photo 12. The <i>pullu</i> making, cutting and sewing processes	136
Photo 13. The <i>kamsa</i> tailoring	137
Photos 14. <i>Chaski</i> bags and placemats	139
Photo 15. Martha Manayay Calderón of ASAMCEI Association spinning	145
Figure 2. Warping	147
Figure 3. Inkawasi waist-loom	150
Photo 16. ‘Rodeo de vacas’ Vol 2, 77, Martínez Compañón	161
Photo 17. Inkawasi District escudo	162
Photo 18. Segunda Manayay with her breed cow and calf	166
Photo 19. <i>Chaco de vicuñas</i> Vol 2, 113, Martínez Compañón	170
Photo 20. Shaman’s <i>mesa</i>	176
Photo 21. Children playing with agricultural tools after ploughing and planting maize	177
Photo 22. Girl in Inkawasi with her sheep	211
Photo 23. Shaman of Atumpampa, singing with his <i>chungana</i> during a <i>mesa</i> in 2014	231

Abstract

This thesis is an exploration of how the Quechua-speaking peasants of the community of San Pablo de Inkawasi, in the Andes of northern Peru, make, grow or own things, domestic plants and animals and their own children; and which shows how these creative processes—and the bond of ownership that emerges from them—are central for articulating local notions of sociality and personhood. The relation of ownership is also central for giving meaning to their relations with the generative powers of the landscape and with the colonial and postcolonial State. The focus of this thesis is on the bond of mastery or ownership, responding to the necessity of underlining that all creative processes are thought of by the Inkawasinos as a continuous relationship that long precedes and follows the actual transformation (for example, the transformation of sheep wool into a poncho). Creative processes are understood as appropriations—transforming something or someone into one’s own—that create a permanent bond between creators and their creatures thought of in the language of kin. The relations created between creators and their creatures, assimilated to that between parents and children, are used to imagine a plural and unbounded person composed of relations with humans and other-than-humans. Relations of mastery or ownership are established not just between people and their belongings, but also between people and other owners—human or not—including those to which the Inkawasinos *belong* themselves: such as the mountains (*Sirkakuna*) or the Christian deities (*Amitunbik*). Mastery has been historically at the centre of the relations with the colonial and post-colonial States, which allows me to articulate personhood with the particular history of this Andean community, and with the challenges its members face in a world of increasingly contested ownership.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is an exploration of how the Quechua-speaking peasants of the community of San Pablo de Inkawasi, in the Andes of northern Peru, make, grow or own cultivated fields, communal and family houses, textiles, domestic animals and their own children. The aim of putting together all these fields of (re)production is to show how personhood is intimately linked to creative processes and those things and beings brought into existence through them. Creative processes share a common conceptualisation as appropriations of other subjects' capacities through technical and ritual procedures. This appropriation involves the creation of a bond between creators and their creatures, which never really lose their subjectivity. The relation built through making, caring or owning between the Inkawasinos—individually, in households, extended kin groups or as a community—and their fields, houses, animals and textiles, is often imagined and labelled by them as one of the sides of the relation, that of the *amu* (from the Spanish *amo* or master) or *duyñu* (from the Spanish *dueño* or owner), or expressed by different Quechua possessive suffixes (*-yjun*, *-pa -y*, *-n*). The focus of this thesis is on the figure of the *duyñu/amu*, and the relation it entails, which allows us to imagine a plural person composed of relations with humans and other-than-humans; and who are far from the only owners in the world, as they *belong* themselves to the *Amitunchik* (our little masters) or Christian deities, and *Sirkakuna* or

mountains. The relation of ownership is also used to reflect on the impact of violent colonial and neo-colonial practices of mastery and ownership in local (re)productive practices, and ultimately in personhood constructions, as well as to question our own Western ‘masterful practices’, and in particular those at the core of our discipline.

This exploration is made through the analysis of each (re)production field’s technical and ritual procedures, and through the examination of the impact on them of colonial and postcolonial practices of technical mastery and ownership. By examining the relation implicated in the figure of the *duyñu/amu*, this thesis aims to illuminate the centrality of creative processes in articulating the Inkawasi commoner’s sense of *belonging* to a specific land, *ayllu* and community, and to think what is ‘complete person’. The analysis of the figure of the *duyñu/amu* allows me to reflect on transformations in personhood constructions imposed by colonization, religious evangelisation and current neo-colonial pressures over indigenous land and way of life by extractive industries.

The focus on the bond of mastery or ownership allows us to underline that the Inkawasinos have a common conceptualization of human creative process—the making of artefacts, the raising of cattle and children, and even shamanic practises. These are thought of as relations that long precede and follow the actual making/birth and with no clear distinction between vital and technical procedures, or between living beings and inert matter. Focusing on the bond generated between creators and their creatures permits us to blur the anthropological analytical distinction between knowledge and skill (know-how), which is not made by the Inkawasinos themselves. I deploy the figure of the *duyñu/amu* (communal, family or individual), to illustrate what the Inkawasinos think is a ‘complete’ person and a full member of the Peasant Community, stressing the constructed character of personhood and the inadequacy of the individual/society binary. The focus on the figure of the *duyñu* or *amu* also allows me to study the impact of colonial and post-colonial practices of mastery in Inkawasi, situating personhood constructions and transformations within a particular historical, political and economic context.

The exploration of how the Inkawasinos understand asymmetric relations of mastery and ownership within a specific historical context, in which our Western ideas are forcefully imposed, also aims to contribute to the decolonial discussion. It shows an alternative understanding of our masterful practices, which may help us to, as Julietta Singh (2018)

urges us to do, imagine a different future. For this research, I adopted a decolonial approach to fieldwork which is based on collaboration. As well as a decolonial perspective on Inkawasinos history, which includes the active participation of the *Amitunchik* and the *mayordomía* system to defend the Community land.

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. The **first chapter** is introductory and covers the theoretical and methodological approaches of this thesis. It explores anthropological discussions on personhood, post-humanism, new materialism and decoloniality; as well as decolonial methodologies emphasising vulnerability, collaboration, accountability, responsibility and consent. The **second chapter** introduces the fieldwork: the Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi. It points to the singularity of this Andean population, by analysing its equally singular Quechua dialectal variety, the northern Coast and Highlands shamanism, as well as its position in the cross current between the Andes, the Pacific Coast and the Amazonia.

The **third chapter** analyses how the common ownership of the land articulates the current Peasant Community. It explores the *mayordomías*, or Catholic brotherhoods, to enquire into the history of the Community, centred on the struggle over the ownership of land with the colonial and post-colonial State and the Hacienda system, and aims to shed light on the Inkawasinos' understanding of the ownership of the land, intimately linked with kinship (the ancestors) and with fertility. We point to the key distinction between 'raw' and 'cooked' or 'domestic' and 'wild' but looking at it through ownership, where the distinction is between what belongs to oneself—individually or communally—and what belongs to Others (human or not). Cultivated lands belong to the Inkawasinos through their ancestors who have improved fields for generations, as they recognise annually through their *mayrdomía* patron saints' celebrations.

The **fourth chapter** explores building practices and rituality involved in the building of a family house. It shows that building implies the creation of ritual kin relations between the builders, the owners of the house, those participating in the work, and the house itself. This is ritually sanctioned through the rite of the *Wasi Lanta*, analogous to children's first hair cut or *Lanta*. This chapter also aims to situate the household as the basic unit of (re)production in Inkawasi, articulated with other households. This chapter, centred on

building practices, also analyses the recent designation of the periodical rethatching of the Inkawasi church as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Peru (ICH from now on), and the impact on local techniques and practices of these new forms of ownership of the immaterial, intimately linked with the increasing commodification of indigenous culture for tourist markets.

In the context of this same phenomenon, **Chapter Five** analyses waist-loom textile production both for domestic use and for sale to tourist markets, with the aim of exploring Inkawasinos' understanding of creative processes, and the constant changes and clashes with Western 'technological' impositions. In this chapter, I explore how transforming fleece into a thread is conceptualised by women as a cycle of death and rebirth, which implicates the appropriation of the Other by transforming its physicality and its soul—the *upay*—with the weavers own vital force. Weaving is thought of as a process of feeding, of putting breath and life into a new being, who now lives with the vital force of its maker/owner.

Chapter Six explores cattle raising practices, and particularly the *kewartu* relation, which links generations of the same family and the cattle they own. In the *kewartu* relation, also a human relation which ties a forebear with one descendant of the same sex, the owner is linked with his bull or her cow, as a way of showing love, care and protection. Through the exploration of cattle fertility, I also try to show how livestock farming is considered to be an appropriation, in this case of the animal from its origins in the landscape, in an analogous way to the case of children, analysed in the following chapter.

Indeed, in **Chapter Seven**, I explore how Inkawasinos bring their children into the world. That is, the ideas and practices –ritualized or not– around conception, gestation, birth, the postpartum period and early childhood, and which shows that human reproduction is conceptualised very similarly to other generative processes –as an appropriation– in this case of the persons from their origins in the landscape and their ancestors. As I aim to show in this chapter, the process of appropriation of the person from their origins in the landscape is not 'complete' until the child becomes an owner in its own right. Making people is a process that does not end with birth, but instead continues until marriage and the arrival of new children, when the *chinas* and *cholos* (girls and boys) become complete

warmi (women) and *usbqu/runa* (men). In this process, it is key to be *adyñu*, that is, to have the capacity of (re)creating and sustaining Others.

Through the study of shamanism based on ‘tables’ (*mesas*) and the consumption of the hallucinogenic *wachuma* (*Trichocereus pachanoi*), in **Chapter Eight**, we examine how the Inkawasinos conceptualize and interact with the supernatural ‘forms and forces’ of the landscape –lakes, caves, rocky peaks, and mountains– in which they live and from which their (re)production ultimately depends. Here, I try to decentre the human master by showing that for the Inkawasinos the world is full of owners, some of whom they belong to themselves. In Inkawasi, the mountain is seen –like people– as an owner drawing on a different way of imagining, and dealing with the environment.

Finally, **Chapter Nine** is the conclusion chapter, which tries to bring together the analysis of each field of (re)production, to illuminate the relationship of mastery or ownership and its key role in the construction of personhood.

Ownership, creative processes, personhood and decoloniality

In an article about relations of ownership in Amazonia, Carlos Fausto ([2008] 2012) points to the importance of these bonds in articulating socio-cosmology and personhood among groups of fairly egalitarian hunter-gatherers from Amazonia. Fausto uses the figure of the master/owner as a model for the Amerindian person, ‘magnified’ through their belongings, where the human owner is situated within a world of human and non-human owners (2012: 29). Similarly, I argue in this thesis that the master/owner relation—mainly the one resulting from creative processes—is central to articulating personhood constructions in Inkawasi. As in Amazonia, in Inkawasi the human *adyñu* is only one owner in a world of human and non-human owners on which they recognise their dependency. Although asymmetrical relations of ownership among hunter-gatherers assembled in fairly egalitarian societies cannot be lightly compared to Andean peasants organised in communities, there are commonalities between both ways of being-in-the-world. Both are what anthropology

labels as animist societies, they recognise their dependency on the environment they inhabit, and they have a common history of violent imposition of colonial and postcolonial mastery.

Fausto's article on ownership (2012) is part of an edited book which makes an effort to compare Siberia and Amazonia with the common ground of animism and shamanism. In the introduction of the volume, the editors advise the reader about the limits of comparison between different kinds of societies (Brightman et al 2012: 13). Using Phillipe Descola's models of relationship with nature (1986), and later developments of these ontologies (1996), the editors argue that Animism and Totemism are complementary models (Brightman et al 2012: 16). This is discussed in the volume by Willerslev and Ulturgasheva, who argue that animism and totemism are not two opposites in a dichotomy but rather shade into each other (2012: 17). Making a similar point in regards to the difference between animism (Amazonia) and analogism (Andes), Catherine Allen (2015) argues that the analogical model is based on subjacent animism (2015: 8).

The underlying issue is the ontological distinction between predation and domestication, or between hunter-gatherers and farmers/herders. Catherine Allen points to a greater emphasis in the Andes on relations with the land and artefacts—due to a long history of domestication, hierarchy and expansion—which are as important as those established with animals (2015: 7). Brightman et al contrast the argument of two of the volume's contributors (Fausto and Swancutt) with Tim Ingold's discussion of mastery and control. Ingold points to two different models of human-animal relations: those of egalitarian hunters-gatherers based on mutual trust, and those of hierarchical cattle-breeding pastoralists (Ingold 2000a: 61-76). On the other hand, Swancutt shows the potential movement between these two ontologies, in what she calls a 'scaling mode', while Fausto shows how mastery and ownership are also key among hunters-gathers of the Amazonia for personhood and sociocosmologies. The editors critique Ingold's interpretation as the result of a Western preoccupation with mechanical, instrumental and social domination and not with the variety of indigenous sociocosmologies (Brightman et al 2012: 18).

Indigenous populations of Siberia, Amazonas and the Andes share a common animistic ontology whether or not there are important differences derived from domestication and the development of hierarchical societies. Acknowledging the life and agency of nature and

materials implicates relationships of ownership and mastery radically different from those of our ‘modern’ Western world. Hierarchy and domestication do not automatically mean that mastery and ownership are conceptualised and enacted as acts of domination. In Amazonia (Fausto 2012: 31), Siberia (Safanova and Sántha 2012) and the Andes (Allen 2015: 3, Arnold 2017: 19), practices of appropriation and their resulting bond of ownership are conceptualised as familiarisations, being the parent-child relation the predominant model. This is, emphasizing care and protection rather than in dominion and control.

The ‘ontological turn’ in the Andes: animism, technology, mountains and politics

Various Andeanists, such as Catherine Allen, Denise Arnold, Penny Dransart and Marisol de la Cadena, are using the approach of the ‘ontological turn’ to reflect on Andean personhood constructions and relations with Others (animals, plants, other people, mountains and the State)¹. Allen (1998 [2008], 2015) and Arnold (2007, 2017) both put artefacts in the centre of Andean personhood constructions, while Dransart (2002) explores human-animal relations among llama herders in Chile, and Marisol de la Cadena (2015) studies relations with the landscape and their political implications (cosmopolitical). The exploration of the work of these Andeanists in this section aims to show their reflections on personhood constructions and relations with perceived others. It highlights common themes these authors raise such as: the animism around the concept of *kamay*; the conceptualisation of the world as dual and the possibility that it can turn backwards any time; the moral relations towards things and beings that one makes or possesses; the emphasis on caring; the relational and disembodied quality of Andean personhood; and the importance of the radical transformation unleashed by colonialism and religious evangelisation. This thesis strongly resonates with their work and arrives at similar reflections on the centrality of artefacts, animals and mountains in Inkawasino personhood constructions.

¹ These are not the only authors using this approach; for a comprehensive review of the field see: Arnold (2017), *Hacia una Antropología de la Vida*.

In the introduction to an edited volume about the development and the sacred in the Andes (2017), Denise Arnold looks into the influences of the ‘ontological turn’ in Latin America, and particularly in the Andean region. In this text, she advocates for the creation of a new ‘anthropology of life’ (2017: 11, see also Dransart 2013: 3-9 and Pitrou 2011) in the Andes; focusing on a return of animism due to the privileging of the indigenous point of view, and with an emphasis on relations with other-than-humans (relational ontology). This thesis seeks to contribute to this emergent field of the ‘anthropology of life’ (Pitrou et al 2011). The analysis of creative (vital or technical) processes in this thesis is an attempt to go back to life processes from which we (anthropologists) have taken ritual (and technical) procedures (Pitrou et al 2011).

Arnold looks into Tim Ingold’s definition of agency, which is not something added to their materiality—as this replicates Cartesian binaries—but of fields of forces where people and things coexist (2006). This is, to think of active materials rather than inert ones, making it unnecessary to add agency or vitality (2017: 18). Arnold notices that this has important implications in the way in which technology and techniques in the Andes are understood. To exemplify this, she uses Heather Lechtman’s notion of ‘technology of the essences’ (1984) which points to the idea of infusing or ‘animating’ objects with vital force. However, in a deeper reading of Lechtman’s ‘technological style’, Arnold notes that she acknowledges the materials’ own vital force (Arnold 2017: 32).

Lechtman developed the idea of ‘technology of the essences’ for the ancient Andes where the purpose of technology was to visually reveal the internal structure of gold and silver alloys on the surface, visually communicating their inner essence (Lechtman, 1984: 33). The Andean obsession of revealing the essence of material objects was aimed at materialising its divine nature, incorporating the ideological concerns of society into technology. Lechtman does this by analysing 16th- and 17th century chronicles, in which Viracocha animated or breathed spirit (*kamay*) into an object, which implied the divine animation of all material things.

Any discussion on Andean animism must acknowledge the use of *kamay* and other related terms in ethnohistorical documents (Salomon & Urioste 1991: 16, Gerald Taylor 2000)

and the contemporary Andes as *sami* (Allen [1988] 2008: 50), or, in Inkawasi, *upay*², *amay* (breath) or, more commonly, *sumra* (Sp. *sombra* = shadow). The concept of *kamay* at first sight seems to be attached to materiality, but soon the term reveals the inseparability of the form (materiality) and force (soul), more in line with Ingold's definition of active materials (2006). The concept of *kamay* as highlighted by Salomon and Urioste is not a general potency but 'a specific form and force' (1991: 16). In the case of making or growing, in Inkawasi it seems that the creators transfer part of their soul to their creation and that this creates a mutual relationship between them. In the colonial Huarochirí Manuscript, Gerald Taylor highlights that the root *kama-* means to organize, but as a creative action that denotes the transmission of a vital force and its sustainment through time (2000: 7), 'a continuous act that works upon a being as long as it exists' (Salomon & Urioste 1991: 16).

Arnold also uses the example of textiles in her own fieldwork in Bolivia, in which life is given to textiles through the rhythmical movement of the weft through the warp, through which textiles become persons (*jaqi*) (2017: 19). This person which artefacts become (*jaqiptayaña*) is a social person composed of relations with other people, animals, things and the mountains (Arnold 2017: 30). Considering this, transforming things and beings into human belongings is about integrating them into continuous webs of relationships and fluxes of energy between humans and the things of the world.

For Arnold, this process is framed within an 'Andean seminal thought', where weaving is thought of as an appropriation of the Other (the captives/trophy heads) that are reborn into their own group by women (2017: 24). Espejo, Yapita and others ([2000] 2007) propose a theory of 'Andean textuality' which they frame within a broader "Andean seminal thought", whose central idea is that the captured seed/head will grow to generate a new life (Arnold et al 2007: 58). The understanding of textile practices as an appropriation of the Other is linked by the authors to Viveiros de Castro's idea of 'ontologic predation' (Arnold et al 2007: 51). For the authors, this echoes Andean ideas of appropriation of the vanquished, in which the flesh and blood of the dead enemy combine with the earth to fertilise it (Platt 1987: 90) and which they suggest originated in the past in wars between

² The term *upay*, which in central and southern Peru is today *supay*, or devil, in the Lambayeque Quechua maintains its original meaning of the soul of the person (Taylor 2000).

ethnic groups, and persists in the symbolic memory of the trophy heads which women transformed into their own children (Arnold et al 2007: 57).

Like Arnold, Catherine Allen also places artefacts at the centre of Andean personhood constructions (1998, 2008, 2015). The importance of artefacts has been analysed in the Andes in the framework of new materialism, in the convergence of archaeology and anthropology, from which Allen is a salient representative. In an article about animism in the ancient and contemporary Andes (2015), Allen uses Viveiros de Castro's ontological perspectivism (1998) to illustrate the relationship between people and the world around, which she defines as a 'reciprocal watching' (2015: 25) in which the world or *pacha* (a combination of matter, activity and morality) has its own point of view (2015: 17). As we mentioned, Allen sees a fundamental difference between Amazonian hunter-gatherers and Andean hierarchies in the emphasis on objects (2015: 26), although she acknowledges Fernando Santos Granero's edited book on materiality and personhood in the Amazonia (2009). Allen uses Erikson's Obedient Things article (2009) in Granero's book to point to Andean relations with artefacts as 'derivative creatures' (2015: 7). She does not discuss Granero's critique to Viveiros de Castro's perspectivist emphasis on animals, by showing the centrality of 'things' in Amazonian personhood (2009).

Using Alfred Gell's concept of 'distributed personhood', Catherine Allen proposed an understanding of the relation between artisans and artefacts in terms of a 'distributed personhood' (Allen 2015: 31). Gell's concept of 'distributed personhood' is based, as he stressed, on Marilyn Strathern's idea of the 'magnified person', composed of multiple relations ([1988] 1990). For Gell, the living quality of objects derives from being part of a mesh of social relationships where people are present beyond their physical body (Gell 1998). The fundamental difference for Allen is that Gell does not ascribe life force to artefacts, which is key to understanding technical processes in the Andes (2015: 31). Despite this, she uses the term to illustrate an Andean 'personhood that extends into multiple sites beyond the boundaries of the body' (Allen 2015: 31). Allen proposes to understand textiles (and all artefacts) as 'a derivative creature, beholden to the force of the weaver who drove its threads into relationship with each other' (2015: 31). Furthermore, technical processes are frequently imagined as a process of feeding and infusing breath, which results in the creation of new beings, made up from Others and the vital force of their creator(s).

As observed by Catherine Allen (2015: 29, 38), the understanding of weaving –and all processes of creation– as an interaction rather than an imposition could give a new perspective on Heather Lechtman’s ‘technological style’ ([1975] 1977: 3-17), which in the Andes ‘emphasized accommodation rather than alteration, reciprocity rather than invasion’ (1993: 246). Lechtman also stressed that to understand Andean technology we must turn our attention away from the final product and towards the processes of production (1993). In this process in the Andes, what is fundamental is not the hardware (the tool), but the social relations (software) that ensure production. Allen attributes the technological minimalism of Andean technology to its inherently social nature (2015: 20).

From her work in Sullk’ata in Bolivia, Krista Van Vleet proposes understanding kinship in northern Potosi as a broad and flexible notion, not merely based on objective principles of blood ties but also ‘performative’. For her, kinship is a system of relatedness based on the reciprocity implicated in the *ayni* Andean reciprocal work, and ultimately on the circulation of food and energy (2008). Through the analyses of everyday discourses, Van Vleet points out that in Sullk’ata relatedness is emergent—not essential—in the everyday lives of individuals. (2008: 184). In this thesis, I propose a vision of making and growing as central in the creation and maintenance of relatedness, between creators and their creatures and between people. The historical defence of the ownership of the land is what binds together the community; the building of a family house is what articulates interhousehold relations where, as remarked in Sullk’ata, mutual help is at the centre of the creation and maintenance of these ritual or consanguineal kinship ties.

The relations between people and their belongings are unstable and can turn backwards any moment, changing relations between owners and belongings. This is possible as everything that has a material existence in ‘this world’—solar (visible), exterior and tangible—has an inverted double in the world of the shadows (*sumra*)—invisible, interior and immaterial—constituting an essentially dual world. This change can be triggered by a person mistreating his/her belongings. In this case, in such times of reversal, the artefacts will control their owners and will act in consequence. There is evidence of this persistent theme in Moche ceramics, ethnohistorical accounts (Huarochiri Manuscript) and contemporary ethnography (Gose 1994: 124-5, Quilter 1990, Hocquenghem 1989, Allen 1998, Hyland 2007, Taylor 2008a). In Allen’s opinion, this recurrent theme of reversal

could be understood as a statement of the moral and power relations between people and the things they make and/or own (1998: 25).

Allen and Arnold see Andean personhood as immersed in a web of relationships and as a space where materiality is a central feature. For both, processes of making and growing are seen as appropriations of Other's capacities, transforming them into oneself (a person or a derivative creature), although the agency of the things and beings appropriated never really disappears. This strongly echoes Inkawasinos' understanding of creative process: as interactions with the landscape and with other people, as well as things, animals and plants, conceptualised as an appropriation, imagined as cycles of death and rebirth, and expressed in the language of kinship. In this thesis, I explore the figure and relation of the master/owner to show the intersections between creative processes, the resulting artefacts and domestic plants and animals, and personhood. The figure of the owners, composed of their belongings, emphasises the plurality of the Andean person, as well as its reach beyond the physical body.

In the introduction to the monograph resulting from the 2011 annual conference of the United Kingdom Association of Social Anthropologists (ASA), under the title '*Living Beings. Perspectives of Interspecies Engagements*', Penny Dransart reflects on the 'ontological' and 'species turn'. She calls for the study of 'living beings' without defining this field, as it is still evolving (2013: 13). Since anthropology's inception, it has relied on the study of 'cultural diversity' while adhering to the anthropocentric idea of an objective nature, detaching the human from nature. The chapters of the monograph and Dransart's reflection problematise this understanding and engage with current discussions on relational ontologies, agency, phenomenology, and Actor-Network Theory (2013: 2).

In her Andean material, Penny Dransart (2002) has shown the importance of human-animal relations in the Andes. In her study of Aymara camelid herders in Isluga, in the Chilean Andes (2002), Penny Dransart points to the term domestication as inadequate to describe the complex relations between herders and camelids in Isluga. Instead, she proposes to think of this relation as a constant re-enactment of practices to tame or co-opt 'new generations of camelids into an appropriate form of Isluga animal society' (Dransart 2002: 47). The way of co-opting new generations of camelids is focused on caring, the participation of llamas and alpacas in a complex classificatory scheme of

naming, and the relationships established between people (Dransart 2002: 47, 80). This process takes place in an animated landscape, with which people enter into relationships to obtain the pastures and water necessary for herd and herder to survive (Dransart 2002: 81).

The appropriation is not just of the animal, but ultimately of the pastures and waters that make the existence of camelid herds possible (2002). She shows through the analysis of the *wayñu* ceremony that the animated landscape, to whom the water and pastures belong, is ritually fed by people in return. In Isluga, the *wayñu* ceremony is when the procreative vitality of the herd is regenerated. This procreative vitality resides in the landscape, where the relationship between people and the animated landscape is mediated by herd animals (Dransart 2002: 83).

The conceptualisation of relations with camelids again points to an appropriation, in this case of the water and pastures. The appropriation is the integration of each animal into the human family. Dransart also makes great emphasis on caring in relations between people and camelids in Isluga. The emphasis of caring is well exemplified by a term used in southern Andes, *uywa*, which could be translated with the addition of different suffixes as care-for, mutual care and nurturers. In Cusco (de la Cadena 2015: 102) and Bolivia (Dransart 2002: 80, Arnold 2017: 17) this term is used to refer to the practice of caring-for: *uywa*, points to the emphasis of care in relations of ownership in the Andes. As highlighted by Penny Dransart in her ethnography of camelid herders in the Chilean Andes, the Aymara term *uywa* is used to refer to domestic animals or cared-for animals; in contraposition to *shallqa* or wild animals (2002: 66). In Bolivia, Denise Arnold translates the term *uywaña* as mutual care, a reciprocal way of being in the world among family, the landscape and their domestic plants and animals (2017: 17). Catherine Allen explores this term in relation to the meaning of *ayllu* as a ‘filial-type bond between people and the territory which in their words ‘is our nurturer’ (*uywaqniyken*)’ (1984: 153). De la Cadena also reflects on the intersections of *uway* and the concept of *ayllu*, usually translated as ‘family’ (nuclear, extended and community) but which conveys relations with a specific place (2015: 102). *Uywa* is not used in Inkawasi, where instead they use *kwiday* from the Spanish *cuidar* or care for. However, the emphasis in caring is evident in other terms like *nasgukur* (to make beautiful), or in the *kwartu* relation, which bonds old and new generations of Inkawasinos, and them with their cattle.

Cosmopolitics and postcolonial history

Differently, Marisol de la Cadena also uses relational ontology to understand intercultural relations among a Quechua *runakuna* (people/human) population of Cusco (2015). In an influential article (2010), de la Cadena suggests that ‘culture’ is an insufficient term to understand current indigenous politics. She advocates for a political practice that includes non-humans as actors and uses the term cosmopolitics (de la Cadena 2010: 334). In her book *Earth Beings* (2015), she deepens this argument. Taking inspiration from Isabelle Stengers (2005), de la Cadena describes *runakuna* practices as cosmopolitical: decolonial political practices that emerge from the relation between divergent worlds without any guarantee beyond the ontologic difference (2015: 281).

One central issue in de la Cadena’s reflection on *runakuna* politics is the necessity to also transform our ideas of what is history. Taking the works of Guha (2002) and Chakrabarty (2000), de la Cadena critiques in history the separation of time and space, the creation of Universal History, and a notion of nature as universal and abstract. De la Cadena shows how Hegelian ideas classified some people as being more human than others due to their supposed distance from the historic conscience, which in turn categorised them as being closer to nature (2015: 145-6). The consequences of this thought have been great, denying the possibility of worlds where life escapes the nature-culture division and marginalising those that do not recognise this division. De la Cadena criticises the postcolonial revision of history, which still transpire within the “one nature and many cultures” vision of the world which sustains Universal History (2015: 146-7). It still gives modern history the power—based on evidence—of saying what is real and what is not, and this power of history marks the social entity (or event) which does not provide reasonable evidence unreal. She also delves into Guha and Chakrabarty to call for the opening of the political field beyond the secular limits imposed by Western thought (de la Cadena 2015: 147).

Maintaining the power of nature-humanity separation denies ‘(and thus colonizes) regimes of reality that transgress the divide and, hence, escape modernity’ (de la Cadena 2015: 147). Her critique aims to highlight that postcolonial revision of history ‘may still be contained within, and even contribute to, the coloniality of History’ (de la Cadena 2015: 147). Undoing this coloniality of history requires an erosion of the idea of history as universal ontology and of ‘cultural belief’ as the only way of talking about events that cannot provide

evidence. She uses the concept ‘eventfulness of the ahistorical’, to point to events that are unprovable but yet *are* (de la Cadena 2015: 147).

In the third chapter of this thesis, we explore the long-lasting struggle over the ownership of the land with Colonial and Republican Haciendas, where the participation of other-than-humans is central. The Hacienda system lasted until the Agrarian Reform of President Velasco Alvarado in 1969 that put end to the hacienda system. Since that moment and particularly since the end of the 1990s, the introduction of neoliberalism and the rise of extractive industries have again put the ownership of the land and its resources at the centre of the relations between the state and indigenous populations. To this long-lasting struggle over the ownership of the land and of its resources—including the indigenous work force—we must add a new struggle over the ownership of the immaterial, which is affecting indigenous knowledge and practices through processes of patrimonialisation and commodification.

For indigenous populations today, in a world of increasingly contested ownership, talking about ownership is fundamental. This allows us to articulate it with the particular history of this Andean community, and with past and new threads in a world of increasingly contested ownership. This allows us to articulate it with the particular history of this Andean community, and with past and new threads in a world of increasingly contested ownership. In this world, as has been emphasised by Strang and Busse (2011), the study of ‘how human groups understand and decide ownership is [...] both central to anthropological debates and of enormous practical consequences’ (2011: 01). In this context, there is also an urgent need to elaborate a post-colonial or de-colonial thought in dialogue with indigenous populations (Arnold 2017: 12).

Mastery and personhood

In her book entitled *Unthinking Mastery* (2018), Julietta Singh stresses the pervasiveness of colonial practices of mastery even in the heart of postcolonial studies. As noted by Singh, the logic of colonial mastery is embedded even in our most radical and aspirational political movements and continues to govern how we live today (2018: 43). She appeals then not

to reject practices of mastery but to “stay with the trouble”—borrowing from Donna Haraway (2016)—and so to see ‘mastery not as something to be overcome but rather as an inheritance that we might (yet) survive’ (2018: 2). She highlights how the cultural politics of colonialism remain intact today and signals its prevalence in supposed ‘good’ forms of mastery like technical or academic mastery (2018: 9). In both cases, what is behind is a logic in which the goal is the complete submission and control, the elimination of the previous self, and its objectification. This logic blindly denies the dependency of the master on those mastered (2018: 10).

Singh also points to mastery as being the basis of what it has meant to be a human throughout modernity (2018: 19). This colonial master is exemplified through John Locke’s political philosophy statement against divine patriarchy and divine monarchs, *Two Treatises of Government* (2005 [1698]). In his second Treaty, John Locke outlines the alternative of ‘natural state’ (before people were ruled, there followed the law of God and nature), which is not absolutism but civil society, based on individual freedom and property (2005 [1698]). He explains how in the state of nature property is created, based on the idea of self-ownership. ‘Man has a Property in his own Person’, and through his labour, he can appropriate things and beings which have been given to all in common by God (Locke 2005 [1698]: 45). Another mythical text of modern thought used by Singh to situate mastery is the Hegelian dialectic of lordship and bondage (master/slave). In this text, Hegel claims Africa is outside history and this exclusion leads to a rendering of some people as more human than others (2018: 15-17).

Singh signals another key issue that shapes modern mastery: the relation to matter. She uses new materialism, and particularly Bennett (2010), to understand matter as ‘vibrant’ and not stable (it changes, evolves, mutates, surprises) (Singh 2018: 18). What has agency and therefore is a subject of rights is central to postcolonial studies and new materialism. The dominion of the environment is closely related to the dominion of populations, and underlying both is the concept of ‘thingification’: they are both stripped of life and agency to permit complete subjugation. As people have emerged as geological actors that can threaten the destruction of the world and humanity, there is an urgent need to rethink the subject and its masterful desires (Singh 2018: 19).

Singh calls for a ‘dehumanist solidarity’—a posthuman decolonial mode of ‘relational being’ that does not hinge on impulses to master, control, or subjugate. Posthumanist alterities of humanity (animality and new materialism) may allow us to strip away the violent foundations (always structural and ideological) of colonial and neo-colonial mastery that continue to render some beings more human than others (2018: 4). Looking into our own practices of mastery is a fundamental stage towards building a truly decolonial thought. This thesis looks at the possibility of mastery where humans are not the masters of the world but one more among a multitude of owners, some to which people *belong* themselves. It is a world where humans recognise their dependency on what they master, where relations of mastery take the form of a kinship relation, and where care and protection are structural.

Amerindian mastery

The differences between Amerindian and Western ideas of ownership had been pointed out by Carlos Fausto in his analysis of the relation of mastery or ownership in Amazonia ([2008] 2012). He points to our Western idea of ownership as an ‘appropriative individualism’ based on the analysis of Locke’s *Two Treatises of Government* (Fausto 2012: 33-4). The main difference between our understanding of ownership and that of the Amerindians is that the appropriation is not of things devoid of agency from an immutable self. Both are appropriative, and both imagine a self that is distributed. In Locke’s *Treaty*, labour mixes with things, adding to them some of their owners’ agency (close to Gell’s ‘distributed personhood’). Meanwhile, the Amerindian master ‘contains multiple singularities’ (Fausto 2012: 36-7), which means that what is appropriated does not entirely lose its individuality, but rather becomes part of a plural person.

Fausto’s analysis of ownership relations in Amazonia aims to point out the importance of ownership in personhood constructions and socio-cosmologies. He developed the notion of “‘familiarising predation’—schema through which predatory relations are converted into asymmetric relations of control and protection, conceptualised as a form of adoption.’ (2012: 31). As illustrated by Fausto, ownership is a concept that appears in every Amazonian language, has a concrete model in filial relations, and covers relations with humans and non-humans (2012: 30). In Amazonian languages, the word that designates

ownership often also refers to ‘chief’ and ‘body’, and in all of them, there is a figure of the master-owner of animals. The reciprocal category of the master-owner is generally a child or pet animal (Fausto 2012: 31). Ownership or mastery is resulting from the transformation of predatory relations into asymmetric relations of control and protection, conceptualised as a form of adoption (2012: 29).

Fausto notes the importance of the interplay in ownership of plurality and singularity, as the master-owners of the animals contain them. The owner is singular but contains the plurality of its belongings (2012: 32). Fausto’s proposal of imagining the owner as a model of personhood (2008: 329), elaborates on Marilyn Strathern’s concept of the ‘magnified person’ ([1988] 1990). The ‘magnified person’ is not a bounded individual but composed of multiple relations, where ownership is the model relation (rather than self-identity), allowing the incorporation of the Other into oneself (Fausto 2012: 34). Strathern proposed the term ‘dividual’, in contrast to the individual, to understand Melanesian personhood constructed as the plural and composite site of the relationships that produced them. The individual can be imagined as a social microcosm or a set of relations contained within the maternal body (Strathern 1990: 13). The master-owner magnified persons are ‘constituted by incorporating relationships with alien-subjects endowed with other-wills. The master’s potency is the capacity to extract an action from his wild pet’ (Fausto 2012: 37).

The idea that ownership in Amazonia equates more to care and protection than to dominion and control is further developed in an edited volume on Ownership in Amazonia by Marc Brightman, Carlos Fausto and Vanessa Grotti (2016). The fundamental aim of the volume and its introduction is to underline the links between two phenomena considered traditionally different: ownership and nurture. They underline that our analytic traditions prevented us from appreciating the degree to which ownership and care are intertwined.

What Fausto (2012), Brightman and Grotti (2016) point to regarding ownership relations in Amazonia strongly echoes what it means to be a *duyñu* or *amu* for the Inkawasino: a *duyñu* recognises their dependency on what they aim to master, which is not devoid from agency. As in the Amazonia, the Inkawasinos do not think of humans as unique masters of the world, but themselves dependent on other powerful non-human Others, such as the *amitunchik* (literally our little masters/owners), or Christian deities, or like the *sirkakuna*,

or mountain beings. This sets a fundamental distinction between the Western individual—the master subject or possessive individual, based on the modern delusion of ‘man’s’ unique agency—and Inkawasino personhood. The idea that one is the sole owner of oneself is unthinkable. The Inkawasinos belong to their parents and their ancestors; they are the result of the effort and interest of others. The figure of the *dueño*, *amu*, as a magnified person, appears constantly to imagine and name not just people, but also the generative powers of the landscape; Christian deities and Inkawasino ancestors, to which the Inkawasinos *belong* themselves.

The word used by the Inkawasinos to name masters and owners both come from the Spanish: *dueño* (owner) and *amo* (master). Although this could suggest a colonial origin, the local Quechua is characterised by an important use of Spanish terms, as is argued in detail in the next chapter, suggesting a multilingual scenario including more indigenous languages. This means that we must discard the idea that it was just an imposition of Spanish/colonial concepts over Quechua ones. This does not mean that mastery and ownership were unimportant before the Spaniards arrived. In Lambayeque Quechua there are various forms of expressing possession, with the suffixes *-yjun*, the personal possessives (*-y*, *-yki*, *-n*, *-chik*) and the genitive *-pa*. The suffix *-yjun*, is an impersonal possessive and is translated ‘the one who owns’ or ‘the owner of’. It derives from *-yuq*, with *-yjun* being the metastasis of *-niyuq*. In the case of the genitive *-pa*, it expresses both the relation of possession and belonging.

For the Inkawasinos, the ‘form and forces’ of the landscape are perceived and explicitly named as owners. The figure of the ‘owner of the animals’ expands to the central and southern Andes (Gose 2008: 241) and all over the Amazonia (Fausto 2012: 30). In Inkawasi the ownership relation also links humans, non-humans and things; and is used across very different fields. The relation of ownership is used to refer to power over people, like that of the landowner, Christian deities (*amitunchik*), or the *sirkakuna* or mountains. It is used to refer to Inkawasinos in relation to their artefacts (textiles, tools, musical instruments, trucks, etc.) and animals, and to the body in relation to the soul.

Articulation of communal and interhousehold relations is importantly made through making and owning. Ownership of the land is what articulates the current Peasant Community, since its beginning in the 18th century. The community was created in the

frame of the struggle over the ownership of the land and Inkawasino labour with the colonial Hacienda. The building and dwelling of a house are central in the creation and maintenance of interhousehold relations of mutual work. These relations created through common making or ownership show communal and family dimensions of personhood. A person is seen as part of these webs of relations. Individual although intertwined with the household—within a strong division of labour by gender relations—are the relations with textiles and domestic animals, which show the close link between people and their belongings.

Making, growing, owning

The focus on the relation of mastery allows the clash of distinctions between making, growing and owning. For the Inkawasinos there is no clear difference between vital and technical procedures³, all processes of human making are conceptualized as organic processes of growing and as cycles of death and rebirth, following the emphasis on the notion of growth in the Andes (Arnold 2017: 17). The common conceptualisation of these terms has been described by Phillippe Erikson, among the Panoan speakers of the Javari basin in Western Brazil, where ‘the notion of ownership is closely associated with that of craftsmanship’ (2013: 175). And where ‘[t]he manufacture of any object seems to bestow exclusive rights upon it to he or she who is not only its owner-maker but its master’ (Erikson 2013: 177).

Within this conceptualisation, making/growing/owning are equally understood as interactions. The interactions are between people individually or assembled in a household or the community and specific animals, plants and things, and ultimately with other owners on which the Inkawasinos ultimately depend: the mountains or *sirkakuna*. There is no imposition of ideas onto inert materials but rather encounters in longer vital trajectories between both people and active materials (Hallam & Ingold 2014). Throughout this thesis, we use creative processes to refer to different fields of human (re)production concerned with making artefacts or growing domestic plants and animals, and even children. These creative processes are like those proposed by Ingold: creativity reads “forwards”, within

³ In the Lambayeque Quechua; in other dialects there is a distinction between growing (*wina-*) and making (*rura-*). However, what is key is the use of the causative particle *-chi*, that is, to make another subject do something. For example, if a mother talks about the growing of her children or cattle she will say *ninachini*, this is that she makes them grow, not that they grow alone.

fluxes and flows of material, rather than “backwards”, as an abduction from a finished object to an intention in the mind of an agent’ (Ingold 2013: 221-2).

In Inkawasi, ritual and technical procedures involved in making or raising are thought of as vital transformations which emphasize the change of the initial Other into kin: into part of one’s own group. Ritual procedures and discourses parallel the parent-child relationship with the relationship between people and their belongings. All are transformed through technical and ritual procedures into people’s own children, and hence into extensions of their own selves. This is in line with similar ideas for the south Peruvian Andes describe by Catherine Allen, where kinship and artisanry are conceived as similar processes (2015: 31), and by Arnold, who describes the understanding of weaving as a process of transforming the textile into a person (2017: 19). In Amazonia, the parent-child or the adoptive relation is the model for ownership (Fausto 2012: 31). Among the Kuna in Panama, Fortis underlines the parallelism between the fabrications of objects and bodies, and the use of the language of birth to talk about artisanry (Fortis 2014). The idea of growing crops and raising animals as a process of transforming them into humans, and of kin-making, has been also described in Siberia through the raising of hunting dogs (Safanova and Sántha 2012).

Additionally, in Inkawasi, the process of bringing children to the world is considered to be very similar to other (re)productive processes, conceptualized as an *appropriation*, in this case of the baby’s soul (*sumra*), which comes from the landscape and the ancestors; as has also been described in other parts of the Andes (Platt 2001, Bastien [1978] 1985). In Inkawasi caring, technical and ritual procedures involved in making, growing or owning are thought of as vital transformations conceptualised as an appropriation of another subject into part of one’s own group or self.

Mastery and technical knowledge

As remarked by Julietta Singh, we must revise our distinctions between good and bad forms of mastery. And with this, recognize trails of colonial mastery in apparently good forms of mastery such those achieved through education (2018). The ‘good’ forms of mastery, when imposed in an intercultural context, usually show their underlying violent

and colonial traits. Indigenous populations have endured ‘bad’ forms of mastery, such as dispossession and servitude, but also ‘good’ ones such as health or technical help to adapt and increase production.

In this thesis, I explore violent practices of mastery within the struggle over the ownership of the land with the local Hacienda and those supposedly ‘good’ forms of mastery like the technical knowledge to produce tourist-market oriented textile crafts and the health care centre. What it shows besides its colonial trails and inherent violence, is that the Inkawasinos re-signify and adapt their own practices in the face of multiple practices of colonial mastery.

I look at technical mastery through the analysis of the imposition of tailoring over waist loom woven clothes. In this case, is clear that Western understanding of technology as an objective system of relations detached from the social domain and the people that make it possible is inadequate (Ingold 2000a 321-2). The basis of tailoring, as pointed out by Tim Ingold (2010b), lies in a model of understanding the process of creation that has been predominant in Western thought for thousands of years: the Aristotelian hylomorphic model (*hyle*: matter *morphe*: form). This is a model that is currently—and progressively—more unbalanced in its terms than ever, in which a pre-figured form is imposed by an outside agent on a matter that remains passive and inert (Ingold 2010b: 2). Tailoring is the imposition of form over the material (the fabric) which is considered as a raw material (fabric), without acknowledging that it is the result of weaving.

The Hylomorphic model—which Ingold wishes to depose—considers matter inert until is transformed into a cultural object. His objection to the objectification of the things of the world, as it extracts them from the current of life, invites us to re-imagine relations between people and things. The objectification of the things of the world, and its consequential idea of agency being uniquely human, is the ideology behind the current ecological disaster. Julieta Singh builds on Chakrabarty’s ecological analysis of humans as a ‘geological force’—similar to those we know caused mass extinctions of species—to claim ‘[t]he subject that has formed modern Western thought, the one inherited by postcolonial thinking, is one whose unequivocal goal of mastery has fractured the earth to the point of threatening destruction of its environment and itself’ (Singh 2018: 19).

Colonial logic of mastery and ownership have impacted—and continue to impact—indigenous populations. This thesis shows how they have resisted and adapted to new techniques and their attached ontology. As I argue in this thesis that creative processes are constituent of personhood, the transformations in those processes—imposed by (post)colonial power—repercuss in personhood constructions. What is shown through the analysis of different fields of (re)production, particularly land ownership and textile production, is accommodation and resignification of imposed practices. Perhaps schooling and the abandonment of peasantry as a way of life may transform Inkawasinos' personhood more deeply.

Creative processes and personhood

The initial question of this thesis –what does it mean to be an Inkawasino, a ‘complete’ person and a full member of the Peasant Community?– derived from the research I made for my DEA degree about ethnobstetric practices in the highlands of Lambayeque. My claim in that research was that the biological birth does not have to coincide with its social counterpart, which coincides with anthropological analysis on reproduction as an open social process (Strathern 1990, Carsten 1995; Conklin and Morgan 1996). In this thesis I still pursue to answer that question, but now looking at it through the lenses of the transformation from being a dependant *china* (girl) or *cholu* (boy), to becoming someone on whom others depend: someone with the capacity to produce food and shelter for him/herself and others.

Achieving this, through marriage and the arrival of children, is constitutive of what it means to be a *warmi* (woman) or an *ushqu* (man) in Inkawasi: a complete *-kabal-* person and a full member of the community. This resonates with Inkawasi, as elsewhere in the world (Carsten 1995; Conklin and Morgan 1996), and in the Andes (La Riva 2012: 344-9, Arnold et al 2007: 59), where the process of becoming a person continues after the physical birth and is prolonged through life, even up to the moment of marriage and the arrival of children and grandchildren. Throughout the thesis, I use the term ‘complete’ in single quotes as I refer to a stage of flourishing of one’s own capacity, not as a permanent state but as a process from marriage until the arrival of grandchildren.

Becoming an owner starts with the *Lanta*, or first haircut rite, where children are integrated into the community. At this moment they also start the process of transformation from dependants into owners, as children receive in this rite their first animal to raise. Learning the skills to be able to raise that animal, as well as those used to cultivate, weave (women), and build houses (men) is what constitutes a 'complete' person and a full member of the community. The learning process starts from a very young age, by looking to their parents, playing with tools and being assigned small chores. Learning these skills does not divide the acquisition of knowledge-as-information from its practical enactment, as described by Tim Ingold, 'and [it] is not for that reason appropriate to describe the ways in which people ordinarily come to know what they do' (Ingold 2011). Ingold proposed the skilled practice as 'an itinerant movement along a way of life, understood as a path to be followed rather than a corpus of rules and principles transmitted from ancestors' (Ingold 2011).

The idea that human making—usually called a technique or technology within anthropology—is central for personhood has been underlined in anthropology since Marcel Mauss, who placed technology within its social context, and proposed that the technical practitioner 'creates and at the same time he creates himself; he creates at once his means of living, purely human things, and his thought inscribed in these things' (2006: 53). One pioneering work in the centrality of artisanal work in personhood constructions is Dorine Kondo's *Crafting Selves* (1990), in which she moves towards practice, nonessentialism, and radical cultural and historical specificity to inquire on personhood, work and family. Kondo reflects on her fieldwork in a family business (a confectionary) in Tokyo to show how personhood articulates in multiple and contradictory discourses. Within the supposed group harmony of Japan and the family business, Kondo highlights gender and power inequalities (1990). Key for highlighting the links between technology and culture is Heather Lechtman, who developed the concept of technological style when pointing out the cultural specificity of Andean technology (1977: 3-17).

Within the last 20 years, new materialism and the 'ontological turn' have shifted the focus on technology and techniques towards the study of relations with materials and artefacts. As highlighted by Catherine Allen (2015: 29, 38), the understanding of technology as an interaction rather than an imposition could give a new perspective on Heather Lechtman's 'technological style' (1977: 3-17), which in the Andes 'emphasized accommodation rather than alteration, reciprocity rather than invasion' (1993: 246). This points, as in Inkawasi,

to an acknowledgement of the subjectivity of materials, as well as the creation of reciprocal relations between artefacts and people. This thesis is an exploration of Andean technology, its conceptualisation and practices, and how it clashes with Western ideas of technology, within the ideology of progress.

Decolonizing academia: vulnerability and collaborative anthropology

This thesis is based on more than two years of fieldwork in the Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi in several visits between 2009 and 2017. For my DEA degree⁴ at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (2011), I did a previous 6 months' fieldwork in 2009 and 2010, inquiring about human reproductive practices in the highlands of Lambayeque, including the nearby communities of Kañaris and Penachí. That investigation constituted the starting point of this PhD research thesis, and the central question –what does it mean to be an Inkawasino, a ‘complete’ person and a full member of the Peasant Community?– is still central in this thesis, but now including the analysis of other (re)productive processes. The information gathered during that earlier fieldwork is the basis of Chapter Seven, where I look into how the Inkawasinos bring their children to the world, where personhood is achieved long before birth, when couples form a family and have their own children. The rest of the chapters are based on the fieldwork I carried out for this research thesis between 2013 and 2017: one year between 2013 and 2014, and the other in two visits in 2016 and 2017.

In my first fieldwork (2009-10) I also started searching in Peruvian archives for documents that could shed some light on the history of the highlands of Lambayeque, facing the unavoidable question of the impact of colonization and religious evangelisation and the continuity until today of colonial practices of dispossession and exploitation of indigenous and peasant populations. During that first fieldwork, I had the opportunity to consult the Parish Archive of the town of Salas, the Archivo Histórico de Límites (AHL) and the National General Archive (AGN)—both in Lima—and to read there the 18th-century

⁴ Diploma de Estudios Avanzados, Diploma of Advance Studies, similar to the French DEA (Diplôme d'étude approfondies).

lawsuits between the Común de Indios of Inkawasi and the surrounding landowners, which shows the community's struggle to defend their lands and way of life. I also had the opportunity of visiting the Regional Archives of Lambayeque, Trujillo and Piura. I am deeply in debt with Juan Castañeda Murga of the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Pavel Elías Lequernaqué of Piura University and Susan Ramírez, for guiding me through the northern regional archives; and to Antonio Acosta who generously put me in contact with these researchers. This thesis makes use of that historical material, particularly in Chapter Three, to trace the impact of the often violently imposed colonial ideas and practices of land ownership and indigenous labour exploitation such as *yanaconas*; and to understand current struggles over the ownership of the land and its resources with neoliberal governments and extractive industries.

I first arrived in the highlands of Lambayeque after a bus accident that almost killed me and my mother on the mountain roads between Ayacucho and Huancayo in 2009, when I was looking for a field site in Peru. I ended up with two broken ribs and several hematomas, but my mother was seriously injured and the rescue, the precarious medical system in the city of Huancayo, her relocation to a clinic in Lima, and finally her return to Colombia represented a truly hard time for me. Despite the bodily injuries and psychological trauma resulting from the accident, I decided to stay in Peru and continue my search for a fieldwork site. I did not want to lose all the investment in the travel, and I did not want to delay my studies. I first arrived in Inkawasi with the help of someone who sexually harassed and assaulted me, was violent and abusive. He took advantage of my extreme vulnerability: I was in an unknown country, in an isolated community and had just endured a traumatic experience. This and another episode of sexual violence I have survived during my studies at St Andrews have deeply influenced my life and career, and have been central in my struggles of embracing vulnerability and dependency as methodological standpoints. As asked by Alix Johnson in an essay that discusses sexual assault in the field, what happens when vulnerability is not selected and strategic but real? Where vulnerability is not just a methodological standpoint, but also an embodied reality?⁵. Vulnerability and dependency are crucial to my approach in this thesis because these are the alternatives to our violent practices of colonial mastery and ownership.

⁵ <http://allegralaboratory.net/violence-vulnerability-anthropology/>

I hope the inclusion of my own experiences of sexual and gender violence in the field and academia will contribute to the current discussion of anthropology and sexual violence, deeply impacted by the #MeToo movement, started in 2017. In the light of this movement, talking here of my experiences also aims to give visibility to its prevalence in academia, to account for its enormous impact in the research and careers of those that survive it, and the unpreparedness of our academic institutions to deal with it and its aftermath. Both universities in which I carried out postgraduate studies failed me and left me deeply disappointed.

As highlighted by the Swedish anthropologist Grunilla Bjerén, aka Eva Moreno, in the analysis of her rape in Ethiopia while doing fieldwork in the 1970's, the problem is the anthropological myth of research as 'gender-free'. Moreno stresses that 'one of the consequences of the fictitiously 'gender-free' life we lead at university is that, if we bring up issues that are specific to us as women in the academic context, we run the risk of doing damage to our identities as anthropologists' (1995: 246). Bjerén also stresses that 'as far as the danger of sexual violence is concerned, it may be part of a woman's daily life, but it is not seen to be relevant to the professional part of ourselves—the "anthropologist" part. "Anthropologists" don't get harassed or raped. Women do' (1995: 246).

During my postgraduate studies, I have suffered different manifestations of what feminist Liz Kelly defined as a 'continuum' of sexual violence. This is not on a scale from less (catcalling) to greater severity (rape) conducts, but a whole united by the same mechanisms of abuse, intimidation and force; and that have the same intention: to control women, denying them the autonomy of their bodies (Kelly 1988). The idea of research as a gender-free space includes fieldwork, the axis of anthropological enquiry. There is an institutionalised ideal of the ethnographer as a 'man' and fieldwork as a rite of passage or an exercise of individual resistance (Berry et al 2017: 538). Facing sexual violence in the field has been very difficult for anthropology as it raises uncomfortable questions about consent and our right to be in the field (Johnson 2017). Huang et al attribute this reluctance to the fact that confronting sexual violence in anthropology forces us to rethink our epistemological methods and frameworks, and our forms of knowledge production (Huang et al 2018: 22).

In numerous stories about gender violence, anthropologists have pointed out the extraordinary affective, physical and intellectual work that is required to reaffirm our legitimacy as researchers if we talk about the sexual violence that we experience (Berry et al 2017: 539). As anthropologists who publicly disclose episodes of sexual violence in the field, we do so knowing that this can put our careers at risk, that our professionalism will be called into question and that we expose ourselves to even more emotional damage (Huang et al 2018: 22). This, along with retaliations, is key to explaining why female anthropologists do not disclose experiences of sexual violence both in the field and in academia.

Instead of silencing these experiences, as Kloß (2017) urges us to do, it is necessary to include them in the analysis of the acquired field data and reflect on them in ethnographic writing, since it is an anthropological problem. Espitia et al (2019) call for teaching and doing ethnography from a care ethic that assumes that fieldwork is always situated and embodied, and that it should not hide behind masculine ideals of courage. I join this call for another way of doing fieldwork: one where care is important, based on a methodological praxis centred on an embodied feminist ethos and that advances towards the decolonization of Anthropology (Berry et al 2017, Huang et al 2018, Espitia et al 2019). There is an urgent need of rethink anthropology's masterful practices, still deeply entangled with its colonial beginnings. Anthropology must step from the delusion of objectivity, which erases the questions of race, gender and class in the research process and affirms a neutral position that denies the colonial and extractivist forms of knowledge production.

Although I tried to put into practice a decolonial methodology based on collaboration, many parts of this thesis lack the ethnographic detail of my interactions with my interlocutors and a real analysis of gender dynamics in Inkawasi. This is the result of my first impulse to distance myself from the fieldwork and what happened to me. I wanted to maintain the delusion of the gender-free and objective character of my research. After defending the thesis, I was asked to add minor corrections and resubmit in three months. It took me two years to years, and the birth of my daughter Clara, to embrace my subjectivity and vulnerability and to accept that these were determinant in my research and this thesis. As a result of these corrections, I included this whole section to explain some ethnographical and analytical absences, as well as my struggles to embrace decolonial methodologies. While adding corrections to this theses I found a book by Florence Babb

who revisits her work in the community of Vicus from a decolonial and feminist perspective (2018). By looking at her old works on Vicus, Babb argues that decolonizing feminism, and engaging more fully with interlocutors from the South, will lead to a deeper understanding of Andean women who are subjects of both national pride and everyday scorn.

What Babb's work clearly shows is that research is also a creative process that should not be seen from the perspective of the final product (the published book or article), but as a process. Academic research and writing are also processes of appropriation. Here I am transforming through my own experiences and 'translating' within the field of anthropology what I think the Inkawasinos think about themselves. I hope to have the opportunity to include in future works the voices of my dear friends to make justice to their participation. A gender analysis, not just of our discipline's gender inequalities, is also a gap in this thesis that I would like to fill. As Bejéren (1995), I found comfort and support from many friends in Inkawasi, where sexual violence is also sadly too common. From that support, I learned a lot about sexual violence and gender inequality, which is central to any study of power relationships and is largely absent in this thesis.

Embracing vulnerability is a frequent aim of queer, feminist and de-colonial thought and emerging methodologies which point to different modes of engagement, from mastery and dominion to vulnerability, intimacy and interdependence (Singh 2018). Drawing on the work of Judith Butler (2004), Julietta Singh points out that the discourse of modernity has disavowed the vital dependency of humanity—through its desire to render the human master of everything—obscuring the fragility of the human in the wake and anticipation of so many intercultural and ecological catastrophes. Singh stresses that humanity can no longer afford to pretend that it is not dependent materially, bodily, and psychically on others, both human and nonhuman (2018: 24). Vulnerability, as a methodological standpoint, allows me to evidence dependency and de-centre the human. This process of de-centring is crucial for understanding people who themselves problematise the relationship between humans and the world around them and do not think of themselves as masters of the world, such as the Inkawasinos. Taking vulnerability as my starting point and questioning mastery has allowed me to see the complex world-views of the Inkawasinos in a different light, and made me realise that it is possible to re-imagine mastery in a completely different way. In the writing of this thesis, I embraced my own vulnerability,

my profound dependency of others, and my complicity with the forms of mastery I aim to criticise.

Collaborative Anthropology

Despite the experiences of my first fieldwork, I stubbornly returned to Inkawasi in 2013 to conduct fieldwork for a PhD at the University of St Andrews. In this new fieldwork, influenced by ideas of decolonial methodologies and collaborative anthropology, I actively focus on finding ways of producing knowledge with specific people or groups of people within the community. Like many other anthropologists, I wanted to subvert the idea of the indigenous people as 'informants' or 'objects of study' (see for the Andes Arnold 2014: 16-8; de la Cadena 2015; Dransart 2013: 3-9). The underlying idea was to find ways of establishing a truly decolonial dialogue with indigenous populations (Arnold 2017: 12; de la Cadena 2015: 281).

With the idea of truly decolonial anthropology, of putting in the centre collaboration, accountability, responsibility and consent, I engaged and collaborated with different groups (mother's clubs, weavers' associations, pro-Temple Committee), with the Peasant Community authorities, and with many individuals and families. I engaged with three groups in the collaborative creation of knowledge: the *mayordomos* united in the pro-Temple Committee, the weavers of the ASAMCEI association, and the bilingual teachers organised in the 'Equipo de Materiales'. And, particularly with Cesar Sánchez Lucero, president of the Pro-Temple Committee between 2013 and 2014; with Ana Cecilia Manayay Calderón, president of ASAMCEI; and with teacher Oscar Bernilla Carlos of the 'Equipo de Materiales'. With the *mayordomos*, we elaborated and published a booklet about the church of Inkawasi, with a small section on the Internet about the church thatching. With ASAMCEI and the help of the Sicán Museum, we developed a series of encounters between waist-loom weavers of the highlands and coast (Pomac), and an exhibition about their shared art. Also with the support of the Sicán Museum, and the bilingual teachers, we are elaborating an online dictionary of the Ferreñafe Quechua.

When I went back to Inkawasi in 2013, many things had changed, first as regards transport. From only one bus from Ferreñafe to Inkawasi twice a week, there were now at least two

trips a day to Inkawasi in *combis*, small buses generally owned and driven by locals. To date, the Inkawasinos not only control routes to the highlands but also an important part of the moto-taxi transport business in the city of Ferreñafe, where a growing community of highlanders is settled. The trip to Inkawasi was shorter than before by an hour, due to the extension of the paved road until Mayascong, at the beginning of the ascent to the highlands. The road goes along the La Leche river valley, from the wide mouth of the valley in the hot Pacific plains, to the narrow inter-Andean valleys of the upper basin. The Peasant Community occupies the upper valley of the Moyán-Inkawasi river, from the peaks that divide the watersheds of the Pacific and the Amazon, until the meeting of the Habas and Tembladera ravines, where the town of Inkawasi is located. I conducted most of my fieldwork in the town of Inkawasi, although I made frequent trips to nearby hamlets and other Peasant Communities (Atumpampa, Marayhuaca, Kongacha). I also lived for several months between 2016 and 2017 in Ferreñafe, hosted by the Sicán Museum. In Ferreñafe I had the opportunity of getting to know and relating with the growing population of Inkawasinos who live in Ferreñafe. Another fundamental change was the installation of a mobile phone antenna in the area, and the introduction of mobile communication, Internet and social media. The use of the Internet has been central to my fieldwork as it was frequently in the centre of my Interactions with the Inkawasinos and is still the centre of our collaborative endeavour with the *mayordomos*, the weavers of ASAMCEI and the bilingual teachers.

I also collaborated closely with specific people to whom I owe their time, effort and generosity. In my first fieldwork, I met Julia Manayay Purihuamán, who hosted me in a small room in her house, just next to the house of her mother, Segunda Purihuamán Manayay. Julia helped me in my first fieldwork with interviewing in Quechua pregnant women, recent mothers and the midwives of Inkawasi, including her mother Segunda, at the *Posta* or Health Care Centre. Julia housed me again when I went back in 2013, and again helped me knock at the doors of many Inkawasinos and with translation from Quechua. This thesis is in many ways the outcome of her efforts and generosity, as well as those of her mother Segunda, particularly in Chapter Six (cattle raising) and Eight (birth and childcare). Julia and Segunda welcomed me in their houses and treated me as part of their family. Segunda treated me as a daughter, even frequently joking about this when questioned by neighbours, family or acquaintances about who I was. She used to answer the question of those we met on the road saying I was a daughter she had had with a *gringu*,

until explaining my presence between laughs. Segunda explained my work in Inkawasi by comparing me with young people of the community that *puriyan*, or walk, far away from their families to study in the city. This was generally followed by an expression of pity *akan!* when finding out that I was alone with no family, a *wakcha* or orphan, which is the worst misfortune the Inkawasinos can imagine.

Segunda is highly valued as a midwife, an expert cheesemaker and a fine weaver, and she is also a respected commoner, member of the Ronda Campesina (Peasant Patrol). She is the head of the family as she was left a widow following her husband Patricio Manayay's death in 2012. Segunda allowed me to accompany her to tie up the family cattle, in new pastures every morning; she taught me to milk her family cows and to make cheese and rennet. And at her home, she also taught me how to spin thread and helped me when I started to weave my first *puyu* or blanket, and patiently answered my questions during the many nights I spent with her and Julia around the fire, roasting maize or peeling potatoes. We travelled many times with Segunda to Ferreñafe, and once to Penachí, both to venerate the cross and to sell half a dozen cheeses she made the week before.

Segunda and Julia, like many other Inkawasinos living in the town, were used to the presence of *gringos* (white foreigners), because missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) have lived there since the 1980s. To this we must add the presence of Peace Corps volunteers since the early 2000s, who helped in the creation of the first weavers' association dedicated to producing textile handicrafts. Julia worked closely with Ronel Groenewald gathering information for her two articles, one on weaving and another on childbirth practices (2011a, 2011b). When she helped me, she was already acquainted with the idea of recording, transcribing and translating interviews. Groenewald was also key in the creation of the first association, 'Inkawasi Awana', and in developing handicraft production in the area, with Segunda as one of the association's founding members. The strong association of *gringos* with textile handicrafts allowed me to approach weavers' association meetings and activities, and to witness the implementation of national and international projects and programs aimed at developing handicraft production in the area, as we analyse in detail in Chapter Five.

In 2013 I started to collaborate closely with several women and associations in the production of textile handicrafts, mainly as regards dealing with the bureaucracy. In

particular, I collaborated with the Asociación de Artesanas Mujeres Creativas y Emprendedoras de Inkawasi (ASAMCEI), and its president Ana Cecilia Manayay Purihuamán. I accompanied all the meetings of ASAMCEI for at least 8 months, helping to write their *actas* (minutes), dealing with bureaucracy, and accompanying women to sell their products in regional and national fairs. We became close friends and soon *comadres* with Ana Cecilia, as she named me the godmother of her daughter. She and the other twelve weavers of the ASAMCEI association, particularly Rosa Manayay Vilcabana, patiently taught me their craft: how to shear sheep, spin, tincture, warp, weave, and to sew the *kamsa* (from the Spanish *camisa* or t-shirt), the *anuku* (skirt) and the *puyyu* or female blanket. My participation in the activities of the association allowed me to witness how the women of Inkawasi dealt creatively with the ideas of technical mastery imposed by national and international projects and programmes, in their endeavour to create a basis for textile handicraft production in the area.

Through Julia, a bilingual teacher, I met Oscar Bernilla Carlos, a native of Uyurpampa, but with a permanent position at the school of Inkawasi ‘Virgen Mercedes’. Oscar was one of the main informants of Gerald Taylor during his work on Lambayeque Quechua, and they co-authored an article about the narrative of the mountain Yaçapa, or the echo, presiding the area of Uyurpampa (2000). Julia introduced me to Oscar, and we soon became good friends, spending many nights with Julia and Segunda, in Segunda’s kitchen having diner. Teacher Oscar became a very dear friend and I started collaborating with him and the ‘Equipo de Materiales’, a team of bilingual teachers specialized in developing bilingual education materials. Some months after my arrival in 2013, Oscar invited me to attend the production of the Intercultural Bilingual Education schoolbooks. The process lasted several months between 2013 and 2014, during which time I was able to attend two workshops organized by the DIGEIBIR in Ferreñafe and Trujillo. I was also able to read the schoolbooks and speak with many of the bilingual teachers participating in the elaboration of the materials.

Oscar called me with the hope of obtaining some support for his plea for a different treatment for Lambayeque Quechua, such as that given to Amazonian Quechua varieties that avoid the imposition of the Quechua Pan-alphabet, and the substitution of Spanish words for words coming from other Quechua dialects. The underlying problem is the opinion that the managers of the DIGEIBIR, some of whom are themselves speakers of

other Quechua varieties, have of Lambayeque Quechua as a variety that is not ‘original’ or ‘legitimate’ and that is highly acculturated with Spanish⁶. However, the Quechua speakers of Lambayeque are not peoples who have been highly acculturated by Spanish language and culture, but rather a population with long cultural traditions, among them those linked to the Quechua language, but also to other cultures of the north coast and the Amazon. Although Oscar’s efforts did not prevent the imposition of the Quechua Pan-alphabet and the substitution of Spanish words, it was based on this experience with professor Oscar and the ‘Equipo Regional de Materiales EIB’ (a group of bilingual teachers specialised in the making of school books) that we initiated the elaboration of an online bilingual dictionary of the local Quechua and Spanish⁷.

Oscar and his brother Pascual have been leading this process since we started to work together in 2014. In 2016, Pascual was working with the Sicán Museum and proposed that the director, Carlos Elera Arévalo, give support to the initiative. The Sicán Museum hosted me in 2016 and 2017, and since then the bilingual teachers have been getting together in the Sicán Museum, during their vacations (January and February), to finish the project of the dictionary. The dictionary has been made collectively by the team, while discussing each word and elaborating examples of use, using Gerald Taylor’s and Oscar Bernilla’s work as its base. My participation in the dictionary has been mainly in setting up the online platform, with the help of my dear friend Orlando Tovar, to host the dictionary, and upload the terms. I also participated in many of the meetings at the Sicán Museum and discussed many details with the bilingual teachers, from working strategies to the Web page settings and design. From the experience of making the dictionary, we soon became aware of the difficulties of working collectively, as the Ferreñafe Quechua is very varied and open discussions very time-consuming. It has been particularly challenging working with bilingual teachers from Kañaris, because of the distances between Kañaris and Ferreñafe (over a day trip), but I suspect also because of the different sensibilities and identities between Kañaris and Inkawasi.

The idea of making an online dictionary came from the bilingual teachers, and particularly from Oscar Bernilla, who wanted to use the Internet not just for work and to communicate among the teachers of the ‘Equipo de Materiales’, but also with the aim of producing

⁶ Concerns about the DIGEBIR implementation of the new IBE policies have been raised by some indigenous organizations, see: <https://www.servindi.org/actualidad/1517>

⁷ The results of the dictionary are gathered in the following Web page: <http://inkawasi-kanaris.org/termino/>.

online contents about their language and culture: materials that the new generations of Inkawasinos will find on the Internet that they are increasingly using, or that the teachers will show to their students in the classroom. The Peruvian states and mobile phone companies have been promoting mobile communication in the area. Teachers use it almost on a daily basis to find educative material, very little of which is about the area and less in Lambayeque Quechua. As this was the idea, we later included on the platform the material made with the *mayordomos* and a virtual exhibition of the waist-loom from the coast and highlands of the province of Ferreñafe, also made with the support of the Sicán Museum and the weavers of ASAMCEI.

The making of the web page has been an experimental way of producing collaborative knowledge, particularly with the bilingual teachers, and to make this knowledge available for the highlanders of Lambayeque. Although its creation is well-intentioned, is important to underline the existence of ethical considerations, particularly regarding the ‘ownership’ of the knowledge, the images of people, or even the name of the web page that refers to the local variety of Quechua ‘inkawasi-kañaris’. To minimise this, I handed the complete control of the web page to the bilingual teachers at the time of completing this thesis. In regards to the dictionary, the group decided to publish the dictionary first on paper. Other contents currently available on the web page, about the Inkawasi church thatching and weaving, are used as online resources by bilingual teachers.

The Sicán museum hosted me to develop this initiative during 2016 and 2017 in the endeavour of its director, Carlos Elera Arévalo, also supported another initiative for an exhibition about the waist loom in the province of Ferreñafe, in a joint effort to integrate the highlanders into the Museum exhibition and activities; especially given that the highlanders are already an important population segment of the city of Ferreñafe, and particularly around the area where the Museum is located. In this initiative, called *awananchik* (our loom/textile), I and Raquel Calaco Martín, a designer and art historian from Madrid, worked with two weavers’ associations of Bosque Pomac (the Sicán archaeological site), and with some associations in the highlands, particularly with ASAMCEI. The idea was to exchange experiences between the associations in the coastal valleys and in the highlands, to gather information about their shared waist loom techniques, and the differences in the materials used (cotton on the coast and sheep’s wool in the highlands). We organized three meetings, one in Pomac, one in Kañaris and one in

Inkawasi, intending to get weavers to talk about their shared crafts and experiences, and to create an exhibition which reflects on the long term connections between the highlands and the coastal plains, as evident in the shared use of the waist loom, and the relations of these communities. We elaborated an exposition to participate in the collective exhibition ‘Territorios Encontrados’ in Lima between the 15th of May and the 3rd of June 2018, with the collaboration of association Wak’a and particularly of Gustavo Flores Salcedo. The exhibition was linked to a virtual counterpart, which we uploaded to the web page as an educative resource⁸.

While doing fieldwork in 2014, Soledad Mujica—Director of the Dirección de Patrimonio Inmaterial (Directorate of Intangible Heritage, DIH)—asked me to help them complete the publication of the music they had recorded back in 2010, which otherwise would never be published and made available to people in Kañaris and Inkawasi. I accepted her offer, helped them to connect with the community to finish transcriptions and translations of the songs and wrote some of the texts that accompany the music recordings, which were published in 2015 and 2017 by the Ministry of Culture and distributed among the Kañarenses and the Inkawasinos.

My arrival at the field with the Registry Office in 2009, and my involvement with the DIH from 2014, deeply influenced my relations with the Inkawasinos, particularly with the *mayordomos* and weavers of the ASAMCEI association, as will be discussed in detail in chapters three and five. When I went back to Inkawasi in 2013, the *mayordomos* asked me about the publication of the materials the Registry Office had gathered in 2010. I knew the project was caught up in the change of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC) to the Ministry of Culture, and there was no clear date of publication or even the certainty that the material will ever be published. When I told the *mayordomos* I was not part of the INC and was doing a study for a university degree, and then explained my idea of a collaborative approach, Cesar Sánchez Lucero, then president of the *mayordomos*, proposed I should help them to register all their celebrations and write a book together about the church and the fiestas of the *mayordomías*. I told Cesar and all the *mayordomos* about my limitations but promised to help in all I could. To document the celebrations, I went to all the celebrations that took place between September 2013 and June 2014 and spoke several times about the

⁸<http://inkawasi-kanaris.org/tejiendo-el-mundo-produccion-textil-en-la-provincia-de-ferrenafe/>

mayordomías with Mario Lucero Calderón, Cesar Sánchez, Sebastian Sánchez and Bernardino Manayay, members of the church.

Cesar Sánchez took the book as a personal endeavour of his presidency, hoping to leave a *recordatorio* (commemoration) of his time at the head of the *mayordomías*. On an old computer in the house of the teacher Julia Manayay we elaborated with Cesar a leaflet about the church and the *mayordomías*. We discussed the accuracy of the information about the *kustumri*, or the church thatching, but I could not get Cesar involved in the writing of the text. I felt disappointed that, although we discussed the content in detail, we could not give a greater voice to Cesar or the *mayordomos*. After we finished the booklet, César Sánchez asked the mayor, at the time Fernando Díaz Rodríguez, to finance its printing, and in July 2014, a thousand exemplars of the leaflet were printed in Chiclayo and later distributed through the *mayordomos* and local authorities. Cesar was happy with the result but some *mayordomos* were disappointed because there was no photo of their celebration. We chose the photos together with Cesar, but all I selected were with criteria such as their beauty, or their capacity to illustrate the text, but without considering the necessity of including an image of each celebration or clear photos of all the *mayordomos*. I tried to mitigate some of the disappointment by printing all the photos that I took at each celebration and giving them to the corresponding *mayordomo*. I certainly learned from this experience the difficulties of escaping our own assumptions and of carrying out truly collaborative research.

While we were elaborating the leaflet, César Sánchez initiated contacts with the DDCL, the regional branch of the Ministry of Culture, to obtain protection and funds for the restoration of the church. I helped him in writing various *oficios*, or legal requests, and in taking photos of the deteriorated part of the structure for the architect in charge. He, along with Mario Lucero Calderón, also asked me to contact the DPI, the former Registry Office, to ask for the videos they made during the church rethatching in 2010. I contacted the DPI about the materials they had gathered in Inkawasi back in 2010 and commented on the concerns of the *mayordomos* about the conservation of the church. After that, Soledad Mujica, head of the DPI, proposed that I participate in finishing the publication of the music recordings of Kañaris and Inkawasi, which was unfinished, with no budget after the transformation of the INC into the Ministry of Culture. So I began my collaboration with the DPI in Lima, which allowed me to work first hand with the music recordings and to

revise the transcriptions and translations with professor Oscar Bernilla Carlos, and the help of Ana Cecilia Manayay⁹.

I include some of my experiences, and particularly those involved in the process of declaring the Inkawasi church roofing as Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of Peru, as a way of reflecting on our own practices of academic mastery. The declaration was finally carried out by the local branch of the Ministry of Culture and they focused only on the Peasant Community, excluding the *mayordomos*. Due to this, the *mayordomos* felt betrayed, as they believed I was involved in the process and in the publication of a book about the thatching that was based entirely on the leaflet we printed with the *mayordomos* but with no acknowledgement of their role or work (Carrasco et al 2016). I confronted those in the regional branch of the Ministry of Culture and ended up trying to defend my academic ‘mastery’. In the fourth chapter, I reflect on my role in this process of patrimonialisation that is in itself one in which ‘mastery’, in this case over ‘cultural knowledge’, is claimed by the State in the name of indigenous populations, in many cases aided by anthropologists. This reflection is on my own complicity with the practices that I criticise here.

The outcome of these collaborative experiences with the weavers’ associations, the bilingual teachers of the ‘Equipo de Materiales’ and the *mayordomos*, and with particular people, have been varied. Without doubt, the most horizontal and truly collaborative experience has been the elaboration of the dictionary with the Equipo de Materiales, and with teacher Oscar Bernilla Carlos. The majority of the Quechua terms analysed in this thesis come from the dictionary, which is signalled in the thesis as DLC (Diccionario Linwaras Castellano). My collaboration with weavers’ associations, and particularly with ASAMCEI and Ana Cecilia, was first focussed on dealing with State bureaucracy and on finding channels for the commercialization of their products, which allowed me to participate in their meeting and activities, as well as registering and enquiring about technical matters while elaborating the catalogue. A similar result came from preparing a collaborative exhibition at the Sicán Museum. The experience with the *mayordomos*

⁹ For the booklet that accompanies the recordings of the music of Kañaris, I wrote a text about the history of the area, with the historical information I had been gathering since 2009 for my DEA degree at the Complutense University, and for this PhD thesis (Martínez 2015). Another was co-authored with Víctor Manayay Rinza, a bilingual teacher from Kañaris, about the ritual and festive scenarios where the recorded music is traditionally performed (Martínez y Manayay 2015). I also wrote three texts for the publication of the traditional music of Inkawasi (Martínez 2017). The first is about the language and history of the highlands of Lambayeque, the second concerns the *mayordomías* fiesta system and land struggle, and the third is about other rituals and everyday scenarios where music is performed.

showed me how difficult it is to distance oneself from one's own assumptions to achieve a horizontal collaboration, and even more so when collaborating with local cultural institutions. What I learned with the mayordomos is the basis of the third chapter and a substantial part of the fourth.

Several collaborations have been with specific people, very dear friends, whose generosity made this thesis possible. Other dear friends that helped me are Julia Manayay Purihuamán, and her mother Segunda Purihuamán Manayay, who allowed me to learn about cattle breeding and childcare practices. Due to the need to recognize the knowledge and effort of the Inkawasinos that made this thesis possible, I maintain the real names of people and places (Salomon 1999: 69). Only when describing shamanic practices have the names been omitted. To the best of my ability, I explained to all those mentioned in this text the nature of my work and my intention to use their real names, while respecting the confidentiality and anonymity of research participants and informants, following the ASA Ethical guidelines for good research¹⁰. I hope my interpretations and what I say of specific people or events is fair, and do not offend or detriment anyone in any way.



Photo 1. Bilingual teachers of the Equipo de Materiales, with the Sicán Museum director Carlos Elera and the anthropologist, at the front of the Sicán National Museum in Ferreñafe.

¹⁰ <http://www.theasa.org/ethics/guidelines.shtml%3E>

Chapter 2

The Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi

The Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi is located in the upper La Leche river basin, in the Moyán-Inkawasi valley, between approximately 2500 and 4000 metres above sea level, on the Pacific slope of the eastern Andean cordillera, in the Lambayeque region of northern Peru. Inkawasi is one of the six Peasant Communities that integrate the homonymous district¹¹, with which the Peasant Community shares its centre, the town of Inkawasi. The Inkawasinós, like the majority of Lambayeque highlands inhabitants, are engaged in subsistence agriculture and livestock farming, although today there are many Inkawasinós dedicated to the transport business, small-scale commerce, and the production of textile handicrafts. There is also a significant segment of schoolteachers and agricultural technicians who work in the increasingly important local schools and provincial administration. The Inkawasinós cultivate maize, broad beans, green beans, *tauri* (a native legume) and *chipchi* (*Cucurbita ficifolia*) in temperate lands near the river; and wheat, potatoes and other Andean tubers like *uqa* (*Oxalis tuberosa*), *mashwa* (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*), and *ulluku* (*Ullucus tuberosus*) in the higher parts. The Inkawasinós maintain pastures to raise

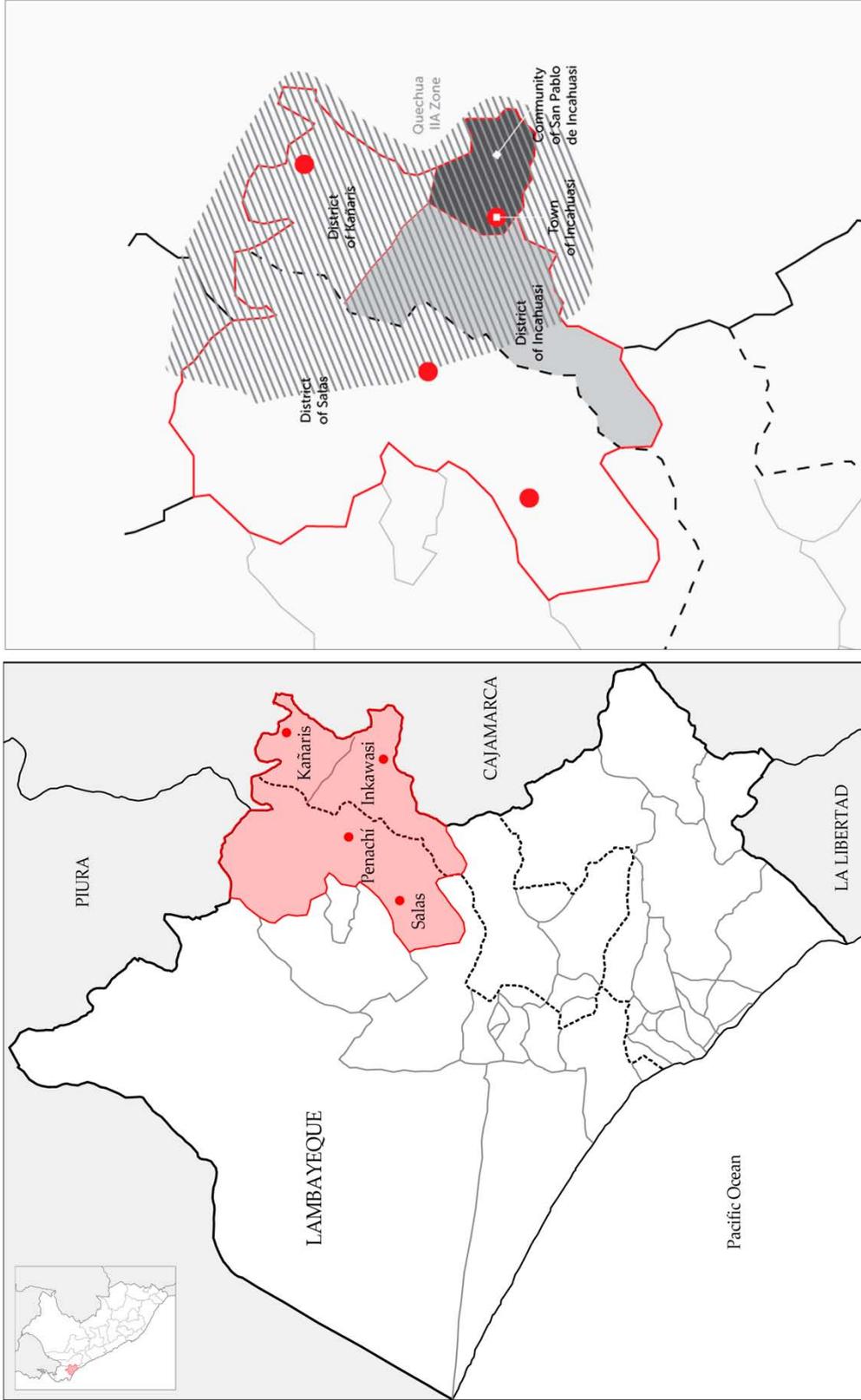
¹¹ These Peasant Communities are San Antonio de Laquipampa, Micaela Bastidas de Moyán, San Martín de Porres de Atumpampa, San Isidro Labrador de Marayhuaca and José Carlos Mariátegui de Kongacha.

sheep and cows, within a system of *barbecho*, in which specific cultivated fields or *chakras* are left fallow with pastures and to be fertilised by the cattle dung. There are also natural pastures in the higher parts, known as *jalca*, which the Inkawasinos use to raise cattle. The Inkawasinos' *chakras* and pastures are irrigated by an extensive network of channels (*asikya*), managed by *juntas de usuarios* (user's assemblies).

The Inkawasinos are speakers of a singular dialectal variety of Quechua that extends all over the highlands of Lambayeque, in the Districts of Kañaris and Inkawasi, in the Peasant Community of San Mateo de Penachí (District of Salas), and in neighbouring populations of the departments of Cajamarca and Piura¹². In 2013, the Ministry of Education of Peru calculated that there were 21,496 speakers of this northern variety, usually known as Quechua of Ferreñafe, Lambayeque or Inkawasi-Kañaris (Ministerio de Educación-DIGEIBIR 2013: 82, 288-290, 394-399). Half of these speakers live in the district of Inkawasi, in the communities of Inkawasi, Marayhuaca, Kongacha, Atumpampa, Janque and around the population centres of Uyrpampa and Cachachalá.

Some 20 years ago, Gerald Taylor, the linguist that has most thoroughly studied Lambayeque Quechua, lamented the almost complete absence of studies about this area from the social sciences, which could help us to understand the origin and development of this enigmatic dialectal variety and its speakers (1996: 5). This situation has improved since with a series of works such as Atsushi Yamamoto's archaeological study of Pucará (Kañaris); Donald Skillman's (1990, 2006) and Marieka Sax's (2014) ethnographies of shamanic practices in Penachí and Kañaris; Susan Ramírez's fundamental work on the early colonial history of Lambayeque (2002); Julio Cesar Sevilla Excebio's articles on Penachí's history and religious dances (1998, 2005), and of the narratives of the Inkas in Inkawasi (1996); James Vreeland's account of the Inkawasi religious dances (1993); and Pedro Alva Mariñas' work on the authorities and history of Kañaris (2008, 2009, 2013).

¹² In Cajamarca, Quechua speakers are located in the settlements of Andanga, Rumichacha, Tucto and Guayabo in the district of Miracosta (Chota) and Querocotillo (Cutervo), both on the border with Inkawasi. Also in Cajamarca, but at the limits with Kañaris in the Huancabamba valley, Quechua is spoken in the settlements of Tallas, Lishinas, Ninamaba, Pascapampa and Atunpampa (Jaen). In Piura, the Quechua speakers live in the settlement of Chilcapampa, district of Huarmaca (Huancabamba), a migrant settlement of Inkawasinos. I thank the bilingual teachers of the Equipo de Materiales for this very accurate account of the places where Quechua is spoken today in the area.



Map 1. Showing the location of the Peasant Community of San Pablo of Inkawasi in the homonymous district, in the Lambayeque region, and the Quechua speaking area.

To this we must add Gerald Taylor's work (1982, 1996, 1999, 2008b), one in collaboration with the bilingual teacher Oscar Bernilla Carlos (Bernilla & Taylor 2000), and that of other linguists interested in this singular Quechua variety (Escribens 1977; Shaver 1992; Taylor 1982, 1996, 1999; Torero 1964, 1968, 1972, 2002). Of importance for Inkawasi are the works of two evangelic missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL): two short articles by Dwight Shaver about the Peasant Community organization and the ritual significance of salt and saliva (1992, 2011), and two more from Ronel Groenewald about weaving and human reproductive practices (2011a, 2011b). Also key for Inkawasi is the thesis made by Guillermo Cajo, a local bilingual teacher, to obtain a sociology degree from the Pedro Ruiz Gallo University (1995), and two articles he wrote in collaboration with his supervisor, Alfredo Cafferata Farfán (1995a, 1995b), about the Agrarian Reform in the Inkawasi district.

Drawing on these authors, and others from the neighbouring regions of Piura, Cajamarca and La Libertad, this section aims to give a long-term perspective of the highlands of Lambayeque, in the local, regional and larger Andean contexts. It does this to emphasise the singularity of this Andean region, which shares many features with the Andes further south, as well as striking differences, and a clear connection with the cultures and people of the coastal valleys, the highlands further north and the Amazonian watershed. It points to four features which have been emphasized by these researchers as key to interpreting this area, to which we add historical and ethnographical data from Inkawasi. The first is its geographical configuration: this area is a natural corridor between the wide Pacific Coast and the Amazonia, which has been interpreted as a long-term fluctuating frontier of different 'cultural areas' (Hocquenghem 1991). The second feature is the singular Quechua variety spoken in the highlands of Lambayeque, which points to a shared history of all the Quechua Speakers of Lambayeque, linked to their condition of *mitimaes* and of oppression under the power of the haciendas. The third characteristic, particularly important for Inkawasi and Penachí—both located on the Pacific watershed is the relations between the highland and coast (*yunka*) populations, historically determined by the use of the waters that are born in the highlands, and by the possibility of extensive agriculture in the fertile coastal valleys. The control of the water through irrigation channels allowed the development of the Moche and Sicán cultures, and of the colonial and later republican hacienda regime, which reduced indigenous populations to servile work in the sugar cane, cotton or rice plantations of the northern valleys. The fourth and last feature is the practice,

equally by indigenous and mestizo populations throughout the coastal valleys and highlands of northern Peru and southern Ecuador, of a particular kind of shamanism based on *mesas* (tables) of power objects, and on the consumption of the hallucinogenic San Pedro cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi*).

Though the exploration of these four features—a less harsh and more fluid environment, a profoundly singular Quechua variety, the long-term interdependence between the coast and highlands of Lambayeque, and the practice of a shared shamanism throughout the coast and highlands of northern Peru—we aim to situate the reader in a different highlands from those further south, one with a different prehispanic tradition, a differentiated form of colonial exploitation based on haciendas (rather than on mining) and which uses a different rituality and use of power plants— San Pedro cactus instead of coca leaves—to communicate with an equally animated landscape. We also point to a different way of understanding the relations with the landscape, which does not make emphasis on the idea of a deified ancestor, of feeding or ‘paying’ for good fortune.



Photo 2. Panoramic view of the town of Inkawasi, centre of the Peasant Community, in 2017

The highlands of Lambayeque and the 'Huancabamba Depression'

Archaeologist and ethnohistorians that have studied the highlands of Piura, Lambayeque and Cajamarca point to the understanding of this area as fluid frontier with a long history of interactions and displacements between different populations of the coast, the highlands and the Amazon (Dillehay & Nethertly 1998: 85; Hocquenghem 1989: 96-101, 1991; Taylor & Descolá 1981). In this area, called the 'Huancabamba depression', the rivers that flow between the western and central mountain ranges break the central and eastern cordilleras on their way to the Marañón River. The western mountain range, although it is not interrupted, reaches here its lowest altitudinal point in all the Andes, the Porculla Pass at 2145 meters above sea level, constituting the most direct route between the coast and the Amazonia (Weigend 2002).

There is evidence of population crossing through this natural corridor since the Early Formative period (Yamamoto 2010, Watanabe 2008). During the Middle Horizon, an important trade route with the central highlands was established here (Hocquenghem 1989: 88). After conquering the area, the Inkas turned this corridor into a key point of its commercial and defensive road network (Dillehay & Nethertly 1998). During the Colonial regime, this was an important commercial route for mule drivers (*arrieraje*) (Peralta 1998: 149). Today this is the area where the 'Belaúnde Terry' Interoceanic Highway currently passes, constituting the most direct route to the Peruvian Amazon from the Pacific coastal valleys (Hocquenghem & Durt 2006: 312). Ecologically, the 'Huancabamba Depression' harbours a large number of endemic species and high biodiversity that combines species from the northern and southern Andes (Weigend 2002).

Yamamoto's research of the site of Inгатambo (2010), in the Huancabamba valley on the edge of the Community of Kañaris (Pomahuaca, Cajamarca), presents a description of the cultural contacts in this region and with southern Ecuador, through analysis of architectural sequences and chronology. Yamamoto shows that Inгатambo was continuously inhabited from the Formative Period to the Inca period. This provides evidence of the interrelation between this area and the nearby areas through the valley of Huacabamba, connecting Chota, Cajamarca and Piura in the highlands, the areas of Jaén and Bagua on the Amazonian slope, the Lambayeque and Jequetepeque valleys on the

Pacific coast, and with southern Ecuador (2010: 27). For Kañaris, some archaeological sites from the Formative period are known in Chiñama (Alva Mariñas 1989) and Congona (Alva Alva 2009: 13; Alva Mariñas 1995; Watanabe 2008). These sites, related with the Chavín phenomenon, have been interpreted as ceremonial centres linked to the cult of fertility and water (Alva Alva 2009: 10) or as milestones on passage routes that would have connected the coast, the mountains and the Amazon (Yamamoto 2010, Watanabe 2008).

The northern highlands are described by Anne-Marie Hocquenghem as a ‘territory crossed by cultural borders that move throughout history’, and that makes up a space without an evident cultural unity (1990: 96). Despite its great linguistic and cultural diversity, this area has also been under the influence of important shared phenomena. Among these, we must highlight first a shamanic tradition based on ‘tables’ (*mesas*) and the consumption of the hallucinogenic San Pedro cactus that extends throughout the coast and highlands of northern Peru and southern Ecuador. Furthermore, the whole region suffered almost three centuries of the exploitative regimen of the Hacienda, which reduced indigenous populations of both the highlands and the fertile valleys of the coastal plains to servile work or *yanaconaje*.

Lambayeque Quechua

The singular Quechua variety spoke in the Lambayeque highlands is the topic that has caught most attention from researchers (Escribens Trisano 1977; Shaver 1992; Taylor 1982, 1996, 1999; Torero 1964, 1968, 1972, 2002). This Quechua variety has a hybrid character that fuses features from the two main branches of Quechua (1996: 6); and which makes its positioning in general theories of Quechua expansion very problematic¹³. Through the study of this singular dialectal variety, we aim to situate the highlands of Lambayeque within this fluid frontier between the coast and Amazon, from a long-term perspective, as well as showing the influences of the Quechua language and culture in the area.

¹³. The QIIA group is without doubt one of the most controversial in Torero’s classification, and theory of Quechua expansion. Today the internal coherence of this group, as well as its adscription to QII groups instead of QI has been called into question (see Adelaar 2012: 201 and Itier 2013). Adelaar associates the Cajamarca variety with QI dialects and with the Wari expansion and not with QII variants (2012), while Itier questions the origin of Quechua in the central coastal plains and highlands (2013).

Alfredo Torero (1964) classifies the Lambayeque variant within the IIA group, along with another northern dialect (the Quechua of Cajamarca), and the dialects of Lincha, Laraos and Pacaraos in the highlands of the Lima region, where Torero first placed the origin of the northern varieties (1964: 473-4), although he subsequently changed this point of origin to the coastal region around Lima city in the Rimac river valley (1972: 77, 2002: 80-2). Following Torero, most researchers point to the arrival of Quechua to this area in one or two waves of penetration, associated with the expansion of Wari-Pachacamac during the Middle Horizon and/or the Inka conquest of the area circa 1470 (Alva Mariñas 2009, Andrade 2012: 36, Hocquenghem 1989: 45-49, Torero 1972: 97).

For the neighbouring highlands of Piura, Ann Marie Hocquenghem describes how during the Middle Horizon, the Quechua speakers of the central Andes imposed an ‘Andean order’ in the area (Hocquenghem, 1989: 45-49). Although more studies are needed to clarify the link between the Quechua language and Pachacamac (Itier 2013), there is a clear influence of this expansive phenomenon in the highlands and coastal valleys of Lambayeque. Archaeological evidence from the lower La Leche river valley indicates that the expansion of Pachacamac allowed the flourishing of the Sicán culture between ca. AD 900–1350 (Shimada 1990), which had an important influence on the adjacent lordships of the highlands (Dulanto 2008: 762). There is no archaeological evidence in the Lambayeque highlands, but we can trace the influence of this cult to the current oral tradition (Alva Mariñas 2009). In present-day Kañaris, the figure of Pachacamac appears defeating the despotic Ninamasha (*Nina* = fire *masha* = son-in-law) after creating the waterfall of El Chorro (Alva Mariñas 2009). Pachacamac also appears being defeated—after acting despotically—by the Wind (*wayra*), which takes him through the air, leaving behind his petrified wife (Huamán Rinza 2008: 8). In Inkawasi, the figure of Pachacamac has also been recorded in the oral tradition of the *Aćakay*¹⁴ or cannibalistic ogress, in which Pachacamac makes the mountains grow over her, burying the *Aćakay* forever (Shaver 2011: 171), although at present the figure of Pachacamac has been entirely replaced by Tayta Dyus (God Father).

¹⁴ An ogress of the Andean and Amazonian traditions (Howard 1989, Taylor 2008b). In the Inkawasi version of this narrative, the *Aćakay* or *Aćkay* is an old woman that attracts to her house two siblings—a boy and a girl—with the aim of devouring them. The ogress eats the boy, which is noticed by the girl, who manages to escape from the *Aćakay* with the aid of different plants and animals and finally of God (Pachacamac), who condemns the *Aćakay* to live in the interior of the mountains. The ogress, which still inhabits the interior of the mountain, represents one of the most acute dangers for young children, as she seeks to devour their souls.

When the control of the Wari-Pachacamac expansion was dismantled during the Late Intermediate Period (from the 9th century until the first half of the 15th century), the highlands of Piura became the border between groups of Jivaroan affiliation (Guayacundos, Paltas, Malacatos), located in the highlands of Ayabaca and Loja (in Southern Ecuador) and its Amazonian slope (Espinoza Soriano 2006, Hocquenghem 1989: 45- 49, Taylor & Descola 1981). The highland further south in Piura, in the current province of Huancabamba (Hocquenghem, 1989: 45-49), and the highlands of Lambayeque and Cajamarca (Chota and Cutervo) were occupied by groups of unknown filiation known as Huancabambas, Penachías and Huambos.

By the time of the Inka conquest, the languages spoken in the area were Muchik and Tallán (*yunka*), along with Culle and probably Quechua in the highlands, and also possible other unknown languages. To shed light on the pre-Hispanic language areas of Cajamarca, Luis Andrade made a study of the vocabulary of the traditional waist loom in Spanish-speaking areas of this department (2011). The terminology associated with the waist loom currently used in the Provinces of Chota, Cajamarca and Cajabamba (2011: 68) corresponds to that used in the highlands of Lambayeque, with which they could have constituted a common lexical zone or at least one of intense lexical and cultural exchanges. This area could be extended to the North as far as Piura (Puig 1985: 46, 133, 193, 201) and to the East to the province of Jaén, in the Department of Cajamarca (Reagan 2001: 93), where the same vocabulary is used¹⁵. Although the highlands of Lambayeque are not usually included in the Culle speaking zone, most of the terms attributed to the Culle language, as well as abundant toponyms, are present in Lambayeque Quechua¹⁶, with the important exception of the diminutive suffix *-ash* (Adelaar & Muysken 2004, Andrade 2011: 63). Towards the north of the Culle speaking zone, there would have been two other languages, Cat and Den, determined by Torero from the local place names, the boundary between which was set by Torero precisely in the valley of the La Leche River (1989: 235).

¹⁵. These terms are: *kunkallpu*, *putik(i)*, *illva*, *kallva* and *tipe* (Andrade 2011:68).

¹⁶. These terms are *chukaki* (pathology), *das* (indicate immediacy), *lampaq* (bland), *inap* (rainbow), *munchu* (navel) (Adelaar con Muysken 2004:404; Adelaar 2012: 203). The toponyms are: Congoña, Mayascong, Sinchihual, Huarmaca, Puchaca, Yoyoca, Suychuco or Muñuño.

Within this linguistic and ethnic mosaic of northern Peru, the *cacicaazgo* of Penachí has generally been associated with *Yunka* (coast in Quechua) populations, such as the Moche, Sicán or Chimú. The only mention we have concerning the ethnic affiliation of the Penachí lordship is the one that appears in the residence trial of the *visitador* Gregorio González de Cuenca about a group of *mitimaes* ‘*yungas*’ of Penachí that fled from the *huaranga* (lordship of 10.000 families) of Bambamarca to their place of origin (Espinoza 1969: 23). As highlighted by Espinoza Soriano, who gathered this information, at this time the *mitimaes* were always called by their ethnic filiation (1969: 23). A *yunga* filiation was also attributed to the Penachies at the end of the 19th century by Sebastián Lorente, who stated that ‘although they lived within the natural limits of the same territory [Muchik], the natives of Motupe, Cañares, Ingahuasi, Chóchope, Colaya, Penachí, Copiz and Olmos belonged to the race of the Tallanes and came from the highlands...’ (2005 [1879]: 561). The Tallán language is very scarcely known and is generally linked to an extinct language called Sec, also spoken through the north in Sechura. In favour of this idea—that the Penachí peoples were Tallán—is the formation of the *encomiendas* which, although following a Spanish logic, also kept certain relations with the previous indigenous organisation and were used by the Spaniards to control the indigenous population through their traditional authorities. When the *encomiendas* were imposed in the area by the Spaniards at the beginning of the 16th century, and until the end of that century, Penachí was one *encomienda* along with the caciques of Olmos, Copiz and Poechos, which are believed to be Tallanes¹⁷.

Although it is not possible to verify a common ethnic affiliation of the lords that dominated the valleys of La Leche, Motupe and Olmos, at present these nuclei share many uses and customs, as well as the same sacred landscape. People in the area worship and make annual pilgrimages to the crosses of Penachí (Yanahuanca mountain), Motupe and Olmos (Chalpón mountain), with three sibling crosses placed on the top of these mountains by the same priest, Father Guatemala. Many of today’s Inkawasinos travel every year to venerate these crosses, especially that of Yanahuanca in neighbouring Penachí (20th of August).

¹⁷ The first *encomendero* of Penachí ‘in the valley of Gaiona’ was Diego de Guerra, who also had under his mandate ‘the principals (lords) of Olmos and Contailicoia in the Copiz valley’. In 1561, Juan Cortés was named the *encomendero* of Penachí, Olmos and Poechos by the concession of the Marqués de Cañete (Schlupmann 1994: 93, 95, 98).

Due to its name, the current community of San Juan Kañaris has been interpreted as being *mitimae*, displaced from south Ecuador (Cañar) to guard the homonymous *tambo* (roadside inn and stall) of the Qhapaq Ñan, or Inka road network, located on the important commercial route that extended along the Huancabamba river valley (Martínez 2015: 13). The *Canaria Tambo Real* is listed by Guamán Poma de Ayala in his 'Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno' (1615) and described as not having a town but an inn with rooms and corrals to accommodate the *sapainca*, or Inka ruler (1615:1094-1096)¹⁸. As has been described for the *tambos* in the neighbouring Cajamarca and Piura regions, *Canaria tambo* would have needed military protection, for which Cañari population was displaced by the Inkas from southern Ecuador (Espinoza 1967: 351; 2006: 67, Hocquenghem 1989: 13). In the case of Inkawasi, literally 'The House of the Inka' in Quechua, at least the origin of its name also seems to be associated with the Inka road. In Inkawasi, the Qhapaq Ñan goes along the edge of the mountain range from Cajamarca to Piura, connecting to the East with the Huancabamba road. There was probably also another road towards the west, through the valley of the La Leche River that would have connected the highland road with the one parallel to the Pacific coast¹⁹.

The Spanish conquest of the *cacicaazgo* of Penachí was carried out in 1533 by Alonso de Guerra, who was rewarded by the Spanish Crown with this *encomienda*²⁰ (AGI, Lima 565, exp. 2), and which started half a century of domination of this system in the area. The Spanish conquest caused a profound disruption in the indigenous society, and particularly among displaced populations like the *mitimae*s, who were ordered to stay in the place where the conquest found them, making them subjects to the local cacique and Spanish *encomendero*. The Spaniards did not understand or care about Indigenous logics of land occupation, in which the *mitimae*s did not lose their link to their lord or ethnic group of origin (Espinoza 1969: 20-5, Ramírez 2002: 64). The conquest radically changed the relations between the local lord of Penachí, defeated by the Inka, and the Kañaris *mitimae*s brought by him from southern Ecuador to control the area, giving rise during the colonial centuries to new scenarios of identity ascriptions. Quechua remained, together with Spanish, as the official administrative and legal languages of the Viceroyalty, as well as one

¹⁸ 'que no tiene pueblo y que se halla recaudo, *pulpiria*' (1615: 1094-1096)

¹⁹ Izumi Shimada, personal communication.

²⁰ The *encomienda* was a form of control over land and Indigenous populations granted to an *encomendero* by the Spanish crown.

of the main languages of evangelisation, growing at the expense from other powerful regional tongues as the *Culle* or *Muchik*.

As highlighted for Ecuadorian Quechua (Hocquenghem 2012), in the northern highlands of Peru the *mitimae* settlements seem to have played a fundamental role in the expansion and the maintenance of Quechua until today. Indeed, the most important enclaves where Quechua is still spoken today in northern Peru have been associated by Waldemar Espinoza (1967; 2006) with *mitimae* populations or the Inka Trail network. In the case of the Quechua of Cajamarca, he associates Porcón—like Kañaris—with *mitimae* populations from Cañar in southern Ecuador (Espinoza 1967); and Chetilla with Chilco populations coming from the area of Chachapoyas, also displaced as *mitimae* to the area (Espinoza 2006).

The large number of Spanish words in the Lambayeque Quechua, which correspond to words that have great cultural significance, does not seem to correspond to a process of imposing one language over another (Spanish over Quechua), but rather to multilingual dynamics with the existence of one or more non-Quechua indigenous languages, which definitively disappeared at the beginning of the 20th century. As noted by Gerald Taylor this is the case of the terms of close kinship, where the complex system of Quechua terms to name sons and daughters and brothers and sisters depending on the relationship of kinship with the speaker is missing (1996: 23). When people refer to their children in the Quechua of Lambayeque, they use the word *wamra*, or *china* (girl) and *chulu* (boy); they also use the Spanish terms for cousin, uncle, father-in-law and brother. For sibling, the term *ukniy* is also less frequently used, and this literally means ‘the other double of him/herself’ (Taylor 1996: 8). Meanwhile, Quechua terms are widely used in peripheral kinship terms such as *masha* (son-in-law), *llunchuy* (daughter-in-law) and *willka* (grandson).

The Quechua language probably first came to the northern highlands as part of its expansion in the central and south Andes during the Middle Horizon. At its arrival, the Quechua language found strong regional languages with which it coexisted. The Inka expansion brought the Quechua language back to the northern highlands, again coexisting with regional languages. Not long after, the Spanish colonization imposed Quechua as a ‘General Language’ of the Viceroyalty along with Spanish. Within this context, regional languages like *muchik* or *culle* weakened, finally disappearing at the beginning of the 20th

century. Considering this, is important to understand that the use of Spanish in the Quechua spoken in the highlands of Lambayeque is not necessarily a colonial 'acculturation' but a more complex phenomenon in which other indigenous languages also played a part.

The northern coast and highlands

The development of the cultures of the coastal valleys (Moche, Sicán, Chimú), implicated an interrelation with the populations in the upper valleys, as the waters with which the fertile valleys are irrigated come from the highlands. The fertility of the coastal valleys also permitted the early development of the haciendas, extensive plantations of cash crops such as sugar cane or cotton with slave workers coming from Africa and, after the abolition, of *culí* (coolie) workers from Asia, besides the local populations subjected to servile work. Although with profound differences, the coast and the highlands continued to be highly interconnected during the exploitative regime of the haciendas. The coast/highlands relation has been typified by the case of the Jayanca lordship on the coast that exchanged products of its ecological zone such as chilli, cotton and salt with the cacique of Penachí in return for the use of the waters of the Canchachalá highland ravine (Dillehay & Netherly 1998: 85; Ramírez 2002: 44). The relations between these groups have been interpreted as not only limited to an exchange of products, but also implying the establishment of permanent colonies of highlanders on the coast, and the other way around, of coastal people on the highlands, forming 'islands' of the same archipelago (Murra 2002). As described by Susan Ramírez, this is a 'scattered settlement' that implies an interdependence between the groups in the Highlands and the Coast (Ramírez 1987).

These relations radically changed with the Spanish conquest, although some forms of interdependency of the two areas continued during colonial times, also around the use of water and the exchange of products. If mining and the *mita* servile work characterise the exploitation of the natives in the southern Andes, particularly in Bolivia, in northern Peru it was the cash crop plantation of sugar cane and cotton and the *yanacónaje*, servile work in the haciendas. The colonial Haciendas dominated the area since the mid-seventeenth century, and lasted until the Agrarian Reform of President Velasco Alvarado in the last

third of the 20th century. The policy of *reducciones* of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, which sought to concentrate the dispersed indigenous population in villages, was implemented in the area by Bernardino de Loayza and the vicar-general of the Archbishopric of Lima, between 1572 and 1573 (Huertas 1996: 95). Loayza founded the *reducciones* of Penachí and Kañaris (which Inkawasi was part of), originally in a group with Salas—on the coastal plains—although they were later separated, constituting independent *reducciones* (Huertas 1996: 95). The *reducciones* freed many lands that were then sold by the Crown, or appropriated and later confirmed, through the Composiciones de Tierras (Land Review) (1594-5, 1643-5 and 1712-4), and which gave birth to the haciendas, enormous estates that imposed a servile system on the Indigenous populations.

The land reviews of 1643-5 and 1712-14 were created to resolve conflicts between the communities and the Spanish neighbours, but ended up endorsing the usurpation of the natives' lands and their reduction to tenants (*yanacunas*) subjected to servile work. These abuses were answered by the communities in the form of numerous lawsuits and of violence, when the justice system—whose officials were often related to the landowners—failed them (Martínez 1991: 93, Ramírez 2002: 147-168). The current Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi was founded by indigenous initiative in the mid-eighteenth century, in the context of the struggles over the ownership of the territory between *parcialidades*, or extended families, attached to the reductions of Penachí and Kañaris, and the landowners of the neighbouring haciendas of Sangana, Janque and Canchachalá, as we will explore in detail next chapter.

Through the founding of the town and the church of Inkawasi, and the lawsuits elevated to the Viceroyalty Courts, the Inkawasinos managed to defend their possession of the territory and escaped from being reduced to *yanacunas*, servants forced to give personal services to the patron. However, they did not get rid of the control of the landowner over their workforce—through the *enganche* (hooking) system—their mobility through the installation of *trancas* (tolls), and their production through the buying of their produce at preference prices. We must bear in mind that Inkawasi was surrounded by haciendas, with the only exception being the border with Kañaris on the drainage divide of the Eastern mountain range. The landowners of this area owned cultivated land both at the mouth of the valley, where they produced sugar cane and rice, and in the highlands, where wheat

was grown and livestock raised. The landlord also controlled much of the exchange of products: the sale of wheat at a preferential price in the landlord's mill, the sale of sugar cane alcohol, and the selling of cattle.

The enormous power of haciendas and landowners lasted almost three centuries until it was definitively suppressed by the Agrarian Reform of Velasco Alvarado's military government in 1969. In the end, almost all the highland haciendas in Peru became Peasant Communities. In the northern highlands, this also included small private owners, such as those that now live in Uyurpampa and Canchachalá in the Inkawasi district. By contrast, in the coastal valleys, the majority of haciendas were transformed into cooperatives, which were mainly dissolved a decade later when the members of the cooperatives became small private landowners.

Following international institutions (IMF, World Bank), the consecutive neoliberal governments since Alberto Fujimori have liberalised the land and labour markets reverting the agrarian landscape that had been left by the Agrarian Reform. Land policies under the neoliberal government of Alberto Fujimori, sanctioned in the 1993 Constitution, opened the way for the liberalisation of the land market and cut the rights of Peasant Communities, at the same time giving advantages to foreign investors. Under the 'Land Law', the Communities lost their indivisibility and inalienability, and all limits to the quantity of land that can be owned by one person were eliminated (Burneo 2011: 5-7). However, in Inkawasi, and in general on the Peasant Communities of the highlands of Lambayeque, there has not been a significant transfer of lands, in contrast to the situation in the communities of the coastal valleys, where many have lost their land in favour of multinational agroindustry (Aldana *et al.* 2006: 249-272).

Many Inkawasinos today work in the enormous fields and factories of national and multinational agroindustry, many processing asparagus, avocados, grapes, mangos and peppers in the nearby town of Motupe, or in the many agroindustry fields and plants located along the coastal valleys. Since the time of the haciendas, and until today, the males from Inkawasi go every year to the lower valley to work as agricultural labours in the rice planting.

Today, the threat over the Inkawasinos' lands is not the haciendas or agroindustry, but mining. The Land Law that liberalised the land marked also changed the procedures for mining exploitation beneath the territories of the highland communities, allowing the expansion of extractive activities. The policy of deregulation initiated in the 1990s came accompanied by laws and programs to promote private investors, in which extractive industries have been preponderant. The territory given in mining concessions increased from 2 million hectares in 1992 to 16.3 million in 2008, with most of these concessions in the highlands (Burneo 2011: 27).

The fertile valleys of the coastal plains, irrigated through a complex network of channels fed by the rivers that originate in the highlands, allowed the development of the Pre-Hispanic cultures of Moche, Sicán and Chimú. The interdependence of the highlands and coastal plains around the use of water and the exchange of products was central for these pre-Hispanic cultures and continued through colonial times when the Spanish Hacienda dominated. The Hacienda regime imposed a system of exploitation based on servile and slave work in extensive plantations of cash crops for almost 300 years. This economy of exploitation united the highlands and coastal plains, as the haciendas in the highlands provided meat, wheat, potatoes and workforce to the plantations in the coastal plains, while in the highlands further south the main colonial form of exploitation was mining through the *mita*.

The northern shamanism

The majority of ethnographies of Peru's northern highlands and Pacific coastal valleys, as well as the two available from the highlands of Lambayeque, focus on a complex shamanic tradition composed of power objects (swords, stones, pre-Hispanic objects, Christian saints), and the consumption of *wachuma*, or San Pedro cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi*), other hallucinogenic plants such as *mishas* (*Burgmansia*), and the sniffing of tobacco (Bussman & Sharon 2009: 5). Today the area of shamanism based on *mesas* extends through the coast and highlands of La Libertad, Lambayeque, Cajamarca, Piura and Tumbes in Peru, and until Loja in southern Ecuador. It also includes the Amazonian watershed, until Jaén (Bagua) where *mesas* based on San Pedro coexist with *mesas* based on Ayahuasca

(*Banisteriopsis caapi*) (Reagan 2001: 184). This area has been also described as one where there is a common knowledge and use of medicinal plants, a 'healing axis' (Camino 1992), where the use of *wachuma* can be traced back to the Cupisnique-Chavín cultures, or at least to the Moche (Busmann & Sharon 2009: 2). This shamanism continued to be practised throughout the colonial and republican times, and was violently repressed, as shown by the 17th and 18th century extirpation of idolatries from the bishopric of Trujillo (Larco 2008, Sharon 1980: 65-6), and prosecuted as 'witchcraft' during the Republic (Tomoeda 2004). Today, shamanism is still a widespread practice throughout indigenous and mestizo populations of northern Peru (Glass-Coffin 2003; 2010, Polia 1996, Sax 2014, Skillman 1990; 2006, Sharon 1980).

In his influential book 'The wizard of the four winds' ([1978] 1980), Douglas Sharon explores the life of 'a modern shaman', Eduardo 'El Tuno' Calderón, and with it the northern shamanism. He describes it as 'coherent system of symbolic communication', a syncretic practice between an 'indigenous ideologic substratum' and Catholic religious forms (1980: 14-5), which is still alive after four hundred years. However, he is interested in an 'archaic' common substratum of all indigenous American shamanism. Taking Mircea Eliade's idea of shamanism as an 'archaic technique of ecstasy', Sharon looks for the archaic substratum of northern shamanism *mesas* first in the Mochica culture, and then in the Quechua, Aymara and Inca, looking for a Pan-Andean and even Pan-American indigenous ideology (1980: 132). The ecstasy is achieved through the consumption of San Pedro cactus, which he claims is the medium used by Eduardo to connect, communicate or enter into the supernatural world of the *encantos* (Sharon 1980: 55.71).

Although connected with an archaic Pan-American shamanic substratum, Sharon sees the spread of shamanism in the exploitation and religious evangelization of indigenous populations started by the colonial regime, and which continued after independence under the hacienda regime (1980: 43-54). Envy and witchcraft (*dañu*), says Sharon, are the result of the tensions created by the culture clash between indigenous, mestizo and Western cultures, where shamanism acts as an 'escape valve' (1980: 49-54). A similar argument is put forward by Marieka Sax in her doctoral thesis about shamanism in Kañaris although, for her, tensions are between individuals or families within the community (2014). Sharon attributes the 'institutionalized envy' behind the *daño* (damage, hurt), or malicious witchcraft, to the situation of exploitation of local populations by the Hacienda regime.

How is this very same ‘syncretic’ shamanism used in the highlands of Lambayeque, by indigenous Quechua speaking populations? In her study of ‘sorcery’ in the neighbouring Community of San Juan Kañaris, Marieka Sax (2014), situates the practice of the Kañarenses within what she calls ‘a distinctly “Andean” understanding of the world’ (2014: 49) and differentiates it from its immediate neighbours of the Pacific coast and the Amazon. She recognizes that the shamanism practised in Kañaris is ‘performatively’ ‘one and the same’ as the *brujería* practised throughout northern Peru (2014: 39), but points to differences in the motivations of clients and the understanding of the practitioner’s efficacy between the coast and the highlands (2014: 40). She argues that in Western Amazonia and the Pacific coast, clients and shamans do not seek luck, or to increase production, and only seek shamans to cure (or produce) witchcraft-related illness (2014: 53), and that in the coast shamanism ‘the power of God ultimately supersedes that of the *encantos*’, that is of place-based spirits (2014: 54). This would coincide with the shamanism in the highland further north in Huancabamba and Ayabaca, as described by Mario Polia (1996).

Despite the idea of the *daño*, or malicious witchcraft, being very powerful in the coastal plains, this does not mean that people there do not seek the help of a shaman to increase luck and productivity. It is important to consider that in the coastal plains there is still a segment of peasants and fisherman of indigenous descent, as well as many generations of *colonos* or settlers coming from the highlands, as the paradigmatic case of Eduardo ‘El Tuno’ (Sharon 1980), and the case of Jorge Merino of Penachí (Skillman 1990, 2006). This means that there are also peasants in the coastal valleys who are very much interested in increasing their agricultural production, as well as intense contacts between practitioners of the coast and the highlands, which underlines the shared basis of shamanism in the two areas. The idea that in the coast shamanism ‘the power of God ultimately supersedes that of the *encantos*’ (Sax 2014: 54) does not correspond with the variety of the coastal plains, and downplays the impact of religious evangelization in the highlands of Lambayeque. Farmers on the coast also seek the help of shamans to increase their agricultural production (Sharon 1980: 40). Just as those of the highlands, they both go to shamans to cure illnesses produced by the *encantos*, to cure the *daño* (hurt) or malicious witchcraft, to win the love of someone (*guayanche* or *yerba*), or even to ask for luck in a lawsuit. As pointed out by Sax, it is also very common that the highlanders hire coastal shamans, and vice versa, particularly in cases regarding witchcraft (2014). The shamanism in Inkawasi is the same as that

practised in Penachí (Skillman 1990, 2006) or the Pacific coast of Trujillo (Sharon 1980). The coast and highlands are integral parts of northern shamanism: healing and hallucinogenic plants come from both ecological regions, and the powers with which shaman deal are equally located in the coastal plains and in the highland peaks and lakes.

Despite the ‘distinctly “Andean” understanding of the world’ (2014: 49) of Kañaris shamanism, Sax also points to a significant difference between the place-based spirits in the northern coast and highlands, commonly known as *encantos*, and those of the southern highlands, the *tirakua*. Sax underlines that people in Kañaris do ‘not expect the *encantos* to provide for them in a mutual relationship of obligation and reciprocity, as in the southern Andes. Instead, people must consult a sorcerer if they wish to cure an illness attributed to their power, or be blessed with this same power to increase their productive capacities and state of luck’ (2014: 323). The northern shamanism, as we will explore in detail in Chapter Eight, point to a different way of relating to the powers of the landscape, which is not mediated by the language of feeding and sacrifice, but of mastery, of visions and shamanic travels (Sharon 1980; Polia 1996).

The low altitude of the highlands of Lambayeque, part of a natural corridor between the Pacific Coast and the Amazonia, has determined a historic fluidity and mutual influence between these areas in northern Peru. This space, with no apparent unity, nonetheless has long-term shared phenomena, such as the shamanism and the exploitative regime of the Haciendas. The highlanders of Lambayeque also speak the same dialect of the Quechua language, which points to a common history of Inka conquest and displacement of *mitiame* population, which was fundamentally shaped by the violent experience of colonialism. The Inkawasinos, Kañarenses and Penachanos share the same language and many cultural similarities, which they recognise, but they also consider themselves different from the others. The highlanders think of themselves as different from the population in the *yunka*: they are highlanders, or *shashqa runakuna*, although they both share the same history of oppression of the haciendas, and the same shamanic practices. The hacienda disappeared at the end of the 20th century, and the *yunka* today is the city, the ‘modern’ and Spanish speaking world. Both coast and highlands still share the same shamanic tradition based on *mesas* of power objects and the consumption of the hallucinogenic San Pedro cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi*).

Note on orthography

We use in this thesis the writing system proposed by the bilingual teachers of Lambayeque, which is summed up in the following table (*table 1*) extracted from Taylor (1999).

Consonants						
	labial	alveolar	palatal	retroflex	velar	uvular
Oclusive (voiceless)	p	t	ch	ĉ	k	q
Oclusive (voiced)	b*	d*			g*	
Nasal	m	n	ñ			
Fricative (voiceless)	f*	s	sh		j*	
Fricative (voiced)			ll**			
Lateral		l				
Vibrants		r		rr		
Semi-consonants	w		y			
Vowels						
		i	e*	a	o*	u

* The letters *b*, *d*, *g*, *f* and *j*, and the vowels *e* and *o* are maintained for the words coming from Spanish and other non-Quechua languages.

** Here we use the letter *ll* that Taylor uses as *ʒb*, following the bilingual teachers writing system.

Table 1 extracted from: Taylor, Gerald (1999). *Método del Quechua Ferreñafano para Hispanohablantes*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación.

Chapter 3

***Amitunchik*: the owners of land and people. The *mayordomía* fiesta system and (post)colonial land struggle**

Through the examination of the *mayordomías*, or Catholic brotherhoods, fiesta system of the Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi, in this chapter I aim to explore local notions of land ownership, and the deep impact on them of colonial and postcolonial ideas and often violent practices of private property. The *mayordomías* show how ownership—and defence—of the land, is what articulates the current Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi, since its creation by indigenous initiative in the mid-18th century. Local ideas of land ownership far transcend those of communal ownership or private property, to include in the relation Christian deities, or *amintunchik* (literally our little masters), and the ancestors of each *mayordomía*. The study of the transformations of the *mayordomías* through the 20th and 21st centuries show how the Inkawasinos have creatively fought, appropriated or adapted colonial ideas of private property, in which they continue to involve their ancestors, the Christian deities and the land spirits or *sirkakuna* as owners in their own right. This means that the Lockean idea of ‘individual appropriation’ of what has been given by God in common, which is appropriated by individuals through labour, does not correspond to that of the Inkawasinos. For the Inkawasinos, cultivated or pasture fields—

chakra—are not inert matter to be appropriated by people, but the result of the effort of generations of Inkawasinos who forged a long-lasting relationship with the *sirkakuna* or mountain spirits, who are the ultimate owners of the land. The colonial understanding of ‘individual appropriation’ relies on the delusion of Western ‘Man’s’ unique agency, which justifies dominion over others’ plants, animals, mountains and those people that do not confirm with this idea of humanity (of the white Man) such as indigenous populations. The *mayordomías* point to the idea that land cannot be owned by people, as the owner of a specific *chakra* is the *amitunchik*, linked to each *ayllu*’s ancestors, which are the owners of the Inkawasinos themselves. The *sirkakuna* or mountain beings are the ultimate owners of the land and resources (water, air, light), of the vital force that permits the fruition of life.

The *mayordomías* of Inkawasi, heirs of the colonial *cofradías*, constituted a system of legitimising ownership of the land and ritual organization, in the face of pressure from the colonial and republican haciendas, which lasted in the area for more than 300 years, until the Agrarian Reform of President Velasco Alvarado in 1969. At some point between the end of the 18th century (when the first three *cofradías* were established), and the end of the 19th (when they were fully functioning), the *mayordomías* became the main tool for the Inkawasinos to defend their lands from neighbouring landowners; whilst also allowing local logics of land ownership, linked to kinship and fertility. In the *mayordomías*, the patron saint, or *amitunchik*, acts as the legitimate owner of a specific land within the community. This land is held in hereditary usufruct by the members of the *mayordomía*, constituted of a patrilineal extended kin group or *ayllu*, and in return, they must celebrate the patron saint’s annual festivity in the church of the town of Inkawasi. The rituality of the *mayordomías* emphasises the cult of the ancestors to which all religious masses, libations and ritual meals (*kustumri*) are dedicated.

The *mayordomía* system, as the legitimator of the ownership of the land, operated fully from some point in the 19th century until the second half of the 20th century, when a series of changes, and primarily the Agrarian Reform, displaced the *mayordomías* as the main source of land ownership legitimacy. Despite this, many *mayordomías* continue to be celebrated today, because these are still meaningful for the Inkawasinos as the main scenario of ancestor worship and land fertility rituals. There is another key cause for the abandonment of the cult of the *mayordomías*, which started with the conversion of part of the community

since the 1980s with the arrival of Evangelic Missionary of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). The *mayordomías* rituality, and especially its music and dances, are still central to indigenous land rights but now in new festive scenarios, like the Inkawasi-Takin Folkloric Festival. The emphasis on land rights has started to be threatened again at this time, but now by global extractive industries and neoliberal governments.

Land ownership—and the relations it implicates—is what still articulates the current Peasant Community, its social memory and identity. However, this is now within a completely different setting. The emphasis on land as what unites Andean communities and due to colonial and republican land struggle has also been described for Sonqo by Catherine Allen (2008: 36). As seems to be the case of Inkawasi, in Sonqo the battle for the defence of the land is a cultural and religious battle for maintaining a differentiated way of life, which have transformed the land into the most important focus of religious attention (2008: 34). However, differently from what has been described for Sonqo, and elsewhere (Gose 2008), it seems that in Inkawasi the landscape did not absorb or retain ‘the protective and regenerative powers of the ancestral mummies and pre-Hispanic shrines, becoming the landscape an indestructible religious icon; symbol of the *ayllu* itself’ (Allen 2008: 34). Gary Gose points to the Independence and constitutions of the Republic (2008), as the period in which the ancestors were displaced to the landscape, a time which also corresponds to the emergence of the *mayordomías*. The Inkawasinos do not directly worship or feed mountain spirits, but rather it seems that the *mayordomías* system, is where ancestors are worshiped, whereas the relations with mountains or *sirkakuna* spirits are mainly mediated by a shaman.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first one engages with the history of the *mayordomía* fiesta system—and of the community of Inkawasi—from the 18th century until today. It looks at colonial documents and testimonies of the current *mayordomos* to illuminate how land ownership has changed or adapted in the face of colonial and postcolonial forms of dispossession and violence. The second section looks at local ideas of land ownership and legitimacy, which are strongly linked to kinship and fertility, in the light of other analyses of land ownership in the Andes. The information gathered in this chapter is mostly the outcome of the collaboration with the *mayordomos* of Inkawasi for one entire year between September 2013 and Jun 2014 as we explain in the methodological

section of Chapter One, in addition to some coming from the analysis of colonial and republican documents gathered in archives in Spain and Peru.

Land ownership, the mayordomía fiesta system and identity in the 18th - 21st centuries

The current *mayordomías* of Inkawasi are the direct heirs of the colonial *cofradías*, established by the Catholic Church for the purpose of evangelising rural indigenous communities throughout the Andes, mainly in the 18th century. The success of this project meant they spread rapidly (Celestino & Meyers 1981: 141). In Inkawasi, the first three *cofradías* were founded towards the end of the 18th century, with the licence awarded by the bishop of Trujillo, Baltazar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, during the visit he made to this part of his diocese in 1783 (AAT Q-17-21). The bishop, influenced by the Enlightenment and the Bourbon reforms, initiated a profound civil and ecclesiastical reform, which involved the confirmation of Inkawasi as a new parish through the assignation of a permanent priest (AAT XX-02-23). This provided important support to the town and community of Inkawasi, at the time involved in claims over its legitimacy with the surrounding landowners of the haciendas of Janque, Canchachalá and Sangana (AHL PIRA 20 429).

The foundation of the town of Inkawasi in 1747 under indigenous initiative and within the Spanish legal code involved creating a square, building a chapel, hanging the bells, erecting the *rollo*²¹, and naming the mayor and sheriff. This seems to have been part of a local strategy to defend their lands from the continuous growth of the haciendas. The town was established with the valuable aid of the priest of Penachí, Fernando Cortés y Cartavio, and his helper José Cabrejo, and against the interests of the owner of the haciendas of Sangana and Janque, and later also of Canchachalá, José Ramírez de Arellano. Ramírez de Arellano

²¹ The *rollo*, usually a stone column, or a wooden one in the case of Inkawasi, was used in the Americas in the foundation of the towns and as a symbol of royal jurisdiction. In the dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy, it is defined as a stone column topped with a cross, which was a sign of jurisdiction, and also served as pillory to exhibit the beheaded.

strongly opposed the town and claimed that the lands of Inkawasi were part of his haciendas and its dwellers his servants or *yanaconas*²² (AHL PIRA 20, 429: 61v). The recognition given by Martínez Compañón to the recently created parish of Inkawasi and its first three *cofradías* was fundamental in tipping the balance in favour of the town and the community surrounding it.

The transformation of the original three *cofradías* into today's *mayordomías* may be related to the changes in land tenure and indigenous organisations and rights that came with the Independence of Peru. In their study of the *cofradías* of the central Andes, Celestino and Meyers point out that after independence, communal ownership and the traditional authorities of the indigenous towns were abolished, giving fresh impetus to the indigenous *cofradías* as an 'indigenous refuge' in the face of the disintegration of the colonial order (1981: 184). As has been pointed out by Bonilla and Spalding (1972), independence did not imply the immediate transformation of the colonial economic and social structures. For this, we would have to wait until the end of the 19th century. In the case of Inkawasi, this may be the period when we can identify the configuration of the current *mayordomías*. At the time, the landowners were in control of a significant part of the government under the '*República Aristocrática*' (Aristocratic Republic), increasing the pressure on indigenous lands, irrigation water and their workforce. At the end of the 19th century, the Department of Lambayeque was also created, altering the administrative structure of the area.

The testimonies of the Inkawasinos link the use of the *mayordomías* as legitimators of land rights to José Mercedes Díaz Bernal, one long-term priest of the parish of Salas and the first from whom we have baptism books in the Salas town parish archive. The priest appears in the Inkawasino narratives, showing the inventory (*inventario*) of the *mayordomías* to the landowners, demonstrating the legitimate ownership of the land, confirmed annually by the celebration of the patron saint's *fiesta*. Thanks to the notes made by this priest in the baptism books, we know that at the beginning of the 20th century the Inkawasi church had 12 religious images (APS, book n° 1 1894), a figure that has nearly tripled to the current 35. This means that although the connection between the *mayordomías* and landownership may date from this time or earlier, most of the growth of the system took place through

²² *Yanaconaje* was a system of servitude developed in colonial times—although from indigenous roots—that lasted until the 20th century.

the first half of the 20th century, a time when no priest served the parish of Inkawasi permanently (APS, books 1-10).

Following the Inkawasinos' accounts of the *mayordomías*, those who have written about the current Peasant Community have deduced that, through these brotherhoods, the Catholic Church exerted control over the territory of the community, at least until the creation of the Indigenous Community in 1963 (Aldana 2006: 326, Cafferata 1995a: 177, Shaver 1992: 236, Vreeland 1993: 194). However, the documentation and the testimonies of the Inkawasinos suggest that this system was locally constituted, with no official church recognition and with no real or at least lasting control over the territory or community affairs by the church. No documentation suggests that the church ever controlled the territory of Inkawasi, as is the case with other territories donated as *Capellanías* or *Obras Pías* (AAT EE 19 – 21 1 1865). This is also shown by the long periods in which Inkawasi remained without a priest, both before and after (AAT Q17-21) Díaz Bernal.

During the second half of the 20th century, the *mayordomías* started to gradually lose their role as legitimators of land ownership, firstly with the recognition of the Indigenous Community in 1963, and finally with the titling of Community lands in 1992. Since the late 1980s, they have also lost members due to the evangelical conversion of part of the community. Close to 14% of the District's population (there are no statistics for the Peasant Community) are Evangelical (INEI 2008). Despite this, today two-thirds of the known 42 *mayordomía* feasts are still celebrated as the main annual event of the extended family that integrates the *mayordomía*, and they are directly linked with land and *ayllu* fertility. In a few cases, the celebration of the *mayordomías* is still significant in current internal land conflicts. Although the *mayordomías* have loose functions and members, one of them—*La Virgen Mercedes* (the Virgen of Mercy) —is today the most important celebration of the whole District, thanks to its concurrence with the Inkawasi Takin Folkloric Festival. The Takin Festival emerged in parallel with the constitution of the Peasant Community and was highly influenced by the growing importance of schools and local schoolteachers and by the new status of the town of Inkawasi as the homonymous capital of the District. The music and dances of the *mayordomías* have been central to the Takin Festival since its inception, and are growingly important in other celebrations like the anniversary of the Peasant Community. In both cases, the music and dances of the *mayordomías* are recognised

as a sign of local identity and, in the case of the Peasant Community, are increasingly linked to the recognition of the Community as indigenous or originary.



Photo 3. Virgen Dolores celebration, September 2009

As has been pointed out by Celestino and Meyers, the success of the *cofradías* was mainly due to their capacity to allow the continuity of indigenous logics, particularly that of the Andean kin group or *ayllu* (1981). For the authors, the correspondence between the *ayllu* and the *cofradías* permitted the revitalisation of the *ayllu* structure by letting it sustain the traditional solidarity and kinship systems through rites and festivities, and especially through the celebration of the brotherhood's patron saint day (1981: 303-4). In Inkawasi, the *mayordomías* allowed the community to successfully defend their lands within the framework of the new Republic's ideas of private property while allowing the continuity of local logics of land ownership and legitimacy, which are linked to kinship, memory, and fertility. The changes in the second half of the 20th century, and fundamentally the Agrarian Reform, radically changed the *mayordomía* system, but it continues to be celebrated, and its

music and dances are still central to identity and land-ownership claims, in the face of new threats to indigenous lands from extractive industries and neoliberal governments.

The town and the parish of Inkawasi: colonial haciendas and land struggle in the 18th century

The foundation of the town and community of Inkawasi was first studied by Lorenzo Huertas (1996), in a paper that analyses the ‘patterns of population settlement’ between 1532 and 1850 in Piura, which Inkawasi was part of until the end of the 19th century, when the Department of Lambayeque was created. Huertas describes these patterns as alternating phases of nucleation (in urban settlements) and of dispersion (scattered settlements in rural areas). From an initial state of dispersion imposed by the Inkas, the first nucleation came with the colonial regime’s aim to concentrate indigenous populations, in order to free lands for the Spaniards, facilitate the collection of taxes and accomplish the Crown’s evangelisation plans. In the north, this policy, known as *reducciones* (reductions), was first implemented by Gonzalez de Cuenca in the early 16th and followed by Francisco de Toledo in the second half of the same century. Unfortunately, evidence of Cuenca’s visit to the highlands of Lambayeque has not been found yet, and we only have mentions of the visit of Bambamarca, one of the seven Pachacas of Cajamarca, and of Jayanca, in which Penachí is mentioned. Through Lorenzo Huertas, we know that between 1572 and 1573, following Francisco de Toledo’s orders, Bernardino de Loayza and the *provisor* (vicar-general) of the Archbishopric of Lima, founded the *reducción* of Penachí and Cañares, to which the people of Inkawasi were originally ascribed (1996: 95). After this first nucleation (1532-1600), a new pattern of dispersion was imposed in the interest of the colonial hacienda. The *reducciones* freed many lands that were then sold by the Crown, or appropriated and later confirmed, through the *Composiciones de Tierras* (Land Review) (1594-5, 1643-5 and 1712-3), and gave birth to the haciendas, enormous estates that imposed a servile system on the Indigenous populations, or on African slaves in the lowlands, and after the abolition of slavery, on Asian *coolies*. The haciendas needed the workforce to put their extensive lands into production, and they did it by reducing the status of indigenous population to *yanaconas*, indigenous tenants obligated to carry out personal services for the landowner. These tenants lived scattered throughout what was

now the landowner's estate, in a new pattern of dispersed settlement. This was followed by one last nucleation, begun by Martínez Compañón in 1785 and concluded after independence in about 1850, because many of the bishop's plans did not completely materialise until this time (Huertas 1996).

Huertas analyses the foundation of Inkawasi through the cases of Cumbicus and Paicapampa, two towns also founded by indigenous initiative in Piura. However, the foundation of the town of Inkawasi took place more than a century later, when the haciendas had imposed their 'dispersed settlement pattern'. And, unlike the towns of Cumbicus and Paicapampa, it was influenced by what Huertas calls the 'Second Nucleation' started by Martínez Compañón. Other towns were also established but did not gain legal recognition until after independence, due to the opposition of the landowners; the foundation of the town of Inkawasi is a history of resistance to the 'dispersed settlement pattern' imposed by the haciendas.

The territory of Inkawasi appears for the first time in the *Composición de Tierras* of 1643-5, when the haciendas of Janque, Aguapuquio, Sangana and Tangasca were 'composed' (AHL PIRA 20 429: 147r). The *composición* was the sale of lands without legal titles with the proceeds going to the King. However, litigation over the territory of what is today the Peasant Community of Inkawasi began in 1691, between Lázaro Fernández—followed by his son Matheo Fernández—and the landowners of the haciendas of Canchachalá and Janque, regarding the usurpation of the lands called Tinzo. Matheo testified that these lands were his property when he inherited them from his father, who himself had inherited them from his father, Don Pedro Quinde, a *principal* of the town of Penachi (GO-BI 5 147-238). The right to this disputed land that seems to correspond to part of the current hamlets of Tingoj, Tolojpampa and Tranca, on the right (south) bank of the Moyán-Inkawasi River, was finally restored to Matheo Fernández.

The land review for Piura, which was made by Don Pedro de Meneses, favoured the Spaniards, as Meneses took the half of the lands of all the communities in Lambayeque, declaring them to be unoccupied, and sold them to the Spaniards (Ramírez 2002: 159-60). The opposition to Meneses' *Composición* necessitated a new land review (*Re-composición*) by

Fray Francisco de la Huerta Gutierrez, which corrected some of Meneses' abuses (Ramírez 2002: 160), although there were no changes for the lands of Inkawasi (PIRA 20, 429: 139r).

This process was presented as the 'land deeds' of the community in another lawsuit in 1774, when the new owner of the hacienda of Canchachalá, Don Fernando de Rojas, forcefully dispossessed the '*Común de Indios* of Ingaguasi and Penachí' of the lands, pastures and paddocks of Tícahuaca (Tikwaka), Tínzo (Tingo), Ingaguasi (Inkawasi) and others, an extension that seems to correspond to a large portion of the current Peasant Community. This 'excess' of the landowner was challenged by the *defensor de los naturales* (the natives' defender) of Penachí and Inkawasi, giving rise to a new judicial process, which was interrupted by a change in the ownership of the hacienda of Canchachalá (GO-BI 5 150-310).

Unlike the first trial, which was between individuals, this second was between the landowner and the *Comunes de Indios* (or Indigenous Commons) of Penachí, in line with a transformation marked by the decay of the power of the *caciques* and the emergence of the *Comunes de Indios* that took place in the 18th century (O'Phelan 1977, Diez 1998). This is shown in a parallel lawsuit between the neighbouring community of Kañaris and settlers of Jaen de Bracamoros, where the 'deeds' are the documents that record the selling of the land by the *cacica* Juana María Callaipoma to the *Común de Indios* of Kañaris (Alva Mariñas 2013). By this time, the third *Composición de Tierras* of 1712-14 had already taken place, addressing the conflict over the lands of Inkawasi and the on-going lawsuit, and again supporting the landowner's claims by saying that to the best of public knowledge and the *visitor's* own, the lands of Inkawasi were part of hacienda of Janque (Cornejo & Osma 1906: 51).

Both the hacienda of Janque and later that of Canchachalá were acquired by José Ramírez de Arellano, also the owner of the neighbouring hacienda of Sangana. In 1784 Ramirez de Arellano forced the community authorities (here again with the help of the priest) to sign an agreement to pay an annual rent to the landowner, besides subjecting themselves to 'personal services', or servile work, in favour of the landowner. These agreements were challenged in court by the *Común de Indios* of Inkawasi (AHL PIRA 20 429). This new trial

gathered as evidence different legal actions and testimonies that started after the foundation of the town in 1747.

The foundation of the town of Inkawasi was strongly opposed by Ramírez de Arellano, who claimed that the lands were part of his haciendas and the Inkawasinos were his *yanacunas*, or servants. He claimed that the indigenous populations came from the neighbouring *reducción* of Kañaris and Penachí, and as they were living on his lands they must pay the usual personal services and percentage on the production. In the first legal action against the town, one year after its foundation, the indigenous witnesses of Penachí were interviewed and said that it was true and known to them that Gerónimo Sánchez and Domingo Ramos, '*indios*' from the town [*reducción*] of Penachí and Cañares, had settled in Inkawasi, making a chapel, hanging bells, placing the '*rollo*' (a Spanish foundation milestone and place of punishment), naming a mayor and sheriff and claiming there to be a town²³ (AHL PIRA 20 429: Fol. 61v). These declarations partially coincide with local narratives, where the building of the church is attributed to the *ayllu* Manayay and Sánchez, those usually understood as the original settlers, and the owners of the church, as told me by Valeriano Céspedes:

Kay maymantana añusqa imanu kashakaq kanqa kay luqarka q alisu llenush kaqkasha kay luqarpiqa pukyushi kaq kasha ninllapa, pero abuelitay wanukuran 103 años nitinllapa cabalta rukuyakur wanukuran, chay rukuy niq tayta abulituykuna calderun céspedes niqçi chaykunami chaynuta rimaq manash kay iglesiyataqa cualquier runachu rurasha sanchez Manayayshi amunqa warmi munjakunash chaytaqa rurasha nir abulituy abulay parlamaq i manu kaqkasha kanqa niq paykunamapis mañana ni rikasha imamapischu

When was that [the building of the church]? It is said that there [where the church is located] was a spring and it was full of alder trees. My grandmother that died at 103 years, she died so old, my grandmother said to me that our grandparents the Calderón Céspedes used to say that this church wasn't made by anyone, no. It was made by the Sánchez and the Manayay, who are the owners of the church. They also say that women built it, the nuns, or so my grandparents used to say, although nobody knows in reality how it was.

²³ "...ser cierto y constarles a estos declarantes que los expresados Gerónimo Sánchez y Domingo Ramos yndios que han agregado del pueblo de Penachí y Cañares a la jalca nombrada de Ingaguaci, han hecho una capilla hace tiempo de más de un año cogiendo campanas, que han puesto rollo de alcalde y alguacil mayor diciendo ser pueblo ...".

The legal suit with Ramírez de Arellano, as well as those with the *hacendados* of Canchachalá, describes different episodes of violence from both parties, but especially from the *hacendado*. In her study of the 18th century violence in the neighbouring Piura highlands, Milagros Martínez shows how most of the legal suits (civil cases) involved violence from the *hacendado* towards the *Comunes de Indios* in cases of land struggle (Martínez 1991). The Indigenous Commons of Ayabaca, Cumbicus, Huancabamba and Frias accused the landowners separately and repeatedly of occupying their pastures and lands, of preventing them from accessing communal resources, of taking their cattle, of burning and demolishing their houses and farms, and of the collection of high fines for the rescue of the cattle found on the lands that the *hacendados* claimed as theirs.

Besides day to day violence, the end of the 18th century also saw many rebellions, some of them due to tax rises imposed by the Crown, but especially rebellions by the *yanaconas* against the hacienda structure (O'Phelan 1977). All the conflicts that arose at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries were the legacies of almost one hundred years of hardship, natural disasters and low prices. To this, we must add population growth and the increasing pressure over resources, and the Bourbon reforms with their emphasis on increasing tax revenues and 'rational' production. Some changes in the law regarding land ownership introduced a distinction between lands and pastures, thereby enabling the landowners to appropriate massively communal resources (Ramírez 1998:189). Two of those rebellions erupted in the nearby valley of Sagana in the homonymous hacienda during 1787 and 1799, and extended to the neighbouring haciendas and the town of Inkawasi (Sala I Vila 1989: 141). These rebellions seem to have their roots in landowner oppression and the overexploitation and indebtedness of the *yanaconas* (O'Phelan 1977), but also in the *yanaconas'* demands for a salary (Sala I Vila 1989: 141-7).

Yanaconaje, a pre-Hispanic indigenous figure, was transformed into a tool of exploitation within the colonial hacienda, tying people to the territory and transforming them into servants (Matos 1976: 52). The *yanaconas* were the predominant workforce of the haciendas of the highlands from the 18th century, through the first half of the 20th century and finally until the Agrarian Reform. Landless peasants or those with no permanent access to water fell into the category of *yanacona* by contracting a debt with the landowner for crops or water, although they were exempt from paying taxes. Even though the Inkawasinos had

escaped *yanaconaje* and retained their lands, they did not escape other forms of exploitation, such as tolls for travelling through the hacienda territory, the buying of cattle and wheat at lower prices, and the hiring at lower salaries through the *enganche* system (Cafferata 1995a: 180), in addition to the hacienda's control over the trade of *yonke*, or sugar cane alcohol, that extended until the Agrarian Reform.

In 1773, the Inkawasinos also responded with violence to a royal provision that reinstated the possession of some of the pastures also claimed by the *Común de Indios* of Inkawasi to the landowner José de Rojas. When the legal order was about to be carried out, the Inkawasinos responded by throwing stones from the mountaintop, following the sound of a drum (AHL PIRA 20, 429: Fol. 93r-94r). The soldiers brought by Ramírez de Arellano, at the time occupying the highest administrative and judicial positions in Motupe, captured some of the rebels, and a criminal case was opened (AHL PIRA 20, 429: 124r-v).

The foundation of the town also had the important participation of the parish priest of Penachí, Salas and Cañares—Fernando Cortés y Cartavio—and his helper José Cabrejo. In the lawsuit, Ramírez de Arellano directly accuses Cortés y Cartavio of being behind the foundation of the town and the church (AHL PIRA 20 429: 70v-71r). Cortés y Cartavio was from one of the richest and most influential landowner families of Trujillo (AHN Consejos, 50155- 32 1750) and administrated the hacienda of Canchachalá (AHL PIRA 20 429: 70v-71r). He intervened in the foundation of the town in his double role as administrator and priest. He also gained recognition for the vice-parish of Inkawasi in the Trujillo bishopric, which was later confirmed by the assignation of a priest and the foundation of the first three *cofradías*, both of which were carried out by Martínez Compañón (AAT XX-02-23).

The reforms devised by the bishop, including the foundation of schools, towns and parishes, were in many cases against the interest of the landowners of Piura, which Inkawasi was administratively part of (Restrepo 1992: 279, Huertas 1996: 106-8). The landowners strongly opposed the bishop's reforms, meaning that many of his plans remained as blueprints and were never implemented (Berquist 2008). The final implementation of the bishop's ecclesiastical reform did not come until after independence (Huertas 1996: 108, AHL LEB 4-22, 91). However, in the case of the parish of Inkawasi,

the bishop's plans were soon implemented, and a new clerical position was created to serve regularly the Inkawasi church (AAT XX-02-23), deeply influencing the legitimacy and recognition of the town and the *Común de Indios*. Huertas argues that, facing the opposition of the *hacendados* to the foundation of new towns, Martínez Compañón opted for founding new parishes as a way of promoting the establishment of the new towns (Huertas 1996: 108). Inkawasi seems to be an early example of this strategy, which was in accordance with Martínez Compañón's enlightened plans for his diocese.



Photo 4. Virgen Mercedes celebration, September 2016

This does not mean, however, that Inkawasi has always had the support of the bishopric or the local clergy. On the contrary, the first lawsuits (GO-BI 147-238) show how the indigenous deeds were taken by a priest, Pedro Pedarjas, and sold to another one, Francisco de Seña, at that time priest of Motupe. This last priest, the owner of Canchachalá as it was a *capellanía*, acted as a landowner expanding his haciendas at the expenses of indigenous land. Also, as the natives' defender claims in the trial with Ramírez de Arellano, another priest called Villaverde y Andía, deceived indigenous populations to sign a contract in which they were obligated to pay rent to the landowner and subjugate themselves to him as *yanacunas* (AHL PIRA 20 429: 4v, 5v).

The support given by the church was central to the success of both the town and the community, and undoubtedly also played a key role in the development of the *mayordomías* system at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. But overall what the foundation of the town and the community itself underlines is the enormous creativity of the Inkawasinos in appropriating the Hispanic legal tools of legitimacy and constituting a new community to defend their lands and way of life from an adverse colonial reality.

The end of the colonial order, republican haciendas and the mayordomías system

As highlighted by Bonilla and Spalding, political independence did not imply the immediate change of colonial social and economic structures. On the contrary, these lasted until the end of the 19th century (1972: 15). Regarding the *cofradías*, Celestino and Meyer also point out that after independence, they continued functioning as in colonial times (1981: 207). They even constituted a ‘refuge’ for ‘traditional’ community beliefs in the face of the new Republic’s attitudes towards communal property—abolished by the 1839 constitution—and the suppressed colonial *Comunes de Indios*, which for Celestino and Meyer reinforced and renewed the *cofradías* (1981: 183). With the abolition of colonial protection over indigenous lands, the legal right to represent the community was transferred to the Municipal Council (Mayer 2002: 281). The current *mayordomías* of Inkawasi were most likely configured by the end of the 19th century, highly influenced by increasing pressures over the land and indigenous workforce by the *hacendados*, and by a series of changes in the political and administrative structure of the area.

Bolívar’s attempt to eliminate indigenous tribute, and with it the category of ‘the indigenous’, did not take place until 1851 during the *guano* bonanza. With the elimination of tribute, the protection of community lands was also eliminated and the haciendas began a new expansion at the expense of the lands of the indigenous communities. When the Pacific War ended, a pact between the traditional landowners of the highlands and the agro-export landowners of the coastal plains, during the Aristocratic Republic, allowed the expansion of the haciendas. From this moment and until the 1920s, the process of land

appropriation intensified, both in the highlands by traditional extensive landowners and in the coastal plains by capitalist agro-industrial interests (Matos & Mejía 1980: 22).

The resistance of the indigenous community and the *yanaconas* began in the first decade of the 20th century. Among these waves of violence is the famous *montonera* (peasant militia) of the priest Manuel Casimiro Chumán in 1910, which extended from Ferreñafe, Mochumí, Illimo, Túcume, Pácora, Jayanca and Batangrande on the coastal plains, to the Hacienda of Moyán in the highlands (today Comunidad Campesina Micaela Bastidas de Moyán and Uyurpampa). Chumán's rebellion was defeated 20 days later, in Ferreñafe. The rebellion had a very important ethnic component of *Yunga* (or Moche) people from the coastal plains and Quechua speakers from the highlands, but it was also mixed up with the struggle between landowners for control of the waters of the Taymi irrigation channel, intensified by the promulgation of the 'Water Law' of 1911 (Sevilla 1995: 155-7).

The accounts of the Inkawasinos about this period are full of frequent fights with the *hacendados*, with the so-called *provincianos* (Spanish speaking peasants), and between groups within the community. These internal fights were described in 1934 by Gaspar Gil Tornero, one of the priests that served Inkawasi in the first half of the 20th century, in a letter to the Bishop of Trujillo. Gil Tornero said that the Inkawasi church bells and the bell tower 'are pierced and riddled with bullets, because of the internecine fights of the inhabitants of the town that take the bell tower as a fort²⁴.' At the same time, the pressure over indigenous lands from the *provincianos* of Cajamarca (Chota and Cutervo), sometimes allied with the landowner, also increased.

The system of *mayordomías* was used by the Inkawasinos, with the important aid of their priest José Mercedes Díaz Bernal, to fight pressures over the land from the landowners. According to present-day Inkawasino accounts, the priest Díaz Bernal had an inventory or *padrón*, a book where all the *mayordomías* were registered, and if the *mayordomos* had celebrated the patronal feast or not. This *cofradías* book, really two books, each corresponding to one half of the community, were used as proof of the community's

²⁴ "Las campanas y el campanario o torre están aquellas agujereadas y están acribilladas a balazos, efecto de las luchas intestinas de los habitantes del pueblo que tomaban la torre como fuerte" (AAT AA0233 1934: 28).

legitimate ownership of the land—validated yearly at the patron’s *fiesta*—and against the landowner’s claim, as explained by César Sánchez, president in 2014 of the Pro-Temple Committee (made up of all the *kabisaryu*).

Asintawkuna por la fuerza yaykamunatinqa kurakuna este... de todita imagenpa terrenuqa chaynu chayrayku celebrallanllapa nirshi mana dejakaranchu kuraqa manaqa yaykamunanpaqshiri karan. Cada fiesta mana chay costumbreta chay piñi ruraq kasha chay inventariota chaytaqa porque chaywan emparanapaq acentawkunataqa niq. Terrenu tal pasallan, tal representan kës chay inventario nayari. [...] Chay chaybi ganaq kashakanqa.

The landowners by force, however they could, entered into the lands of all the images... this is why we celebrate [the *mayordomias*], they used to say: the priest did not let them [the landowners] enter. At each feast, they had their *kustumri* [fiesta], and the inventory was shown to the landowners. If that land [*mayordomía*] was celebrated, then it was reflected in the inventory. And because of that, he won [the priest over the landowners].

This inventory seems to have disappeared between 1905 and 1909, maybe among the six books that Díaz Bernal mentions were lost when he returned for the third and last time to Inkawasi in 1909, including two books of *cofradías* (APS, book n°1 1894). After Díaz Bernal, the presence of the church diminished, as is reflected in the Salas parish baptism books, which from this point only register sporadic visits to Inkawasi. Undoubtedly Díaz Bernal was also aiming to evangelise the Inkawasinos, in addition to helping them in their fights over land with the *hacendados*. We know that Díaz Bernal did not have a good relationship with the *hacendados* of Canchachalá-Moyán, the González family. When leaving his position as priest of Inkawasi for the first time (he would return twice in 1904-5 and 1909-21), he wrote a letter to his successor in the baptism book, warning him against the González family and their intentions to control the town²⁵. There are some details of the life of Díaz Bernal still told by the Inkawasinos, and one that could illustrate the influence and power of this priest is that he had the services of all widows and unmarried young girls of the town, who cooked for him and looked after his animals and fields. In the words of Valeriano Céspedes, who heard it from his grandmother:

Munjakuna vijuda kar nash kurapa mandadun kaq kanillapa niq kijura don Humbertupa ñakranpis kura diazpa ñakranpis kaq, cada mespis kambiyakaq kashallapa, solterakuna vijudakuna chay kurapa mandadunka kaq yanukuqllapa kasha ñakerakunata kuydaq kashallapa nir abulitayqa parlamaq.

They say that the nuns were widows, and because of this they were *mandadas* (they followed orders) from the priest. Here [pointing down] in the field of Humberto,

²⁵ “Encargo a mis compañeros que vengan a este pueblo que no se lleve de los señores González, ta[nto] de los mayores como de los hijos, porque son muy rebe[ldes] la amistad con todos pero no muy reconcentrada, les encargo por estar aquí 14 años y se de ellos n[o] son amigos de cumplimiento [...] no dejarlos a que ellos manejen este pu[eblo] porque sería una perdición para Uds. [...]” (APS, libro de bautismo n° 1, 1894).

was the priest Díaz's land, every month they changed the *mandadas*, who were young women and widows. They cooked and looked after the fields of the priest, or so my grandmother told me.

Thanks to these notes made by Díaz Bernal, we also know that at that time the Inkawasi church had 12 religious images (APS, book n° 1 1894). These 12 images from the early 20th century nearly trebled to the current 35, as did the festivities to the current 42. Undoubtedly the role of Díaz Bernal was key for the constitution of the *mayordomías*. However, all the evidence points to an independent development before and after his periods as priest. This, in the opinion of the priest of Salas, Joan Joaquín de Seña, in 1812, was because the Inkawasinos were 'revolutionary and incorrigible mutineers, ignorant of subordination and obedience' and for many years there had been 'no sacred minister that could tolerate' them²⁶ (AAT Q17-21). The letter written by Seña to the Trujillo bishopric also highlighted the fact that two priests had been expelled by the community, one of them for trying to influence the naming of the local prosecutor (AAT Q17-21 n°5).

After Díaz Bernal, with no permanent priest regularly serving the Inkawasi parish, the *mayordomías* trebled their numbers, until they covered a great part of the current Peasant Community, although it is difficult to know precisely how much of the territory was part of this system. In a survey made by one of the local school teachers of Inkawasi, Guillermo Cromwell Cajo Calderón (1995), as a part of his bachelor thesis to diagnose the 'production problems' of the Peasant Community, one of the questions, given to 85 of the 455 commoners, asked how they came into possession of the land. These are the options: *Taytaykumanta* (from their parents—inheritance), *Arindankichu* (renting), *Rantiraykichu* (sale) and *Santukunamanta* (from the saints). The answers showed that more than 60% of the commoners' lands were considered as coming from the saints, and in combination with inheritance, this figure increased to 67.06 %, the *mayordomías* being by the 1990s the most common form of inheritance²⁷ (Cajo 1995: 10).

²⁶ 'revolucionarios, motinistas incorregibles, fatos de subordinación y obediencia' and 'no hay ministro sacro que pueda sufrir a los indios de Ingaguas?'

²⁷ By inheritance (5.88%), by inheritance and brotherhood (67.06%), by inheritance, brotherhood and buying (18.82%), by inheritance and buying (2.35%), by inheritance, brotherhood, buying and renting (1.18%), by inheritance and buying (1.18%), by buying (2.35%), by inheritance, brotherhood and renting (1.18%).

This situation would continue until the arrival of father Pedro Guerrero Bazán in the Salas parish in 1947. Guerrero Bazán, to whom some attribute the inventory of the *mayordomías*, hosted me in his house in 2009 while I was researching in the parish archive. From what Father Guerrero Bazán told me, he had no control over the *mayordomías*, nor did he interfere in any affairs regarding the lands of the community. He knew of the direct relationship between the lands and the *mayordomías* and had a list of the same 42 *mayordomías* that he told me he had made before retirement in the 1990s. Guerrero Bazán told me of his first years as a priest and the several days' journeys on horseback to get to Penachí, Kañaris and Inkawasi from Salas, the isolation of these populations and the total control of the landowner.

The system of *mayordomías* lasted as a meaningful source of legitimacy at least until the last decade of the 20th century, when the Peasant Community obtained legal possession of the territory. However, the system first began to change in the second half of the 20th century. This occurred firstly with the creation of the Province of Ferreñafe on the 17th of February of 1951, through which the town of Inkawasi became the capital of a newly created homonymous district that includes the territories of the haciendas of Janque, Canchachalá, Moyán and Laquipampa. The other decisive change was the recognition of the Indigenous Community of Inkawasi in 1963. The recognition of the Indigenous Communities started at the beginning of the 20th century with the Community of Belaúnde, which was sanctioned in the 1920 constitution. In the case of Inkawasi, the recognition may be related to the creation of the Province of Ferreñafe and the elevation of the town to district capital a few years earlier. The recognition of the Community was initiated by the mayor of Inkawasi, Asunción Vilcabana Vides, in the Ministry of Labour and Indigenous Affairs, and was finally obtained on the 31st of October 1963 (RS n° 186).

Festivity	Date	<i>Kabisarukuna</i> (from the Spanish <i>cabeza</i> , or head)	Hamlet
Niño Reyes (Epiphany)	6 th January	Hector Bernilla Vilcabana and Wilmer Bernilla Reyes	Totorita
Virgen Candelaria	2 nd February	Demetrio Manayay Lucero	Huasicaj
San José	19 th March	Presentación Céspedes Manayay and Julio Céspedes Manayay	Inkawasi
San Vicente Ferrer	12 th April	Santos Sánchez Leonardo	Playa
Domingo de Ramos (Palm Sunday)	Moveable	Bernardo Vilcabana Manayay	Inkawasi
Lunes Santo (Holy Monday)	Moveable	Esteban Manayay Purihumán	Huasicaj
Martes Santo (Holy Tuesday)	Moveable	Juan Manayay Leonardo	Huasicaj
Miércoles Santo (Holy Wednesday)	Moveable	Santos Guillermo Vilcabana Manayay	Tungula
Jueves Santo (Holy Thursday)	Moveable	Bernardino Manayay Calderón	Machaicaj
Viernes Santo (Good Friday)	Moveable	Emiliano Sánchez Manayay	Inkawasi
Holy Saturday	Moveable	Felicita Lucero Sánchez	Tasajera
Domingo Pascua (Easter Sunday)	Moveable	Bernardo Vilcabana Manayay	Inkawasi
Asunción del Señor (Ascension Day)	Moveable	Juan Céspedes Manayay	Tasajera
Fiesta del Casmudo	Moveable	Francisco Bernilla Sánchez	Tasajera
3 de mayo	3 rd May	Santos Purihumán Bernilla	Playa
		Catalina Bernilla Lucero	Tungula
San Isidro Labrador	15 th May	Domingo Sánchez Bernilla	Huasicaj
San Antonio de Padua	13 th June	Angelino Céspedes Manayay and Hipólito Purihumán Manayay	Totorita
Santísima Trinidad (Holy Trinity)	Moveable	Marcos Lucero Manayay	Tingoj
Corpus Christi	Moveable	Víctor Manayay Bernilla	Inkawasi
Octava del Corpus Christi (Octave of Corpus Christi)	Moveable	Valentín Lucero Vilcabana and Sebastián Lucero Manayay	Tingoj
San Juan Bautista (Saint John the Baptist)	24 th June	Agapito Sánchez Quispe	Tranca
San Pedro Llavero (Saint Peter)	29 th June	Agapito Leonardo Sánchez and Alejandro Leonardo Purihumán	
San Pablo (Saint Paul)	30 th June	Santos Calderón Huamán	Inkawasi
Virgen del Carmen	16 th July	Diógenes Lucero Pariacurí	Inkawasi
Santa Ana	26 th July	Fidel Manayay Vilcabana	Tolojpampa
Santa Rosa de Lima	30 th August	Genaro Reyes Vides	Tasajera
Santa Rosa de Lía	4 th September	Oscar Espiritu Reyes Bernilla	Huar-Huar
San Nicolás Tolentino	10 th September	San Francisco Manayay Huamán	Huasicaj
Exaltación del Señor (Exaltation of the Holy Cross)	14 th September	Valeriano Manayay Sánchez and Juan Sánchez Díaz	Sinchihual

Virgen de Dolores (Our Lady of Sorrows)	15 th September	Bernardo Purihuamán Reyes	Huasicaj
		Hilario Purihuamán Manayay	Tungula
Virgen de las Mercedes (Our Lady of Mercy)	24 th September	Evaristo Cajo Leonardo	Inkawasi
San Miguel Arcángel (Saint Michael the Archangel)	29 th September	Marcos Calderón Manayay	Inkawasi
San Francisco de Asís	4 th October	Basilio Calderón Manayay	Totorita
Virgen del Rosario (St Francis of Assisi)	7 th October	Cesar Martans Manayay and Alberto Manayay Sánchez	Huasicaj
Virgen del Rosario (small)	15 th October	Gabino Manayay Purihuamán	Machaicaj
Todos los Santos (All Saints' Day)	1 st November	Nicolás Hipólito Huamán Reyes	Huar-Huar
Cristo Ánimas	2 nd November	Mercedes Vilcabana Vides	La Playa
		Casimiro Sánchez Reyes	Sinchihual
San Andrés (St Andrews)	30 th November	Sebastián Sánchez Lucero	Sinchihual
Virgen Purísima (The Immaculate Conception)	8 th December	Andrés Manayay Vilcabana and Narciso Manayay Sánchez	Inkawasi
Octava de la Virgen Purísima (Octave of the Immaculate Conception)	15 th December	José Natividad Huamán Bernilla	Inkawasi
Nacimiento (Christmas)	25 th December	Humberto Manayay Fernández	Inkawasi

	Celebrated
	Only vigil held
	No longer celebrated

Table 2. The *mayordomías* of Inkawasi. This chart was elaborated using two lists kept in the sacristy of the Inkawasi church. This information was cross-referenced with the records of César Sánchez, president of the Pro-Temple Committee during 2013 and 2014; with Víctor Manayay and Bernardino Manayay, sacristans of the Inkawasi church; and Natividad Huamán, catechist and one of the main authorities within the *mayordomías*.

The recognition of the Indigenous Communities calmed for a while rebellions rife at the beginning of the century, but they had returned by the end of the 1950s, when peasant mobilisations multiplied throughout the country, especially in the highlands. Although in the Sierra de Lambayeque there was a great deal of violence, the uprisings mainly followed the legalistic and unionistic path adopted by the *yanaconas* of the coastal plains, who organised themselves in unions with the support of the APRA political party (Apel 1996: 40). In the case of the Hacienda de Moyán, the current Canchachalá, Uyurpampa and the Peasant Community of Moyán, their *yanaconas*, led by Salvador Carlos Roque, rebelled (they stopped personal services) and, with support from APRA, presented a complaint to the

Ministry of Labour and Indigenous Affairs (MTAI) that led to the prohibition of unpaid personal services under the 'Yanaconaje Law' (Cafferata 1995a: 181). The 'Yanaconaje Law' was first launched in 1933 and finally promulgated in March 1947 (Apel 1996: 28).

The Agrarian Reform

The social discontent of rural and proletarian populations came at the same time as the crisis of the traditional hacienda, which lost their importance in the face of the modern agro-export industry (sugar cane and cotton), leading to the Agrarian Reform Law in 1969. Previously, Prime Minister Pedro Beltrán, the military President Nicolás Lindley and President Fernando Belaúnde Terry had made attempts at Agrarian Reform, but none included the large haciendas of the north coast. Finally, Agrarian Reform Law 17716 was promulgated by military President Velasco Alvarado in 1969, and this put an end to the large estates and definitively altered the agrarian panorama. In the highlands, almost 60% of the unirrigated lands and almost 40% of grasslands were expropriated (Burneo 2011: 2-3). In 1970, the haciendas of Janque and Laquipampa stopped all servile and semi-servile work. Two years later, in 1972, SINAMOS (Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social, or National System of Social Support and Mobilization), created 13 Peasant Groups (SAIS) in the territory of the haciendas (Cafferata 1995b: 339), and these were later transformed into Peasant Communities. From the territory of the haciendas, the Mícela Bastidas de Moyán, San Antonio de Laquipampa and San Martín de Porres de Atunpampa Peasant Communities were formed. The current inhabitants of Canchachalá and Uyurpampa (part of the former hacienda of Canchachalá-Moyán) became private smallholders. At the same time, the Peasant Communities of San Isidro Labrador de Marayhuaca and José Carlos Mariátegui de Kongacha were also formed along the borders of Penachí and Kañaris. These communities, along with the Indigenous Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi and private smallholders, constitute today's District of Inkawasi. The Agrarian Reform implicated an enormous transformation in the area, particularly to the populations that had been under the exploitation of the haciendas, as is clearly expressed in the square of the town of Uyurpampa, where there is a golden figure of President Velasco Alvarado.

In the end, almost all the highland haciendas in Peru became Peasant Communities. By contrast, in the coastal valleys the haciendas were transformed into cooperatives, which were dissolved a decade later when the members of the cooperatives became small private landowners. In the case of the Indigenous Communities, the Agrarian Reform did not impact the customary distribution and management of lands, except in the Community of Huanchaco in the neighbouring department of La Libertad, where the lands of non-resident commoners were expropriated and communalised (Matos & Mejía 1980: 227-230).

The haciendas controlled large territories with no more power than that of the landowner so, after their disappearance, the rustling of livestock proliferated throughout the northern highlands and by mid-1980s the problem was so huge that the first Rondas Campesinas, or Peasant Patrols, appeared in the neighbouring highlands of Cajamarca and rapidly spread throughout the highlands of Piura, Lambayeque and La Libertad and beyond to fight rustling (Huber 2014 [1995]). Locally, the Ronda Campesina also oversees other community issues that range from theft to gossip, applying the customary law, generally whipping. The sometimes controverted Rondas have been fundamental in the regaining of indigenous control over affairs that had previously been in the hands of the hacienda. This was also highlighted by Marisol de la Cadena, in Cusco to where the Ronda expanded (2018: 251), although in the north it played no part in defeating Shining Path, as the impact of the Maoist movement did not affect the highlands of Lambayeque.

The Agrarian Reform meant the end of the haciendas, and with it the threat to the Inkawasinos' land. The new form of legitimate land ownership was the Peasant Community, which obtained the legal titling of the land at the beginning of the 1990s. The creation of the figure of the Peasant Community changed the basis of land ownership legitimacy and displaced the *mayordomías* in this function. The transformation in the community and its fiesta system was also linked to political and administrative changes brought about by the creation of Ferreñafe Province in 1951, which transformed the status of the town of Inkawasi into a district capital, while still remaining the centre of the Peasant Community.

Neoliberalism and the new threads over the land

The arrival of the first budgetary allocations to Inkawasi in the late 1990s, as part of Alberto Fujimori's decentralisation, gave more power to the municipal structure, definitively changing the status of the town of Inkawasi. The changes in the balance of power between the Peasant Community and the Municipal District are in line with a major reversion of the agrarian landscape that had been left by the Agrarian Reform. Following international institutions (IMF, World Bank), the consecutive neoliberal governments since Alberto Fujimori's administration have liberalised the land and labour markets. Land policies under the neoliberal government of Alberto Fujimori, sanctioned in the 1993 Constitution, opened the way for the liberalisation of the land market and cut the rights of Peasant Communities, at the same time giving advantages to foreign investors. Under the 'Land Law', the Communities lost their indivisibility and inalienability, and all limits to the quantity of land that can be owned by one person were eliminated (Burneo 2011: 5-7). However, in Inkawasi, and in general in the Peasant Communities of the highlands of Lambayeque, there has not been a significant transfer of lands, in contrast to the situation in the communities of the coastal valleys, where many have lost their land in favour of multinational agro-industry (Aldana *et al.* 2006: 249-272). Nevertheless, the Land Law also regulated the procedures for mining exploitation beneath the territories of the highland communities, allowing the expansion of extractive activities. The policy of deregulation initiated in the 1990s came accompanied by laws and programs to promote private investors, in which extractive industries have been preponderant. The territory given in mining concessions increased from 2 million hectares in 1992 to 16.3 million in 2008, with most of these concessions in the highlands (Burneo 2011: 27).

This situation provoked multiple social conflicts, among which the stand-out example is the so-called *Baguazo* in 2009, a violent manifestation in Bagua (Amazonas) that was violently repressed by the police with multiple injuries and deaths, and which forced the enactment of the Law of the Right to Prior Consultation of Indigenous or Native Peoples in the event of exploitation of community lands in May 2010. In June that year, Alan Garcia's government made amendments to the law, excluding the six thousand Peasant Communities who are owners of half of the agricultural land, on the basis that they were created during the Agrarian Reform and are not indigenous. The law was finally enacted

during the presidency of Ollanta Humala in September 2011. Despite this, struggles like that of the Peasant Community of San Juan Kañaris with Candente Cooper continue to date.

The struggle with the Cañariaco project is also affecting parts of the Inkawasi district, particularly the Peasant Community of San Isidro Labrador de Marayhuaca, in limits with Kañaris and from which the mining company access the camp. In the Peasant Community of Inkawasi, there were several meetings in 2013 and 2014, in which the mining concessions in the Community territory was a central point of concern, particularly as large tracts of the Community lands have already been given in concession. Since then, the threat over Community lands has remained a live issue. In the case of Kañaris, the community is aware of the importance of the Inkawasinos' recognition as originary dwellers and as such, the Kañarenses have been promoting traditional celebrations, particularly on the anniversary of the Peasant Community.

The *mayordomías* have also transformed their structure. Today many of them have become committees, with the elected positions of president, secretary, spokesman and treasurer. The committee structure permits more mobility within the *mayordomía*, although married males of the patrilineal family that constitutes the *mayordomía* are still the only eligible members. Religious festivities in the area that had been part of the haciendas usually have a committee with rotating members from among the community.

For instance, to celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the Peasant Community, a Takin-like contest has been adopted in recent years under the presidency of Julio Cesar Manayay Huamán, who also introduced the *yunsa* or carnival tree. This is a tree that is decorated with sweet drinks, beer, bread and fruits (and these are increased in quantity, usually by 10%, every year) in a rotative system by settlement. On several occasions, this anniversary represented the *mayordomía* dances, where the link between festivities, ethnic identity and claims over the ownership of the land is more explicit. This is undoubtedly related to new threats to their lands and resources coming from extractive industries and neoliberal governments.

Despite the displacement of the *mayordomías* system, it still works as a legitimator in internal conflicts over land, and it continues to be the main setting for *ayllu/mayordomía* ancestor worship, linked to land and *ayllu* fertility. In the frame of the renewed threat over community lands by neoliberal policies and extractive industries, the music and dances of the *mayordomías* are now performed in new festive scenarios in which this music and dances are still central to claims over ethnic identity and, through them, over the property of the land. Another key factor in the transformation of the *mayordomías* system has been the conversion of some of the community members to evangelical religions since the late 1980s, when the first missionaries of the SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) arrived in the town of Inkawasi. According to the latest available statistic, 13.8% of the population of the district is part of one of these evangelical churches. In the opinion of most *mayordomos*, the weakness of the *mayordomías* is due to this conversion of part of the community to evangelical churches, whilst also acknowledging the importance of the creation of the first Indigenous and later Peasant Communities.

Ownership, kinship and fertility in the mayordomía fiesta system

As we have seen, the *mayordomías* constituted a ritual system of land ownership legitimacy, in which the ancestors and the Christian deities play a fundamental role. In this section, we are going to explore the Inkawasinos' ideas of land ownership, linked to kinship and fertility, comparing them with other Andean analyses of pre-Hispanic ideas of ownership of the land, and the profound transformation imposed on them by colonial ideas and often violent practice of land ownership. The Inka and early colonial systems of land tenure in the Andes have been the focus of interest and debates among Andean scholars (Murra 1980: 34-40, Assadourian 1994: 92-150, Ramírez 1996: 42-86). Spanish chroniclers took one of two opposing positions on the matter: those that stated that the lands dedicated to the Inka and the Sun were lands that belonged to the Inka by right of conquest, and those that state that these lands were the community's own but were worked for the Inkas as a sign of vassalage (Ramírez 1996: 44). The first position played a key role in the early colonial process of appropriation of lands by the colonial state, which argued that all that belonged to the Inkas should be transferred to the King. Therefore, those lands designated

to the Inka State or to the *huacas* (religion) in the conquered provinces rightfully belonged to the Spanish crown (Assadourian 1994: 92-150). Many of the lands dedicated to the Sun were transferred to the *cofradías*, as has been pointed out by Celestino and Mayers (1981:203-4).

The name of Inkawasi—literally the house of the Inka—suggests that at least some of the lands of the community that emerged in the 18th century were under the control of the Inka State, probably linked to the Qapaq Ñan, or Inka road. Unfortunately, we have no documents that could confirm this, nor can we establish a clear link between lands dedicated to the Sun and the creation of the *mayordomías* system. Scholars seem to agree more with the second position in which there was not an idea of private property among the natives of Peru. As emphasised by Ramírez, for the northern coast, Rostworowski (1979: 209-210; 1977: 39) argued that the northern lords ‘owned’ the land, based on information from the *Relaciones Geográficas*, and drawing on the idea that the highlands and coastal plains were fundamentally different (Ramírez 1996: 58).

Following the second position and challenging Rostworowski, Susan Ramírez (1996: 42-86) analyses the transformation of the ideas of land tenure introduced by the Spanish conquest. Based on early colonial documentation, Ramírez explores what would have been the pre-Hispanic ideas of land ownership and the impact of Spanish ideas of private property on them. To do the first, she uses a powerful distinction that appears widely in the Andes and elsewhere between what is ‘raw’—wild and unimproved—as opposed to what has been ‘cooked’—domesticated and improved—and into which resources are divided (1996: 84). Those resources understood as ‘raw’ were not owned by anyone, as ownership and value were only possible through human labour, following their transformation from ‘raw’ *shallqa* (the inhabited parts near the mountain peaks) into ‘cooked’ *chakras* (fields) through irrigation channels and other improvements. The *chakras* belong to those that have worked to produce them. If the land were no longer used, it would revert with time to its ‘raw’ state without an owner.

What was important for the Inkas, and the *caciques* of the northern lordships, was control over their subjects and their labour, and not over the land, which was considered only a ‘medium’ (Ramírez 1996: 84). In the north, the early colonial *caciques* were known as the

'dueños de los indios', or the owners of the indigenous people (Ramírez 1987). Ramírez specifies that there was a territorial dimension of this dominion over subjects—which came with it—that was marked by *mojones* (boundary markers) at the time of the Inkas to avoid disputes between lords. 'Raw' resources under the dominion of one lord were open to others in what she calls 'resource sharing', the local 'vertical' control of resources that allowed a *cacique* to get products from the domain of other *caciques* in other ecological areas and vice versa (Ramírez 1996: 51).

This local way of understanding land use—'flexible, reciprocal and often temporary'—entered into contact with the 'inflexible, codified, and permanent' ideas of private property of the Spaniards. Ramírez found that there was no immediate change in local ideas in early colonial times, as the problem was not land but labour, following the decimation of the indigenous population by European diseases. Both local populations and the Spaniards continued with their respective logics of land use and legitimacy, except maybe only for the *caciques*, who acted as translators between the two logics (Ramírez 1996: 51-2). This situation lasted until the mid-17th century, driven by the recuperation of the population and the growing pressure over resources, when many indigenous communities—such as the Inkawasinos—bitterly learned the reach of the Spanish ideas of private property, when they started to lose their lands through '(1) rental or sale to others, (2) usurpation of land and water, (3) *reducciones* and reassignments, and (4) land titling reviews (*Composiciones de Tierras*) that legalised these changes' (Ramírez 1996: 84-5).

Although the indigenous populations were very aware of Spanish ideas of private property by the second half of the 18th century, they also continued to use and relate to their land in their own ways, linked to their past and kinship system (Ramírez 1996: 85). In the case of Inkawasi, the *mayordomías* show that the relations with the land are still closely linked with kinship and the ancestors. But they also show the direct influence of the violently imposed ideas of private property, and of religious evangelization. In the *mayordomías* system, the patron *amitunchik*, 'our little master owners', is the owner of the *mayordomía* land, and ultimately the owner of the Inkawasinos themselves. The correspondence between the *mayordomías* and a patrilinear extended family, and the rituality of the patrons saints, point to a strong link between the cult of the *amitunchik* and the cult of the ancestors of each *mayordomía*. Today the *amitunchik* are no longer the source of legitimacy over the

property of the land, but they continue to be owners of the people that worship them in the hope of receiving fertility and protection. Today, two-thirds of the 42 known *mayordomías* are still celebrated (see table 2), because they are still meaningful for the Inkawasinos, as the main scenario of their *mayordomía/ayllu* ancestor worship and fertility rituals.

As mentioned, the Agrarian Reform did not change the customary use and distribution of lands in Indigenous Communities. In the case of Inkawasi, the *mayordomías* structure—hereditary access to land through the extended patrilineal groups—continued to be very strong until the 1990s, as we saw through Guillermo Cajo’s thesis questionnaires (1995). The current Peasant Community is still the heir of an organization where land is controlled by patrilineal extended families and not directly by the Community. The Peasant Community has no power to expropriate or redistribute the land, the lands are mainly inherited, or increasingly purchased or rented between commoners, and only legalised by the Peasant Community leaders. This not to suggest that the Peasant Community is not a key figure for the Inkawasinos as the legal form of communal land property, as were the colonial Común de Indios and the Republican Indigenous Community, recognised in 1963.

A similar situation is described in the nearby highlands of Piura, where small properties are predominant, in both historic communities—such as Inkawasi—and in those formed after the Agrarian Reform (Huber 2014 [1995]: 15). This, read as weakness of the communal structure and ‘communal’ property of the Peasant Communities, is explained by Anne Marie Hocquenghem (1990: 155-162), Karin Apel (1996: 99-225) and Ludwig Huber (2014 [1995]: 15-36) as being a result of a less harsh environment and an important Amazonian heritage (*Shuar*) of the area. Hocquenghem argues that in a more benign climate, there is no need of large *ayllus* united by ties of reciprocity to ensure the group’s reproduction, as happens further south (1990: 155-162). Although the extended families, which Hocquenghem points to as the predominant pre-Hispanic organization, were able to unite in larger federations when facing external threats (Hocquenghem 1990: 160-1), Inkawasi seems to point to an extended patrilineal family control over the land, through the *mayordomías*.

In Inkawasi there is a clear patrilineal extended family control over the land, as is shown by the *mayordomías* and the current Peasant Community management of community land, which also shows their capacity to face the threat from the Haciendas over indigenous land and labour. In Inkawasi the *mayordomías* allowed patrilineal extended families to articulate as a community, while maintaining their autonomy and control over the land and patrilineal group. As mentioned, the *mayordomías* are composed of one or two groups of one—exceptionally two—patrilineal extended families, commonly referred to as *ayllu*²⁸. Large *ayllus* like the Manayay and Sánchez with several branches have various *mayordomías*, while small *ayllus* like the Cajo only constitute one. As also described for the nearby highlands of Piura (Hocquenghem 1990: 161), in Inkawasi the local leaders are the heads of the patrilineal extended families, are known as the *mayordomos* or *kabisaryu* of the *mayordomía*, and are generally the oldest or the most able brother. The *mayordomos* are married males of the extended family and together with their wives, coming from other patrilineal groups, they usufruct the patron saint's land.

The *mayordomía* extended family share the land, and normally also the irrigation channels and other infrastructures, and especially the mutual responsibility in maintaining these infrastructures, planting, irrigating, weeding, harvesting or building their houses. They also worship common ancestors, those that built the infrastructures they now enjoy, and who transformed the land into the current Inkawasinos' *chakra*. For the Inkawasinos this work, the continuous transformation of the land from its 'wild' or 'raw' state to one that is 'domesticated' or 'cooked', is what creates ownership. But this ownership is not individual but a process that includes the ancestors, the Christian deities and the members of the *mayordomías*. The ownership of the land, and the threat imposed by the haciendas and lately extractive industries over that ownership, is what articulates the community since its emergence in the 18th century and until today.

The *fiesta* of the *mayordomía*'s patron is a key time for the patrilineal group. They all gather in the town of Inkawasi for at least three days to celebrate, eat, drink and dance in abundance, to honour the *mayordomía* ancestors and the patron saint by asking for good

²⁸ In Inkawasi, *ayllu* refers to family, from direct relatives to any that share the same last name. Even if they are no longer able to trace their kinship ties, they call each other 'cousin' and do not marry from within the family, as the *ayllu* are exogamous.

fortune, abundance and health. The celebration of the *fiesta* mainly involves the patrilineal family. Even though other *mayordomía* members could be invited, the participants, except for the Virgin of Mercy, are the extended family and the senior members of the church (sacristan, catechist, the bell ringer and the members of the Pro-Temple Committee).

As in other parts of the Andes (Arnold, Yapita & Espejo 2007: 58, Gose 1994: 110-140), in Inkawasi death is often seen as the starting point or seed of a new life cycle, and as being essential to fertility. This is clear in the idea that the fields of maize, *ulluku* (*Ullucus tuberosus*) or broad beans (*Vicia faba*) must be planted before the 1st of November (All Saints' Day), when the people visit their deceased families at the cemetery, while the souls of the dead abandon it, returning to their former fields and fertilising them²⁹. In the *mayordomías*, the masses and banquets are dedicated to the parents and grandparents of the *mayordomos*. After the *watakey*³⁰ and the procession, the *mayordomos* invite the sacristan, the *animiru* (from Spanish *ánima*, or spirit) and other church members to a ritual meal. The *animiru*—or anyone who knows how to pray—dedicates the meal to the *mayordomos*' ancestors, all of whom are named in pairs of women and men by the catechist or a *rezador* (someone who knows how to pray).

Within the *mayordomía* rituality, the worship of the patron saint is interlaced with that of the ancestors and through them with the worship of the owners of what is raw, unimproved or wild—the mountain—which is the ultimate origin of all domestic varieties of plants and animals. The Inkawasinos continue to understand the world as essentially dual: the exterior, visible and luminous world of the sun and of the Catholic deities, and the world of the shadows that reside inside the mountains. Both the solar and the shadow forces are necessary for fertility, and they connect through the cult of the ancestors present in not only the Catholic masses, but also in the more pagan banquets, which involve music, dances and consumption of sugar cane alcohol or *tragu*, but which follow the catholic rituality.

²⁹ The same idea has been described in the neighbouring community of Kañaris (Sax 2014: 136).

³⁰ *Watakey* literally means tying, in this case of the flowers on the structure which carries the saint out of the church for the procession.

The influence of the *amitunchik* is not only on the fertility of the people's fields, but also on meteorological phenomena. In the case of the Virgin of Mercy, it is said that when the procession moves, the wind starts to blow so strongly that in many years the procession is cancelled. In the case of the *Virgen Purísima* (Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception), it is believed that if the image is moved, there will be a catastrophe like an earthquake. Despite the *mayordomías* being almost exclusively a family celebration, this does not mean that members of other patrilineal groups cannot worship the same patron saint. They do, especially in the case of important celebrations such as that of the Virgin of Mercy, who is credited as *ganadera*, in other words that she propitiates the reproduction of cattle. This fact makes it hazardous to consider the *mayordomía* patron saint in any way as a deified ancestor. And yet it is intimately connected with one extended family and its (re)production.

Close to this idea of a deified ancestor, it is also important to consider that the Inkawasinos have a sort of nickname (*apodo*) —generally an animal—for each of the patrilineal kin groups, that is often mentioned in humorous tone and explaining the origin of the nickname. For example, if someone from the Manayay family is approaching carrying a heavy load, others may not resist making a joke about the Manayays being donkeys, because of their capacity of carrying as donkeys do. The use of the nickname extends to the rest of the district, as is clear in this example of the term *ayllu* given by the bilingual teachers, which includes a nickname of the Uyurpampa area and another of the Inkawasi community, where the exegesis of the origin is also included: '*Ayllu Díazkunataqa "shinkukuna" ninllapa, Wamankunatashuyupaqa "kuchi" ninllapa*/ The Díaz family are known as vultures, whereas the Huamán are called pigs [for being stubborn]' (DLC).

Mentioning the kin group animal nickname could be also a sign of affection to children, like calling them 'Little Rabbit' if it is someone whose last name is Sánchez. This coincidence between extended families and animals may point to a previous 'totemic' division, but there is no other evidence to support this claim. On the contrary, the fact that the animals are very varied, including some domestic European ones, as well as things and plants, casts doubt on the claim. We include here a table elaborated by James Vreeland when he analysed the Inkawasi *danza* that gathers together the family animals or nicknames (Vreeland 1993: 195).

<i>'Primera'</i> families	Up (north) nickname	<i>'Segunda'</i> families	Down (south) nickname
Huamán	Pig	Bernilla	Frog
Leonardo	Skunk	Carlos	<i>Capacho</i> and <i>Odre</i> *
Lucero	Woodpecker	Cajo	Condor
Manayaye (<i>sic</i>)	Donkey	Céspedes	Fox
Reyes	Puma	Purihuamán	Turkey/Vulture**
Vilcabana	Kestrel	Sánchez	Rabbit

Table 3. Nicknames/animals of the Inkawasi *ayllu*

Conclusions

Through the study of the *mayordomías* fiesta system, we aimed to approach local ideas of land ownership, which far transcend those of ‘private property’ or ‘communal ownership’ to connect with the *ayllu* ancestors and land fertility. In these ideas, the land is not inert matter to be appropriated by labour, but an entity—an owner—in itself, with its own history and personality. Cultivated land, or *chakra*, is the result of labour, of the appropriation by specific families and their ancestors, but one that does not deny the agency of the earth. The *mayordomías* system shows how colonial ideas of land ownership and legitimacy have deeply influenced the creation and continuity of the current Peasant Community. Common ownership was, through the *mayordomías*, what structured the community until the end of the 20th century, and still is with the figure of the Peasant Community. This points to a transformation of the cult of the ancestors in the first Republic, which in Inkawasi did not displace the ancestors to the mountains but put the struggle over the land in the centre through the *mayordomía* fiesta system.

Despite changes in the last third of the 20th century that radically transformed the *mayordomías*, they are still meaningful for the Inkawasinos as a link with their social memory and community identity, as well as the main loci of *ayllu/mayordomía* ancestor worship and fertility. Access to resources, including the indigenous work force, have been at the centre of a long history of colonial and post-colonial relationships of power, exploitation and ethnic discrimination. Within this context, the struggle over the ownership of the land also connects to the group social memory and ethnic identity, as land rights are based on previous habitation, as originary dwellers.

Chapter 4

Building kinship and community: households, the Inkawasi community church and the ownership of the immaterial

This chapter examines how the Inkawasinos build and maintain their family and communal houses. It focuses on the analysis of the *wasi lanta* ritual, or ‘first hair cut’ of houses, performed at the end of the roofing, to highlight parallelism between technical and ‘natural’ process, between making things and having children, as well as between children and artefacts. It shows how building and maintaining houses, and other infrastructures such as irrigation channels, are at the centre of the creation and maintenance of community and interhousehold relations. Making and owning houses is a key part of the life cycle of the Inkawasinos. The making of a house is the materialisation of a complex network of kinship and reciprocity which the Inkawasinos need to become full members of the Peasant Community. Local ideas of building are key to understanding personhood and sociality constructions, as well as the transformations imposed on them by the introduction of new building technologies and materials. Within the changes imposed by ‘modernisation’, there is an increasing commodification of indigenous ‘culture’ for tourist markets, which we will analyse through the examination of the recent designation of the periodical thatching of the Inkawasi church as Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of Peru (2016). Within this last

phenomenon, I also reflect on my participation in the process of declaring the thatching of Inkawasi's church as ICH of Peru and on anthropological ideas of academic mastery.

The idea of the house as a living being has also been noted in other parts of the Andes. As stressed by Catherine Allen, in the community of Sonqo in Cusco, houses are living beings made of earth and vivified through the *wasichay* or the building of a house (2008: 50), where the earth, the wood and the straw also have their part, their own subjectivity, that is integrated—through labour and ritual—into human sociality (Allen 2008: 50). Similarly, in Inkawasi houses are considered living beings, whose life and destiny are linked to those of their builders and/or owners. The earth, straw and wood used for building a house, with their own subjectivity, are integrated into the human world through labour and ritual. The construction of a house is a communal endeavour, which makes this integration into a network of kinship ties and mutual aid.

For the Inkawasinos, and for many Andean communities (Arnold 2014: 31-108, Gose 1991, Leinaweaver 2009, Mayer 1977), the building of a house implies the creation of ritual kin relations between the builders and the family who owns the house. The relations created through common work are sanctioned through the rite of the house *lanta*, a ritual fiesta analogous to the children's first haircut or *lanta*³¹. The main implication of the house's first haircut or *wasi lanta* is that it makes the owners of the house, ideally a recently married couple with small children, the *compadres*, or co-parents, of those that help to build it. This also means that the relation between the artisan and the owner is similar to one of co-parenthood, ritually situating the house in the role of the child in the *lanta* ritual and in the important network of ritual relations of *compadrazgo*.

After the house is finished and is inhabited, it constitutes the main unit of (re)production (cultivating, weaving, raising domestic animals and children), commensality and cohabitation for the Inkawasinos. The house is, as described in Bolivia by Denise Arnold, a 'reproductive matrix' (2014: 47). The house, and the family that inhabits it, is the main unit of social and economic organization, as has been described in other parts of the Andes since Inka times until today (Arnold 2014: 39)³². As with its building, the functioning of a

³¹ *Lanta* or *landa*, probably from the Spanish *lana* (Taylor 2006) or from the Quechua (Pasco) word *tankash* (Mayer 1977: 67) that like in Inkawasi refers to the entangled and compact portion of the babies first hair (lanugo or fetal hair) that is never brushed, and becomes a sort of dreadlocks attached to the definitive hair that grows after.

³² The idea of the house/household as an analytic unit has been widely discussed in anthropology (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995, Hamilton 1998, Joyce & Gillespie 2000, Mayer 2002, Gudeman & Rivera 1990).

household is only possible with the help of other households. The household is key to articulating the multiple dimensions of the *ayllu*, understood as a mode of relation (Salomon 1991: 22). Common production, commensality and co-habitation build and sustain real and ritual kinship ties not just among those inhabiting the house, but also among all those that make up the household: the family fields and cattle, and the house itself. Although we focus on the building of the main family house and particularly on the *lanta* rituality, the house includes nearby fields and adjacent constructions, as has also been pointed out by Arnold in her analysis of houses in the community of Qaqachaka in Bolivia (2014: 40).

Building a house is a necessary step in the life cycle of all Inkawasinos and key to the idea of a ‘complete’ person—a *warmi*, or woman, or *runa/ushqu*, or man—who is a full member of the extended patrilinear kin group or *mayordomía* and the community. The household is also where the gender division of labour is materialised, which will help us to shed light on gender relations in Inkawasi. In Inkawasi, as described in Qaqachaka in Bolivia by Arnold (2014: 39-40, 46), the house is associated with women, but also with the complementary dominions of each gender dominance. In both places, the house—including fields and pastures—is the materialisation of women’s reproductive power (Arnold 2014: 48).

In this chapter, we also analyse the communal work (*fayna*) for the periodical thatching of Inkawasi’s church, which was recently declared Intangible Cultural Heritage of Peru (ICH from now on). The analysis of this periodical renewal allows us to see how this building has ‘come to stand for the social group and represent the world around them’ (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 1). As we discussed in Chapter Four, the emergence of the Community is linked with the building of the church, as this was the centre of the legitimacy of the community and the land ownership until the second half of the 20th century.

The ways in which the Inkawasinos both build and relate to their family and communal houses are deeply influenced by the irruption of new materials, techniques and dwelling practices, and more recently also by the processes of commodification and patrimonialisation of indigenous knowledge. In their analysis of Amazonian notions of ownership, Marc Brightman, Carlos Fausto and Vanessa Grotti (2016) point out that Western notions of ownership are currently characterised by the ‘growing predominance of intangible goods over manufactured items and to its correlative tendency, the

“becoming-property” of the immaterial’, which is having a great impact among indigenous communities (Brightman et al. 2016: 2). The recent designation of the periodical thatching of the Inkawasi church as ICH of Peru, allows us to explore the clashes between the Inkawasinos’ ideas of ownership of the immaterial and the increasing commodification of indigenous culture for tourist markets. The analysis of this case also allows me to reflect on the role of anthropologists, and of anthropology, in the processes of patrimonialisation of indigenous knowledge.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first explores how the Inkawasinos build and maintain real and ritual kinship ties through the communal work and rituality of house building. It shows the parallelisms between the rituality implicated in the building of a house and that associated with childhood, pointing to a similar conceptualization of houses and children, and a similar relation to their owners or parents. The second section analyses the household as the basic (re)productive unit of the Inkawasinos and its necessary articulation with other households. It examines gender relations, considering widespread polygamy in this area. Finally, the third section explores how the communal work of rethatching the church constitutes a re-actualization of the community, articulated around the defence of the territory, and how this is being impacted by the process of patrimonialisation and commodification of indigenous culture, as well as the role of anthropologists and our own struggles with the discipline’s ideas of colonial mastery.

Building kinship: the minka inter-household solidarity and the wasi lanta rite

Building a house is a necessary step in the lives of every married couple and means the establishment of an independent household. The house is built some years after the marriage when the couple already has children. Before this time, they live with the parents of the husband. As discussed in the third chapter, the land is inherited within the extended patrilinear groups (*mayordomías*), and residence is virilocal. When a couple decides to live on their own, they consult with the husband’s parents and often with their marriage godparents in order to gather the necessary support in terms of materials, knowledge and labour to build their new home. While it is important to note the variability in residence

patterns, especially in the town of Inkawasi, the norm is still linked to the patrilineal control of the lands.

After receiving his parents' and godparents' advice, the husband must visit those married males that could help him, many of whom will be his closest friends, brothers, cousins or uncles, requesting '*rogar*'—literally begging for help—and usually giving *tragu*, or sugar cane alcohol as a present. Meanwhile, the wife may visit her sisters-in-law or her family—if they are close by—to request help in preparing the food that will be provided during the days of the *minka*. The *minka* is the local name of the Andean practice of reciprocal labour exchange (*ayni*³³) in which work is exchanged for work or a share of the resulting production, and the workers are provided with *tragu*, *chicha*, food, and, in the case of house roofing, with a ritual *fiesta*. Males from the patrilineal group carry out most of the construction work, starting with the selection and cutting down of trees, and the gathering of straw to make the adobe bricks and for thatching the roof. Women do not directly participate in the building of the house but contribute to gathering straw and reeds, preparing the ropes and cooking for everyone. The exception is, as we mentioned in Chapter Three, the church of Inkawasi, which it is said was built by women—nuns or widows and unmarried young woman—who were *mandadas* or under the orders of the priest.

Currently, it is only in the highest parts of the district, where the *uqsba* straw grows, that people still roof their houses with straw; today the most common alternatives to this are the '*torta de barro*' (adobe) and corrugated tin sheets. Nowadays, in the town of Inkawasi one can also see that several family houses have been built with concrete columns, and with adobe or concrete or breeze blocks for the walls. Despite this, most of the houses in the Peasant Community continue to be built entirely with sundried adobe bricks and wood. In the town of Inkawasi and most of the hamlets (*caseríos*), the school, medical centre and other institutional buildings are built using concrete. Concrete, known in Peru as a *material noble* or 'noble material', is perceived to be more prestigious than the local adobe, undoubtedly influencing the Inkawasinos' choice of materials for their houses.

³³ The word *ayni* is not used in Lambayeque Quechua.



Photo 5. Man carrying adobe to make bricks in communal *fayna* in the town of Inkawasi

In the case of an adobe brick house, one of the first steps is making the bricks that must dry for several days under the strong highland sun. Generally, villagers make bricks from the earth where the house will be located, so the extraction of the earth also means the clearing and levelling of what will be the packed earth floor of the ground floor of the house. A hearty breakfast, usually of sheep gut soup and *muti* maize, is generally served after some work has been done, especially hard work such as mixing the earth with water and straw, treading with bare feet, or using the shovel. After breakfast, when the earth has been mixed and is soft but still malleable, men make bricks by introducing the mix into a wooden frame and placing the now rectangular piece on the floor to dry for several days. The bricks and the house itself must be made during the dry season, from May/June until November/December. The building of a house generally takes the entire dry season and at least two months of constant work. Towards the end of the dry season, they add the house thatching or, more commonly, roofing with adobe or corrugated tin sheets.

Once the necessary materials have been gathered, made or purchased, the dates for the *minka* are set and the construction of the house—which will last several weeks—begins. For the making of the bricks, and the gathering and transportation of the wood, reeds and straw, the husband will ask for the help of one or two close male relatives. This form of work is named by the bilingual schoolteacher Guillermo Cromwell Cajo as *rogadito* (literally ‘little begging’), which consists of work in exchange for work or another favour (1995). For the making of the walls, the husband will request additional help from someone who knows how to build houses, who is also generally the *masmiru* in the roofing, and who directs the whole construction work. The *masmiru* takes his name from his position at the edges of the roof structure or *masmas*, from where he directs the roofing or thatching. Before starting the building of the walls, more adobe must first be prepared to be used as mortar. Once this is done, and before setting out each corner, the *masmiru* makes the *qasachiy*. The *qasachiy* is translated locally to Spanish as *refresco* (refreshment) a sort of blessing that consists of sprinkling the *chuyya*, a preparation of clear water and ground corn, using a white carnation or an elder tree flower. This *qasachiy* is directed towards the place where the corners will be located to ensure that the house will be strong and won’t fall. People do not bury offerings as they do further south in the Andes, but there is a narrative about the church of Inkawasi in which it is said that at the time of its construction, the walls kept falling until they buried a bag full of silver under each corner³⁴.

The selection of the corner (*iskina*) as the place to perform the blessing is linked by the Inkawasinos with the cross, formed by the intercalated bricks that form it. The corners are points in the house that remain as key symbolic spaces for those that will inhabit it, and where almost all minor ritual or healing events take place, such as the ‘cleansings’ with maize or guinea pigs to cure common diseases or a place of choice to bury the placenta. The centrality of the corners as ritual spaces has also been highlighted by Arnold in her analysis of the Qagachaka house (2014: 44, 51). In Qagachaka, the *iskina* is related to the earth and the household lineage and is one of the main points of the *ch’allas* or ritual libations and other ritualities performed in the house (Arnold 2014: 51). The *qasachiy* made with *chuyya* is the main ritual procedure for the Inkawasinos, present in almost all ritual

³⁴ ‘En el lugar donde iban a construir la iglesia había bastante puquial y lleno de plantas de alisos, a base de faena empezaron a construir la iglesia, don caporal hizo reunión con la gente del pueblo y de los anescos, es ahí donde el caporal solicita a todos que colaboren con monedas de plata para colocar un saco de plata en cada esquina de la iglesia. Los pobladores de distintos lugares llegaron a colaborar con monedas de plata y juntaron cuatro sacos de plata, entonces empezaron a construir la iglesia colocando un saco de plata de 5 decimo y 9 decimo en cada esquina [...]’. Concepción Calderón Céspedes.

procedures, including shamanic practices. The *chuya* has been described in ethnohistorical sources as well as in contemporary Cusco (Flores 1974: 247-8).

In all these scenarios, the *qasachiy* aims to calm or cool a specific place-based entity, and through this, it ensures the success of the productive activity or the good fortune of those initiating new stages in their lives. Unlike the southern Andes (Allen 2008: 185-198), in the highlands of Lambayeque there are no *pagos* (payments) or *despachos* (dispatches) to a deified landscape. The idea of ‘payment’ to telluric forces also exists in Inkawasi, but not as a preventative measure or as an act of feeding hungry spirits, but rather as an exchange, generally for the soul of someone who has been already taken. In this context, the *qasachiy* seem to be a mediation procedure with the place where the house will be located. As we will explore further for the house, and more extensively in Chapter Five for textiles, the cross that the bricks form in the corner, and that the beams form in the roof, are considered to be sacred like the Christian cross.

The building of the walls may take one or several weeks, depending on the size of the house. In the town of Inkawasi, houses typically have two or three levels and almost always use the hillside as support. On the *minka* days, the males work on the construction while women cook the food that will feed the workers. The food consists of a dish—usually soup—followed by its corresponding *yapa*, or extra plate, along with a provision of boiled potatoes, maize, peas, *ullucu* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), *oca* (*Oxalis tuberosa*), wheat and cheese, which is placed at the centre of the table for all to share. Before and after the meal, *chicha* and *tragu* are provided and here—as in most festive occasions—they require a complex toast etiquette. In the case of community work, the Peasant Community leaders call a *fayna* (from the Spanish *faena*, which translates as collective task or work). Commoners are obliged to participate in a fixed number of *faynas* during the year. In the case of absent workers or schoolteachers, they pay a monetary fee instead.



Photo 6. Inkawasi church ridgepole change, 2010

The roof is the last step in the construction and the only one that requires a big *minka*; a small house would require the participation of 6 to 10 men, while hundreds may participate in the thatching of Inkawasi's large church. The first step in the building of the gable roof is the positioning of the wooden ridge pole (*cumbrera*) and rafters. Here again, the *qasachiy* is performed in the corners and with the same aim of ensuring the success of the task and the strength of the pole. The durability of the poles is also ensured by cutting the tree—traditionally an alder tree, but today more commonly a pine or eucalyptus—during the full or new moon, as the Inkawasinos relate waxing phases with growing, and waning ones with ageing and with death. In the case of trees, cutting during the full or new moon prevents the development of pest such as termites.

To this structure, horizontal battens of *suru* reeds are attached with ropes made of *llaqa* (Agave) in what is known as *chaqlla*. In the case of an *uqsba* straw thatch, the *chaqlla* is used as a grid or warp to weave the straw in bunches, from the bottom eaves to the top ridge. Men are usually on the roof, while women provide them from the floor with the necessary materials (reeds, ropes or bunches of straw). At the eaves, the bunches are placed alternately one up and another down in a task known as *içpakuy*, to ensure it is impermeable.

The bundles are tied with the *llaqa* rope through a stick called a *toqlo* that is like a needle in that it has a hole through which the *llaqa* is threaded, and which makes it possible to sew the straw bunches to the *chaqlla* structure.

After finishing the eaves, the straw is *sarunan*—literally ‘stepped’—with a cane known as *suru*, a kind of reed that only grows in the highlands and is highly appreciated for its resistance and durability. The *suru* is fixed with *llaqa* rope and again sewn to the *chaqlla* structure, using the *toqlo* stick. Generally, the proximity of different groups gives rise to a friendly competition, present in other communal activities and in the rituality of the life cycle, to see who does it better or faster. The desirable thing is that all progress is coordinated ‘row by row’ and this is precisely what the *masmiru* does: he directs the making of the whole row from his position on the roof edge, with the help of his partner, the *madrina*, located on the opposite edge. With *torta de barro*, or adobe, first a plastic film is positioned over the *chaqlla*, and then a layer of mud is placed homogeneously over it. Sometimes some straw is added to the eaves to enhance the roof’s impermeability. In the case of corrugated tin sheets, the *chaqlla* is absent, and the sheets are fixed to the ridge pole, rafters and battens.

When the workers get to the middle of the roof—from the eaves up to the ridge pole- they stop in what is called *chaybi wačku*, named after the *wačku* belt used by women in their dresses; at this point, men are regaled with *chicha* and *tragu*. The *chicha* and *tragu* are given by the sponsoring family to the *masmiru* and his corresponding companion the *madrina*, or godmother, and they distribute it to the other workers. In the case of straw roofs, when they come to the ridge pole, they make the *panko*, which consists of putting fermented mud along the ridge pole and the *masmas* or the roof end rafters. In the case of family houses, after finishing the *panko*, the *masmiru* throws a rope from the roof, and from the floor, the sponsoring family again sends the *chicha* and *tragu*, along with the head of the sheep that has been sacrificed to feed the workers. Again, the *masmiru* and the *madrina* distribute the meat and drink to the workers. After finishing with the food and drink, the men come down from the roof performing the *ñaqsay* or the brushing of the hair/straw, while saying: *ñaqsayllapa, ñaqsayllapa lantanchikita rutunallpapaq!* (brushing, brushing, let’s go and to cut our *lanta!*). The ‘brushing’ is done by slashing the straw with a stick to accommodate it and eliminate the excess straw.



Photo 7. Roofing with adobe, house of Luis Céspedes 2010

Wasi lanta or haircut of the house

The *wasi lanta* is a ritual almost identical to that performed on children of around two years old when his or her hair is cut for the first time. The two *lanta* follow analogous ritual guidelines and share the same actors. In the *lanta* of the house, the godparents are the *masmiru* and his companion the *madrina*, the two men who are specialists in roofing or thatching, while the owners fulfil the role of the parents, positioning the house in the role of the couple's offspring. In the *wasi lanta*, the straw of the roof is the hair—the *lanta*—whose ends are cut, leaving a straight finish. The *masmiru*, two in the case of the house and four in the case of big buildings such as the Inkawasi church, must be men who are knowledgeable in the craft. The language of kin permeates house thatching or roofing rituality along the Andes (Gose 1991, Leinaweaver 2009, Mayer 1977). In these places, the builders, the thatcher or the sponsors are identified with in-laws, also implicating the creation of ties of *compadrazgo* or co-parenthood.

The *lanta* or *rutuchiky*, the first haircut, marks here and in other parts in the Andes the integration of the children into the social world (Allen 2008: 106, Canessa 1999). For Huaquirca in Apurimac, where the builders/sponsors play the ritual roles of the son and daughter-in-law, Gose points out that the use of kin terms for the rituality of the house thatching emphasises the socialization of the structure and its appropriation from the wild to the domestic sphere (Gose 1991: 55). The rite of the *wasilanta* in Inkawasi also points to a socialization of the house, as is the case for children at their first hair cut or *lanta*. The parallelisms between these rituals also stress a similarity in the conceptualisation of these processes as appropriations.

The first step in the *wasi lanta* is also the *qasachiy*, in this case sprinkling the *chuya* over the roof while blessing the structure, and calling for its prosperity and wellbeing. This is similar to the children's first haircut, where the head of the child is sprinkled with the *chuya* before each person cuts the child's hair. After the *chuya*, the *masmiru* begins to cut the tips of the straw that hang from the roof's eaves, followed by the *madrina* who collects the cut straw or *lanta* in his *poncho*. The cut straw is placed in each of the four corners of the house, replacing four *traqu* bottles previously placed there by the *minkadur*, or work organizers, or the owners of the house. After switching each bottle for bundles of straw, the *masmiru*, the *madrina* and the owners make a ritual toast before continuing to the next corner. After the

cut, those present sing and/or dance, share a meal and enjoy long sessions of drinking. The music and dances, and the joy it produces, the *fiesta*, is fundamental to ensure the success of the rite, and particularly to avoid misfortune, as described in this *taki* for the *wasi lanta* ritual:

As[i] puntula, chay puntula/ Always smiling, never changing [our happiness, our style]
tikarakakushun tukuydari/ let's all turn [in the dancing round]
tantalari tikarakakushun/ let's turn together
wasilantanchikunapmapis/ in the custom of *wasi lanta*
kaynullari kustumrinchikqa/ our tradition is like this
aqcha rutuypipismiri/ also in our first haircut
kaynunari nuqanchikpa/ in this way we are
takikunanchik distinunchik/ our *taki*, our life (fate) is like this:
As[i] puntula, ¡si! ¡si!/ Always smiling; Yes! Yes!
 [...]
tikarakakushun, taytay mistru/ let's turn, *taytay mistru*
taytay padrinu, rimachimuyankiri/ my lord, my godfather, I hear you singing verses
imanankirraq, tikarakakushun/ nothing bad will happen to us, let's turn (Dorotea Manayay
 Calderón. In: Martínez 2017: 103)

As in the *lanta* of the children, in the *wasi lanta* the family perform the *éuraylanta*, which consists of taking the *lanta*, or cut hair, to a nearby rocky peak to put it into a *tuyu* (*Bromeliaceae*) plant or over an anthill. This is done in both cases to ensure the luck of the children/house and includes performing the *qasachiy*, praying and dancing. As we will discuss in Chapter Seven, the *lanta* is the last trace of the child's origin in the landscape, and its cutting involves its definitive separation from this origin in Others and the child's definitive integration into the human community, although this process continues until marriage and the arrival of children. Like children, houses enter through this rite into the human realm, constituting an integral part of the family that owns it. This resonates with the approach proposed by Hallam and Ingold of understanding human intervention on materials more as a transformation in a long life that expands well before and after human transformations (Hallam & Ingold 2014: 2).

When the roof is made from adobe or corrugated tin sheets, the *wasi lanta* is substituted by a rite named *corte de palabra*, or 'word cut'. Through its name, the *corte de palabra* also emphasises the house's separation from its origins in the earth and the trees from which it has been made. But in this case, it is represented by the separation of the hanging hands of the *masmiru* and the owner of the house: a *rezador*—someone who knows how to pray—'cuts' the hands, first drawing two inverted crosses, one over and the other under the

hanging hands of the *masmiru* and the owner. The cutting sanctions the appropriation of the earth, trees, and other ‘materials’, which have been transformed into a family house, and familiarised by the rite of the *lanta* or *corte de palabra*. The bond between the owners and the builders is believed to be stronger than that of the *compadrazgo* established in the children’s *lanta* ceremony. This is explained as being due to the presence of multiple crosses in the structure of the building, in the corners and the beams of the roof.

In the nearby community of Kañaris, after a house is finished, there is no *lanta* but instead a rite called *Agua Socorro*, a domestic baptism in which the child is given a name. In the baptism, the public part of the house, which is understood to be male, is named after a male saint or representation of Christ, while the kitchen, which is considered female, is named after a female saint or virgin (Sax 2014: 124). In Kañaris, during the *lanta* and baptism ceremonies, there is great emphasis on the child’s gender (Martínez & Rinza 2015: 26). However, in Inkawasi there is no clear identification of the house or any of its parts as male or female, but in general terms it is more associated with women, as they are considered its main caretakers. Nonetheless, as pointed out by Marieka Sax in Kañaris (2014: 124), the use of the rooms of the house is highly gendered, especially the kitchen, which is associated with women. The *Agua Socorro* and the *lanta* are rites of the early stages of the human life cycle and both imply the creation of ritual kin relations, pointing to a similar understanding of houses, their communal construction and the associated rituality.

Despite pronounced technical and ritual variations, all anthropological accounts of the communal work and rituality associated with the roofing of Andean houses converge on their centrality in creating and sustaining kin relations, particularly that of the *compadrazgo* between those that participated in the labour and the owners of the house (Gose 1991: 49, Leinaweaver 2009: 790-792, Mayer 1977: 72). In the case of Inkawasi, the analogy of common making through the co-parenthood relation shows that the creative processes—of both making and growing—are understood very similarly. In this equation, the house is also conceptualized similarly as the outcome of other reproductive processes, such as weaving textiles, or growing domestic animals or small children.

Gose enquires about the relation between social practice and cultural meaning in an article about the house rethatching in Huaquirca (1991). He challenges Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus (1977) as non-discursive and therefore incapable of creating meaning (Gose

1991). Gose looks into the imagery of Huaquirca's house rethatching within its position in the annual cycle, at the end of the dry season and the beginning of the growing season. This seasonal shift (and the house thatching) involves a change in community relations from an emphasis on 'private' appropriation by households during the harvest to extensive interhousehold cooperation during the growing season. Gose argues that the seasonally opposed moralities overlap in the house rethatching, creating contradictions that animates the house rethatching imaginary, creating meanings that would be missing if not considered within the annual cycle and opposed moralities (1991).

Houses are also thought of as having a similar body as its creators or owners, as they are like 'an extra skin, carapace or second layer of clothes' (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 2-3). As we have seen in Inkawasi, this matching with the human body is clear in the idea that the thatch is similar to the human *lanta*, or babies' first (lanugo) haircut. In Qaqachaka, Arnold describes how the roof is also named as the hair of the house; however, this is not like a person's head but rather as the personification of the mountain (2014: 50). The matching with the human body can also be seen in the idea of the foundations of the house as its *âuki*, or feet. In Inkawasi, houses are thought of as beings subjected to processes of growing and decay, as are their inhabitants. Houses are understood as living beings who are expected to grow alongside the family that inhabits them or decay alongside their owners. As pointed out by Ingold, building is a process that is 'continually going on' (2000b: 188): houses are continually changing and new rooms can be added, adapting to the changes in the lives of its occupants; walls may fall under heavy rains and roofs are renewed periodically. This idea of the house as having bodily features is evident in the way in which the Inkawasinos speak about their houses' necessities, saying that they are like people and need to drink water, or that a house could become cold and unwelcoming—with hungry fleas—if abandoned or not taken care of. Similar accounts regarding the house have been pointed out by Catherine Allen in Cusco, where the *wasitira*, or house, must be treated well, 'for a disrespected house turns cold and unwelcoming' (2015: 24). The family and the house share a reciprocal commitment: if you do not take proper care of your house, she will respond by turning cold and unwelcoming. Allen uses this example to illustrate the relations between people and artefacts as reciprocal appropriations (2015: 28). In the next chapter, we will expand on the reciprocal commitment between artefacts and people.

Houses, and in general terms all things and beings that belong to someone, suffer when their owner dies. Houses are said to crack and groan when their owner dies, showing sorrow. The fate of the house is entangled with that of its owners. In Inkawasi, it is frequently said that shortly after the death of someone, his fields, animals, houses, and all his belongings *akabakay* (from the Spanish *acabar*, or finish), which means they will perish with their owners. It is also said that the belongings and especially the house of a recently deceased person are dangerous and capable of causing a common disease, called *marka*—sometimes also *viento y muerto*, or ‘wind and death’—because the recently deceased are still attached to their material belongings and come back to them, causing sickness in those who continue inhabiting the house. Because of this, the Inkawasinós take measures, such as perfuming the house with a herb called *chamgas* (*Minthostachys mollis*) and performing the rite of the *pisbqa*, which we will describe in detail in the following chapter and which consists of washing the deceased's clothes in a stream, after which they are also perfumed with *chamgas*. These practices underline the mutual dependence between people and their belongings, as well as their conceptualisation as extensions of the people who inhabit the house.

Catherine Allen reflects on contemporary Andean animism to illuminate our understanding of ancient *wakas* or sacred places, using the house as a key example (2015). In her fieldwork in Sonqo in Cusco, she saw that all matter—natural or human made—was potentially alive, imbued with agency and possessing its own personality and view point (2015: 24). The house is an animated being that ‘stands at the end of a chain of chthonic authority extending to the snow-capped mountain lords (*apu*)’ (2015: 24). Allen uses perspectivist and distributed personhood theories to better understand Andean animisms, and particularly how artefacts are conceived within a different form of being-in-the world (2015: 38).

The household: co-residence, commensality and making/owning

The building of a house entails the building of key social relations with other households and with the structure itself. After the house is finished with the roof, it becomes the main locus of (re)production, and therefore of creation and sustainment of kin relations. The idea of the house, or more precisely of the household, as the basic social and economic unit has been emphasized for other rural Andean societies (Hamilton 1998, Mayer 2002, Gudeman & Rivera 1990). As underlined by Enrique Mayer, ‘small-scale peasant household-based units are ubiquitous in the Andes’ indicating ‘the resilience of their technology, which is closely linked to the household’s kinship organization of production’ (2002: xiii-xiv). This is also true for Inkawasi, where the household is the main locus of (re) production. As indicated by Gudeman and Rivera in rural Colombia, in Inkawasi material practices are structured through the house (1990: 2).

As also indicated by Mayer, ‘although the household is the foundation of the system, it does not stand alone, unaided in a vacuum’ (2002: xviii), but is instead articulated with other households, through kinship and mutual solidarity. This is clear in the building of a house that requires the *minka* inter-household solidarity. Inkawasi inter-household solidarity (production) based on kinship ties is the mortar of larger groups such as the *mayordomías*, other community organizations (*organizaciones de base*) such as the Mothers’ Club or the new legally recognized associations of weavers or agricultural producers, and the community itself. On the other hand, as also noted by Mayer, the Peasant Community created during the Agrarian Reform managed to survive due to its capacity to allow household individuality and differences, contrary to what happened to the cooperatives which failed soon after their implementation (2002: 40-2). This underlines the different and even opposed characters of the household or house economy and the ‘corporation’ (Gudeman & Rivera 1990: 9-12).

Levi-Strauss developed the idea of the house as an analytic unit, the ‘*société à maison*’, or house societies, when reflecting on marriage alliances and other forms of relatedness beyond kinship (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 1-46). For the Andes, Arnold identifies the house as a reproductive matrix (2014: 47), as the fundamental unit for social and economic organisation of the Andes since Inka times until today (2014: 39). The household has also

been analysed within processual studies of kinship in the domestic sphere, which incorporated notions such as care, feeding and commensality as ways of creating kinship (Van Vleet 2008). Undoubtedly, the household gives a more flexible framework to understand the creation of kin relations, allowing both the inclusion of human productions such as artefacts and domestic animals into the equation, and other forms of creation of kin beyond consanguinity. In the case of Inkawasi, as in other parts in the Andes (Calvacanti 2007, Allen 2015), the emphasis is on effort and the transmission of vital force as fundamental in the construction of kinship. In this section, we are going to approach the Inkawasinos' households as the main loci of (re)production and creation of kinship.

As mentioned, at the time of building a house, the ideal family is a married couple with small children; however, the reality is that households are very varied—frequently polygamous families—and adapt to ever changing situations. The ideal of the married couple continues in communal and ritual occasions where only the first wife fulfils ritual duties, and is the only one having a *kidamyentu*, or marriage ceremony. A household could be composed of a nuclear or polygamous family, and a house often also gives shelter to various nuclear families, with their corresponding children, as in the case of newly formed couples and their respective offspring living—for a couple years—with the husband's family. The house reflects the different arrangements between spouses, as they can live all together in the same house, sharing the same kitchen (*tumchikna*, or hearth stones); or each wife can have her own kitchen in the same house; or different wives may even live in separate houses.

The *kidamyentu*, or marriage ritual, sheds light on the idea the Inkawasinos have about this alliance. In the ceremony of the *kidamyentu*, what is key is again the establishment of ritual kin relations of *compadrazgo*. The *kidamyentu* godparents fulfil a key role in the establishment of the household and in the building of the new couple's house. As has been widely emphasised throughout the Andes, in Inkawasi the key co-parenthood relationship is that between the godparents and the parents of the child, and not the godparents with the children as in the European tradition. Because of this, it is common that for the *lanta* of the couple's first child, the child's godparents are the *kidamyentu* godparents. The *kidamyentu* is a rite of passage that marks the transition of *china* and *cholo*—girls and boys—into *warmi* and *runa*—men and women—who are 'complete' people and full members of the community. Arnold gives similar accounts for Qaqachaka (2014: 78), where marriage is

understood as a rebirth in which the newly married couple are reborn from their spiritual parents, the godparents (2014: 59). In Inkawasi, this transformation culminates with the building of the house and the establishment of a new household.



Photo 8. *Kidamyentu* ritual meal

The newly married couple usually remain with the groom's parents for one or two years, until the time when they build their first house. Today residence patterns are changing, especially around the town of Inkawasi, where young couples may want to stay for studies or work. If the bride is from Inkawasi, they may choose to reside in the bride's parents' house. The new couple will use one of the free rooms of the house and generally the daughter-in-law, or *llunchuy*, will help her mother-in-law in the house and with the farm work. Although it is infrequent, they may have different kitchens, especially in the case of conflicts between the two. The new couple leaves the parents' house when they have one or two children. Ideally, they will build a new house close by. In Inkawasi, it is customary to give the best lands to the first son, or *kulaka*, but generally all males inherit a portion of their father's lands. Today the number of children is decreasing, but people still agree that

the ideal number of children is 10; if a couple have more children, they are called *pasachi*, or passed. The only one who remains in the house, and inherits it, is the *iri* or *shullka*, the last son who, along with his wife, is expected to take care of his parents when they get old. This also happens in Qaqacharka, Bolivia, where the house is inherited by the last son (Arnold 2014: 45). However, it is possible also that one or more children remain in the family house, depending on the circumstances.

It is common that a man who has sufficient resources will have two spouses, and sometimes three. From what I have seen and heard from my closest female friends—first or second wives—it seems that if the man fulfils his duties and takes care of his children, there are no moral reproaches to having more than one wife. Jealousy from men and women is seen as very undesirable, an attitude that is even publicly mocked, as is clear in the popular song, or *taki*, called *yanki sinka*. *Yanki* is a sandal made from old tires and *sinka* means nose, so the song title refers to a man whose nose looks like a *yanki* (Martínez 2017: 123). For men, having more than one wife means wealth and power, reflected in a large family. This idea of a large family as a sign of wealth is clear in the idea that someone who loses their mother or father, does not have siblings is considered to be an orphan (*wakcha*), and a poor person. Lacking family is true disgrace in a society firmly based on kinship ties and mutual solidarity. The acceptance of polygamy by women is certainly related to the patrilineal control over the lands and the consequent virilocality, which leaves women in a clear situation of inequality. As we mentioned, land tenure is still mainly in the hands of males but this is changing rapidly. Women were the owners of 12.53 % of the Inkawasi Peasant Community land in 1991 (Cajo 1995 annex 2, table 1), increasing to 25% in 2015 (Carrasco et al 2016: 181-202).

As a contrast to this inequity, women are largely the owners and carers of guinea pigs, cows and sheep, which contribute to the balancing of power relations within the household. Women usually marry owning their own cattle, which they keep as their own and further increase, as we will expand on in Chapter Six. Relations of power inside the household depend precisely on the economic (productive) independence, although men and women's reproductive activities are complementary. In her analysis of the Qaqachaka house, Denise Arnold notes the tension between the patrilineal house and a matrilineal ideology, there the land and the house are owned and inherited by men, while the 'production' is owned by women (2014: 47). This has lead Arnold, as well as other researchers, to talk about the

house as male–female or *chachawarmi* (2014: 80). Despite this complementarity based on the gender division of labour, the organization of the household in Inkawasi cannot be defined as ‘*chachawarmi*’, (Harris 1978: 22, Arnold 2014: 80) or ‘two headed’ (Hamilton 1998), due to the frequent polygamous composition of the families.

A family usually owns more than one house: one in the town or hamlet, and the other near their lands. Today many Inkawasinos also have a house in the town of Ferreñafe, the provincial capital. Today Ferreñafe has an important colony of highlanders, who migrated there to study and to work, and they control the motorbike taxi sector there today. Twenty years ago, many Inkawasinos lived in Ferreñafe but not in their own houses. Rather they lived in houses of distant relatives or *yunka* co-parents, where children performed domestic duties in exchange for an education. Many times, this gave rise to exploitation and abuse.

When a new household is established, it constitutes the main locus of (re)production, co-residence and commensality. Here it is important to acknowledge a key distinction between commensality (horizontal) and dependency (asymmetric) relations within the household. Those of commensality are established between two persons who equally contribute to the production of the consumed food (such as the spouses), and those established between producers and their dependants (children, pets, domestic animals and artefacts) are asymmetric relations. The family embark on the raising of children, domestic animals (guinea pigs, sheep and cows) and in the cultivation of plants that may require the participation of other households in *minka*, as is the case of threshing, which requires a big *minka* to separate the wheat from the chaff. The cultivation of maize, in contrast, usually only involves the household. Indeed, a key point of Enrique Mayer when analysing the Andean household—and its success—is that it allows individual efforts and profits as well as household solidarity and shared labour (2002).

In Inkawasi, all able members of the households are expected to embark on personal productive activities, generally the raising of an animal, a sheep or a cow, for which its owner is responsible and will have the profits from its milk, meat or cash from selling it. Personal productive activities are usually a household matter: the members help each other, having a fair share of the profits. Parents usually give children an offspring of the cattle they helped to raise. The husband and wife(s) usually each own cattle of their own: women typically own cows from which they produce cheese while men own bulls for ploughing,

as we will explore in detail in Chapter Six. The raising of guinea pigs is also highly associated with women as they are raised in the kitchens and fed from peels, pods and everything edible that falls on the floor. The family may also have chickens or turkeys, also raised near the house. In Inkawasi the raising of cattle is considered mainly an individual effort, while cultivation requires household or small-scale inter-household solidarity and infrastructures, particularly irrigation channels and common work in ploughing, weeding, harvesting and threshing. The household is also the main scenario of human reproduction, as it is where children are born and raised.

Technical and dwelling transformations

The ways in which the Inkawasinos build and relate with their family and communal houses are now changing due to the introduction of new materials and techniques (corrugated tin sheets, plastic and cement), by the implementation of different projects and programs, mainly to change kitchens or install latrines³⁵. The penetration of new materials and the imposition of allegedly ‘proper’ dwelling and bodily practices are not new for the Inkawasinos, and continue to be dominant in stereotypes and discrimination against Andean rural populations. As pointed out by Jessaca Leinaweaver, the kitchen and the bathroom are key for ethnic identity and hierarchy among Andean rural migrants in the city of Ayacucho (2009: 184-786). A similar situation is described by Catherine Allen for Cusco, where projects promoting the installation of bathrooms underlined the stereotyping of indigenous populations as ‘dirty’ (2008: 238). Between 2009 and 2016, I have witnessed the coming and going of many national and international projects and programs, many of which included the installations of bathrooms or latrines³⁶.

The building of latrines as part of projects and programs, as well as the stereotypical perception of local people, are clear in the work of two nurses in their last year of training in Riopampa in the Inkawasi district (Tarrillo & Vásquez 2013). Their work ‘*Prácticas culturales de la madre en el cuidado de la vivienda*’ (Mothers’ cultural practices in home care) also shows the nurses’ impotence and disappointment in the face of the apparent ‘indifference’

³⁵ This does not mean, of course, that changes and the imposition of architectonic features is a recent phenomenon. On the contrary, the current houses of the Inkawasinos have been deeply transformed by evangelization and colonialization.

³⁶ There have been specific programs to install latrines, but in most cases their installation was part of other projects, such as the processing of the locally grown pine fungi (*boletus luteus*) sponsored by the government, or as a part of a project for improving local touristic infrastructures.

of the Inkawasinos ‘towards the maintenance of these technologies [latrines] that improve their practices for home care’ (Tarrillo & Vásquez 2013: 9)³⁷. This is the fate of many projects and programmes, carried out by professionals with very good intentions but no intercultural training and in many cases with deeply rooted prejudices, which usually impede their well-intentioned goals. The nurses’ work also shows that the efforts of changing the features of the houses are ultimately efforts to change dwelling and bodily practices. Changes are especially evident in the town of Inkawasi where many non-indigenous or ‘*yunka*’ people live, mainly schoolteachers, along with other Government or NGO workers. Following the teachers’ demands or their own expectations, many Inkawasinos have built tenancy houses, composed of rooms along a corridor with a shared bathroom, many with electric showers. As we will explore in Chapter Five, the Inkawasinos are not indifferent or passive actors facing these changes and impositions, but they have an active role in adapting, rejecting or appropriating techniques imposed by the government or other national and international institutions and NGOs.

Building Community: the Inkawasi church rethatching and the ownership of the immaterial

Just as the building of houses creates and reinforces relations between households, the case of the communal work, or *fayna* (from the Spanish *faena*, or work), necessary for the Inkawasi church rethatching, point to the periodical renovation of the Peasant Community of Inkawasi. Though the analysis of the rethatching of 2010 and the declaration of this practice as Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), I aim to show how the church is the materialisation of the *mayordomía* system, and how its current weakness is directly related to changes in the ownership of the land that came with the Agrarian Reform. It also shows how practices of colonial mastery and ownership, in this case imposed by the new trend of the ownership of the immaterial (knowledge) through patrimonialisation, have influenced local practices.

³⁷ ‘En cuanto a las letrinas, la mayoría son rústicas, en algunos casos son de material noble algunas familias no le dan el uso correcto ni el debido cuidado, no usan tapa lo cual genera un olor desagradable. En dicho caserío intervino una ONG con la implementación de 10 cocinas mejoradas en las 2005 y 3 letrinas en el 2010, se pudo observar indiferencia por el mantenimiento de estas tecnologías que mejoran sus prácticas para el cuidado de la vivienda.’

The Inkawasi church re-thatching is organized by the Peasant Community board and the Local Administration Board (JAL) of each hamlet. After approving the *fayna* in a communal assembly and setting the date, generally in the dry season (Jun/July to Nov/Dec), each community member is assigned a contribution in beams, *suru* reeds, *llaqa* (*Agave americana*), *uqsba* (*Stipa ichu*), and in labour³⁸. At present, each village is responsible for roofing a specific part of the roof under the direction of the president of the corresponding JAL. However, before the formation of the Peasant Community, the roofing task was directed by the two *regidores* (councillors) of the town, one each from the first and the second halves of the community. As we mentioned in Chapter Three, the community is divided in two halves under the surnames of 'first' and 'second', therefore the first *regidor* directed the surnames of the 'first' half, responsible for the eastern slope of the gabled roof of the church, while the second *regidor* guided the 'second' surnames and the western half of the roof. The two sides of the gable roof represented the geographical distribution of the community on the two slopes of the Moyán river basin. Today the correspondence between the *ayllus*, their geographical position and the location on the roof is only clear regarding the founder *ayllus*—the Manayay (first) and the Sánchez (second)—with the firsts clearly located on the south-eastern bank of the Moyán River, while the seconds are found on the north-western side. Currently, the geographical correspondence is still maintained though the hamlets, with the only exception of *Kutiqiru*, which may be related to the fact that this area was not clearly within the communal organization that emerged in the 18th century, and was only incorporated with the creation of the Indigenous Community in 1963.

The links between the church and the division of the community in halves have been also analysed by James Vreeland. However, in his interpretation he mistook the orientation of the roof and the valley, and the location of the town of Inkawasi (1993: 192). Vreeland says that the Inkawasinos see the world divided in two halves, 'in the classic Andean style of *hanan* and *hurin*: those "from above" and those "from below" and that the town itself is located in the centre or border between the two halves, divided by an imaginary line that passes through the church, right along the ridgepole' (Vreeland 1993: 192). This is of course impossible as the town of Inkawasi is located in the south-west corner of the Peasant Community, and that the upper Moyán-Inkawasi river valley flows through the middle of the Peasant Community from the lakes on the mountain tops in a south-west

³⁸ The assignation is made to the JAL as a whole, and it then distributes the work among its commoners.

direction, while the church is located in such a way that the ridge pole is perpendicular to the valley.

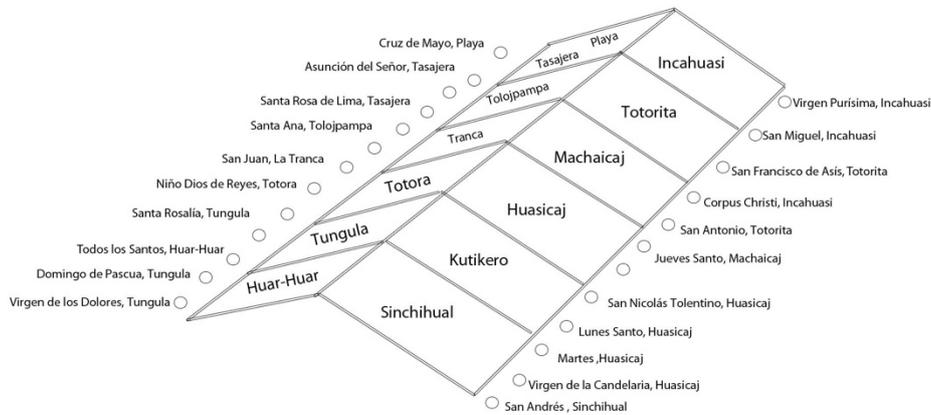


Figure 1 division of the roof and poles by hamlets and *mayordomías*.

As we examined in the third chapter, the church is the centre of the community that emerged in the 18th century and from which the present Peasant Community was formed. The church represents the geographical distribution and social structure of the community. We must consider that all the *mayordomías*' patronal images are in the church of the town of Inkawasi, where their *mayordomos* go every year from their hamlets to celebrate their patron's festival. The church therefore contains the legitimate owners of the community lands, the *amitunchik*, connecting the ritual maintenance of the church thatch roof with the very existence and reproduction of the community and its members, as we have analysed in Chapter Three.

The work of the church rethatching is like any other family or communal thatching, but organised by hamlets: men are in charge of the work while women on the ground help forming the *llaqa* ropes or the straw bundles. The woman cook the food for the commoners of their hamlets that participate in the *fayna*, and each hamlet eats together. There could be distribution of food from the Peasant Community, the mayor or the

Bishopric of Chiclayo, as happened in 2010, but is distributed to the JALs and the food prepared and consumed by hamlets. As in the case of family houses, a *wasi lanta* is carried out for the roof of the Church of San Pablo de Incahuasi, but here all the members of the Peasant Community convene. The ritual is celebrated after the thatching is finished and the *masmeros*, four in the case of the Church, take their ritual role as godparents of the structure. This makes all the Inkawasinos *compadres* or co-parents. The structure links them ritually together as the house of their *amitunchik*, or master/owners of the Inkawasinos.

As we have also seen, the church is central in the history of the current Peasant Community of San Pablo de Inkawasi, and continues to be so in its claims over the ownership of the land. The recognition of this cultural practice given by the State is key to the Inkawasinos' claims of indigeneity. As described in the previous chapter, cultural difference is in the centre of the power struggle between the indigenous communities and the State, based on whether or not they should have the status of originary inhabitants. The patrimonialisation of the church rethatching in 2016 undoubtedly strengthens the Inkawasinos claims of autochthony and due to this, it is considered to be very positive by the community. The patrimonialisation of this communal work has also triggered a renewed interest in preserving traditional technique in other buildings, especially in the higher parts of Inkawasi, where the *uqsha* straw is abundant. This is the case in the hamlet of Tranca and the San Isidro Labrador de Marayhuaca Peasant Community, both of which have important communal structures that were recently thatched with straw instead of using the more common tin sheets.

The declaration of the Inkawasi church rethatching as ICH of Peru: commodification of culture and identity

Following the UNESCO convention on World Heritage (1972), Peru initiated a wave of patrimonialisation during the 1980s and 1990s, which included the church of Inkawasi, declared in 1988 part of the *Monumentos Histórico-Artísticos del Patrimonio Monumental de la Nación* or 'Historical-Artistic Monuments of the Monumental Heritage of the Nation' (RF 211 1988). In 2003, the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage extended its notion of patrimony to the intangible (cultural heritage), especially affecting indigenous communities. The term 'cultural heritage' is defined by the UNESCO as 'traditions or

living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts.³⁹

The declaration as ICH may give indigenous communities a necessary recognition and helps in fighting discrimination. So far, however, it has also failed to effectively promote protective measures, to defend indigenous rights over their patrimony, the right to determine their response to exploitation for tourist markets, and to benefit from the resources they generate. In this new wave of patrimonialisation, in November 2016, the communal work of the Inkawasi church rethatching was declared ICH of Peru (RV 145-2016-vmpcic-mc). The process, as we explain in Chapter Three, started with the *mayordomos* in 2010, but was finally carried out by the Lambayeque Decentralised Office of Culture (LDOC from now on), dealing only with the Peasant Community and particularly with the Municipality.

As I mentioned in the third chapter, I closely collaborated with the *mayordomos*. Cesar Sánchez, then president of the Pro-Temple Committee, participated actively in the thatching of the Inkawasi church in 2010. He wanted to achieve the declaration of the church roof thatching as ICH of Peru, as was suggested to him by the Dirección de Patrimonio Inmaterial (DPI) formerly known as the 'Registry Office', and I agreed to help him to do it. I left Peru in August 2014 almost at the same time Cesar left his position as president, and soon after the Peasant Community, to work as electrician in the coastal valleys (*yunka*). Finally the file to initiate the declaration as ICH, containing a video of the church thatching of 2015, was inscribed by the regional branch of the Ministry of Culture, the LDOC.

When I went back to Inkawasi in 2016 the *mayordomos* were furious with me for what they consider to be a transgression of our agreement. It was due to the book about the Inkawasi church thatching, published by the LDOC that year with the video of the thatching. The *mayordomos* thought I was involved in that publication and process and felt betrayed because the officials of the LDOC and the authors dealt only with the Peasant Community, treating

³⁹ <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>

them as the ‘official’ community structure, and ignoring the *mayordomos* completely. I also spoke with the President of the Peasant Community, Julio Cesar Manayay Huamán, who was also disappointed, as all the recognition in the launching of the book was given to the mayor and the district administration, leaving the Peasant Community in a secondary role. Despite this, the declaration is considered as positive by the great majority of the Inkawasinos, as an alternative to mining and therefore as a way of protecting their rights to the land and its resources, as well as a way of attracting tourism resources.

As mentioned by Raúl Hernández Asensio and Beatriz Pérez Galán when analysing process of patrimonialisation in northern Peru, this process is accompanied by a deployment of legitimacy, which includes international agreements, national and regional legislations, and strong political and intellectual support (2012: 2), in which we, anthropologists, play a key role. Indigenous knowledge and practices are being subject to compilation and regulation, in the Peruvian case by the DPI, in the pursuit of the objective of ‘managing, identifying, documenting, registering, inventing, researching, preserving, safeguarding, promoting, valuing, transmitting and revaluing the intangible cultural heritage of the country, in its different aspects, promoting the active participation of the community, [this is] the groups or individuals that create, maintain and transmit this heritage and actively associating them in its management.’⁴⁰ The definition given by the DPI of its role point to an understanding of ‘intangible cultural heritage’, mainly indigenous knowledge and practices, as a ‘resource’ to be managed by them, although with the active association of the community. The use of business language is revealing.

This same idea was the one in the mind of those from the regional branch of the Ministry of Culture, the LDOC, that conducted the declaration of the church rethatching as ICH of Peru. The LDOC has been deeply influenced by the regional experience of spectacular archaeological discoveries, and its patrimonialisation, made within the close alliance of archaeologists, the Regional Government and the private sector to promote tourism and regional identity. This is a model that in most cases does not benefit the communities around the archaeological sites but the urban centres where the museums to exhibit this

⁴⁰ ‘La Dirección de Patrimonio Inmaterial es la encargada de gestionar, identificar, documentar, registrar, inventariar, investigar, preservar, salvaguardar, promover, valorizar, transmitir y revalorizar el patrimonio cultural inmaterial del país, en sus distintos aspectos, promoviendo la participación activa de la comunidad, los grupos o individuos que crean, mantienen y transmiten dicho patrimonio y de asociarlos activamente en la gestión del mismo.’ <http://www.cultura.gob.pe/es/patrimonio/inmaterial>

archaeological patrimony are built, as has been described by Asensio (2014: 85-118) and (Silverman 2005) for Lambayeque.

In the case of the declaration as ICH of Peru of the Inkawasi church, it was posed by LDOC officials as a way of generating resources by transforming the rethatching into a tourist attraction, as was told to me by Karina Villarroel Luján, secretary of the LDOC and in charge of the declaration, during a meeting we had in her office in Chiclayo in 2016. I requested the meeting when trying to find out why they did not involve the *mayordomos*, and only gave priority to the Municipality in their declaration. Karina told me that they dealt with the Peasant Community and the Municipality as the ‘official’ organizations. She was very enthusiastic and emphatic about the declaration being a great opportunity to attract the tourist industry to the area, and she already had in mind some businessman from Lambayeque that would now be interested in offering their services in the area.

The process of declaring the church thatching as ICH consisted of preparing a report and a video documenting the rethatching (Carrasco et al 2016), which was submitted to the DPI in Lima, where the report was transformed into an official resolution (RV 145-2016-vmpcic-mc). The process and the publishing of the book, with good intentions but no knowledge of local culture and politics, unleashed tensions between the *mayordomos* organized in the Pro-Temple Committee, the Peasant Community and the Municipality. Tensions were aroused as the declaration involved specifying who are the ‘carriers’ of the ‘cultural practice’ to be patrimonialised. In addition, the fact that that the LDOC officials promoted the declaration among the Inkawasinos as a way of attracting tourism—and with it monetary resources—triggered suspicions among these three groups. As pointed out by Venter and Lyons in the Tuxtla mountains of Mexico, local communities are aware of the differential access to profits coming from heritage, resulting in disputes and division among communities (2014). Initial suspicions later turned into general disappointment among the *mayordomos* and the Peasant Community directorate, because the declaration did not bring any immediate resources or measures to protect the practice; and even angered the Pro-Temple Committee due to the restrictions placed by the declaration on how they manage their own patrimony. It remains to see what will happen in the next rethatching of the Inkawasi church.

What was clear in this case were the different motivations of the Inkawasinos and of the LDOC workers for promoting and finally getting the church rethatching recognised as ICH of Peru. For the Inkawasinos, ‘cultural’ tourism and handicraft production for tourist markets is seen as an alternative to mining and as way of generating resources. This gives both value to local culture and recognition to their condition as indigenous or originary dwellers, while also generating monetary income for the locals. As Karen Fog Olwig underlines in her article entitled ‘The Burden of Heritage: Claiming a Place for a West Indian Culture’, heritage is not just given, but actively constructed in the present (1999: 375-6). In the same way, the Inkawasinos actively imagine and construct their heritage, dealing with the ideas and practices imposed by the State. The analysis of this case allows us to see how the Inkawasi church reflects the social and territorial organization of the community, how its periodical thatch renewal is a re-enactment of this organization and of the history of the Community of Inkawasi, and how the declaration of this structure as ICH is impacting members of the community.



Photo 9. Inkawasi church thatching 2010



Photo 10. Ichnu straw for the 2010 church thatching

Despite the positive welcome of the declaration, its process was not exempt of problems, mainly due to the LDOC officials' unfamiliarity with local politics and history, and their idea that the true 'experts' (the academics) will reveal the real value of the structure through 'academic' research. In addition to the discourse focused on patrimonialisation as a way of

attracting touristic resources, which led to tensions among the *mayordomos*, the Peasant Community leaders and the Municipality. The first issue was that the LDOC only dealt with the Peasant Community and did not consider the *mayordomos*, now organised in the Pro-Temple Committee, when making the declaration, and this upset the leaders that promoted the process in the first place. After the declaration, the Peasant Community president and board were disappointed because the investigation identified the location as the District of Inkawasi and not the Peasant Community (Carrasco et al 2016: 21). As mentioned previously, the district has another six Peasant Communities that do not participate in the church rethatching. They were also disappointed by the book's version of their history, where it is claimed that the Inkawasinos were *yanacunas* of the haciendas (Carrasco et al 2016: 64), contradicting all historic evidence and the Inkawasinos' claims of indigeneity and land ownership. We discussed this in length with the president of the Peasant Community and his board during two meetings in 2016.

The book made by the LDOC about the church roofing shows a limited understanding of what is patrimony among those entrusted with implementing ICH policies (Carrasco et al 2016: 14). This led the authors to blame 'the action of the people who did not know how to revitalise their own traditions' or 'who were influenced by a dangerous liking for modernity'⁴¹. In addition to this, they declared that they wanted to remedy the 'vulnerable situation' of the Inkawasinos that 'are not prepared' to face the changes of 'modernisation' (Carrasco et al 2016: 17). This of course is far from the real causes of the problems that the church rethatching is facing, related to the recent changes in the community—especially the Agrarian Reform—and to the continuation of the strong discrimination and inequality that affects indigenous populations, besides, of course, the conversion of part of the community to evangelical sects. This idea of vulnerability and incapacity of action radically contradicts the Inkawasinos' history of strong opposition and defence of their lands and their way of living.

⁴¹ *'la acción de los mismos pobladores que no han sabido fortalecer sus propias tradiciones, o influenciados por un peligroso gusto por la modernidad'* (Carrasco et al. 2016: 128)

Conclusion

Through the examination of technical and ritual procedures implicated in the building of family and communal houses, we aimed to show how common work needed in building and maintaining a house, implicate the creation—and sustainment—of ritual kin relations of *compadrazgo*, and with the outcome of that labour, the house. For a recent married couple, the building of a household implicates the creation of new kind of relations, with other households. The building of a family house is a key step in the lives of all the Inkawasinos, when they are finally complete persons, *warmi* (woman) and *ushqu/runa* (man), and full members of the community. Although we cannot consider the house in Inkawasi as strictly *chachawarmi*, it does incarnate similar ideas of a unit of a couple with a highly gendered division of labour.

The relations between the owners and the house are similar to those established with domestic animals and other dependants, and particularly with children. The house is also the main locus of (re)production for the Inkawasinos, where common labour, commensality and co-residence create and maintain kin relations. The household is the basic unit of production, not isolated but articulated with other households. Within the household, the distinction between the owners and those dependants is what determines many of these ties. The Inkawasi church rethatching reflects the social and territorial organization of the community, and allows the re-enactment of the communal ties that link it with the origin of the current community. The analysis of the process of declaring this communal work as ICH of Peru also helped us to shed light on local politics, and on the responses to this new phenomenon of the ownership of the immaterial and the commodification of cultural practices for global tourism.

Chapter 5

Weaving the world: technology, personhood and textile craft production

Through the analysis of waist-loom textile production both for domestic use and for sale to tourist markets, this chapter aims to expand on how processes of human-making are conceptualised as processes of appropriation of the Other's capacities by transforming its physicality, and its soul—the *upay* or *sumra*—that merges with that of its maker or owner. In the fourth chapter, we analysed how kin relations between builders, owners and houses are sanctioned through rituality analogous to that of the human life cycle, which emphasises a relation similar to that established between parents and children. In this chapter, we are going to approach how these ties are forged through technical procedures, also understood as processes of human growth and of life cycle transformations. Weaving is understood by women as a process of feeding which emphasises the transmission of vital force—the *sumra* (shadow), *upay* or *amay* (breath)—from the weaver to the cloth. As we saw in Chapter Three, the Inkawasinos understand the world as dual, composed of two complementary and interdependent parts: 'this world'—solar (visible) and tangible—and its inverted double, the world of the shadows—interior and immaterial; which implies that

everything that exists in this world has *sumra* (spirit, soul or vital force) that animates it. In this context, processes of making are thought of as interactions with other ‘subjects’ rather than as the imposition of a form upon an inanimate material. In Inkawasi, the production of textiles is understood as a vital process in which the fibres pass through different transformations thought of in terms of life and death cycles. Weaving, from warping to the final piece, is understood and named as the gestation and growth of a living being, in which weavers literally bring textiles to life with their own breath. After the poncho, blanket or bag is finished, it starts a new relation with its owner(s) that lasts their entire lives, and even after the death of the owner.

To see how relatedness and moral obligations are created through specific technical procedures, we are going to analyse the clash between waist loom weaving and the techniques of sewing with shape patterns, recently introduced in Inkawasi to promote the production of market-oriented handicrafts. In the last ten years, several Peruvian institutions, organizations for international cooperation and NGOs have been promoting this production to increase the population’s income, mainly through the delivery of training courses to ‘adapt’ local production to market demands. The main approach of these courses has been to teach women how to elaborate crafts based on the sewing-pattern or tailoring technique, using the waist loom cloth as the main indigenous contribution. To date, there is a general resistance to incorporating cutting with templates or shape patterns because it interferes with the understanding of waist loom textiles as living beings towards which their makers or owners have moral obligations. I will argue that the resistance to incorporate tailoring into production using waist loom woven cloth resides precisely in a different understanding of how creative processes occur. This will allow us to investigate people’s relationships with the things they make or master. The production of market-oriented handicrafts requires the weavers to unite in legalised associations, and looking at this will also allow us to elaborate on the relation of the artisan with the artefact, its links with the household—as the main productive unit—and also with the extended kin group.

This chapter is divided into two sections: the first covers the emergence of textile handicraft production in the town of Inkawasi and analyses the resistance of local weavers to the use of this tailoring technique on the waist-loom woven cloth. Within this section, we are also going to analyse how this inherently individual production struggles to fit within

the legalised structure of an association, which is necessary to benefit from governmental projects and programs, as well as to gain access to commercialisation channels. The second section explores weavers' understanding of their craft as an interaction with the fibres thought of in terms of life and death cycles. This will allow us to shed light on the kind of relationships the Inkawasinos establish with the things they make and own. Finally, the way in which weavers understand weaving will help us to enquire into how the Inkawasinos perceive existence: as the capacity to keep its two identical and opposed components or threads—the *upay*, or animating capacity, and its material counterpart—crossed.

Textile craft production in Inkawasi: weavers' associations and training courses

Following the Agrarian Reform and especially after the construction of the road in the mid 1980s, Inkawasi had growing contacts with regional, national and global phenomena. This increased after the following decade with the rise in schooling and increasing bilingualism, the migration of the young population to urban areas, and the arrival of the first budgetary allocations under the neoliberal government of President Alberto Fujimori. From this point forward, the highlands of Lambayeque have been seen as potential sources of income, especially in the fields of mining, tourism and handicraft production (Aldana *et al* 2006: 269-270); and many projects and programs have been implemented to promote them.

Among these fields, textile handicraft production is currently the one having the greatest development and impact on the community⁴². Here, as in other parts of the Andes and worldwide, this phenomenon has been driven by the growing importance of tourist markets looking for the unique and the 'exotic' in places that until recently were largely outside the capitalist economy (Zorn 2004: 105). The production of textile handicrafts started in Inkawasi around the year 2000 with the creation of the first weavers' association, Inkawasi-Awana. This association was endorsed by evangelical missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), with the aim of generating a monetary income for

⁴² In the nearby Community of Kañaris, mining is generating a struggle between the community and the Canadian mining company Candente Copper that is now in a lawsuit at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

the women (Groenewald 2011a: 242). At the same time, through the newly constituted Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism (MINCETUR), the Peruvian government created CITEs, the ‘Technological Innovation, Handicraft and Tourism Centres’. The CITEs were created to promote, through ‘innovation and technological transference’, a ‘competitive craft production capable of generating a ‘non-assistential income for the poorest segments of the population’ (CITE Sipán 2009a: 10-11), who are generally indigenous and rural in Peru.

In order to achieve this goal, from 2004 the regional CITE, the CITE Sipán, has been delivering regular training courses to teach Inkawasi weavers’ associations how to elaborate handicrafts based on sewing patterns, while maintaining the waist loom woven cloth as the main indigenous contribution (Cite Sipán 2009a: 64). Other institutions and NGOs have also promoted handicraft production in the area, but have all followed the same approach started by the first weavers’ association and CITE Sipán: the creation of a handicraft production oriented towards large tourist markets based on the tailoring of waist loom woven cloth (*see photo 11*)⁴³. The handicrafts produced within training courses have been mainly commercialized through the MINCETUR craft fairs network and regional museum shops⁴⁴. This has resulted in an income for weavers, in addition to the materials, tools and other resources provided by these institutions.

It was precisely the capacity of Inkawasi-Awana to generate a substantial income for its members that triggered the emergence of other weavers’ associations, and at present there are six legally constituted ones and a few more seeking to obtain this legal status⁴⁵. The fact that these associations have been so successful in attracting and generating resources is deeply transforming the community. On the one hand, it is creating tensions between those women and families that have been able to benefit from national and international programmes and those who have not. In the case of Inkawasi-Awana, under the influence

⁴³ Other institutions that helped to promote textile handicraft production are: the Spanish NGO Ayuda en Acción Andalucía, Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Desarrollo Sostenible (CIPDES), Peace Corps Volunteers and the United Nations International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), as well as the governmental projects Sierra Norte, Agro Rural, Corporación Financiera de Desarrollo (COFIDE) and Programa Inclusivo de Desarrollo Empresarial Rural (PRIDE).

⁴⁴ For the last couple of years, Inkawasi-Awana association has had a store in the regional capital, Chiclayo, financed by a United Nations-IFAD project.

⁴⁵ These associations are: Asociación Productores Artesanales y Agropecuarios y Afines (APAGROP), Awana Cochapampa, Virgen de Fátima de Uyurpampa and “Shumaq Awana”, legally constituted before 2009. Since that date, the following have also been constituted: the Asociación de Artesanas Mujeres Creativas Inkawasi (ASAMCED); Asociación de Productores Técnicos Inkawasinos (APROTESI); Mujeres Inkawasinas en Acción (MIEA); and Asociación de Productores Agropecuarios Artesanos Conservacionistas Acuicultores Ecológico Forestal (APACAEF) (CITE Sipán 2009a: 22; 2009b: 62).

of the SIL members and of its missionary agenda, tensions have also arisen between Evangelicals and Catholics. On the other hand, this phenomenon is deeply changing gender relations by increasing women's income and by opening new channels of participation for them. Textile handicraft production is also transforming identity construction by giving a new look to Andean cloth, which is now, as it has been for thousands of years, paramount to identity in Inkawasi, and all over the Andes (Zorn 2004: 19).



Photo 11. Inkawasi-Awana association promotional advertisement.

In a multi-authored article, Gerald Taylor, who witnessed the emergence of this phenomenon in Inkawasi, understood it as the creation of ‘a category of « Indians » integrated in the capitalist world, pursuing personal success while retaining an exotic side, which recalls the evolution of the merchants of Otavalo, Ecuador, during the second half of the twentieth century’ (Aldana, et al 2006: 269)⁴⁶. Undoubtedly, this phenomenon has had a great impact on the community, framed in longstanding and unequal relations of

⁴⁶ “avec semble-t-il l’objectif de créer une catégorie d’« Indiens » intégrés au monde capitaliste, recherchant la réussite individuelle tout en conservant un côté exotique, ce qui rappelle l’évolution des commerçants d’Otavalo, en Équateur, pendant la seconde moitié du XXe siècle.” (Aldana et al 2006: 269).

power with the Peruvian government. However, as has been highlighted for the paradigmatic case of Otavalo (Meisch 2002: 2), the development of a textile handicraft production in Inkawasi has not just been an outside imposition but a complex phenomenon that involves active indigenous participation and different processes of accommodation and resistance at a production level and at a larger social scale, to which production is attached.

Technical encounters: weaving and sewing from shape patterns

Since my arrival in Inkawasi in 2009, I have had the opportunity to participate in the meetings and activities of different associations and to attend many of the training courses delivered to them to promote the production of textile handicrafts⁴⁷. These courses generally consisted of two- or three-day workshops to teach women how to elaborate items based on sewing patterns, normally purses or wallets, delivered by a non-Quechua speaking designer or specialist. Training courses were focused on the use of sewing machines, product standardisation (measurement and finishing), price estimation and colour combination, among other related topics.

During one of the first courses that I attended at the Inkawasi-Awana workshop, I asked teacher Julia Manayay, who introduced me to the weavers of this association, about the idea of textiles as living beings. I asked her as she was Ronel Groenewald's (the SIL promoter of Inkawasi-Awana) informant for two papers, in which she stresses that back-strap loom cloth in Inkawasi is understood as a living being that is analogous to the human body and life cycle (2002a, 2011a). Julia answered my question by pointing out to me the fact that her mother and other weavers, especially the elderly, never cut the *awana*, the name used to refer to both the loom and to the textile itself. They say, she explained to me, that it cannot be cut because it would be mistreating the *awana*. It is, she concluded, as if it were alive.

⁴⁷ In particular, I worked with three groups: the abovementioned Inkawasi-Awana Association, the 'Asociación de Artesanas Mujeres Creativas y Emprendedoras- Inkawasi' (ASAMCEI) and Awana Cochapampa. These last two were created around the year 2010 on their own initiative by groups of women around one *ayllu*, or patrilineal kin group.

In that training course and others that followed, as well as in weavers' own handicraft production (to sell, but outside training courses), I was able to confirm that the vast majority of weavers reject cutting the cloth they have woven using a back-strap loom. This is because they consider cutting as the mistreatment of a being that they have brought to life with their own breath, which entails for weavers the possibility of losing their capacity to ever weave again. Despite this being known by all promoters and trainers, and the idea of textiles as living beings is even advertised as the 'exotic' added value of this production, it is assumed that these are 'beliefs' or at best symbolical or metaphorical projections onto the cloth, and not a reality for the weavers. Behind this lies an ontological difference, but also the general Western understanding of technology as an objective system of relations detached from the social domain and the people that make it possible (Ingold 2000a 321-2). This also lies behind the promoters' interpretation of the general resistance to adopt tailoring as being caused by 'low levels of education that limit women's ability to obtain more technical knowledge'⁴⁸ rather than an active resistance to a procedure that is perceived as wrong and undesirable.

This opposition to cutting waist-loom woven textiles does not mean that weavers reject producing handicrafts or have a negative view of training courses. On the contrary, they want to sell their textile production and earn money to face every day necessities in an increasingly monetized setting in which training courses—linked to channels of commercialisation—are seen as a positive way of achieving this goal, aside from the benefits of receiving tools and materials. It is also true, as pointed out by Julia in her example, that the rejection of cutting is stronger among older weavers than in young ones who are mainly bilingual (schooled), pointing to a transformation. This is, however, a more complex and lasting phenomenon and not just a generational change.

As is well known, tailoring has coexisted for centuries with the production of loom woven cloth in the Andes, and today it is widely used for the manufacture of local dresses⁴⁹. Nevertheless, it seems that these two techniques have remained as relatively separate fields, in which fabrics for tailoring are generally produced by men in European-style treadle

⁴⁸ *'Los bajos niveles de educación, limitan a los beneficiarios de esta línea para obtener mayores conocimientos técnicos que les permitan seguir desarrollando esta actividad'* (CITE Sipán 2009a: 88)

⁴⁹ There is little data on the penetration of tailoring in northern Peru. In the nine volumes of aquarelles made by the Bishop of Trujillo, Martínez de Compañón y Bujanda at the end of the XVIII, we find some representations of local dresses, where it is clear that tailored garments were largely in use among indigenous populations (1978 Vol. II plate n° 24).

looms, while women continue weaving in Andean-style looms (Cereceda [1978] 1986: 163, Desrosiers 1997: 15, Zorn 2004: 59-63). Likewise, in Inkawasi, tailoring is mainly in the hands of men; even if they do not produce the fabric, they are the ones who sew with machines and make local clothes with industrial fabrics. Currently, training courses are transforming this gender differentiation, and the women of the associations are increasingly using sewing machines to make family clothes. Even among weavers' associations, weaving and tailoring remain as differentiated fields, and are generally carried out by different specialists (those who cut and sew weave less or not at all).

When considering this same phenomenon in northern Potosi in Bolivia, Sophie Desrosiers (1997) describes the coexistence of two mutually exclusive technical and cultural 'logics' of cloth production, where one of the main differences is precisely the refraining from cutting the Andean-style loom cloth (four-selvedge). Like in Inkawasi, the textiles woven by women in northern Potosi are not cut because cutting is "to make them die", which Desrosiers interprets as the 'cultural logic' behind the Andean loom cloth, in which textiles are represented as living beings with anthropo/zoomorphic features (1997: 20), as has also been emphasized in other parts in the Andes (Arnold et al 2007: 49-79, Cereceda 1978 [1986], Meisch 1987, Zorn 2004: 55).

Despite there being a different 'technical logic' behind both cloth productions where cutting is a central feature, in Inkawasi the same 'cultural logic' applies to both cases. Industrial and waist-loom woven cloth are both alive, but they came into existence differently, and this determines the distinctive relations and appropriate procedures to deal with each of them. This is clear in how cuts are made for both loom and industrial cloth. Unlike northern Potosi, in Inkawasi waist-loom textiles are cut to produce important traditional garments and normally the pieces are sewn using a sewing machine⁵⁰. For instance, when making a *pullu*, or woman's blanket, a cloth that is various meters long is first folded in half, joining its two most distant sides, called the *uma* (head) and the feet (*çaki*). After folding it, the two parts are sewn together along one of the lateral edges (*see photo 12 (a)*). Only after the edges have been sewn together is the cloth cut, emphasising the importance of maintaining the integrity of the cloth (*b*). The cut is made by extracting the weft thread where the fold is (*c*), and then cutting only the warp threads following the

⁵⁰ In Inkawasi, only the back-strap loom is used, and this produces longer and narrower pieces of cloth than other vertical or floor Andean looms. In Inkawasi there is mainly weaved warp-face single cloth, where designs are obtained by adding new warps.

line left by the absent weft (*d*). The *pullu* can be made of two, or more regularly of four pieces, which requires the same procedure to be repeated once again. In both cases, the result is a piece that is composed of two or four equal reflected segments, a dual or quadripartite symmetric design that is repeated in textiles throughout the Andean world (Cereceda [1978] 1986: 161-3, Franquemont *et al* 1992) (*f*).

The way in which loom cloth is cut suggests that cutting itself is not refused, but rather the action of doing it in any other way than by cutting only the warp threads following the weft direction and preserving the cloth integrity. Making rounded or transversal cuts—or cutting the weft following the warp—makes it impossible to preserve the life of the textile, which is precisely the capacity of maintaining the warp threads interlaced with those of the weft. Weaving warp-faced textiles in a waist loom consists of systematically crossing the two sets of threads formed in warping, and at each crossing inserting the weft yarn to make this criss-cross permanent. In Inkawasi, this criss-cross of the warp sustained by the weft is called *upay*. The *upay* is commonly translated by locals as spirit and is used as synonym of the terms *sumra* (shadow) and *amay* (breath), all referring to a vital force or energy that animates people, animals, plants and textiles⁵¹. Extensively compromising the criss-cross of the threads by cutting is taking the life, or *upay*, out of textiles; that is, killing them.

The necessity of maintaining the cross-link of the textile can also be found in local garment tailoring made with industrial fabrics. For example, when making a woman's shirt (*kamsa*), the pieces of cloth are cut in the same manner as for the loom cloth: first, the weft thread is cut at the desired length, the cut thread is extracted from the warp, and then the cloth is cut following the line drawn by the absent weft (*see photo 13 (d)*). When the fabric does not allow the extraction of the weft, the person, generally a woman, makes a small cut at the desired length, then brings the cut closer to her mouth and infuses breath, after which she rips off the cloth (*a* and *b*). The reason doing this is that the cloth splits following a straight line, the one drawn by the textile's *upay*. *Randi(y) rap'cata llikinchik amar, ama wigruyanampaq dasla llikikanampaq*. To cut *randi* (bought / sourced from the cities in the Coast) fabric it is breathed on and then ripped to make a quick and straight cut (DLC *amay*).

⁵¹ The term (*s*)*upay* is used to refer to the demon in the majority of Andean dialects of the south. However here, as in Ancash and Huaral province, it maintains one of its original meanings as the soul or shadow of the person (Taylor 2000: 19-27), and of everything that has a material existence in the world, comparable to the *sami* described by Catherine Allen in Cusco (2008: 50).



Photo 12. The *pullu* making, cutting and sewing processes.

The result is that the woman's shirt, like all local tailoring, is only made with square or rectangular pieces that are pleated to make the necessary rounded shapes (*c*, *e* and *f*). Inquiring into why no rounded cuts are made the answer was always the same: cutting rounded shapes produces excess scraps and increases the possibility of fraying. This means mistreating (*matratakashā*) or causing the cloth to get sick (*qishakar*).



Photo 13. The *Kamsa* tailoring.

In the same way, in the weavers' own handicraft production this logic of preserving the life (*upay*) of textiles is maintained. All associations, except Inkawasi-Awana, whose production is more for SIL members and projects, manufacture essentially square or rectangular shaped items, mostly bags, wallets and placemats and centrepieces. The most regularly produced item is the '*chasqui*' bag that is made with a rectangular piece of cloth that is pleated and then the edges sewn together. Generally, the weaver makes various bags from one loom that she cuts by the weft. To finish, an additional woven strip is usually sewn to the bag to serve as a handle and sometimes also as a finishing touch (*see photo 14*). Other items extensively produced by all associations are placemats and centrepieces. To

make a placemat, on the loom the weaver intentionally leaves an unwoven portion of the warp (without passing the weft) between each of the placemats. When the loom is finished, the unwoven warp threads are cut, leaving an equal portion on each side of the placemats, frequently knotted as a finishing. Knots, remarkably, have been widely adopted and developed in the fabrication of crafts as an acceptable finishing for both weavers and promoters (*see photo 14*).

As can be seen in tailoring, and also for certain waist loom woven traditional garments, in the weavers' own handicraft production, curved shapes are mainly created by pleating or by folding the edges over. For instance, when making small wallets with square pieces, the edges of the cloth are usually sewn together—as in the 'chasqui' bag—and the resulting inner corners are then pleated and sewn, obtaining a rounded shape once inverted. Similar strategies are also present in highly significant garments such as the *ponchos* used for the religious dance of Inkawasi or for the Holy Week Apostles, where the rounded shape is given by folding over the four edges.

Despite there being a necessity to maintain the 'textility' of the cloth in both weaving and local tailoring, even for the weaver's own handicraft production, there is a central difference between these two techniques that is also what maintains them as separate fields. This difference is in how form is obtained. For the making of local clothes, and also to some extent for the weavers' own handicraft production, waist loom textiles are cut in such a way that the loom never loses its integrity from warping to the final piece. In fact, no difference is made between the loom and the textile itself; they are both thought of and named in the same way: *awana*. On the other hand, local tailoring with industrial fabrics uses different pieces that are cut out from the cloth and then assembled together to make the desired item. In loom weaving the final form is given in warping, while in tailoring the cloth is seen as a 'raw material' to which form is given by cutting and sewing (Ingold 2000b 63-5). This is precisely what training courses aim to teach women: how to produce crafts using tailoring with the cloth they have previously woven on a back-strap loom, thereby ignoring its own process of formation.



Photo 14. Chaski bags and placemats from Awana-Cochapampa, ASAMCEI and Segunda Manayay.

The basis of tailoring, as pointed out by Tim Ingold (2010b), lies in a model of understanding the process of creation that has been predominant in Western thought for thousands of years: the Aristotelian hylomorphic model (*hyle*: matter *morphe*: form). This is a model that is currently—and progressively—more unbalanced in its terms than ever, in which a pre-figured form is imposed by an outside agent on a matter that remains passive and inert (Ingold 2010b: 2). In contrast, weavers understand weaving as an interaction with fibres—acknowledging their existence as active subjects—in which form emerges as an *essential* or *vital* transformation. This does not mean that weavers do not prefigure in their minds the designs and form of the textiles; on the contrary, they do. However, the terms

of these prefigurations acknowledge the interaction rather than the imposition. For the community of Qaqachaka, Arnold gathers how weavers thought of their designs as “just inside their hearts”: ‘at the precise moment that their heart opens like a bud then spirit flows and they are inspired to weave, grasping the designs from the blood mass in their hearts’ (Arnold 1997: 107-115). Through the interaction of weaving, women establish obligations of care and protection to their textiles that in return will warm, protect and help them to carry. In this framework, cutting loom textiles also means breaking the reciprocal obligations established with the textiles through their process of formation, which entails for weavers the possibility of losing their capacity to ever weave again.

As observed by Catherine Allen (2015: 29, 38), the understanding of weaving—and of all processes of creation—as an interaction rather than an imposition could give a new perspective on Heather Lechtman’s ‘technological style’ (1977: 3-17), which in the Andes ‘emphasized accommodation rather than alteration, reciprocity rather than invasion’ (1993: 246). Lechtman developed the idea of a technology of the ‘essences’ for the ancient Andes, where the purpose of technology was to visually reveal the internal structure of gold and silver alloys on the surface, visually communicating their inner essence (Lechtman 1984: 33). The Andean obsession of revealing the essence of material objects was aimed at materialising its divine nature, incorporating the ideological concerns of society into technology. She does this by analysing 16th and 17th century chronicles, where Viracocha animated or breathed spirit (*qamay*) into an object, which implicated the divine animation of all material things.

Lechtman also stressed that in order to understand Andean technology we must turn our attention away from the final product towards the processes of production (1993). In Inkawasi, the production of textiles is understood as a vital process in which the fibres pass through different transformations thought of in terms of life and death cycles. Weaving, from warping to the final piece, is understood and named as the gestation and growth of a being, in which weavers literally bring textiles to life with their own breath.

The majority of the clothes the Inkawasinos wear today are made with the vivid colours of industrial yarns and fabrics or with sheep’s wool dyed with chemicals (locally known as *fucsinas*). Un-dyed sheep wool is generally used to make blankets (*pununa*), sacks (*keustal*) or saddlebags (*alpurja*), and sometimes also for the *kwirpuy* (body) of the women’s blanket

(*pullu*), where brown and grey colours are used, and for the skirt (*anuku*), for which black wool is used. However, as a direct result of the efforts to implement a handicraft production in the area, dyeing with local plants is now widely used within weavers' associations' craft production for sale⁵². Indeed, the use of local products—almost in disuse at the time—for tincturing, was the focus of the first years of training courses and weavers' association activities; as a way of recovering 'traditional' practices as well as discouraging the use of chemical dyes, perceived as polluting (CITE Sipán 2009a: 89, 94-7; Groenewald 2002b). Currently, some use only sheep-wool dyed with local products, as is the case of ASAMCEI, or mainly synthetic thread, as in the case of Inkawasi-Awana, but overall both kinds of threads are used in the production of handicrafts. The choice to use sheep-wool tinctured with local products or not is influenced by the possibilities of women, the strong encouragement given by training courses to use this more 'natural' and 'traditional' way of dyeing, and also by the problem that woollen clothes are easily damaged in the humid and warm areas of the coast, as well as by the instability of local dyes.

Colour combination is another field of great change and resistance aside from tailoring has been colour combination, something that all handicrafts promoters have tried to change. In Inkawasi the main criterion of colour combination in the *shuyu*, or colour stripes, on belts and in general on all textiles is contrast (fair/dark, red/green, yellow/violet and blue/orange). Training courses have constantly tried to change this criterion of contrast to those of adjacency and tonal variation. Denise Arnold and Elvira Espejo (2012) have highlighted for Bolivia a trend in training courses of imposing Western theories of colour re-elaborated as 'traditional Andean' ones, like those colour patterning compositions found in southern Peru and in Bolivia commonly known by their Aymara term *k'isas* (2012: 24). The *k'isas* are successive stripes that follow a gradation pattern in the same tonality going from light to dark or vice versa, a pattern that is related by the authors to the development of industrial (chemical) colour production in the West as well as to a visual and political phenomenon of indigenous identity (2012: 12). In Inkawasi, mainly outside the indigenous movements in Peru—*indigenistas*—the colour patterns of the *k'isas* have just recently arrived with training courses and women generally perceive colour pattern gradations as a wrong criterion of colour combination.

⁵² Currently people use plants (leaves, roots or fruits), lichens (stone beard or *rumipa shapran* in Quechua), fermented mud, and other minerals.

When dyeing with non-chemical local products, the contrasts are lower and in general there has been less pressure from the trainers to change colour combinations within clothes made with local dyes. As Arnold and Espejo also remarked for Bolivia, in Inkawasi dyeing is strongly related to an essential transformation (breath) in the wool (2012: 17) similarly to what also occurs in weaving. Because of this, dyeing is one of the most restrictive activities within wool cloth production and is never performed near times of transformation. For instances, the first wool sheared can't be dyed because it would affect the sheep, pregnant women can't dye or the foetus will be stained, and mourning women must also refrain from dyeing.

Organizational encounters: associations and the ayllu

Another important field where government 'developmental aid' clashed with local dynamics is that of the organization of production. To have access to this help, women must be organized in legally constituted associations, which clashes with local ideas of production and of distribution of surplus. However, as in other fields, women have adapted this foreign institution to their own necessities and ends. As opposed to Inkawasi-Awana, which is strongly influenced by the SIL, the new associations are usually formed by women linked by kinship ties, and they have developed equally different forms of working, distributing the surplus and of managing conflicts and challenges. Inkawasi-Awana works mainly with industrial thread that is owned by the association. Looms are warped and woven by individual women and final pieces of cloth are generally cut following patterns and sewn by young women in the association workshop. The money from the sale of finished products is equally distributed among weavers and sewers, which tends to be a specialization on its own.

In the case of ASAMCEI, they work only with sheep's wool and natural tinctures. This implies that the process of making these products starts with the sheep. The whole process from obtaining the thread to weaving is attached to women's daily routines. While they are walking (leading their sheep to graze), nursing children, chatting or cooking they are also spinning, winding or reeling. Threads are also warped and woven individually in the house

of each woman. Then, if sewing is required, it can be sewn in the association workshop or at home, if the family owns a sewing machine. In this association, each piece of fabric belongs to the woman that has produced it and she generally also receives the majority of the sale income. However, in ASAMCEI, the income coming from certain products made with threads provided by projects or institutions and those made in the frame of training courses is usually distributed in equal parts among the weavers.

None of these forms of working have been free of conflict regarding the distribution of effort and surplus. In the case of Inkawasi-Awana, this generates a struggle between the products women weave with their own thread and time and those of the association. This conflict has led to the Inkawasi-Awana weavers being prohibited from selling handicrafts outside the association⁵³. In the case of ASAMCEI, the issue revolves around the unequal distribution of the monetary income among weavers because some products are sold and others not. This conflict is being handled by favouring products made in the frame of the association, along with a new productive program (dried mushrooms) and with the help of UNICA—a kind of rural bank that is entirely managed by the association—which permits women to channel part of the association's surplus and redistribute it among the members.

The difficulties arise then when it comes to separating weaving activities from the production of thread and the raising of sheep from which they obtain wool, and from weavers' daily life and the household setting. Inkawasi-Awana opted to work with thread not produced by the weavers, undoubtedly due to the difficulties in working with it as an association. Struggles also arise when the effort is seen from the perspective of a final product and subjected to market demands, and not from the perspective of local ideas of value more centred in the process of production (effort). This effort and the final ownership of the clothes is attached to the production of the thread, and ultimately to the raising of sheep. This means that the appropriation of the wool starts long before shearing, with the daily tasks of caring for, feeding and protecting the sheep that grew the wool. This means that the thread is not a raw material, but instead is itself a part of the process of transformation of the sheep's own 'clothes' into ones for people.

⁵³ Women usually offer their production to the Health Care Centre personnel or to school teachers, the majority of whom are mestizos coming from the cities on the coast.

The relationship established between human beings and their herd animals is examined by Penelope Dransart (2002) in Isluga, in the Chilean Andes. She stresses that every generation of llamas are integrated into the human relations through caring and rituality. Llamas are considered as individuals and their lineages parallel to those of their owners (Dransart 2002: 80). The Aymara herders of Isluga express in the ceremony of *wayñu*, or marking ceremony, how the camelid fleece is the result of the transformation of pastures and water, which is related to spinning yarn, plaiting ropes and weaving cloth (Dransart 2002: 82). The fibre grown by animals is transformed into clothes through human labour in what Dransart describes as a living system (2002: 125). In the next section, we are going to explore how the weavers use the language of growing and of cycles of death and rebirth to talk about transforming fleece into yarn and into woven cloth.

Growing textiles

In the highlands of Lambayeque, there is no herding or commerce of Andean camelid fleece; weavers only make use of locally-herded sheep's wool and industrial yarns, and to a lesser extent cotton coming from the Coastal valleys⁵⁴. Women usually own and care for the sheep that they shear once or twice a year, always during the new moon or at the start of the waxing crescent phase to ensure that the wool continues growing like the moon does. In general, all things that are expected to re-grow—or not—are cut matching the moon phases. To stop the growth, the cut is made in the waning phase, and to increase it, the cut is made in the waxing crescent.

⁵⁴ Llamas were reintroduced into the area a few years back but there is no significant production of llama wool and in general little knowledge of this fibre or how to use it. There are no accounts on when llamas disappeared. It is known that at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, llama herding was widespread in the northern coast and highlands (Dransart 2002: 24-26). However, the low altitudes plus the early development in this area of European cattle ranches, or *estancias*, probably prompted an early disappearance.



Photo 15. Martha Manayay Calderón of ASAMCEI Association spinning.

Iti killapi rutunchik ninllapa. Wasita imataq wakmaqa wasita qatarqa rutuyan landanta niyan y wamratapis landanda rutuyanchik niyan chaytachu cualquier momento rutunchik manaqachu derepende manaq chay wakma qerumataqa kuchyanchik killapi ima niyan ima killakunapichi chay chaynu killapichu rutuyanchik

It is shorn when it is new moon. Also when building a house, you stick to the moon to cut the edges of the roof's straw and the child's first hair, even cutting trees for a house is guided by the moon. (Ana Cecilia Manayay)

After the first shear is done, those involved take the sheep by the legs pulling the animal all that is possible, then rocking the animal and saying: *atunta millwakunki!* (have a lot of wool). It is usually asked for sufficient wool for a skirt (when shearing a black sheep) or for a *kustal* (sack) when it is a white sheep, or any clothing the woman have in mind. *Uña millwanta rurur chutaranchinchik atunta winananpaq.* When the first wool (*uña*) is sheared, the sheep is pulled from the legs so it [the wool] grows big. *Uña uyshata rururqa çunka çunka nir çaspinchik.* After the first shearing of the sheep, it is pulled from the legs saying *çunka çunka* to produce abundant wool. In the words of Dorotea Calderón: *Uyshata uñitan mishwanta rururqa kaynu chutarachir pachu pachu pachu atunta mishwakunki atun winanki nir dejayanchik/*When the sheep's wool is being cut for the first time, at the very moment that the cut ends and the [sheared] wool is extended, we say: you have to produce more wool and you have to grow more so that you have enough wool.

The wool obtained is washed and carefully carded (*ichin*) by hand before they start the spinning. Once this is done, a handful of wool is rolled, forming an oval shape called a *wanku*, a term that refers to the action of completely wrapping an object or swaddling a baby (Taylor 1996: 139). In the case of the first wool, or *uña millwa*, the fleece must be treated very carefully as it is believed that it would interfere in the sheep's growth of new wool. The *wanku* is placed at the top of the spindle stick, or *qalla*, that women attach to their waist and the spinning (*puchka-*) is done by gradually extracting the wool from the *wanku* with one hand and spinning it with the other one, where they hold an additional small stick called a *shuksku* (see photo 15).

The process of passing and rolling the fleece between the fingertips is referred to as *iluta wanchishaq*, literally 'to make the yarn die'. This is related to the broader idea of death as a transformation from a humid and tender state to a more rigid and dry one, which appears all over the Andes (Salomon 1998), and parallels are drawn with the way in which the wool

fibres lose their volume to become the yarn⁵⁵. In the same action of spinning, the dead yarn is reborn on the spindle (*shuksbu*) like a baby grows in its mother's womb (Groenewald 2011a: 248), resonating with the idea of death as the starting point or seed of a new life cycle⁵⁶. When the spindle (*shuksbu*) is full (*untayan*, a word that is also used to make reference to the later stages of pregnancy) it is wound into a ball along with another spindle full of carded thread. This action is called *masashar*, meaning to match two of a pair together. Then the two strands of the ball are plied together (*kawpu-*) and the result after rewinding is a ball of yarn called *runa*, the word used to refer to people⁵⁷. To be a *runa* is something that in Inkawasi, as in many other parts in the Andes, is only achieved through marriage (Arnold et al 2007: 59).

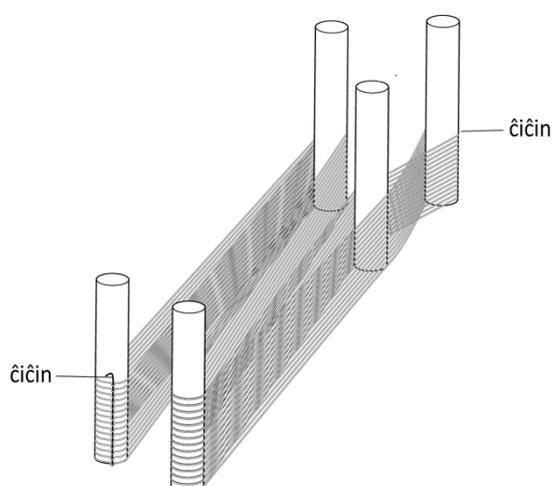


Figure 2 warping.

These *runa* are later used to conceive a new being in the warping process; when the *awana*—the loom and the textile itself—is set in terms of its length and basic design parts: the *shuyu*, or colour stripes, and the *kwirpuy*. Weavers make the warp (*awalli-*) by using various wooden sticks that are nailed onto the ground to create two crossed sets of threads. The two sets are separated with a cord called *cicín*, which is attached to the most distant sticks, while a third stick is what makes the criss-cross of these identical and

parallel sets of threads possible (see figure 2)⁵⁸. Warping is understood similarly to the gestation process, where the *cicín* is compared with the umbilical cord that is progressively

⁵⁵ In oral narratives and general accounts on the interactions between the living and the dead, the latter see people as raw (*çana*), a word that also refers to being immature, tender or humid.

⁵⁶ As we mentioned in Chapter Three, this idea is also widespread in the Andes in an agricultural context, where the ancestors of each *ayllu* must walk over their former fields to fertilize the seeds (Arnold et al 2007: 58, Gose 1994: 110-140).

⁵⁷ The term *runa* is used to refer to people and also only to men; however, when the gender difference is stressed, the term *ullqu* is used for men and *warmi* for women.

⁵⁸ Additional sticks are used to allow the weaver to work within her arms' reach, creating a bend to shorten the length of the warp.

surrounded by the warp threads like a baby is formed in its mother's womb of blood threads (Groenewald 2011b: 250).

Once the warping is finished, the loom is set by tying each of the edges (*čičin*) to two equal sticks known as *kunkallpu*. One of the *kunkallpu* sticks is tied to the weaver's waist while the other is tied to a branch or a beam of a house by a rope. The *čičin* where the weaver started the warping is the edge that she will tie to her waist, becoming at this point the *čaki*, or feet of the *awana*, while the other edge will form the eyes or *ñawi*. Once the weaver puts tension on the warp threads with her body, she selects each of the threads of the set that lie behind, intercalating them with those of the front set, and tying them down with a cord (*illawa*) that is fixed to a stick (*illwa margana*), thereby forming the loom's heddle (see figure 3).

This action of selection is known as *kamakachi-* (to organize). The word *kama* in Inkawasi also means to touch, to taste, to verify or to prove, and with the addition of the factitive suffix *-chi*, the meaning becomes to organize, to accommodate or to make (Taylor 1996: 82). The factitive *-chi* implies that an agent, in this case the weaver, makes another agent—the *awana* threads—accomplish the action expressed by the root (*kama-*) (Taylor 1996: 33). Literally, *kamakachi* means that the weaver makes the back set of warp threads become verifiable and provable. The action of *kamakachi-* also refers to each time the heddle stick is used by the weaver to cross the two set threads.

Like people, the loom cloth has *upay*, which is the breath, soul, vital force or shadow shared by all things and beings in the world.

Nuganchikpaqa upayninchik, sumbranchik, amayninchik kan, chaynulla awananchikpapis kan upaynin, sumbran, amaynin.

We (people) have our *upay* (spirit), our shadow and our breath. In the same way our *awana* (loom / cloth) has its *upay*, its shadow and its breath. (DLC *Amay*)

Kay cristianupaqa upayninchik nirqa nuqanchikqa manchu amayninchik niyanchik sombranchik niyanchik chaynuchu awanapaqpis niyanmiqa por eso imanupaqshi chay awanapataqa upaynin niyanchik

When we talk about a Christian [person] *upay* is our breath, it is our shadow, so we say. The same is said for the *awana*: we say it has *upay*. (Ana Cecilia Manayay)

The *upay* of the loom cloth is the cross of the two sets of warp threads made permanent by the weft. When enquiring about the *upay* of textiles, I often got the explanation on the

nearest piece of cloth, where weavers pointed out errors in weaving as parts of the cloth without *upay*.

Upaynin chayta chay upayninmanta narqa chay upayninmanta mana aybashaqa sin upay imanunari ishwakanqa. The *upay* (vital force) is that [cross of threads]: when it does not grab the weft, it is without *upay*. (Dorotea Calderón)

In Inkawasi, textiles are in warp-faced plain weave, which means that the weft is always hidden between the two identical and parallel sets of warp threads. Errors occur when one or various threads of one of the sets are not appropriately crossed, the absence of the cross being the absence of *upay*. The *upay* is therefore the crystallization of this movement, making it provable and sustainable through time.

Similar accounts elsewhere in Peru, Bolivia and Chile relate weaving with a process of infusing breath into the textile with each pass of the weft, making life inherent to the textile (Allen 2015: 31, Dransart 2002: 122), and finally turning it into a living being (Arnold et al 2007: 68-9). In Inkawasi, this continuous movement is also understood as a process of transmission of energy from the weaver to the cloth, as well as a process of growth. When a woman starts weaving she begins at the *âuki*, or feet, and also at the head, or *uma*, which at that point are together. The head, however, moves along with the weft—and with the *upay*—as the weaving progresses until it reaches the eyes of the loom located at the opposite side from where she started. As the weft passes from one side to the other, a small portion of weft is left outside on the lateral edges. The exposed weft becomes the teeth (*kiru*) of the cloth and, just as a mouth does, they close the body of the textile.

The transmission of energy from the weaver to the textile that makes its growth possible is clearly seen in how weaving and in general all production activities are ended: by spitting on the floor or on the tool that has been used. When a woman stops weaving she must spit on the floor before standing up so as not to become lazy, so that her strength does not escape through the channel that was opened between herself and the textile while weaving.

Se escupe para que no coja la flojera también de repente si alguien esta tejiendo y lo deja después para que teja otra persona también primero tiene que escupir antes que empiece para que no contagie la flojera. We spit so that we don't become lazy, also if someone is weaving and leaves it for another person to weave, she also has to spit first before she starts so that the laziness does not spread. (Ana Cecilia Manayay)

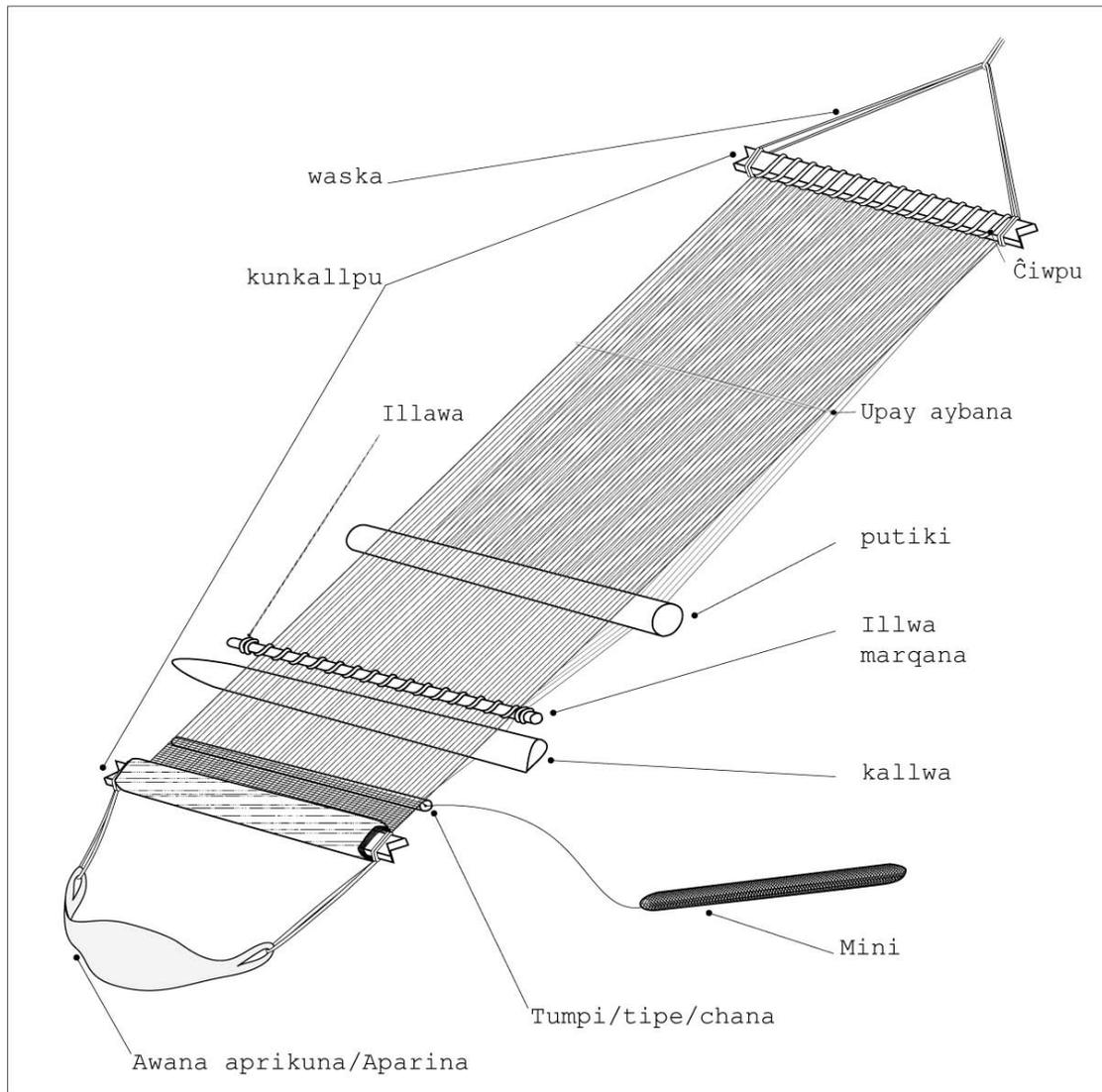


Figure 3. Inkawasi waist-loom.

This is always done when finishing any work, but especially when taking a break or passing the work or tool to another person. If this is not done, the person is at risk of losing their energy. It is worth mentioning that in Inkawasi saliva is one of the most important bodily fluids, acting as a replacement for the person in certain situations or even as way of acting within the dimension of the *upay*, the world of shadows contained in the interior of the earth (Shaver 2011: 172-3).

The transmission of energy does not end when the textile is finished. The textile maker or its owner is attached to the cloth during all their existence. This is clear in the idea that when someone dies, all their things (clothes, animal or crops) die with them and will disappear soon after. When someone dies, the body is veiled for various days along with

their clothes, and, after the burial, the rest of the clothes are held in vigil once again in the same place as the person was. Five days later, the clothes are ritually washed and perfumed in a ceremony called *pishqa* (the fifth). The clothes are then taken to the house where they remain hung for at least a year before they are passed on to other members of the family⁵⁹. The connection between people and their garments is also clear in shamanism, where, if you are going to act over any person to heal or harm them, you can use their clothes, as this is as effective as doing the same directly to the person.

The upay and the material

The way of understanding weaving and other creative processes in Inkawasi is as an *essential* transformation that occurs within a frame of interaction between the weavers and the fibres. By permanently interlacing the fibres using their own vital force, or *upay*, the weavers are also conferring a partly human soul and a human materiality to textiles, because the *upay* and the form or matter are intersected, like the threads are crossed in weaving. As we mentioned, the *upay* in Inkawasi is related to the *amay* or breath, and to the *sumbra*, or shadow, all of which refer to a vital principle that allows the existence and multiplication of all things in the world. Similar terms are used today as well as in colonial sources to make reference to this very idea of animation, livelihood or vitality that is generally attached to its physical manifestations such as in the case of the shadow, the wind, the warmth or the bubbling of the fermented *chicha*, or maize beer (Allen 2008: 11, Salomon & Urioste 1991: 16).

The strong physicality of this concept is also present in the material form of things, as can also be seen in the concept of *kamay*- highlighted by Salomon and Urioste: not as a general potency but as ‘a specific form and force’ (1991: 16). In Inkawasi, this relation between the *upay* and the material form can be seen in the story of Walter as told to me by Segunda Purihuan, an experienced weaver and midwife who assisted in Walter’s birth. Walter was not breathing when he was born and Segunda infused air in the baby’s mouth, bringing him back to life. Now Walter lives with Segunda’s *upay* and because of that he is just as tall as Segunda is. We can also see this relation between the *upay* and the specific form in the

⁵⁹ Ronel Groenewal describes the practices of directing prayers to the deceased’s clothes during this period, as if they were the person himself (2011a: 254).

descent theory of the *kwartu*, which we will explore in Chapters Six and Seven. The *kwartu* is established between all new-born babies and one of their direct living ancestors of the same sex of either line up to the grandparents, and the baby is considered as their ancestor's replacement. The criterion for choosing which ancestor is always the resemblance of the baby with its ancestor, not only physically but also in gestures and personality. The *kwartu* and the *kwirpu*, or body, are directly related and it is said that the baby (*kwartu*) is the body of its ancestor.

In weaving, the word used to refer to the cord that ties each of the warp threads of the back set to the heddle, the *illawa*, is also related to form⁶⁰. As we have seen, the action of *kamakachi-*, made possible by the heddle, is to make something improbable probable, the unverifiable verifiable: to show the threads that are behind and hidden, and permanently render them visible after the passing of the weft. What is happening on the other side is exactly the same: the threads that used to be hidden from that perspective are revealed. This is like a placental negative or a mould that shows the negative impression of the concealed inner form, where the surface and the inner body coincide⁶¹. In the case of textiles that do not strictly have an inside and an outside, this relation between the *upay* and the material form can be seen as a crystallization of how existence is understood: as the capacity to maintain the criss-cross of its two identical and interrelated components or threads: the *upay*, or animating capacity, and its material counterpart.

Inverted worlds: people and things

Amongst weavers, it is said that if you cut or handle the *awana* you will be punished with lack of energy to ever weave again. Similar accounts throughout the Andes in relation to houses (Allen 2015), domestic animals (Flores 1974: 259) and pots (Gose 1994: 124-5) describe that if they are mistreated, they will stop performing their part or will even punish people. This theme also appears in archaeological (Quilter 1990, Hocquenghem 1989, Allen 1998), and in ethnohistorical sources such as the Quito manuscript, an anonymous description of Inka history gathered by Fernando de Montesinos in his *Memorias historiales*,

⁶⁰ *Illawa*- was selected by local schoolteachers to refer to the drawings or illustrations used in the Quechua textbooks they elaborated during 2014 within the Peruvian Intercultural Bilingual Education policy. When I enquire about this word, teachers always refer to the function of *illawa* in weaving.

⁶¹ This idea of the matching between the surface and the inner body as a placental impression has been highlighted in the Andes as a key corporeal notion that is also present in the conceptualisation of weaving (Arnold et al 2007: 70)

in Lope de Atienza (Hyland 2007), and in the Huarochirí Manuscript (Taylor 2008a). In the case of the Quito Manuscript, it describes lunar eclipses as attempts of a puma and serpent to devour the Moon, and if they succeeded ‘all of the instruments and games used by women would turn into noxious animals who would destroy humankind.’ (Hyland 2007: 72). Lope de Atienza, also using northern Andean sources, also mentions that if these animals succeeded in devouring the Moon or the Sun, pots and jars would become snakes attacking humanity (Hyland 2007: 72). The Huarochirí Manuscript, a late 16th century manuscript, the only known one written in Quechua, compiles different mythical narratives, among them that of the death of the Sun for five days. This episode, which the narrator relates to the death of Jesus Christ, causes an inversion of roles between people and animals and things: mortars and grinding stones begin to eat people, and herds of llamas shepherd their masters (Taylor 2008a: 31-32). As we mentioned in Chapter Three, in Inkawasi during eclipses or *rupay wanun*, literally the death of the Sun, people must bang cooking pots and make animals cry while calling the sun back with their screams, so the sun may hear them and see that there are still people in the world and return, a ritual which is also performed in the case of lunar eclipses.

As suggested by Catherine Allen, this recurrent theme of reversal could be understood as a statement of the moral and power relations between people and the things they make and master (1998: 25). In Inkawasi the mountain, or *sirka*, contains a double of the world that frequently appears in terms of alterity. For instance, when the mountain on which Inkawasi is located, San Juan *sirka*, ‘opens’ to someone, the scene is always that of an enormous avenue, full of cars, lights and *gringos*, like Lima and other big cities on the coastal plains. The mountains are like people—*crístianuyupay*—and as such they also have a soul—*sumbra*—as do houses, herds and things of which the *sirka* is the owner. The soul of the *sirka* appears to people almost always as an animal, a machine (a car, a truck, a backhoe or a plane) or a *gringo*, all significant figures of alterity, as we will examine in detail in Chapter Eight. In Inkawasi, the predominant way of interacting with the sources of power embedded in the landscape is through the shamanism based on the use of *mesas* (Spa. table), the consumption of the hallucinogenic San Pedro cactus (*Echinopsis pachanoi*), or *wachuma*, and the nasal consumption of liquid tobacco. Here, there are no ‘*pagos*’ or ‘*despachos*’ to mediate in the relation between people and the inner forces, but a shaman that appropriates the forces of the landscape and masters them.

In weaving, there is an appropriation of the sheep's wool and its capacities for warming and protecting as it once did with the sheep, by transforming it into a partly human being towards which people acquire moral obligations of care and protection that revert if not fulfilled. The conceptualization of the textile practice as a cycle of death and rebirth in the Andes has been interpreted by Arnold, Yapita and Espejo as a process of appropriation of the 'Other' from a dead of another group (a captive) that is transformed—revived—into one's 'own' through weaving. (2007: 49-78). This appropriation is an 'ontologic predation' which constitute what they call a 'textual Andean theory'. Weaving is about creating a new being, a *wawa* or baby, with a corporality that is similar to that of humans and animals (2007: 59-71). Based on the idea of the transmission of energy, Arnold, Yapita and Espejo compare the continuous flux of the 'Andean spirit', which takes place during weaving, with the Maori *Hau*. For them, is not the spirit of the textile itself but of the dead which gave the spirit to the textile in the first place (Arnold et al 2007: 58, 71-8).

When weavers speak of technical transformations, they do it matching human (and animal) corporality and cycles of death and rebirth: The *awana* has body, eyes, head, hair, feet and soul (*upay*). The fleece dies (*wanchishaq*) during the spinning process to be reborn as a yarn, and then, when it is plied in pairs (*kawpu*) and turned into a ball, it becomes a complete person, or *runa*. These *runa* are later used to conceive a new being in the warping process. The loom is grown by the weaver—from the feet to the head—with her own breath, her effort that rhythmically puts the weft into the warp threads. The cross of the threads made permanent is the soul (*upay*) of the poncho, bag or blanket. As we mentioned, textiles could also be mistreated (*maltratakasha*) or get sick (*qishakar*), as persons do.

In Inkawasi, the intersections of textiles with people's body and life cycles are not symbolic. For the Community of Sonqo, Catherine Allen notes that 'the textile's personhood is not a symbolic correspondence in which textile stands for the person' (2015: 31). She argues, following Alfred Gell, 'it is more useful to think [of it] in terms of "distributed personhood"' (Allen 2015: 31). Gell's concept of 'distributed personhood' is based, as he stressed, on Marilyn Strathern's idea of the 'magnified person', composed of multiple relations (1990). For Gell, the living quality of objects derives from being part of a mesh of social relationships where people are present beyond their physical body (Gell 1998). The fundamental difference for Allen is that Gell does not ascribe life force to artifacts, which is key to understanding technical processes in the Andes (2015: 31). Despite this,

she uses the term to illustrate an Andean ‘personhood that extends into multiple sites beyond the boundaries of the body’ (Allen 2015: 31). Allen notes that the finished textile is ‘a derivative creature, beholden to the force of the weaver who drove its threads into relationship with each other’ (2015: 31).

Different from Allen’s analysis, in Inkawasi there is no equivalent to what in Sonqo is called *santuyuyq*, possessing the saint or the technical knowledge and capacity (2015: 30). The *santuyuyq* plays an important role in Allen’s use of the concept of ‘distributed personhood’ as the textile participates as a ‘locus of creative agency (the saint), transmitted by the weaver in a kind of personhood that extends into multiple sites beyond the boundaries of the body’ (2015: 31). In Inkawasi, all things and beings created by people are understood as being part of them due to the transmission of the vital force, *upay* or *sumra*. We delve into Carlos Fausto’s (2008, 2012) elaboration of Strathern’s idea of the ‘magnified person’ where he proposes the master/owner as the model of personhood in Amazonia. The master/owner incorporates relationships with alien-subjects which do not lose their own will (Fausto 2012: 37) and in which the relationship of mastery/ownership is not one of domination and private property like in Euro-American thought, but one of care and kinship (Fausto 2012: 32, 42).

Conclusions

The general resistance of weavers to applying tailoring techniques to the cloth they have woven on the back-strap loom is due to a different perspective on how things are made and, in general terms, how things are understood. Weaving is thought of as a vital process, one in which the weaver infuses the cloth with her own breath creating a bond between weavers and their textiles. This process is not an imposition or an appropriation that eliminates the agency of fibres but an interaction, thought of as cycles of death and rebirth, from which form emerges. This emphasises that textiles are not a raw material onto which people project ideas or cosmologies, but rather a direct result of a particular way of understanding the functioning of the world.

Weaving, like all processes of creation, is an interaction that occurs in both the material and the *upay* dimensions, which implies the establishment of a reciprocal, although asymmetrical, relationship between the weavers and the textiles. This relation continues with the owner of the textile until their death and even beyond. Weaving can be used to illustrate how (material) existence is understood: as the capacity of maintaining the interlacing between its two identical—although inversed—components or threads: the *upay*, or animating capacity, and its material counterpart.

Cutting the waist loom woven cloth means transgressing the obligations of care and protection that the weavers have established with their textiles, so the fabric will stop fulfilling its part of the deal too. These relations of mastery and ownership are subject to reversion in a world that is essentially dual and that can turn backwards any time, emphasising a moral obligation towards the things people make and master. Weavers negotiate and adapt their understanding of waist loom technical process to those of tailoring, imposed by the government and other institutions with the aim of producing textile handicrafts for tourist markets. They continue to understand loom weaving as a vital process and continue to have a close relationship with the woven garments they produce, but they have adapted to produce handicrafts for tourist markets.

Chapter 6

The owners of the animals: the *kwartu* relation and cattle fertility

In this chapter, we will examine how the Inkawasinos raise domestic animals, and particularly how women raise cows. As we aimed to show in Chapters Four and Five, building houses and weaving are conceptualised by the Inkawasinos as vital processes, as interactions with matters (fleece, earth, straw, wood) imbued with agency. In both cases, technical and ritual procedures aim to appropriate these Other's capacities by integrating them into the human sociality. Similarly, cattle raising is understood as an interaction between people, animals, and the landscape. Cattle raising practices and rituality also point to an appropriation, in this case of the animals, and ultimately of the water and pastures that sustain them, from their origins in the landscape. Raising cattle for the Inkawasinos is a task of care, love and protection, which is expressed in a relation established between owners and their cattle that also links different generations of people known as *kwartu*. The raising of livestock (sheep, pigs, guinea pigs, chickens and particularly of cattle) is key for the Inkawasino's social and economic reproduction. Since colonial times, cattle have been extensively commercialized for their meat and cheese in the area, and to date, it is the main source of monetary income for the Inkawasinos.

The *kwartu* relation that connects cows with their owners also connects each Inkawasino from their birth with one of their ancestors of the same sex, of whom s/he is considered to be the replacement. The *kwartu* is chosen at birth based on the newborn's appearance, which means that s/he will be the replacement of one of his/her ancestors to which s/he resembles the most. The newborn usually takes the name of its *kwartu* ascendant and is treated by everyone inside and outside the household with the kin term corresponding to the ancestor. For instance, a girl that is the *kwartu* of her mother will be called by her brothers and sisters *mamay* 'my mother', and be treated as *mamitay*, or madam, by her close relatives. The ancestors and their *kwartu* establish a special relationship during life, which translates into love, care, and protection from the ancestor, and of labour from the *kwartu*. In the case of cattle, the *kwartu* is established between women and the cows they raise for their milk and calves and between males and the bulls they own for ploughing and their meat.

As in the homologous human relation, the cattle *kwartu* is established only by parallel female or male descent, which means that only women own cows and men bulls. Each cow or bull is called by its owner's name and is treated by its corresponding kinship term by other members of the family. For instance, a boy that is taking care of his mother's *kwartu* cow will call her *mamay* (my mother), while the mother calls her cow *kwartu*. As in its human counterpart, the *kwartu* of the cattle implies the idea of the transference of vital force (*upay* or *sumra*) from the owner to its animal, which is expressed in terms of love, care and protection. When you ask women about their cows and the *kwartu* relation that ties them, they all say that it is a sign of love, equivalent to that given to small children, which helps to *nasqukur* (make them more beautiful). Women usually compare cows and children because of the daily care they must provide to both. Animals (including cattle, sheep, donkeys, pigs, mules and horses) are owned individually but cared for by the household, usually by women and children; as is the usual pattern in the Andes (Dransart 2002: 11, 65).

The human *kwartu* relation, which we will explore in more detail next chapter, is a way of turning someone into a replacement. This bond implicates a shared spirit or *upay* and a physical resemblance between the ancestor and his/her *kwartu*. In the case of cattle, this bond between owners and their animals is a way of showing love and care, but also a way

of integrating cattle into the household by paralleling the family to which they belong and their kinship relations.

Women show their love and care towards their cattle through daily care practices, and express it through the songs they sing while pasturing. These songs, along with healing and fertility rituals, appeal to the mountain (*sirka* or *qaqa*) that constitutes the ultimate place of origin of cattle, and on which their possibility of existence depends as providers of water and pastures. Mountains are themselves depicted as owners of the wild varieties of animals that live on them, as has been also described elsewhere in the Andes (Flores 1974: 256, Dransart 2002: 66) and they are thought of as ‘the true owners’ of particular territories, plants, animals and minerals (Gose 2008: 241). Cattle fertility is a matter of *swirti* (luck) and is connected to the use of *illas* or thunderstones, small engraved or natural stones or bezoars, which are credited with having, a concentrated form of the soul of the animal, plant or even activity they represent. The *illas* help their owners to have good harvests, have many animals or even to be a prolific weaver. These stones are present in many other parts of the Andes with the same function (Allen 2008: 54; 1998: 24, Flores 1974: 248-50, de la Cadena 2015: 48), mediating between people and the landscape.

Thinking of the relationship between people, animals and the landscape as an appropriation resonates with the argument put forward by Penny Dransart in her study of Aymara camelid herders in Isluga, in the Chilean Andes (2002). For her, the term domestication is not suitable to describe the complex relations between herders and camelids in Isluga. Instead, she proposes to think of this relation as a constant re-enactment of practices to tame or co-opt ‘new generations of camelids into an appropriate form of Isluga animal society’ (Dransart 2002: 47). The way of co-opting new generations of camelids is focused on caring, the participation of llamas and alpacas in a complex classificatory scheme of naming, and in the relationships established between people (Dransart 2002: 47, 80). This process takes place in an animated landscape, with which people enter into a relationship to obtain the pastures and water necessary for herd and herder to survive (Dransart 2002: 81).

This chapter is based on extensive conversations with Segunda Purihuamán and her daughter Julia, with whom I lived the majority of my time in Inkawasi, and from the participation in everyday cattle caring activities with them, such as pasturing, milking and

cheesemaking . I also participated in cattle and sheep caring activities with Rosa Manayay and her family, including a marking ceremony, and I talked about cattle caring practices with Dorotea Calderón and her daughter Ana Cecilia, and Santa Calderón, both from hamlets in the *jalca*⁶² or high parts of the mountains. I also talked with people from the ex-hacienda of Janke about the landowner's rodeo (branding), a practice which was abandoned after the end of the hacienda regime in 1969, as well as with various shamans on their practices to increase human fertility.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first one examines the centrality of cattle breeding in the Inkawasinos' history and current way of life, in the constitution of the current Peasant Community, and in their participation in the capitalist economy. The second section explores how the Inkawasinos raise their cattle, and particularly how women raise cows for their milk and calves. In this section, we explore caring practices and *kwartu* relations which link owners with their animals, just as they bond different generations within a family. Finally, the third and last section explores the interactions of the Inkawasinos with the animated landscape and their ancestors, who are the ultimate owners of cattle and of the pastures and water they need to thrive.

Cattle raising and the capitalist economy in Inkawasi

As we mentioned in Chapter Three, during the colonial period, as well as in the republican era until the Agrarian Reform, the haciendas in the northern highlands were principally *estancias* or cattle ranches. As shown by the trials with the local landowner José Ramírez de Arellano, by the 18th century the Inkawasinos were already raising cattle as an important economic activity (AHL PIRA 20 429: 4v, 67v, 79r, 158r). In the trial with Ramírez de Arellano, Inkawasi is described as a site only suitable for raising cattle '*sitio sólo aparente para criar ganados*' (AHL PIRA 20 429: 158v), a *jalca*, or highland natural pasture area, where the landowners raised cattle. In the trial, Ramírez de Arellano accuses the Inkawasinos of

⁶² The *jalca*, in Quechua *shallqa*, is the highland zone with native vegetation, much of which is natural grass (*Stipa ichu*). The *jalca*, and especially the *jalca* where cattle graze, is also called *lugar* (from the Spanish for 'place'), and everyone has the right to a communal grazing area, generally located in the *jalca*. *Lugarpi bakayta maskar puriyar chinkasha kani*. I have got lost in the 'lugar' looking for my cattle (DLC 2015).

hiding cattle pastured in the hacienda, and directly of stealing his cattle (AHL PIRA 20 429: 4v, 67v). The cattle were raised semi-free in these pastures. The ‘*rodeo de vacas*’ (roundup) necessary to congregate them, was depicted in the 18th century by the bishop Martínez Compañón (see photo 16). The *rodeo* gathered the landowner’s animals and those of its *yanaconas*, for the *markakun*, or cattle branding. The Inkawasinos over 60 years old that lived in the former haciendas of Janque and Canchachalá still remember the *rodeo*, when the landowner branded all the hacienda cattle with his/her ownership mark, and when s/he took some of the *yanaconas*’ cattle as rent for living in the hacienda.



Photo 16. ‘*rodeo de vacas*’ Vol 2, 77, Martínez Compañón

The landowners’ control of the area was complete until the Agrarian Reform of President Velasco Alvarado in 1969, when the hacienda system was abolished. Indeed, the immediate effect of the Agrarian Reform was an increase of rustling, as the landowners had been those in charge of the law and police in their haciendas. The rustling of livestock proliferated throughout the northern highlands and by the mid-1980s the first Rondas Campesinas, or Peasant Patrols, appeared in Cajamarca and spread throughout the northern highlands to fight theft (Huber 2014 [1995]). Locally, the Ronda Campesina was founded at the same time as the constitution of the current Peasant Community, at the beginning of the 1990s. The Ronda Campesina is a key community organisation that far transcends the

rustling problem, also overseeing other community issues that range from conflicts over resources to gossip. The link between the issue of rustling and the birth of the Ronda highlights the importance of the raising of cattle for the peasant communities in the northern highlands.

Cattle production and commerce continue to be key for the Inkawasinos, because it is their main source of income, along with men working as agricultural labourers in the rice fields of the coastal valleys. The latter option is more common among peasants with less land and therefore fewer possibilities of raising cattle (Cajo 1995: 12-13, 16-7). Women also raise cattle for their milk that, when transformed into cheese, is one of their main sources of protein, eaten daily alongside boiled corn, potatoes and other Andean tubers.



Photo 17. Inkawasi District coat of arms

Meanwhile, men raise bulls mainly for ploughing. The breeding of bovines is so important for the Inkawasinos that it occupies a central position on the district's *escudo* (crest), alongside the church, the Moyán-Inkawasi River and the mountains. The shield is flanked by a maize plant to the left and one of wheat to the right. Finally, the shield is crowned by a flute (*pinkullu*) and a drum, undoubtedly representing the key components of the Inkawasinos' way of life and identity, in which the cow is a clear protagonist.

The bilingual schoolteacher Guillermo Cromwell Cajo wrote an undergraduate thesis in sociology about the economy and society of the Inkawasi Peasant Community (1995). For the dissertation, he made an in-depth survey in Quechua of 85 of the 455 commoners of Inkawasi in 1991, intending to analyse the 'type of economy' of the community, the continuity of mutual forms of work, and the 'process of peasant differentiation', which Cajo considered was operating at the time in the Community between poor and rich commoners (Cajo 1995: 3), where the poor commoners were those with 1 hectare or less

of land, and the rich those with more than 10 hectares. In Cajo's analysis, the weight of cattle in the peasant economy is clear: he gathered different kinds of data, starting with land ownership⁶³, with 62 of the 85 having pasture among their lands, usually those left fallow. Cajo also makes it clear that in Inkawasi, cultivated or natural pastures are not communal but owned by individuals and/or *mayordomías* (1995: 10). Pasture fields are part of a rotational cycle in which lands are left fallow to regain nutrients, many of which are given by the dung of the cattle that pasture on it. As in many other parts in the Andes, in Inkawasi it is not unusual that commoners have non-continuous fields, and even fields outside the Peasant Community, where they may move their animals. And, as we mentioned in Chapter Four, many Inkawasinos have houses in Ferreñafe, where they also raise chickens, ducks, turkeys and guinea pigs in their *corral* or back yard, and some of them travel back to the highlands only in the event of a *lanta* or a *kidamyentu*.

Cajo says that the principal animal raised in the Peasant Community is sheep (56.24%), while 31.27% of the animals are cattle (1995: 11). Cajo specifies that he is counting heads and not the value of the animal, a criterion that would certainly put cattle as the most important livestock farming production, as we believe is still the case today, especially if we consider, as does Cajo, that the commercialization of livestock for its meat is the main source of money for the Inkawasinos. Meanwhile, locally grown crops are mainly destined for local consumption (1995: 11). Cajo points out that commoners with few lands, and therefore few animals, usually keep them for their milk, traction and wool, and do not sell them, as richer commoners (with more head of livestock) do.

As Cajo is interested in the 'process of peasant differentiation', he presented all his data indicating how much land each of the 85 commoners interviewed has. The data show that most commoners have between 2 and 10 hectares (60 commoners), followed by those with less than two (18) and then those with between 10 and 50 hectares (6). Among the largest group, those having access to 2 to 10 hectares, each family owns between three and six cows and bulls. Those with less than 2 hectares own on average one cow or bull per family, and those with more than 10 hectares own on average 10 head of cattle per family (Cajo 1995: annex 2 table 7). For Cajo, the 'process of peasant differentiation' is based on access

⁶³ As we saw in Chapter Three, although the Peasant Community is the one that owns the land, the rights of using it are the *de facto* property of specific families and the Peasant Community cannot intervene in this, except as a third party to resolve conflicts.

to land. More hectares mean more possibilities of raising cattle for commercial exchange and for development of other activities such as transport and retail commerce. Cajo also relates this ‘differentiation’ to the use of ‘modern’ technologies to increase production (Cajo 1995: 12). He says that 16.47% of the bovines of the interviewed commoners were ‘pedigree breed’ (*raza mejorada*), compared to 52.96% for the local breed known as *chusku*, or mongrel⁶⁴. In the opinion of the majority of Inkawasinos, these ‘bettered breeds’ are difficult to maintain because they consume more grass than local mongrels and are more susceptible to falling in the steep valley of the Moyán-Inkawasi river basin. From what I could see, one ambition of all the Inkawasinos is to cross the mongrels they own with the bigger breeds.

Within the last few years, the moto-taxi has proliferated both on the coast and in the highlands of northern Peru. The Inkawasinos have a very important presence in the moto-taxi business in Ferreñafe and moto-taxis populate the streets of the town of Inkawasi. The transport between Ferreñafe and Inkawasi in the so-called *combis*, or minivans, is also in the hands of Inkawasinos. Another trade, the transport of supplies from the coastal cities and the consequent exchange in convenience stores is also an important livelihood for many Inkawasinos. This is certainly changing the status of cattle commerce as the main source of monetary income for many Inkawasinos, but it is still a major source of income, including among those owners of vehicles and stores.

Besides bovines, the members of the family, and particularly women, also own various sheep primarily for their wool, but also for their meat (to be sacrificed for a celebration) or for sale. As we mentioned, Cajo states that sheep are the main animal raised in Inkawasi because it is the most numerous (653 heads, an average of between 6 and 12 sheep per family) (Cajo 1995: annex 2 table 7). Whether a family owns sheep or cows depends mainly on the kinds of lands that the household has access to, the availability of irrigated fields for cultivated pastures or of natural pastures in the highlands. Women and girls are also the main owners and caretakers of guinea pigs—*saka* in the local Quechua—which are traditionally raised in kitchens. The guinea pig is of great importance for the Inkawasinos, as something that is both diagnostic and healing, and as a key food offering for the godparents in all celebrations. The Inkawasinos also own horses, mules and donkeys,

⁶⁴ *Chusku*, from the Spanish *chusco*, refers to an animal that isn’t a particular breed, and in general to small animals, in contrast to the word *atun*, which means big and pedigree (referring to domestic animals).

which are moved like other livestock among their owners' pastures and are rarely stabled. Finally, we must add pigs—raised in small *corrales*, or pens—and chickens, turkeys and ducks that are raised free near the house and taken inside or put in pens during the night.

Raising cattle: the kwartu relation, love and care

Women mainly raise cows for their calves and to ensure the production of milk to manufacture cheese. Each morning, women from the town of Inkawasi go to their nearby fields to tie (*wataky*) their cattle with a rope to a stake driven into the ground, or move it from another more secure place where the cattle remain tied up during the night, generally guarded by dogs, because people do not use stables for cattle. Women return once again after sunset to tie up the cattle in their sleeping place. Although cattle is owned by individuals, the daily work they require is performed by all household members and particularly by women and children, as has been described elsewhere in the Andes and seems to be the usual pattern (Dransart 2002: 30).

A cow owner will go every day to tie her animal in a new field—or portion of a field—generally along with sheep and other family cattle. While the cow is eating fresh grass, she will milk it—changing procedures depending on the age of the calf and its need for milk—after which she will make cheese, using the abomasum or fourth stomach of bovines diluted in whey (rennet). Cheese is with little doubt one of the main sources of protein throughout the northern highlands, and also an important source of money for women. Many of them sell their excess cheese production to local convenience stores or in the nearby towns during patronal festivities. Cheese is eaten daily even in the humblest families because, as we have seen, a family generally owns at least one cow, ensuring a daily provision of cheese, which is eaten alongside boiled maize, potatoes, wheat, green peas, or *mačka* (corn flour). Cheese is always present in ritual meals, in life cycle rituals and the communal work food (*fjamri*).

The cheese is made *in situ* and immediately after the milking by adding a piece of smoked abomasum diluted in whey, and by slowly separating the curds from the whey by using an

open hand to push the curdled portions together, thereby allowing their agglutination. The result of this process is the so-called *quesillo*, which is an unsalted fresh cheese. Proper cheese is always salted. To do this, the woman puts salt on the *quesillo* and mixes it with her hands, breaking the first curd and making the consistency of the cheese more crumbly. The leftover whey is used to feed older calves or the dogs that take care of livestock and, when necessary, some of it is kept for elaborating more rennet.



Photo 18. Segunda Manayay with her breed cow ‘Blanquita’—her *kwartu*—and calf in Paqcha. November 2013.

After this, the cow is left feeding until sunset, when she is brought back to join the family cattle in the sleeping place near the family house or to a secure place near the house of kin, depending on where the family pastures are located. People whose fields include natural pastures in the higher parts of the Peasant Community usually send their children to pasture them, and have a second house in those fields. Alternatively, cows can be taken to graze by their owners in their irrigated pasture fields. Cows also eat the crop residue after the harvest, mainly maize leaves and canes.

The kwartu descent theory

Very soon in their lives (around two years old), children start to own domestic animals and to take responsibility for their care. This care is frequently expressed in terms of love and beauty, materialised in the *kwartu* relation. *Kwartu* is a word of possible Spanish origin, from *cuarto*, or quarter (Gerald Taylor, personal communication). In this case, it may be related to one of the meanings of this term, which refers to the lines from each of the four grandparents (RAE, Covarrubias [1611] 1995: 227). The *kwartu* is selected from among the four lines of ancestors, going as far back as the paternal and maternal grandparents. As we mentioned, the *kwartu* is a relation that binds all newborn babies with one of its ancestors of the same sex from either line—maternal or paternal—and that also binds women with their cows and men with their bulls. In the case of the human *kwartu*, the most common way of explaining it is by saying the *kwartu* is the ‘replacement’ of their ancestor, or that the *kwartu* exists to ‘serve’ their ancestor. To the best of my knowledge, there is no equivalent bond in other parts in the contemporary Andes. However, we have accounts of a replacement or second person of the Inka, *inkap rantin* as described by Guaman Poma (340 [342]).

Trying to illuminate the Inkas’ way of understanding their world with contemporary ethnographic data of Cusco, Catherine Allen points to this form of governance as a way in which the Inka distributed himself through his kingdom (2015: 37). The *Inkap rantin* were the Inka’s close kinsmen. In this article about Andean animism, Allen uses Alfred Gell’s concept of ‘distributed personhood’ to understand the relationship between artisan and artefacts (2015: 31), as we discuss with some detail in Chapter Five. In the case of the *kwartu* relation, this idea of transmission of vital energy is clear.

The main aim of the *kwartu* relation is care, love and protection from the ancestor and help from his/her replacement. The two bonds are thought of as analogous in their functioning, as both establish a relation between owners, or ancestors, and their ‘replacements’ to *nasgukur* them, which is literally to make them beautiful. Beauty in Inkawasi, and particularly in this case, is very close to ideas of abundance and fulfilment. This is seen in the words of Segunda Purihuamán:

[...] *desde que nacen le decimos kwartu a los animales, igual que a nuestros hijos. Porque es como queremos o estimamos a nuestros animales, es igual que con nuestros hijos, a los hijos le*

decimos kwartu, suegray, mamay, así igual como para quererlo y embellecerlo. / [...] from the moment they are born, we call our animals [cows and bulls] by their kwartu, like with our children, because we love or care about our animals; we call our children my kwartu, my mother in law, or my mother; likewise [we do it with our animals] to love them and make them more beautiful.

Although the *kwartu* among people is linked to the appearance, it is also connected to the person's soul, which ultimately determines its physical appearance. To explain the concept of *aya*, which is both the dead body and the soul of the dead person, the bilingual teachers used the dead person's *kwartu* as a synonym (DLC 2015). This relation expresses overall transmission of energy through love, care and protection, and points to a shared soul or *upay*. Women always compare the *kwartu* of cows and bulls to their family *kwartu*, as the herds they own are replicas of their family, where each cow or bull corresponds to one member of the household. This is how Segunda explained to me their family cattle *kwartu*:

Segunda: *Si pues, ellos entienden muy bien cuando uno le habla de kwartu, por ejemplo, a ese becerro de la Magda le digo mamay, mamay, -ven a tomar tu tete y ella viene a tomar su suero. A esta ternerita [señalando], el Lucho le dice mamay* Yes, then, they understand very well when you call them by their *kwartu*, for example, to that calf of Magda I call her *mamay, mamay*—come and have your *tete* (baby's bottle) and she comes to drink her whey. To that calf [pointing], Lucho says *mamay*.

Luz: *¿Es tu kwartu por eso le dice [Lucho] mamay no?* It's your *kwartu*; that is why [Lucho] calls her *mamay*, right?

Segunda: *Si pues es, cuando le dice mamay entiende muy bien.* Yes, then, when he says *mamay* she understands very well.

This conversation occurred in Segunda's kitchen one night having dinner and looking at some pictures I took of her with her cows (photo 26). She explained to me how her son Lucho calls her *kwartu* calf *mamay* (my mother) while she calls her daughter Magda's cow *mamay* (my mother), as Magda is in fact Segunda's mother's *kwartu*. Both call the cow as they will call their owners. This means that the household cattle reflect the family. In fact, the group formed by the cattle is also called *ayllu* (family).

The ideal time to assign the *kwartu* is when a cow has its calf, but in practice women may buy a cow that will still be named as someone's *kwartu*. As we mentioned, cows and bulls given as *lanta* gifts automatically becomes the child's *kwartu*. This is particularly important for the future of the child, as we will explore in detail in the next chapter. This inheritance or assignation, generally of cows and bulls, given to the child from his/her godparents is called *dirichu*. Parents may also give a newborn animal to their children, in recognition of

their help in family herding chores. These cattle are always raised and never sold, as it is believed that they will grow more than any other. This is clear in this example given by bilingual teachers in the DLC: '*Lantapi padrinu kaqqa uk animalta wamrataqa qun, madrinashuyupaqa uk tirmirata, chaynumi kustumriqa*'. The rule of the *lanta* is that the godfather gives his godson a bull, while the godmother gives her goddaughter a heifer' (DLC 2015). *Dirichu* is also the food and drink given [in accordance with traditional customs] to the godparents at the *lanta*, *kidamyentu* and *wasilanta*.

Women also draw many parallels between themselves and their cows when speaking about them: more than once women told me that cows, like people, will ideally have ten children; their pregnancies both take 9 months, and the first-born child and calf- are both called *kulaka*. Cows are also baptised and named like children. These parallelisms between human and animal procreation have been highlighted by Dransart in Isluga, when analysing the *wayñu* marking ceremony (2002: 96), although Dransart does not think herders view their animals as surrogate children (2002: 244). In Lambayeque Quechua, there is no distinction between children of men and women, and all children are called *wamra* or, more frequently, *china* (girl) and *chulu* (boy). The distinction, however, is maintained when referring to cattle: the calf of a cow is called *wawa*, while it is called *churi* when referring to its father; this may indicate a central or southern Andean tradition linked to the herding of camelids. In the case of people, *churi* is only used for illegitimate male descent, and *wawa* is derogatory when used for children. Cattle pathologies and healing practices are also the same as those given to small children, where the main illnesses are the *ojeada* (evil eye), and the *manchakuy*, (fright).

The *ojeada* a sort of 'evil eye', occur when someone else looks at an animal with desire, in the words of Segunda Purihuamán:

Si se puede ojear cuando una mujer un hombre de mal ojos, lo desea o le dice 'que linda vaca', se enferma se vuelve flaca y hasta se seca la leche [...] pero luego se recupera a su normalidad cuando se le santigua./ 'The ojeada happens when someone with the evil eye wants a cow or says "what a pretty cow!" and then [the cow] gets sick, loses weight and her milk may even dry up [...] but later, she recovers to her normal state when she is blessed.

As in the case of children, the healing procedure is the 'blessing' or *santiguar*, performed by someone who knows how to pray. The rite is made usually with an egg, an onion or a knife that you pass over all the baby's/cow's/bull's body and you clean it by praying. The best

formula so that your cattle do not fall sick is making sure that other people do not see your things, as this could trigger their desire (envy). For other illnesses like the *viento y muerto* (the wind of the dead) or *marka*, the afflicted cow or child must be cleaned (*pichay*).

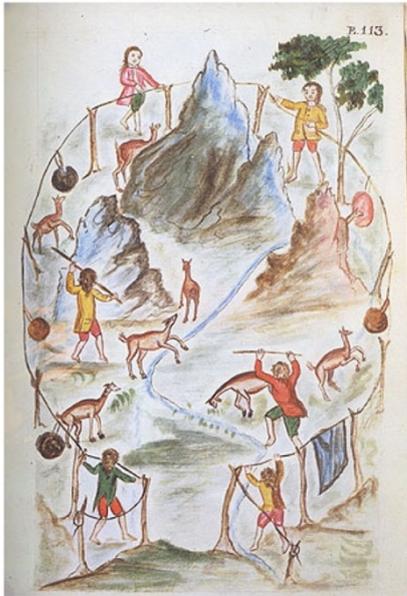


Photo 19. *chaco de vicuñas* Vol 2, 113, Martínez Compañón

As we also mentioned, ideally cows are only owned—and are the *kwartu*—of women, while bulls are owned and are the *kwartu* of men, which certainly resonates with Andean ideas of parallel descent. In her description of the libations or *ch'alla* given to the house during its building in the community of Qaqachaka in Bolivia, Denise Arnold emphasises the importance of parallel or bilateral descent and inheritance regarding the family house and cattle (2014: 39, 40, 54). In Inkawasi, parallel descent ideas are only present in the *kwartu* relation and cattle ownership and inheritance.

As we mentioned in Chapter Five, at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, llama herding was widespread in the northern coast and highlands (Dransart 2002: 24-26). From the late 18th century watercolours of bishop Martínez Compañón, we also know that the *chaco* or hunting⁶⁵ by circling gregarious wild Andean camelids, or vicuña, was still taking place at the time (*see photo 19*). Undoubtedly, the lower altitudes and the early development in this area of European cattle ranches, or *estancias*, prompted an early disappearance of the breeding of llamas and alpacas, and the hunting of guanacos.

An important rite in Andean societies is the marking ceremony, when the ears of the animals are cut. For Isluga, Dransart analyses this ceremony, the *wayñu*, as a rite of passage, when the llamas and alpacas initiate sexual maturity. In Inkawasi, the marking ceremony is an important extended family event in which the cattle are branded with a hot iron mark, although the ears of the animals may also be cut. The branding is a relatively small gathering

⁶⁵ From the Quechua *chacu*. The style, previously favoured by the indigenous peoples of South America, involved circling the prey in order to catch it.

which concerns the extended family. After the actual branding there is a meal, or *fjamri*, and the drinking of alcohol. The burn is covered with cattle dung and spat at with cane alcohol to avoid infections. In the words of the Lambayeque bilingual teachers: ‘*Animalta markarqa traguwan (kañasuwan) puqninchik manaqa ismayninwan markakashanpi salanchik. Mana chayta rurashaqa inkunan.*’/When cattle are marked, they spit *tragu* on the wound, or alternatively the mark is cured with manure, so that it doesn’t become infected.’

In Inkawasi, what shows the integration of cattle in the household—and in human sociality—is not a rite of passage, like the marking ceremony described by Dransart in Isluga, but the *kwartu* relation. The *kwartu* implies the establishment of a bond between people and their cattle, expressed through love and care, and which will make the cattle beautiful (*nasgukur*). As the *kwartu* is meant to be a replacement of the owner, the family cattle parallel the family kinship relations. The *kwartu* relation implies the idea of transmission of energy, or *upay*, from the ancestor to his/her replacement, and also between owners and their animals. This echoes the idea of Catherine Allen of understanding artefacts as an extension of their masters, as a materialization of their effort (2015: 31). Other domestic animals don’t share the *kwartu* relation with people, but they still hold a bond of ownership with their masters/owners that also fits with this idea of a shared substance.

As highlighted by Penny Dransart, the appropriation is not just of the animal, but ultimately of the pastures and waters that make the existence of camelid herds possible (2002). She shows through the analysis of the *wayñu* ceremony that the animated landscape, to whom the water and pastures belong and which feed people, is in return ritually fed in this ritual. In Isluga, the *wayñu* ceremony is when the procreative vitality of the herd is regenerated. This procreative vitality resides in the landscape, which points to the relation between people and the animated landscape being mediated by herd animals (Dransart 2002: 83).

The owners of the animals: mountains and ownership

Raising cattle in Inkawasi implies a constant movement of the animals through their owners' irrigated or natural pastures, which means a constant interaction with specific places in the landscape. Specific places (*lugar*) in the landscape are credited as the places of origin of animals or as hungry places that may eat people's animals. Many times, the illnesses and deaths of animals are attributed to the places where they have occurred. Some rocky peaks, lakes, still waters or caves are understood to be *sagra*, or bad, these places get angry and eat animals by stealing their soul, or *sumra*. The relationship between people and these places is of extreme caution, there is no specific rituality associated to feed them, as in other parts in the Andes (Flores 1974, Dransart 2002: 64, Allen 2008: 185), although they may offer a guinea pig or maize in return for an stolen soul. The main way of relating is through *illas*, shamanism and the cult of the ancestors that we have seen tangled with the cult of Catholic saints in Chapter Three.

The mountains in Inkawasi are thought of as temperamental and capricious, as described by Segunda Purihuamán, when talking about the Vizcacha mountain, where these Andean rodents (Vizcacha) proliferate.

Es por eso que ese cerro es criandera, debe ser como nosotros, se enoja y se alegre. Pero si el cerro se enoja se empiezan a comer a los animales o sea se mueren los animales de cualquier forma, ya se caen. Cuando él está en sus momentos de buen humor los animales se crían. That is why that hill is a breeding ground it must be like us, it gets angry and happy. But if the hill gets angry it start to eat the animals, that is, the animals die in many ways, they just fall. When he is in his moments of good mood the animals thrive.

On the other hand, the good humour of the mountains makes the animals proliferate. It all depends on their humour. Differently from what has been described among camelid herders in Peru and Chile, these places are not ritually fed by people to avoid being eaten by them (Flores 1974, Dransart 2002: 64). As we will explain in detail in Chapter Eight, the relation that the Inkawasinos have with the landscape in Inkawasi is mainly mediated by specialists (shamans) and there are no *despachos*, or any ritual offerings, to feed hungry mountains. Offerings to places of the landscape, like guinea pigs or maize, occur only in exchange for the soul of a person or animal that has been taken by these places, making them ill.

Another way in which people deal with the dangers of the landscape in daily chores is through music. Women and children usually take their radios or sing while herding, which is understood as a way of avoiding fear (*susto*) and with it the possibility of losing their *sumra* or that of their animals. Singing during herding is a way of appealing to the place where the animals are pastured, with the intention of avoiding misfortune (Martínez 2017: 123-129). As in the shamanic songs (*tarjos*), or in the life cycle rituality (*taki*), the improvised verses (*birsukuy*) are descriptive and express the desires of those singing to have good fortune and avoid hazards. This is clear in these verses sung by María Cajo Calderón of the Tolojpampa hamlet:

Qaqanalan[pi]/ On the rocky hill
Murubakayta/ with my *mur*u (spotted) cow,
qaqanalan[pi]/ on the rocky hill
Murubakayta/ with my *mur*u (spotted) cow,
watar shamuray/ I tied her up
largu lasuwan/ with a long rope,
largu lasuwan/ with a long rope,
watar shamuray/ I came to tie her up
Bakaymana ratatin/ My cow isn't going to fall down
largu lasuwan/ with a long rope
watar shamuray/ I came to tie her up,
Qaqanalanlapi/ on the rocky hill
watar shamuray/ I came to tie her up (María Cajo Calderón in: Martínez 2017: 125).

Also, to ensure the well-being of the animal while its master is away, women spit onto the stake and rope with which the animal is tied. As we described in the previous chapter, cycles of work seem to be closed or put on pause by spitting onto the tools. In the case of cattle, spitting onto the stake and rope is perceived as a way of remaining close to the animals through the saliva left behind.

Accidents and the death of cattle, most frequently falls on the steep hills of the Moyán-Inkawasi river valley, are attributed to the action of *saqra*, or bad places, that act by their own will or with the mediation of a shaman. This is the case of the *dañu*, or 'hurt', which is the harm that shamans can inflict on people using the powerful objects of their *mesas*, and which the Inkawasinos insist is always motivated by envy. Shamans cause this harm on behalf of their clients (in exchange for money) or in their own interest. The *dañu* acts upon the person's *sumra* causing his/her illness, frequently in alliance with the *sumra* of local lakes and mountains that are controlled by the shaman. In the *tarjos*, or shaman's songs, the mountain is frequently depicted as a figure of power, as policemen (*kachaku*) or,

as large herds of animals. The *dañu* can only be healed by another shaman that must fight against the shaman who made the *daño*. Shamans can also give luck, *swirti*, to the raising of animals. This takes place in a ceremony (*mesa*) called flowering.

Illas and swirti

Besides the intervention of shamans, *swirti* in raising animals is a gift you are born with or is acquired through an *illa*. *Swirti* is necessary to find *illas*, engraved or naturally formed stones, bezoars, archaeological objects, or metal or wooden pieces, generally in the shape of animals and plants, which are credited with an increase and prospering of the plant or animal they represent. This has been described in other parts of the Andes (Allen 2008: 54; 1998: 24, Flores 1974: 248-50, de la Cadena 2015: 48). The *illas* are related to the mountain and to the places of origin of the animals they represent and they are believed to have a concentrated form of the spirit or *upay* of the species they represent. Although mostly found with *swirti*, *illas* may be acquired and then ‘charged’ by a shaman.

Swirti, both if you are born with it or acquire it through a shaman, is the main way of ensuring cattle fertility. In the words of Segunda Purihuamán:

Luz: *¿Para que se crien los animales bien bonitos qué es lo que se hace?* What do you do to raise very beautiful animals?

Segunda: *Se les cuida, es depende de la suerte, otras personas dicen que lo hacen limpiar con el brujo, pero yo no lo he utilizado, todo depende de la suerte.* They are cared for, [but] it depends on luck; other people say that they clean them with a shaman, but I have not used one, it all depends on luck.

A sign that someone is born with *swirti* is having the umbilical cord wrapped around them at the time of birth, in the words of Dorotea Calderón: *-Abh lazokun chayqa ashman bien, ashwashi kriyantiru kanpaq niqlapa y unay rukunchikkunaqa, animalni kriyakananpaq imash/* Our grandparents said that whoever is born with the cord wrapped around their neck has good luck, and they will be a very prolific cattle raiser-. The idea of *suerte* as central in livestock fertility has been also described elsewhere in the Andes (Flores 1974, Dransart 2002: 96).

As described by Jorge Flores Ochoa in an article about two propitiation ceremonies among highland camelid herders in Cusco, *swirti* in Inkawasi is related to particular power stones,

locally called *illas* (Flores 1974: 251). Flores explores the use in these rituals of various stones, including the *illas*, to give *swirti* to people (1974: 248-50). These stones, the *illas*, *enqachus* and *khuya rumi*, are imbued with *enqa*, which is a generative and vital principle, source and origin of happiness, well-being and abundance (Flores 1974: 250). For Flores, these objects synthesize the relation between highland herders and the natural and supernatural worlds which they inhabit. These are intermediaries through which natural and supernatural worlds are linked (1974: 250)

The Inkawasi *illas* match Flores' description (1974). They are related to *swirti* and they are imbued by the vital force (*upay*) of the specific plants and animals they represent, and have the power to increase the fertility of the corresponding species. In Inkawasi *illa* also refers to the place of origin of animals and plants and where they emerge in abundance. These two meanings are exemplified by the bilingual teachers in the DLC dictionary like this: *Wak runaqa animalpa illanta tarikusha, chayrayjun kusalata animalhinqa kriyakan.* (That man's herd of animals grew surprisingly well because he found the *illa* for cattle); and: *Chay maylanbi kulebrapa illanqa tayanqa.* (The place of origin of these snakes must be somewhere). The *illas* are usually found near the place of origin of these species.

According to Flores, in Cusco the *illas* and other power objects must remain hidden and can't be seen by people (1974: 248). The same can be said of the Inkawasinos' *illas*. Despite my insistence, I never managed to see one of them. The main difference between the description made by Flores and the Inkawasi *illas* is that the Cusco ones need a yearly recharge, which is achieved through ceremonies. The stones must be fed or they become hungry and eat people that are close to them (Flores 1974: 254). In Inkawasi there are no yearly ceremonies to feed these objects or to maintain their power. If they have an *illa* but they don't have luck they can go to the shaman (*bruju*) to request the return of the luck, or purchase another *illa*.

Segunda described to me once how the *illas* work:

*Segunda: tenemos una illa de piedra para los animales y una illa para el maíz. Del maíz es un maicito cargado a su bebe. Dice que la illa de los animales es en su barriga o sea en su barriga tiene piedras chiquitas eso es su illa. Y eso se encuentra en los guanos de los animales⁶⁶./ We have an *illa* stone for animals and an *illa* for corn. The corn *illa* is a corn husk with two cobs. It is said that the animals' *illa* is in their belly, that is, in their belly they*

⁶⁶ The most common cattle *illa* is a bezoar stone from these animals. A cow bezoar stone or gallstone is an indigestible mass found in bovine stomachs and intestines.

have little stones that is their *illa*. And they are found in the excrements of the animals.

Luz: ¿Cuándo siembra el maíz llevan la illa o no?/ When you plant the corn, do you carry the *illa* with you?

s- No, no lo llevan, pero para sembrar el maíz escogen el maíz que tiene bebe o es maíz que tiene dos cabezas es parecido como la illa, eso lo escogen lo siembra para que crezca barto./ No, we do not carry it, but to plant the corn we choose the corn that has a baby or corn that has two heads, which is similar to the *illa*; they choose that [and] they sow it so that it grows a lot.

Her account of the use of the family *illas* shows how correspondence of appearance operates. The *illas*, and in general shamanic, ritual or healing procedures, emphasize a sympathetic principle. In the case of cows, this is clear in the idea that in order to increase the size of their udders, they must be fed the *chiuchi* (black seed squash - *Cucurbita ficifolia*), so that their udders grow as big as the *chiuchi*, because with big udders, they produce plenty of milk. Furthermore, so that the mammary glands grow big, they are given the tops of plantains because plantains hang from the tree, so they look like the mammary glands of cows.



Photo 20. Detail of an Atunpampa shaman's *mesa*

As we mention, another form of increasing cattle fertility is contracting a shaman. The shamanism practiced in the highlands of Lambayeque is based in the use of *mesas* (tables), the consumption of *wachuma* (*Echinopsis pachanoi*), and other psychotropic plants such as *mishas* (*Burymansia*), and the sniffing of tobacco diluted in perfumes or sugar cane alcohol (Bussman 2009: 5). The shaman's *mesa* is also composed of *illas*, along with Christian saints, and virgins, pre-Hispanic objects coming from the *huacas*, and a series of swords and *chonta* (*Bactris gasipaes*) wood sticks. It is also common to make use of human remains, parts of animals and the shaman's *chungana*, or maraca, with which they accompany their songs, or *tarjos*. Through a shamanic *mesa*, an owner can try to find lost or stolen cattle, or cure its owner from *dañu*. The vision both to retrieve cattle and to see who made the *dañu* and how they did so is achieved through the use of *wachuma*.



Photo 21. Children playing with agricultural tools after plowing and planting maize.

The way to act on cattle is by removing a *prenda*, a handful of the cow's hair, which is taken to the shaman. The *prenda* of people is usually their clothing. The shaman will diagnose if the cause of frequent accidents of cattle or illness is an angry spirit or an envious neighbour. If it is the latter, the shaman will fight the rival shaman that acted on behalf of his/her envious client. Battles are staged by the shamans with their swords or *chonta* sticks. All

shamans are able to heal (*curandero*) and hurt (*malero*), although the majority will emphatically deny they are *maleros*, as many times we are talking about close neighbours and even families. For luck, the shamans may perform a *limpia* (cleansing) or a *floreCIMIENTO* (flowering) for their clients, and they may also give them an *illa* to acquire *swirti* in the raising of animals.

The owner of the animals

In Inkawasi there is not an all-inclusive term for animal, the same as in other Quechua dialects and the Aymara language (Dransart 2013: 3). Cows are generally called by the Spanish term *animal*, which usually refers only to cows and bulls. On the other hand, the word *kurru*, refers to wild animals and specifically to birds. Another way of referring to wild varieties of plants and animals is by saying it is the one owned by the fox, as in the case of *surrupa ackshun*, or wild potato. These wild animals are linked to the mountain, as we can see in this example of the bilingual teachers for the dictionary: *Lluychuqa sirkapa animalnin/Deer are animals [cattle] of the sirka [mountain]* (DLC 2015). Similar accounts have been gathered by Flores in Cusco, where the wild animals make up the flocks of the *Apu* (mountain), they are its property, its domesticated animals (1974: 256). Dransart also gathers similar accounts in Isluga where '[c]amelids are either wild (*sallqa*) or domesticated (*uywa*). While *uywa* are cared for by human owners, wild animals are believed to belong to the spirits of the hills' (Dransart 2002: 66).

The mountain/owner, like the human owners, marks their animal by cutting their ears, and due to this it is said that deer have ears with different forms that resemble the ear cuts made by owners of sheep and cattle. It is also said that people should not hunt more than 5 deer or animals of the mountain or it will have consequences for the hunter. The depiction of the mountain as the animals it owns is very frequent, for instance, in the south east of Inkawasi, where Segunda Purihuamán's fields are located, there is a mountain called Vizcacha credited for owning/producing the animal of the same name, an Andean rodent.

Segunda: Si hay cerro de los animales, esos cerros son crianderas, de nosotros [terreno de nuestra familia] también tiene el cerro que esta abajo, que esta como un zanjón, allí esta su Vizcacha de los animales, allí estan los animals, se crían bastante. Yes, there is a hill for animals, those hills are breeding grounds, from us [our family land] also has the hill that is below,

which is like a ditch; there are its Vizcacha animals, there are the animals, they breed a lot.

Julia: ¿En qué lado está la vizcacha? Where is the Vizcacha?

Segunda: Allí está pues, al lado del cerro There it is, next to the hill

Julia: ¿Dónde por el campamento? Where? around the camp?

Segunda: No, está en el terreno de nosotros, allí paraba sentada [la vizcacha], por eso era criadero el cerro. No, it's on our land. [The vizcacha] used to sit there, that's why the hill was a breeding ground.

Segunda: La vizcacha es un animal de color plomo, para allí dentro del cerro, entra y sale a mirarnos. Es parecido como un conejo, ese animal para allí. The Vizcacha is an animal with a lead colour. It lives there inside the hill, enters and leaves to look at us. It is similar to a rabbit, that animal that lives there.

The appearance of the mountain/owner as the animal it is credited to own, and its role as the ultimate fertilizer of domestic animals, is shown in this beautiful herding song that comes from the nearby Community of San Juan Kañaris:

*Anaq rurimantaqami bakayqa qayçakur shamutinqa rastrunllawan isbkimuray nuqaqari/*When my cow came down from the remotest parts of the highlands, I followed her, guided by her tracks.

*chaymantaqamiriju bakayqa kay ura pampapina kasha karanqa turu bayupaq ikinpi/*Then, when I reached her, she was in the plains down here, behind the cream-coloured bull.

Turu bayuqa bakaytaqami turukuchiranqari/ then, the cream-coloured bull covered my cow, *bakaypa wawitunpis kusa frijul/* and there her calf was born, coloured like a red bean.

[...]

Nuqa amun aligrita purini birsukur/ I, the owner, wander happy, singing verses, *chayçimaçi bakaypis, kaçikunatami qunapaqmapis kwandu mutkimarninchikqa/* and so it seems that my cow also wanders happily

dasitu tarimanchik maykunamantapisari,/ and so that we give her salt, she finds us as soon as she senses our smell,

manami nuqaqari manchakunimachuri./ anywhere we are. (Gerónima Lucero Reyes in: Martínez 2015: 154-155).

Similar accounts of semi-feral bulls mating with peasants' cows have been gathered by Catherine Allen for the Cusco region (2008: 49). As in Inkawasi, this is a sign of good fortune as it is believed the calf will be strong (Allen 2008: 49).

The fertility of domestic animals is also related to the ancestors, as they built the infrastructures that made it possible to have today's cultivated pastures and fields, and ultimately also the animals that come from the animals of the ancestors. As we mentioned, one frequent depiction of the ancestors is in the form of a domestic animal, frequently a white sheep or dog. Another way in which the ancestors help cattle fertility is through the cult to the patron saint of the *mayordomías*, or any saint or virgin that is credited as being *ganadera* (this means that they help people to raise animals abundantly), as is the case of the

Virgin Mercedes. It is also frequent to make a pilgrimage to the nearby crosses of Penachí, Motupe, Olmos or Andamarca, each one placed on the top of a mountain. Furthermore, it is also frequent that devotees of these crosses give offerings of cattle to propitiate their herd's fertility.

Domestic animals are also the usual appearance of the *antibukuna* or *jintilkuna*, or pre-Christian ancestors, when they appear to people in certain places in the landscape, and in their dreams. This may be linked to the idea that today's pasture fields, irrigation channels and the animals themselves are a materialization of their ancestors' effort (*upay*, *sumra*) that still lives in today's animals. Also in local shamanism, dreams and casual encounters, the vital force, or *sumra*, of the mountain is frequently depicted as large herds of cows and bulls, or other animals like donkeys, white lambs or white dogs. Shamans invoke the power of certain mountains personified as a large herd—or as an army—to fight a rival shaman in order to cure a client, or to cause *dañu* (hurt) to someone else.

The relationship with the landscape is permanent: they go every day to tie their animals in different fields during the year. They may have the animals in irrigated pastures during the wet season and take it, if they have access to them, to natural pastures in the *jalca* near the mountain peaks during the dry season. In her analysis of camelid herders, Dransart examines the relationship established between the animals and their owners, and between people and their landscape, in the *wayñu* or marking ceremony. She points that this ceremony symbolises the transformation of pastures and water into fleece; a transformation that is also closely related to the practices involved in weaving (spinning, plaiting ropes and weaving) (Dransart 2002: 82). In the case of cattle in Inkawasi, water and pastures are appropriated for the production of cheese, a key element in the diet and economy of Inkawasi, for their meat in big celebrations when an animal is sacrificed, as well as to have a monetary income from the selling of the animal.

Conclusion

As we have seen, raising cattle is one of the main production activities of the Inkawasinos, integrated since its inception into the regional economy, and which today is their principal source of money. This has not changed the relationships that the Inkawasinos maintain with their domestic animals. Moreover, we could argue that the importance of bovines in the peasant economy is what triggered the establishment of such a close bond as the *kwartu*. We must wait to see if the introduction of more ‘technical’ or ‘modern’ farming procedures will change the relationships that people establish with their animals, and with the animated landscape which ultimately allows their existence.

As in the case of houses and textiles, raising cattle—and all domestic animals—is also conceptualised as an appropriation, in this case of the animals from their origin in landscape. This appropriation into a particular family and into human sociality can be seen in the *kwartu* relation. This relation is expressed through love, care and protection in both people and people and cattle implicates the idea of vital energy (*upay*, *sumra*) transmission. The transmission of energy in the *kwartu* bond echoes Catherine Allen’s idea of distributed personhood.

The way in which the Inkawasinos interact with the animated, singularised and powerful landscape in which they live in order to improve the fertility of their cattle points to the idea of mountains as the ultimate owners of the animals, and of the water and pastures that they need. This is clearly materialised in the ideas about the *sumra* of the mountain, frequently depicted as the ‘owner’ of certain wild species of plants and animals; as well as in local shamanism and in the use of *illas*. Differently to what has been described in other parts of the Andes (Flores 1974: 254, Dransart 2002: 83), the relationship with the mountain is not thought of as a reciprocal feeding, in which people feed the mountains in exchange for water and pastures. Instead, the relation with the mountains in regards to cattle fertility and welfare is archived through music, *swirti*, *illas*, and the action of shamans.

Chapter 7

Making persons: appropriation and ownership

This chapter explores how the Inkwasinos bring their children into the world, that is, the ideas and practices—ritualized or not—that surround conception, gestation, birth, the postpartum period, and childhood. Inkwasinos think of human reproduction much like other (re)productive processes: as an appropriation, in this case of the person’s soul (*sumra* or *upa*), from its origins in the landscape and the ancestors. This appropriation is expressed through ethno-obstetrical procedures, mother and children ailments, and childhood rituality. Within a humoral understanding of health and illness, pregnancy is considered as a progressive accumulation of heat until birth when all the heat is released. The local midwives, or *parteras*, talk about giving birth as a fight against death after which the mother ‘revives’ (*kawsan*). During the postpartum period, the mother’s lost bodily equilibrium is restored through a series of ethno-obstetrical procedures (girdling, reclusion, diet, etc.). While the newborn—not completely separated from its mother at this point—must still be appropriated through nourishing and caring, and through a series of integration rites. There are two principal rites in childhood: the *Agua Socorro*, a Catholic emergency baptism where the baby is named, and the *Lanta*, or the child’s first haircut; these are key moments

of separation of the child from its origins in the mountain and his/her integration into the community.

The *Lanta* rite has a key implication for the child, who receives an adult set of clothes and animal(s)—a sheep or a cow/bull—as a gift from his/her godparents. This symbolises the first step in the child's transformation from being a dependant *china* (girl) or *cholu* (boy), to becoming someone on whom others depend: someone with the capacity to produce food and shelter for him/herself and others. Achieving this, through marriage and the arrival of children, is constitutive of what it means to be a *warmi* (woman) or an *usbqu* (man) in Inkawasi: a complete—*kabal*—person and a full member of the community. This resonates with anthropological analysis on reproduction as an open social process, where the biological birth does not have to coincide with its social counterpart (Strathern 1990). As in Inkawasi, elsewhere in the world (Carsten 1995; Conklin and Morgan 1996), and in the Andes (La Riva 2012: 344-9, Arnold et al 2007: 59), the process of becoming a person continues after the physical birth, prolonging it during life and even up to the moment of marriage and the arrival of children.

Today, almost all boys and girls go to school, and there are many local school teachers and technicians whose way of life differs from those dedicated entirely to agriculture and the raise of livestock. *Profesionales*, or professional workers, are well-respected members of the community, and they still participate in different degrees in the peasant economy and they usually own land and animals. This means that there is not just one fixed way of becoming an Inkawasino *kabal*. In any case, being a 'complete' person is determined by the acquisition of the relations, skills and means needed to sustain and reproduce oneself and others.

We use Carlos Fausto's proposal of imagining the 'owner as a model of the [Amerindian] magnified person' (2012: 29). Although Fausto is referring to the Amazon basin when saying Amerindian, indigenous inhabitants of the Andes are Amerindians as well. Fausto's proposal is made in an article that was included, in its English version (2012), in a comparative volume dedicated to Amazonia and Siberia. The main argument for putting together these two dissimilar zones also applies with Inkawasi: they all share a common understanding of the world as animated. They all 'attribute human(-like) subjectivity, agency and emotion to non-humans' (2012: 14). Although there are limits to comparisons

between Amazonia and the Andes (hunters-gatherers vs. farmers-pastoralists), using the relation of ownership as a model helps us to imagine the relational and plural quality of Inkawasino personhood.

Fausto proposes to think the owner as a model for Amerindian personhood, using Strathern's (1991) concept of the 'magnified person'. This 'magnified person', the owner, is a singularity which contains a plurality: the dependants or belongings (Fausto 2012: 29). As these dependants do not lose their subjectivity, the master or owner is the container of 'multiple singularities' (Fausto 2012: 36-7). This strongly resonates with how the Inkawasinos see themselves: as 'magnified' through the things and beings they make, grow or own. As explored in previous chapters, the Inkawasinos think of making things and raising animals as appropriations of other owners' belongings through labour, thought of as the transmission of vital energy (*sumra, upay*). This transmission is not unilateral and does not implicate the elimination of the singularity of what is being appropriated. Making or growing is thought of as interaction with things and beings, the animated landscape, the ancestors and other people. The establishment of these relations is what is necessary to be a 'complete' person, an Inkawasino *kabal*.

The rapid changes that the community is undergoing, particularly since the last decade of the XX century, have also brought changes to how women give birth to their children. Transformations in ethno-obstetric procedures in the last decade, derived from the establishment of the Health Care Centre (*posta*) in the town of Inkawasi and the implementation of a series of projects and programs to increase 'institutional births', or births that take place at the Health Care Centre. Ethnobotetic practices, as coined by Carol McClain (1975), are inextricably linked to broader ideas of how people are-in-the-world, of how we perceive our relations with the environment and with others. As stressed by Carol Delaney, the ideas and practices surrounding reproduction are a reflection of broader notions of how humans are not just in the world, but also constitutive of it (1991). The biomedical model has been imposed in Inkawasi with no intercultural sensitivity and with a great deal of violence and discrimination. However, there is always active participation of the Inkawasinos in the face of transformations and impositions, incorporating, re-signifying or rejecting them.

This chapter is based on the investigation about birth practices I wrote for the Diploma de Estudios Avanzados (DEA) postgraduate degree at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (2011). For that degree, I carried out six months of fieldwork in 2009 and 2010-11, and submitted a work entitled 'Pregnancy and Birth in the Highlands of Lambayeque: First Approaches', which constituted the starting point of the PhD research of which this thesis is the outcome. For this research, I returned to Inkawasi for a year and a half between 2013 and 2014, and again for another year in 2016 and 2017. When I returned to the field in 2013 and started to know more about local ideas and practices around reproduction, I became aware that for women, raising cows and sheep, making cheese and weaving are key for them to think of human reproduction. Moreover, the mastery of these production activities is considered to be a pre-condition for human reproduction and, as I aim to demonstrate here, also for what it means to be a 'complete' person.

For this chapter, I am in debt to the midwives and mothers that generously tried to answer my clumsy questions, and particularly to one of the most respected midwives in the town of Inkawasi, Segunda Purihuamán. I also wish to thank again her daughter, Julia Manayay Purihuamán, who accompanied me knocking on the doors of these women that know how to bring children into the world. Local midwives are highly valued specialists in the community, and this chapter is a compilation of their knowledge, which we must take seriously, as Barbara Bradby stresses in her analysis of local midwifery in Bolivia (2002: 170). We have to listen carefully to what the local practitioners have to say, as a first step to really decolonising knowledge (Bradby 2002: 170). I am also in debt to the Health Care Centre employees in 2009 and 2010-11 that also answered my questions and let me watch interactions in the Centre for reproductive health.

The chapter is divided into three main sections: the first explores local ideas and practices around conception, gestation, birth and the postpartum period, stressing how these point to a conceptualization of human reproduction as a process of appropriation of the person from its origins in the landscape and the ancestors. The second section reflects on the impact of biomedical practices in ethno-obstetric procedures and child care practices, through the analysis of the role of traditional midwives in dealing with Western medicine and its practitioners. The third and final section reflects on the centrality of relations of mastery and ownership for personhood constructions; being a 'complete person' and a full

member of the community implicates the development of a set of relations and skills to make, grow or own things and beings.

Making persons

In Inkawasi, stillborn or aborted fetuses buried without a Christian ceremony or children who have not yet been baptized are called *sirkapa wambran* ('children of the mountain') or *antibupa wamran* ('children of the ancients') (see also Shaver 2011: 166-170). The *antibukuna* (Sp. *antiguos*) 'ancients' or *jintilkuna* (Sp. *gentiles*) are the indigenous pre-Christian ancestors that inhabit certain places of the landscape, particularly ponds and deep waters. This denomination of unbaptised children as *sirkapa wamran* locates the origin of human life in the *sirka*, or mountain, and in the pre-Christian ancestors, and emphasises the centrality of conversion to Christianity for the Inkawasinos' constructions of personhood. For the Inkawasinos, being a Christian is to be a human being. This can be seen in the use of the term Christian to refer to human appearance. When women talked to me of stillborn fetuses which already have human form, they frequently said '*crityanitu ya*', or already Christian. Christian is also used in this way when describing the encounter with a soul or mountain spirit, to emphasise the appearance of these entities as human beings. In an interrelated but different way, we found the term *jinti* (from the Spanish *gente*, or people) which refers to a baby that already smiles, and the verb *jintiyay*, which means to develop the appearance of a child, as well as to refer to under-ripe green peas that are already formed in the pod.

The idea of the origin of human life in the landscape and the ancestors is widespread in the contemporary Andes, as has been described by Tristan Platt among the indigenous peasants of Macha, where the pre-Christian souls of the ancestors, transmitted as the emanations of a sacred stone *kamiri*. The ancestors' souls flow from the *kamiri* stone to expectant mothers' wombs and are reincarnated in human embryos, giving them life and energy (2001: 647). Similarly, Joseph Bastien among the Bolivian Qallawallas explains how people in the community of Kaata originated in Pachaqota Lake. When someone dies, they make a journey of regeneration as a miniature person from their burial place until they

reach Lake Pachaqota, whereupon the miniature person becomes a baby that is born on top of the mountain (1985: 86). However, in contrast to these two cases, the Inkawasinós' souls, their *sumra* or *upay*, do not travel directly and at once from the landscape to the mothers' wombs, but are also transmitted during life through one of the newborn's ancestors of the same sex through the *kwartu* relationship.

Ethno-obstetric procedures, childcare and rituality also emphasise this origin of human life in the ancestors and the inner force of mountains. The majority of ethno-obstetric procedures aim to protect the mother and the child from meteorological phenomena such as wind (*wayra*), cold (*qasay*), drizzle (*çirap*), thunderbolts (*kunya*), and certain places in the landscape credited as evil, or *sagra*. During pregnancy, and particularly in childbirth and the postpartum period, these forces are feared and avoided by women. An encounter with these places or phenomena can cause a *manchacny* (fright) that produces the loss of the *sumra*, which will cause disease and eventually death. In the case of the *qasay* (cold) or *wayra* (wind), these are also assimilated to a homeostatic functioning of the body between the cold and hot humours. Cold causes sickness and death due to the 'clash' with a pregnant or parturient woman—on the other side of the homeostatic spectrum—as pregnancy means the retention of blood—a hot substance—and with it the heating of the woman's body.

The close relationship between some meteorological phenomena such as lightning, rainbows or hail, or certain places—the *sagra* places—with children has been described since pre-Hispanic times (Chávez 2004, Mariscotti de Gorlitz 1978). Garcilaso notes that Inka children born with cleft lip, twins, those who were born feet-first or with any other physical defect were called *huacas*: 'They also use the term *huaca* to describe all things that are unnatural, like a woman who gives birth to two [children] from one womb: they give this name to the mother and the twins due to the particularity of the birth [...] and they give the same name to children who are born feet-first, or with any defect, no matter how serious, in the body or face, such as those born with the lip broken in two, of which there are many, or cross-eyed, who they say are marked out by nature'⁶⁷ (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 2009: 54). In Inkawasi the most common body mark is caused by the thunderbolt,

⁶⁷ 'También llaman huaca a todas las cosas que salen de su curso natural, como a la mujer que pare dos de un vientre, a la madre y a los mellizos daban este nombre por la extrañeza del parto y nacimiento (...) y el mismo nombre dan a los niños que nacen de pies e o con cualquiera defecto mayor o menor en el cuerpo o en el rostro, como sacar partido alguno de los labios, que destas había muchos, o visojos, que llaman señalado de naturaleza'

or *kunya*, which makes new-born babies have a cleft lip (*jajito*), or any other deformities in the face or the extremities. The cleft lip is thought to be caused by the ‘fright’ that the mother received from the thunderbolt, as has been also described in Macha, in Bolivia (Platt 2001: 644).

There are some narratives in Inkawasi about women that got pregnant from supernatural creatures. There are two main narratives that I have heard many times and which have both been registered by Groenewald (2011b: 195-8): that of a man-dog, who is a man during the night, when he sleeps with a woman, and a dog during the day; and another of a snake that was living under the *batan* (large mortar stone) of a woman which got her pregnant. Both pregnancies end in the same way, with the birth of spiders, reptiles or two-headed monsters; the realization by the family of the situation leads them to search for the creature and kill it with fire. These supernatural births of spiders are also thought of as the moment of birth of shamans. There is another narrative, that of *Juan del Oso* or ‘John the bear’ or ‘John the Puma’ (Taylor 1997), which is a child believed to be the son of a bear and a woman. This narrative was gathered by Martínez Compañón’s nephew, Ignacio de Lecuanda, in the XVIII century, and he presented the ‘legend’ as true and witnessed at the time by many (1793: 179). The births of two-headed creatures and particularly snakes are thought to be still occurring.

Babies are particularly vulnerable to the pre-Christian ancestors (the *antibukuna* or *jintilkuna*), pointing to the close link between them. It is understood that children do not have yet their *sumra* consolidated and therefore they may lose their shadow constantly or are at risk of death by losing their soul at the hands of the *antibukuna*, who is generally depicted as an old woman with long grey hair and a face full of wrinkles or as a white sheep. The children’s *sumra* is called *pichi*, which means ‘root, or the beginning of something’ (González de Holguín 1952 [1607]: 78). The loss of the *sumra* is mainly due to a shock or sudden fright called *manchakuy* that entails the loss of the *sumra* or *pichi*, causing illness and eventually, if it is not cured, death. The *antibu* or *jintil* especially like children’s souls because they take them as their own children. This was told to me by teacher Víctor Manayay when explaining a therapy used: the ‘cleansing’ (*pichay*) of his daughter when her soul was taken by the *antibu*, which involved the offering of a puppet that was buried along with maize grains. The purpose of the puppet was to substitute Víctor’s daughter’s soul that the *antibu* took as her own daughter.

A figure related to the *antibukuna* is *Aćakay*, the female ogre that is believed to devour children. Ogress narratives are found throughout the central and northern highlands, and the Amazonia of northern Peru and southern Ecuador (Howard 1989; Taylor 2008b). In the Inkawasino version of this narrative, the *Aćakay* is described as an old woman—just like the *antibu*—who tricks two orphan siblings to go to her house to devour them. The ogress eats the boy, leaving only his liver, which is seen by the girl, who escapes, taking her brother's organ. The girl escapes with the help of many plants and animals, and of God—in early versions Pachacamaq—(Martínez 2017: 15-6) who made the mountains grow over the *Aćakay*. The ogress continues to inhabit the interior of the mountains and devour children's souls.

Conception, pregnancy and ethno-obstetric procedures

The way in which the Inkawasinos conceptualise human reproduction is very close to other reproductive processes, that is, as an appropriation, in this case of the person's *sumra* or *upay* from its origins in the landscape and the pre-Christian ancestors. The shared understanding of (re)productive processes can be seen in the way women talk about gestation and foetal formation, which are often described using the language of weaving, cooking or the making of cheese. In Inkawasi, as in other parts in the Andes, it is generally believed that the most fertile moment for women is during their menstruation, and especially during the last days when the blood is thicker, which helps with the curdling (*chari-*) of the menstrual blood to form the foetus. One time, when I was accompanying Segunda to milk and pasture the family cattle, I asked her about the foetus formation and she told me that it was like cheese, the blood curdles in lumps, forming a ball in the case of girls and a cross of boys. *Chariy* is both to curdle and to take, and its root *chari-* plus the plural *kuna* refers to cloth rugs and a weak or lazy person. When a baby is born, s/he is girdled because if this is not done, s/he will grow *charikuna* (weak or lazy), while the placenta, after it is expelled, is carefully covered with cloth rugs (*charikuna*) and buried. The newborn is associated with a soft corporality which must be strengthened with the use of a girdle.

As we mentioned in the third chapter, the Inkawasino life cycle is also linked to cooking. Dead people see the livings as *chakwa*, or raw. One night dining in Segunda's kitchen, she compared the warming process which occurs during pregnancy with cooking, as they both involve heat. Another key metaphor is that of weaving. As we saw in Chapter Five, the formation of the warp and the yarn spinning are described in a similar way to the process of foetal formation and the consequent growing of the mother's womb. Warping is compared with the growth of babies inside their mother's womb. Textile metaphors are used by women also to think about raising children (also see: Groenewald 2002a: 5, 2011a: 250). As Segunda told me once when I was asking her about her dedication to weaving in terms of time: '*Wamranchik winan ashla ashla chaynulla avananchik winar*/Our children grow little by little, in the same way our loom/cloth grows'.

The metaphoric confluence between production processes is also seen in a series of prescriptions followed by pregnant women. During this stage, mothers-to-be avoid certain tasks such as dyeing, picking up chillies or actions like eating from a bag because these can potentially have a bearing on the child. One example is that pregnant women must be very careful about how they carry and lay firewood, as if it is laid 'on its bottom', in other words with the end closest to the root first, it will cause the baby to be born bottom-first, thereby comparing the baby to the wood she collects every day to light the fire and cook. This was told to me various *parteras*, among them Brígida Manayay of Husicaj: *Leñata wakenu yachallan leñata sikinta itashashi chaynu ima ninaman*/ This is what is known about firewood: when the firewood is thrown upside down (feet-first) they say this happens [breech presentation].

Women also try to avoid putting the yarn over their necks while they weave because it is believed that this will cause the child to be born with the umbilical cord around its neck. In the same vein, there is a belief about eating with a *shuyu* or manta under their arm, as this can cause the umbilical cord to get wrapped around the baby's neck, body or limbs. This situation is seen as potentially dangerous for the birth, but, as we saw in Chapter Six, is also an indication that the child will have luck in raising cattle.

Eso dicen que pasa cuando uno carga la manta por debajo de los brazos o se pasa el hilo sobre el cuello, y en los hombres cuando andan con las sogas puesto como collar, así me contaba la finadita de mi aguela, así me decía que no cargue mi shullu debajo de mi brazos me cuidaban bastante será pureso que mis partos an sido normal, no a nacido ni de pie, ni con el cordon embuelto nada, es pureso que yo daba a luz solita sin que nadie me ayudara. That is what they say happens when one carries the blanket under the arms or passes the thread

over the neck, and in men when they walk with the ropes on as a necklace. That's what my deceased grandmother told me: I shouldn't carry my *shullu* [blanket] under my arms. They took care of me a lot, and that will be why my births have been normal, not born or standing, nor with the cord tangled at all, [and] that is why I gave birth alone without anyone helping me. (Pascuala Martans).

Pregnant women avoid eating directly from a bag or pouch because this can have consequences during the birth, for example, the child could be born with a condition known as *shipu*⁶⁸, which is when the toughened amniotic membrane doesn't break to allow the birth to occur. In the words of the healer Hilaria Purihuamán:

Mana mikunchikchu chay shuyshuna shipuraqmandaqa alborjakuna ima wakma sirarayan chaynukunamandaqashi mana mikiuchikchu allita kiçar shuyshunstapis allita shipuraqtaqa kiçar chaynukumanandari wamranchikqa shipuqa rikarin, chaymi demasidutaqa qishchamanchik mana das kamsanchikchu You cannot eat from the tablecloth when it is not wide open, nor from the saddlebag you cannot eat. That's why our son got *shipu* (wrapped) which is when you can't be saved [be born] quickly.

Women suspect pregnancy after around three missed periods, when other symptoms such as nausea or cravings also emerge. One of the first things the pregnant woman does is to *rogar* (beg) a local midwife to see her and confirm the pregnancy. The *partera* will do this by taking the pulse of the women and massaging her belly. The principal practice within prenatal care is *kupay*, massages made with both hands 'suavecito de cada ladito/softly on both sides' to accommodate the foetus in the best position for delivery, as described to me by Brígida Manayay. She also told me that women 'Ya tiene cuatro meses, tres meses y ya me avisan /when they are four months, three months pregnant, they call me', and also when the mother feels pain as, 'hay niños que se meten en la pierna, esos no dejan caminar, hay que componerlo/ there are babies that go down to your legs, that don't let you walk—they are the ones that need to be accommodated. These massages are key in late stages of pregnancy and during birth to ensure the baby adopts the best position for delivery, in the words of Brígida: 'derechito pa' que nazcan bien /to get them straight so they are born correctly'.

As pointed out by Chavez Hualpa (2004), this practice was widespread along the Andes in pre-Hispanic times. Polo de Ondegardo described it for the Inkas, where the midwives 'understand how to cure pregnant women to straighten out the creature and even to kill it

⁶⁸ This term was compiled by Diego González de Holguín and means, 'A small basket made from branches and leaves, made to carry fruits.' in analogy to the amniotic membrane (1952 [1607]:). In Inkawasi, the noun *shipu* refers to a bag or sack, and as a verb *shipu-* it means to wrap or bag (Taylor 1996: 127).

in the body of the mother' (2004: 95). Likewise, in the first half of the XX century, Hermilio Valdizán refers to the *composturas* as the main procedure among Peruvian midwives: 'Among the current practices relevant to giving birth, we must consider, first of all, the so-called "*compostura*", an empirical practice whose aim is to get the child in the right, most comfortable position for the birth'⁶⁹ (Valdizán 1944: 57). Today this practice continues to be central in traditional midwifery in the Andes, as well as the *manteo*, also used to correct the position of the baby (Platt 2001: 633, Bradby 2002: 179-80).

These massages have been interpreted by Platt as interventions on 'the cultural image of the foetus' (2001: 633), contributing to the prefiguration of the future baby's sex and attitudes. The image of the future child is shaped through the attribution of roles and attitudes that foreshadow those which they will be expected to have during their adult life and which are based on foetal movements—stronger for boys than for girls—the position in the womb and the gestational age. Baby girls who adopt the position in the maternal womb that corresponds to males are often attributed masculine characteristics. This is also described in the neighbouring provinces of Ayabaca and Huancabamba in Piura, where midwives say that such a change causes masculine attributes such as strong character and strength (Chávez 1996: 711). This first construction of gender seems to point to what is expected socially of the boy or girl after birth, and maybe also the perception of recent changes to this process, as expressed by Brígida:

Hay veces mujercitas son como hombrecitos, van así de boca abajito, cuando la mujer es de boca arribita no más [...] ahora ya varios está cambiando ya, porque [antes] no era así./Sometimes there are girls who are like boys—they are [in the womb] head-down, when girls should be only head-up [...] now many are changing, because [before] it wasn't like this.'

It is also said that boy and girls are formed differently: boys in the form of a cross, whereas girls are formed in a rounded shape. As Brígida describes it:

'Ullqituqa kaynu, ullqituqa chayraq, chayraqlaqa, kaynu paltita, kaynula crusitu, kaynula cristitu kamakamun nataq warmisitasbuypaqa kaynula furmakamuyan ñatisitu./Boys are like this [makes the shape of a cross] when they are recently born, girls have the shape of an avocado, boys similar to a cross—they are formed like Christ, while girls are in the shape of a liver.'

⁶⁹ 'Entre las prácticas actuales relativas al alumbramiento, debemos considerar, en primer término, la llamada "*compostura*", práctica empírica que tiene por finalidad procurar la mejor presentación, la más cómoda para el alumbramiento'

The midwives' massages seem to act on the corporeality of the foetus, which, as we mentioned, is thought of as being soft and malleable like cheese. As we saw in Chapter Six, the making of cheese involves the separation of the curds from the whey with gentle movements of the hands, helping the lumps to agglutinate. Immediately after birth, the child is lifted by the *partera*, who introduces her finger in the child's mouth to raise the palate, and then lifts the baby's nose and wipes its eyes. After this, the child is immediately wrapped with a cloth and a girdle. Babies are regularly wrapped for the first months of their lives and if this is not done, as mentioned, the baby will grow weak and lazy (*charikuna*).

The retention of blood that occurs during pregnancy is understood as pathological in the framework of a homeostatic idea of the functioning of the body. This widespread notion in all Amerindian space considers health or well-being as the balance established between the cold and hot humour (Foster 1987, López Austin 1980, Valdizán & Maldonado [1922]1985: 339). If the balance is broken, the disease occurs and its regulation depends on consuming the appropriate hot/cold foods and herbs, and avoiding excessively hot/cold temperatures (staying under the sun, too close to the hearth fire, in a cold and windy place, etc.). During pregnancy, the retention of menstrual blood—considered a hot substance—progressively heats the mother's body. Although the heat is pathogenic, it is necessary for the birth to occur.

In addition to the *composturas* and the homeostatic management of the pregnancy, in the first months of pregnancy some women, especially first-timers, go to midwives because they feel discomfort, weakness or lose their appetite, thereby putting their health at risk. To alleviate these conditions of pregnancy, midwives recommend a series of foods that are believed to provide strength such as *canchita*, or toasted corn, and Andean tubers such as potatoes and *uqa* (*Oxalis tuberosa*). On other occasions, women experience cravings for some foods. This idea is widespread in the Andes, in the Latin American mestizo world, and in Europe. In Spain, the unsatisfied 'whim' becomes a birthmark on the baby's body, which is supposed to be the representation of the unsatisfied desire.

In the highlands of Lambayeque, the effect produced by an unsatisfied whim is miscarriage, or *yatamay*. The foetus, the one really craving for the food, goes out in search of the desired food. This appetite also seems to be present in a custom described in the Departments of

Lambayeque and Piura by Hermilio Valdizán and Ángel Maldonado at the beginning of the 20th century, which consisted of laying the woman on the dinner table during the delivery, with the object of hastening labour. The interpretation given to such practice, they say, is that *‘el feto, atraído por el olor de las viandas, sale a la luz con mayor prontitud.’* (the foetus, attracted by the smell of the food, leaves the womb quicker) (1985: 339). Although this may not hold today, it points to the same idea of foetuses as voracious creatures in the area.

Similar ideas of voracious foetus are described by Tristan Platt, where cravings are another sign of the aggressiveness attributed to foetuses in the Bolivian Andes. These attributes are clearer in the ideas about the fate of the miscarried foetuses that are buried without baptism, which become dangerous creatures generally called *dyablu* (devil), *inimigu* (enemy) or *sagra* (bad).

Lluqakuqpaqa kannu, chay lluqakuqqa uy uy uy waqakuyan chay nacishankunamanta, manaqa chay muntikunapi pampatinllapa chay mantaqa pampasha kanka wamrata niyanllapa mamanchikunaqa kusata tuta waqatimpis, piru may tutari waqan manaqashi kankana mana wamrachu kanka niqllapa kabu kanka ninllapa

When [the child] is crawling, it already has a soul, because when it crawls, it cries—*uy uy uy*—or if it is scared when it is born, it sometimes cries in the mountain because it knows that babies have been buried there, so say our parents. They also say that they sometimes cry at night, but it might not be children but the *kabu* (the tormented soul of an incestuous person). (Pascuala Lucero).

In the coastal valleys of Lambayeque and along the Andes, these creatures are generally called and imagined as elves (*duendes*) (Chávez 1996: 226, Narvaez 2001: 271-3, Platt 2001: 640) and are, like in Inkawasi, thought to be dangerous for people and particularly for pregnant women.

To avoid stillborn foetuses becoming dangerous souls, children must be baptised with the *Agua Socorro* rite and, if they have hair, their hair must be cut, as in the rite of *lanta*, and then they are buried. This was told to me and teacher Julia Manayay by Brígida Manayay:

Julia: *chaynu albortashi imanachinllapa wamritutaqa/* And when they are stillborn, what do they do with the baby?

Brígida: *largo aqchitan katin aqchitayjun katin aqchitanta rutur agua socorronta rurur pampamllapa /* When it has long hair, they cut off its hair, pour their *agua socorro* onto it and bury it

Julia [to me in Spanish]: If not, her shadow is left grieving and scares people

There is no agreement on when the soul becomes attached to the body: some relate this moment to the foetal movement around 5 or 6 months, while others say is when they start crying. Antonia Manayay, a midwife of Inkawasi, told me that babies already have their *sumbra* when they are in their mother's womb:

Sumritayqun karanarai qishayan paçancikpimapis, nuqapamaqa paçayllapi karari qisharan, wak wak raqrata unayqa puriq kaniri, tamalta munar tuyupaq, tutyupaq riqa kaynu qaqapacanta ratamusba kaqkani, chaypi wamayqa qishantin mana yaçatiy illaqa pichachikur puriqkani saritakunawan

It is because they have a *sumra*: that is why they get scared inside the belly. My son got sick in my womb. I was down by that stream searching for *achupayas* (*Bromilacea*) to make the *tamales* that he wanted to eat when I slipped and fell, and I scared my son. Afterwards, I didn't know where he had got scared, I just cleaned him with maize until I healed him.

The main spiritual component of the person in Inkawasi is the *sumra* or *upay*, which is thought to be triple, as is frequently seen in people's shadow. One of the souls is the one that likes to be outside the body and is usually described as silly, while another, sometimes called *alma*, does not leave the body without causing death. There is no consensus on the third *sumra* behaviour. People's souls share certain qualities with the nonhuman ancestor's world and with the world of the *sirka* (mountain), which interact with it through disease, and through dreams and hallucinations accomplished in shamanic practices.

Independently from the time of the fixation, the *pichi* of children is not yet completely set, as is shown in the frequent episodes of sickness triggered by the loss of the children's *sumra*. Human souls, in their beginnings, are a root (*pichi*) that must be fixated to the child's body through care, protection and a series of integration rites. This is close to what has been described by Palmira La Riva in Surinama, Cusco, where the *animu* (the equivalent of *sumra*) that embodies the individual identity is progressively fixed in a social construction of the person, in a 'humanization' that is sanctioned through integration rites (2012: 344-9).

Birth

Pregnancy and especially birth are dangerous for women and her role is very much framed as a battle for survival. Midwives always emphasize the need for the mother to demonstrate

braveness or courage when facing this moment. This was told to me by Pascuala Huamán Reyes of Kañaris, midwife of Kañaris while she helped her cousin give birth, which was very difficult as she was carrying twins. She encouraged her cousin like this: '*Tu eres muchacha, a ver tiene valor! a ver préndete en mi pescuezo, tu eres muchacha ¡Valor! ¡Valor! a ver tu eres muchacha ¿Quieres vivir o no quieres vivir?* /You are a woman, you are brave! Come on, grab onto my neck, you are a woman! Courage! Courage! Show me you are a woman! Do you want to live or not?' Another example came from Segunda, who tells mothers-to-be—particularly first-timers—*Ama binsikanki! Valur karaju!* /Don't give up, show some courage, damn it!'. In Inkawasi *binsikay*, from the Spanish *vencer*, (to defeat or overcome) means to be overcome by tiredness, to lose one's resistance or to die.

This idea of birth as a battle against death is emphasised by the way in which women are referred to by *parteras* during pregnancy and especially at the time of delivery. The majority of local midwives say that a woman has become ill (*qishay*) when labour pain begins, and she remains so during childbirth. After the childbirth, they say she has come to life again (*kamsay*), or that the new mother was saved by them (*salbakay*). These denominations imply the idea that the woman loses her life during birth, and must be saved and revived; emphasising the closeness of life and death in human reproduction. The approach to pregnancy, and especially to childbirth, as the mother's survival battle against a voracious and aggressive foetus is for Tristan Platt a way of rationalizing the pain, danger and risk of death that pregnant and parturient women must face (2001: 634). Undoubtedly, the fear of the real threat to the mother's life in childbirth is behind these denominations.

The consideration of the women as ill when she is pregnant is related to the logic in which health is equated to the equilibrium between the humours of heat and cold. This indigenous medical theory has already been highlighted by Valdizán and Maldonado (1985) for Peru, although it has been mostly studied in the Mesoamerican context, where this phenomenon has generated fierce debates about whether this humoral theory has European (Foster 1987) or indigenous origins (López Austin 1980: 303-318). In Inkawasi, the humoral balance in pregnancy and childbirth is considered especially important, since this process is understood as an imbalance. With the retention of blood during pregnancy, the woman enters a process of progressive warming that concludes with the delivery when all the accumulated heat is released. Similar examples are found throughout the Andes (Bradby 2002: 179, Platt 2001: 642, Rojas 2000: 78), where the imbalance is compensated

or boosted in traditional therapies with the administration of different herbs or components of vegetable, animal or mineral origin, which are credited with having hot or cold characteristics.

When the woman feels the first contractions, the family calls for the midwife and one room is arranged for the delivery with blankets and *shuyu* on the floor. The room must also be warm, very well protected from the wind (*wayra*) and the cold (*qasay*). When the contractions become regular, the midwife massages the woman's belly and carries out the last *compostura* to prepare the baby for the birth. For the delivery, the woman in labour will normally kneel or crouch on the blankets and the father-to-be sits on a chair behind her, putting his arms under hers so that she ends up being supported by him. However, she can also adopt other positions: standing, half-lying or reclined; and, especially during dilation, she may constantly change position.

As well as the support of their husbands, women usually have something that they can use to support themselves during labour and which helps them to have the necessary strength when they need to push. This may be a rope hanging from the roof, the corner of a table, or even the neck of the midwife, who positions herself in front of the mother in order to receive the newborn. The horizontal lithotomy position, the most comfortable one for the medical staff during the birth and the one most commonly used in the Health Care Centre, is generally rejected by women who are used to vertical births and is one of the main reasons why they avoid giving birth there. As Marcelina, a midwife from Atumpampa said to me, 'that's why some don't want to go to the Health Care Centre'. The lithotomy position is understood to be bad for the health of the baby and the action of pushing.

Another of the main reasons why Inkawasinos reject care from the Health Care Centre is related to accompaniment. In a traditional birth, the woman is usually surrounded by relatives and the father of her child, who offer her not only physical help but also psychological support. This is fundamental in ensuring that such a special moment goes smoothly and has a successful outcome, as has been seen in other traditional birth systems (Jordan 1993: 64). In Inkawasi, as in many parts of the Andes, men play an important role in the process of childbirth, one which has not been analysed well, maybe due to the western prejudice of considering pregnancy and labour to be a 'women's matter'. The husband of the mother-to-be runs all the necessary errands during the event, helps the

midwife, and also, by positioning himself behind the mother at the moment of birth, he helps her to push with force by offering the necessary support. In some cases, the participation of other men, generally the parents of the couple or a neighbour, can be indispensable for certain manoeuvres, such as lifting the mother under her arms and shaking her, which repositions the baby and allows the birth to go ahead.

During labour, the *partera* give the mother a series of herbal teas that accelerate the warming process so that she is hot enough for the birth, or so that she doesn't cool down too quickly after the event. Before the birth and in the postpartum period, Lucia Bernilla recommends basil and oregano infusions, which she uses for contraction pains, while Marcelina Lucero uses chamomile and lemon balm for this purpose. To aid and accelerate labour, 'so that it comes out quickly' or so the child 'slides out', Lucia uses stingless (*Melipona*) bees' honey, which appears to show a type of parallelism between the morphological characteristics of the substance and its function. This same idea can be seen in the treatment of *shipu*, when the amniotic bag does not break, when Cleotilde de la Cruz uses *cortadera*, a plant with hard and sharp leaves which are thought help to 'cut' the amniotic membrane, or scrapings of sheep's hoof, which 'tears' it.

Once the baby is born, it is taken from the blanket on the floor by the midwife or whoever assisted the delivery, who becomes another of the multiple godparents of the child, which also creates a relation of *compadrazgo* between the midwife and the new parents. These co-parents are called *alsakushanmanta*⁷⁰, literally *compadre* from having lifted [the baby]. As we saw in Chapter Four, the establishment of *compadrazgo* ties with a specialist is also present in case of house building. This emphasises the idea that behind all sociability lies the exchange of effort (vital force), which includes knowledge and skill. The building of social bonds is central in the process of separation of the child from its origins in the landscape and mother, and his/her integration into the social world. When the birth happens without the help of a *partera*, a neighbour is always asked to lift the baby, as neither the parents nor the grandparents can lift it from the floor.

The *partera* takes the newborn in her hands and the first thing she does is to open the baby's mouth to remove the liquid. She puts her finger into the baby's mouth and she pulls

⁷⁰ Dwight Shaver (1992: 250) translates this term as 'godmother for having received [the child] from the mother'; however, in the Quechua of this zone, '*Alsa*' (from the Spanish *alzar*) means lift, while *ku* is reflexive and *manta* is a suffix that indicates the point of origin—from—hence the translation as 'godmother from having lifted [the baby]'.

up with the fingertip, saying it is necessary to form the baby's palate. She also pulls the baby's nose to ensure it will not be snub and cleans the eyes. After this, the umbilical cord is cut two or three fingers widths from the baby. This is carried out using sharp objects like reeds or canes, or scissors, although some midwives do not recommend this as they are metallic, and this is considered to be a cold material. The part that remains attached to the baby is tied using a cotton thread specially spun for this purpose. They don't use other types of thread such as ram's wool or industrial wool, which are, as we have seen, the two threads most commonly used by women in the Lambayeque highlands to make clothing. This use of cotton instead of wool is related to the different considerations that are given to these two materials. As Ronel Groenewald stated in her study on weaving in Inkawasi, the dead are usually dressed in cotton clothes, because it is believed that sheep's wool may 'burn' the *aya*, or spirit of the deceased (2002a: 7, 2011a). After the baby is separated from its mother, it is washed in warm water infused with medicinal herbs, clothed and girdled. The clothing and especially what covers and protects the baby is also made of cotton, again because it is believed that sheep's wool is too strong for the baby.

The umbilical cord falls off a week or two after birth and is often dried and kept by mothers because it is believed to have medicinal properties. The umbilical cords of girls, not those of boys, are 'good remedies' and can be used as a cure for various illnesses, especially to correct eyesight problems. This same practice of keeping the umbilical cord is described by Garcilaso among the Inkas: '*when children were born, the umbilical cord was cut and they left a piece as long as a finger. When this fell off, they kept it with great care and they gave it to the child to suck on whenever he suffered from any ailment*'⁷¹ (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 2009:145).

Placenta and post-partum period

While the midwife cleans and wraps the newborn, the mother continues with the expulsion of the placenta (*mamaynin*), which can occur a few minutes after the baby's birth or may take several hours. In the traditional domestic space, if there are difficulties in expelling the placenta, the midwife will massage the woman's belly to try to help the expulsion. Contrary to the standardisation of allopathic medicine, local practices emphasise the

⁷¹ '*cuando al nacer de los niños les cortaban el ombligo, dejaban la tripilla larga como un dedo; la cual después que se le caía, guardaban con grandísimo cuidado y se la daban a chupar al niño en cualesquiera indisposición que le sentían*'

difference between bodies. The midwives of Inkawasi, as we will expand on next section, are currently working with the Health Care Centre—locally known as the *Posta*—in its strategy to ‘institutionalise’ births, and this is moving births from houses to the Health Care Centre, which is transforming the way in which it assists births.

After the placenta is expelled, the midwife takes it, washes it and wraps it with old rugs (*charikuna*) before it is buried, in the words of Lucía Bernilla: ‘*Con esas polleritas viejitas guardamos, con eso lo amarramos y enterramos* /with these old rugs we keep it, and then we tie it up and we bury it.’ If this is not done, cold will enter the mother’s womb because ‘*si lo enterramos así solito, le entra el frío a la barriga de la mamá*’/if we bury it like this, alone [unwrapped], the cold will enter the mother’s womb’. If the placentas are not properly discarded, they can become dangerous creatures, as has been also described elsewhere in the Andes (Chávez 2004; Davidson 1983; Platt 2001). This is frequently determined by the consideration of the placenta as a double of the child that has shared the uterus with it, so it is given a series of treatments similar to those given to the newborn, guaranteeing the separation of the placenta, the newborn and the mother before it is ritually buried (Davidson 1983, La Riva 2012). Davidson (1983) understands these procedures as a means to channel any anxiety related to possible illnesses and death, and to re-establish the social and biological balance of the mother, which was broken by the pregnancy and labour.

After wrapping, the placenta should be buried in the domestic space, usually in a corner of a room or under the fire of the house (*tumchikena*), with the idea of keeping it warm to ensure the welfare of mother and child. The corners and the fire place are places of little traffic, which is considered as very important because they are places where it cannot be stepped on or disturbed. According to Cleilde de la Cruz of Penachí, putting stones over the placenta burial place must be avoided, because if this happens, the placenta of the next birth ‘*turns into rock*’, hardening and remaining fixed to the uterus (calcification), thereby making it difficult to expel and putting the mother’s life at risk.

After the birth and to help with the mother’s recovery, the midwife rubs her belly with herbs to reposition the womb, after which she meticulously wraps the new mother in a *faja*, which is similar to a corset or girdle. At this point, the womb is the subject of special attention because it could leave the body, in the words of Cleotilde de la Cruz: ‘*brinca pue*’ *y puede echar fuerza, y se le puede bajar acá, tiene que amarrarlo bien seguro*’/it jumps and it can push

itself out here [signalling her belly]; you have to tie it up tight'. If this happens, the mother could die. Wearing the *faja* also helps to ensure that the new mother doesn't get scared (*manchakuy*), in the words of Segunda Manayay: '*se faja pue' si no a veces al descuido se puede asustar* /you use the girdle because otherwise, if you aren't careful, you could get scared'; or cold air could enter the womb. The *parteras* also give hot infusions to the new mother before returning the baby to her so that she starts to lactate. If she cannot lactate because the milk doesn't flow, she is given hot chocolate or chicken broth to stimulate the production of milk.

Breastfeeding may continue for up to two years and milk is offered whenever the child asks for it, a trend that is common throughout the Andes (Ortiz 1994: 21). This practice also serves as a way to space births, due to the frequent suppression of the menstrual cycle during this period if the child is breastfed regularly. This pattern is currently changing as many women in the town of Inkawasi are using contraceptives. In the Lambayeque highlands, this interval of two years between the birth of a child and the following pregnancy seems to be the most desirable. The explanation for this is expressed in terms of a conflict between the lactating child and the baby in the womb for food. In the neighbouring Sierra de Piura, having children before completing this period is considered disagreeable, as a new pregnancy would make the milk harmful for the child (Chávez 1996: 752).

As in many other cultures, after the birth, in Inkawasi the mother must regain her lost social and corporal balance through a series of practices and rituals aimed at reversing the process initiated during the gestation period. For approximately a week, the mother does not move from her bed nor her home, where she stays with her child, and where she will avoid entering in contact with items or foods that are considered as too hot or too cold, and which would, therefore, break the process of recovering the balance of her humours. If she fails to follow the requirements to not go out, to follow the diet or to not touch or be exposed to cold elements such as metals, the woman will get *rikayda* (from the Spanish *recaida*, or relapse), a sickness characterized by pain and shivering. Afterwards, and when the necessary steps have been taken, the mother is considered *alliyashana* (already healthy), and can fully return to her daily tasks and her social life (see also Groenewald 2011b: 179). Most women who give birth in the highlands will return to their duties as soon as possible, first in her house and then on her farm, although a time of rest and seclusion within the

domestic environment is kept, and this may vary anywhere from a week to more than a month, depending on her physical condition, her economic situation and the help she might need to replace her in her daily tasks.

The shutinshikuy, the entrance to the Christian and human realms

Before the newborn baby leaves the house for the first time, the *Agua Socorro*, *shutinshikuy* or name-giving rite must be performed. This rite sanctions the baby's entrance into the Christian and human realms by giving the baby a name and a social personality. The *shutinshikuy* (name giving), or *Agua Socorro* (succour water) baptism, is a domestic baptism in which new-born babies receive the name given to them by the godparents using salt and holy water⁷². In the *shutinshikuy*, the godmother raises the child in her arms while the godfather sprinkles it with holy water and puts a pinch of salt in its mouth; the godparents light a candle and pray three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys, and then the child is given its name. Brígida, a midwife from Huasicaj, describes it like this:

“aquí cuando nace, a los cinco días haces un agua socorro dice. Agua socorro agarra una velita y hace una oración, se rezan..., se reza tres Padres Nuestros, tres Ave Marías, ahí cuando le agarra la salcita y pone en la boquita [...] de ahí para que salga de su casa”.

‘Here, when you are born, when you are five days old, you do an *Agua Socorro*. During the *Agua Socorro* we grab a candle and say a prayer, we pray, we say three Our Fathers, three Hail Mary, then we take the salt and put it in the baby's little mouth [...] so that the baby can leave the house’.

The newborn cannot leave its home until this ritual has been performed, for fear that it will be scared, which means its soul will be lost, and without a name there will be no way to reclaim its soul. If the baby dies without receiving this Christian baptism, as we mentioned before, it could become a dangerous creature, especially for a pregnant woman. The *shutinshikuy* is therefore key in the process of appropriation. This ritual allows infants to enter into Christendom, thus preventing them from becoming dangerous entities for people if they were to die, and it fundamentally sanctions their separation from the mountain, or *sirka*. However, this is not definitive, since children remain in a state of

⁷² The *shutinshikuy* or *agua socorro* is an emergency Catholic ceremony that substitutes baptism in the absence of a priest or when the life of the newborn is in imminent danger. In the Lambayeque highlands, the *shutinshikuy* is practiced as an independent ritual, although it varies depending on the zone and whether specialists are permanently available to carry it out.

indefiniteness and vulnerability that extends for much of their childhood. As underlined by Lestage in the central Andes, the baptism is the first act of individuation through the imposition of a name (1999: 217).

After the *shutinshikuy*, it is also very common to perform a baptism in the church when the child is one or two years old, which is known as *kurashutinshikuy*, or ‘the granting of the name by the priest’. As we mentioned, after father Guerrero Bazan, no regular priest attended Inkawasi until 2010, when the Verbo y Víctima community of nuns established their parish in neighbouring Uyurpampa. This congregation, also present in Kañaris, have the pope’s permission to give all the sacraments except for the communion.

Form, force and descent: the kwartu relation

As we mentioned in Chapter Six, the *kwartu* relation is overall one of love and care that implies the transmission of energy or vital force, which makes the *kwartu* a ‘replacement’ of its owner. In the case of the children’s *kwartu*, this is not the owner but one of the child’s ancestors of the same sex on either line (maternal and paternal), generally a parent, aunt or uncle, or grandparent. The progenitor and the *kwartu* child share a special relationship that is recognised by all through the naming of the child, who will be referred to using the same kin term as their ancestor. Furthermore, the establishment of a special bond of love and mutual help between the *kwartu* and its ancestor seems to contribute allow the transference of vital force that is not yet completed. The *kwartu* relation is also key in the process of learning, as progenitors are expected to teach children how to be their replacement.

As we mentioned, the Inkawasinos ensure that resemblance is the main selection criteria for selecting the *kwartu* of the child at birth, but if you compare families’ *kwartu* relations, there seems to be a clear pattern. The first daughter to be born will almost invariably be her mother’s *kwartu*, and the first-born son his father’s. The grandparents usually follow the parents and finally come the aunts and uncles. I have never seen a baby being named as the *kwartu* of a dead ancestor, as what seems to be key is the relation between the ancestor and the child. As in the case of cows, there seems to be logic behind this and it is that the *kwartu*, in the absence of its ancestor, may act as a replacement, as is clear in the case of a first-born girl, who will help her mother to raise her brothers and sisters, replacing

her mother if she is absent. The *kwartu* is overall a relationship of love, care and protection, which appears to underline the idea of a shared vital force between the two parts.

Although the *kwartu* is assimilated to the *sumra* or *upay*, there is an important relationship with the physical form. The emphasis on the resemblance of the newborn baby with its ancestor as the main criteria of selection seems to point to this idea, as well as the example examined in Chapter Five about Segunda and her godson Walter, who is tall like her because she saved him with her breath. This is so much so that the *kwartu* are considered to be the body replacement of their ancestors.

For the Inkawasinos, likeness could also be dangerous, as if a descendant is too similar to their ancestor or siblings, it is said they are *puktina* (identical), and it is believed that one of them will soon die. Siblings are all called by the Spanish term *hermano* and by the term *uknin*, which means 'my other I'. I knew of a couple of cases of commoners with problems because they had exactly the same name as their brothers or sisters. This may be merely a curiosity, but it points to the idea of siblings as sorts of replicas.

Midwives and biomedicine

The midwives play an important role not only in maintaining and transmitting traditional knowledge and practices regarding reproduction but also in their transformation, resignification or adjustment in the face of the arrival of allopathic medicine and the different sexual and reproductive health programs. During the first decade of this millennium, several *parteras* (local midwives) have been registered to work in the Inkawasi Health Care Centre, and they generally encourage expectant mothers to attend periodic appointments or give birth there. This incorporation of traditional midwives is a strategy of the Health Care Centre personnel aimed at increasing the number of so-called 'institutional deliveries'. Working with local midwives is in the guidelines of the Concerted National Healthcare Plan (2007) and the National Strategic Plan to Reduce Maternal and Perinatal Mortality 2009-2015, and the latter has as the second of its main pillars the aim to 'reduce the possibility of complications during the pregnancy, birth and postpartum

period, focusing on the identification of warning signs and preventative measures for complications in the expectant mother and the newborn; and on increasing institutional births, with active management of the birth to reduce postpartum bleeding and infections⁷³.

Although these policies also talk about an intercultural adjustment of the health services, no work has been done to this effect. What I saw from the perspective of the Health Care Centre personnel is what Barbara Bradby describes in Bolivia: a one-way relation where *parteras* are seen as a bridge to reach pregnant women, ‘useful only so long as the bridge is needed’ (2002: 170). As in Bolivia, in Inkawasi local knowledge is not considered by regional health authorities and practitioners working there as part of the solution to health problems, but as an obstacle (Bradby 2002: 168). This is my impression from the multiple conversations I had with Health Care Centre personnel (midwife, nurses, technicians and medics), as well as with health practitioners that were working in Kañaris when I gave them a talk about intercultural health at the regional branch of the Health Ministry DIRESA in Chiclayo in 2016, by invitation of the Kañaris Municipality. In this talk, it was clear to me that the majority of them saw local customs as a barrier to solving health problems. Bradby stresses that the ideas for rejecting local midwife knowledge and practices are generally unfounded, such as blaming home births for high rates of mortality in comparison with medicalised births (2002: 170).

The implementation of this scheme of collaboration with *parteras* was linked to a welfare program ‘Programa Integral de Nutrición’ (Integrated Nutrition Program, PIN from now on), which was implemented in the framework of the PRONAA (National Program for Nutritional Assistance), which was in force in Peru between 1992 and the second decade of this millennium⁷⁴. This program certainly helped to increase the numbers of people with state medical insurance (SIS) and users of the Inkawasi Health Care Centre, locally known as the *posta*. Healthcare coverage has steadily increased in Inkawasi to the 2007 census level of 61.2% (INEI 2008).

⁷³ http://bvs.minsa.gob.pe/local/minsa/000_pncs.pdf,
<http://www.bvsde.paho.org/texcom/cd045364/planestrategie09.pdf>.

⁷⁴ <http://www.midis.gob.pe/index.php/es/pronaa>

As part of the PIN, a monthly *canasta* (basket) of food such as oil, rice or dried pulses was made to expectant mothers if they attended a series of pre- and postnatal appointments. The food basket was given until the child was three years old if they attended the prenatal appointments, had an institutional birth and the child had all the vaccines. What happened in Inkawasi is that the collaboration of the traditional midwives and the Health Care Centre was made in the framework of this nutritional assistance program, in which the midwives also received some of this food help. The *parteras* helped to convince expectant mothers to sign up with the promise of giving them the monthly delivery of food. Although the PRONAA is no longer running, local midwives and the Health Care Centre continue to work together, even though the midwives no longer receive benefits for this work that can be very arduous, especially in complicated pregnancies, when labour can last for several hours. Segunda once complained about this after a very complicated birth: she told me that she felt it was unfair that her work was no longer remunerated with the *canasta*.

These assistance programs have also undoubtedly been a reason behind the increase in institutional births in Inkawasi. Although the nutritional assistance of the PRONAA has been discontinued, local midwives continue to collaborate with the *posta*, and their role is considered key, as the health personnel is often undertrained, do not know the local language, have no intercultural training and only stay in the area for a year. The Health Care Centres in these rural districts tend to have a high turnover of personnel who most of the time are students of medicine, dentistry or nursing, and who are carrying out a year of rural service before they graduate, which in Peru is known as SERUMS (Rural and Marginal-Urban Service in Health). Although the staff do not always work through SERUMS, their stay in the area is usually not prolonged, unless they are members of the community.

Despite the steady increase in institutional deliveries which I verified in 2011 in the notebook where births in Inkawasi were registered, childbirth continues to be an event that mainly takes place in domestic sphere. Women are often afraid to give birth in the Health Care Centre, particularly because they face the possibility of being transferred to hospitals on 'the coast' (generally in Chiclayo or in the city of Lambayeque). The *posta* and hospitals are perceived to be potentially dangerous places where the woman could get sick and die because they are exposed to winds and airs, fright, embarrassment, and where placentas aren't disposed of ritually. Schooling and other rapid changes that the community

is undergoing may easily change this, but for now, houses are still the chosen scenario to bring children to the world.

Sexual and reproductive health policies, procedures introduced by allopathic medicine and the ideas that come with these are undoubtedly having an effect on the traditional practices and ideas regarding reproduction, especially in the case of *parteras*. However, these practices and ideas are not always adopted; there are adaptations, readjustments and negotiations in the face of these new situations. In her article about midwifery knowledge in Bolivia, Barbara Bradby (2002) takes Norma and Ann Long's article *Battlefields of Knowledge* (1992), where they analyse agricultural case studies with recipients of technical assistance. They emphasise the permeability of the knowledge frontier between 'inside' and 'outside' knowledge, and the 'crisscrossing' between them (Bradby 2002: 166). Bradby demonstrates that there are many commonalities between Bolivia's local midwifery and the midwifery practices that came with the colonisers to America. She does this to show that there is not really an 'outside' versus an 'inside' knowledge in the Andes, but rather a crisscrossing of knowledge formation in developing contexts (Bradby 2002: 188).

In Inkawasi allopathic and local knowledge coexist and intersect, mainly through the praxis of the *parteras*. Traditional ideas surrounding reproduction, are linked in a wider sense to an understanding of the functioning of a body that is plural and unbounded, where health is an equilibrium between the hot and cold humours of the body, and where supernatural beings can be the source of illness. It is also important to highlight the influence of the evangelical churches on this and other customs and ceremonies related to infants, such as the baptism and the first haircut, which are being affected because they involve dancing and the traditional consumption of sugar cane alcohol (*tragu*), forbidden by these sects.

For women, and in general for the Inkawasinos, the decision to go to a traditional doctor, a biomedical doctor or other practitioners is not exclusive. On most occasions, particularly in cases involving complications or persistent pathologies, they will seek treatment from more than one of these alternatives simultaneously, or even others outside that are neither traditional nor allopathic. The decision-making process does not only depend on the therapeutic effectiveness of the method but also, as has been described by Crandon-Malamud (1991), on social and economic reasons, in which identity-based negotiations play an important role. In Inkawasi, people have a wide range of secondary reasons for

making decisions on therapeutic options, which depend on the social, economic and religious situation of the patient, and may include their stance on their identity. The local midwives and many *promotores* (local providers of advice and medicines trained by regional health authorities) have adopted and adapted elements of allopathic medicine. There are a few local practitioners that mainly work with allopathic medicine.

Becoming an owner: the lanta, or first haircut

As we mentioned in Chapter Four, when children are around two years old, the ceremony of the first hair-cut, the *lanta* or *aqchanta rutuy*, is performed. The weaning process breaks the nutritional link that the child has kept with its mother and his/her thoughts now start to be manifested through language. This ceremony of pre-Hispanic origin coincides with the moment in which children stop receiving breast milk and begin to talk, and has generally been interpreted as the integration of the child in the community. Besides this, the *lanta* has a key implication for children, as they receive an adult set of clothes and an animal. This means that they are no longer just dependants, but that they have started the path of learning to be owners. In other words, they are people capable of producing food, shelter and clothes for themselves and others.

The account of this pre-Hispanic ceremony written by Felipe Guaman Poma in the 17th century is still an accurate description of the Inkawasinos' current *lanta* ceremony:

‘The Indians had and still have the custom of the *rutochico* [first haircut]. On the first day, the aforementioned men and women all meet in the plaza or in the child’s house. They gather around the boy or girl and take a pair of scissors; each one makes a cut. They cut the hair of the child and each one offers a gift as they see fit. And later they eat and share and drink and get drunk. Some perform ceremonies’ (Poma de Ayala 1615: 893 [907]).

In the case of Inkawasi, the godparents and other attendees cut small amounts of hair from the child, at the same time giving some money as an offering, after which they dance, eat and drink in great quantities. The first to cut is the godmother, followed by all the female attendees, who cut the hair on the left side of the child’s head. Before cutting, the godmother will carefully divide the head into two parts and perform the *chuya* or

refreshment, as exemplified by the Bilingual Teachers: *'lantata rutunarpis chuyawan qasachir qasachir rutunllapa/*When you want to perform the *lanta*, you do so while permanently sprinkling the *chuya* [on the child's hair, on the scissors and on the hands of the person who is going to cut]'. After sprinkling the *chuya*, she cuts a portion of the hair and places it on a plate that is held by the *kajiru* (who is responsible for receiving, counting and handing over the money), along with her monetary contribution. Finally, she will drink a cup of *tragu* (sugar cane alcohol) with the parents and again performs the *chuya* for the next person to cut. Once all the women have participated, the godfather starts to cut hair from the right side of the head, followed by the other male attendees, also sprinkling the *chuya* before cutting. After cutting, each man and woman leaves a financial contribution, which is placed on a plate together with the cut hair, and they drink a glass (or two) of *tragu*. There is a sort of friendly competition between the two groups, encouraged by the *kajiru* who, after everyone has cut hair, announces which group collected more money. After the haircut, there is a ritual dance in which the godmother puts her godson on her back with the help of a blanket, or *pullu*, and dances, generally with the godfather or the father of the child.

After a feast in honour of the godparents and guests, the *taki*, or dance, continues until dawn. The following day, they do the *lanta çuray*, which consists of taking the hair that had been cut the night before, which is also known as *lanta*, to a plant called a *tuyu*⁷⁵ or to the mouth of an anthill, where it is left after doing a *qasachiy*, the ceremony of sprinkling the *chuya* we described in Chapter Four. The *lanta çuray* involves dances and is done to give the child luck in its life. The *lanta* is described in this way in a *taki* that appears in this compilation played by Valeriano Céspedes Manayay and María Purihuamán Huamán:

Kanansbuyapaqari/ Today is the *lanta* ceremony
apaypaqnari tuyuman/ now we will take the hair to the *tuyu*
wardaqna ari/ to entrust it, yes!

qarmayuraq saramwan chullpuchir / after having refreshed it with yellow and white maize
yuraq klabilninwan qasachir/ having performed the *qasachiy* with the white Carnation flower
urasyunninwan tuyunpi dijashun wawanchiketaqa/ and having said the corresponding prayer,
 we will entrust our child to the *tuyu* (Valeriano Céspedes Manayay and María Purihuamán Huamán, in Martínez 2017: 108-9).

⁷⁵. The *tuyu* is a species of the Bromilaceae family (Bromeliads), which is endemic in the forests of the Lambayeque highlands. This plant has a special meaning in the case of children, as it appears in the narrative of the ogress *Açukay*, helping the two protagonist children of this mythical narrative that extends over the northern Andes and the Amazonia, and that explains the origin of the current world (Taylor 2008b).

This ceremony has often been interpreted as the entry of the child into society and communal life, constituting his/her 'social' birth, and the moment of transition from a wild condition to a social one (Canessa 1999: 80). In Inkawasi this is ritually represented by the cutting of the last remains of this origin, the *lanta* or lanugo⁷⁶, which is taken back to the mountain. The identification of the lanugo as the child's origin can also be seen in the *lanta* of the *awana*, because as we mentioned the *lanta* also refers to the remaining fibres that get entangled in the heddle in its criss-crossing.

The animals, usually sheep, cows or bulls that are purchased with the money given in the *lanta* ceremony, or the animals given directly by the godparents make the child an owner, as discussed the previous chapter. Arnold and Espejo point to the importance of the cattle given to the children at the first hair cut: 'Actually, in the high lands, this donation of cattle—a type of personal investment in the boy or girl—is considered much more important than the *rutucha* ritual itself,' (2013: 320). Another key implication of the *lanta* ceremony is the creation of ritual kin relations between the godparents and the child and, more importantly, between the godparents and the children's parents (*compadrazgo*).

They add further that this is 'the driving force to generate interest and motivation in the everyday activity of grazing so that the child helps its mother in the chores related to raising the family's livestock, starting when they are eight or nine years old' (Arnold & Espejo 2013: 320). This is also key in Inkawasi because to be a master/owner is a matter of skill and knowledge. Children start to learn by observing first and then by taking part in small tasks. From a very young age, they accompany their parents or older siblings in agricultural activities, especially in pasturing cattle, sheep, and other family animals. Girls start to take their mothers' weaving tools and start practising how to spin at around five or six years old when they also start learning how to cook and to take care of their younger siblings. Meanwhile, boys learn from their fathers how to use the shovel to dig up potatoes and the plough to cultivate, and at around 12 or 14 years old they will often accompany their fathers to work as agricultural labourers, in the rice plantation fields of Ferreñafe.

⁷⁶ As we mentioned in Chapter Four, the word *lanta*, probably from the Spanish *lana* (wool) (Taylor 2006) or from the Quechua (Pasco) word *tankash* (Mayer 1977: 67), refers in Inkawasi to the entangled and compact portion of the babies' first hair (lanugo) that is never brushed, and becomes a sort of dreadlocks attached to the definitive hair that grows after.



Photo 22. Girl in Inkawasi with her sheep

As we mentioned, one of the key implications of the *lanta* is that the child takes its first step in its transformation from a dependant to an owner, after receiving their first animals and a set of adult clothes. Following Carlos Fausto (2008, 2012), I propose to use the figure of the owner to imagine Inkawasino personhood, as the relations it implicates are constitutive of what it means to be a *kabal* person and a full member of the community, as well as to better understand the relation people have with the animated landscape in which they live, which has its own powerful owners. Under the unity of the owner, Inkawasino personhood is a plurality of relations of mutual dependency with humans and non-humans.

For the Andes, Catherine Allen has also proposed to think of personhood as beyond the body's boundaries, extending to artefacts. In her article about Andean animism, Allen (2015) uses the relation between artisans and artefact to analyse ancient and contemporary Andean personhood. As detailed in Chapter Five, she proposes to understand this relationship as a 'distributed personhood', borrowing Alfred Gell's terminology (Allen 2015: 31). This idea is similar to that proposed by Fausto in the Amazonia (2012), although he does not use Gell's concept of distributed personhood as is does not recognise subjectivity in objects and just human agency 'mixed' through labour with things (Fausto

2012: 36-7). Fausto proposes to think of the owner as a model for Amerindian personhood, using Strathern's (1991) concept of the 'magnified person'. In Inkawasi this 'magnified person', the owner, contains a plurality of other subjects, appropriated through technical and ritual procedures. Personhood is importantly determined by asymmetric relationships of ownership and dependency with humans and non-humans.

As explored in previous chapters, the Inkawasinos think of making things and raising animals as appropriations of other owners' belongings through labour, thought of as the transmission of vital energy (*sumra, upay*). This transmission does not implicate the elimination of the singularity of what has being appropriated. For Fausto (2012) the prototypical relation of ownership is 'adoptive filiation'. This relation is constituted through a dynamic Fausto calls 'familiarising predation' that may occur between a warrior and a captive child, a killer and his victim's spirit, or a shaman and the auxiliary spirits. It may also designate the relation between parents and children, and overall between parents and adoptive children (2012: 31). As we have seen throughout the previous chapters, in Inkawasi relations between artisans and artefacts, or between animals and their masters, is understood close to that of the parent-child, and are expressed in technical knowledge and the associated rituality. And they are all, just as human reproduction, thought of as appropriations of Other's capacities that are then transformed into one's own.

Making textiles as an appropriation of the Other's subjectivity has been described for the Andes by Denise Arnold, Juan de Dios Yapita and Elvira Espejo (2007). They point to weaving as inserted in a broader mode of perception that Viveiros de Castro calls "ontologic predation", which is the creation of a new being from the destruction of another (Arnold et al 2007: 51). Is the appropriation of the subjectivity of Others that is integrated into one's group (Arnold et al 2007: 51). Bolivian weavers conceive weaving as a process of appropriation of 'a dead person of another group that is transformed, or 'revived' into one's own group through weaving. They link this appropriation to the hunted heads of the enemies and to the hair of these heads that serves as starting points for new beings (Arnold et al 2007: 49- 78).

As in the Amazonia, in Inkawasi ownership is not just control or dominion, but also care and protection (Fausto 2012: 32). As we explore in detail in Chapter Five, in ancient (Quilter 1990, Hocquenghem 1989, Hyland 2007, Taylor 2008a) and contemporary Andes

(Flores 1974: 259, Allen 1998, Gose 1994: 124-5), there is a responsibility towards one's belongings that will be judged after death or in a time of reversal, when things, plants and animals will master humans. In Inkawasi, mistreating one's *awana* entails losing one's ability to weave again. There is a clear idea that one's belongings must be treated with respect and care and that this is fundamental to continue harvesting, weaving or raising cattle.

Although comparing Amazonia (hunter-gatherers) with the Andes (farmers-pastoralists) regarding an asymmetrical relation of power may seem problematic, there is still a common understanding of the world as animated, which determines the relationality of the bond of ownership in both areas. And it shows, more importantly, that human beings are not the only owners but only one among the many that exist in the world (Fausto 2012: 35). The Inkawasinos recognise powerful supernatural owners of the mountains and of the animals and plants species that live there, to which they *belong* themselves. They also recognise other owners such as the Catholic saints, which are linked with the ancestors of each extended family. As well as other powers, like that of the *hacendado*, that is often how mountain spirits appear to people.

In Inkawasi, being an owner is constitutive of what it means to be a *warmi* (woman) or an *ushqu* (man), a 'complete' person and a full member of the community, a *runa*. As in the textile metaphor we described in Chapter Five, becoming a *runa* is only achieved through *masabar*, or putting two together. That is, being a complete person is only achieved through marriage, as described along the Andes (Arnold et al 2007: 59). Two people with complementary (re)productive skills marry, establish a household and have children. They stop being dependent on others and become owners on whom others depend. Of course, families continue relying on mutual help, but these are no longer dependency ties, but rather horizontal ones (commensality).

Conclusion

Bringing children into the world implies firstly a process of appropriation of the new life from its origins in the landscape and the ancestors, which is achieved through ethno-

obstetrical procedures, feeding and care, and sanctioned through rituality. Pregnancy is understood within a homeostatic functioning of the body, where health is the equilibrium between hot and cold humours. Pregnancy is the progressive heating of the body due to the retention of blood, which reaches its highest point in childbirth when all the heat is liberated. This is a life-threatening moment which is thought of by the *parteras* as a battle against death in which they must try to 'save' the women by bringing her back to life (*kawsay*). Here the midwives are the key specialists, not just for bringing children into the world but also for dealing with new biomedical practices and procedures. Although the influence of Western medicine has been important since the arrival of the Spaniards, medical practices have been appropriated and adapted by the Inkawasinos and particularly by *parteras* to their conceptual system.

Childhood diseases and therapeutics emphasise the closeness of children to the mountain and particularly to the pre-Christian ancestors, the *antibu* or *jintil*. The soul of the newborn is progressively integrated into the human community through feeding, care and protection and sanctioned through rituality. The *Agua Socorro*, or naming of the child, is the first step, as before this moment children are named *sirkapa wamran* or children of the mountains. The appropriation of the person from the landscape transcends beyond the boundaries of the body. Personhood in Inkawasi can be better understood by looking to relations of ownership, relations forged through making or growing between creators, their creatures and the landscape from which they ultimately come from. Being a complete or *kabal* person is having the capacity, the knowledge and the skill to sustain oneself and others. Making persons is a process that does not end with birth, but instead continues until marriage and the arrival of new children, when the *chinas* and the *cholos* (girls and boys) become complete *warmi* women and *ushqu* men.

Chapter 8

A world of owners: mountains, shamanism, power and alterity

This chapter explores the ways in which the Inkawasinós conceptualise and interact with the supernatural ‘forms and forces’ of the landscape—lakes, caves, rocky peaks, and mountains—in which they live, and to which they *belong*. The *sirkakuna*, or mountains, are frequently thought of and named as *dueñu* (owner) of wild varieties of plants and animals and its own fields and cattle. As in many other parts in the Andes, the mountain also shows itself to people as colonial and post-colonial masters, such as landowners and *gringos*, or as other main figures of alterity, namely animals and machines. These encounters, called *encantos* (charms) are always dangerous and the outcome is generally the loss of the soul, which is kept by the mountain. Differently from what has been described further south in the Andes where the relationship between people and the landscape is expressed in the language of feeding and sacrifice (Allen 2008: 47-8, Gose 2008: 280), here there are no *despachos* to feed hungry mountains, nor coca leaf consumption to connect with them. In Inkawasi, the mountains give luck or misfortune directly to people as a result of their unpredictable mood, or they do so through a shaman, who directs mountain powers to give luck (*swirti*) to their clients or hurt (*daño*) someone on their behalf.

The way of dealing with the bad luck produced by angry mountains is also mainly through shamanism. As in all the northern Peruvian coast and highlands, here the main way of interacting with the landscape is through *brujería* based on the use of the *mesa* power objects and the consumption of the hallucinogenic *wachuma*. Shamans here are also perceived and named as masters, *maestros curanderos* (healing masters), and they control specific powers in the landscape for their own benefit or that of their clients. The way in which shamans operate seems very close to the operation of other creative processes, where mastery (knowledge/skill) and the appropriation of the landscape's capacities have a preponderant role.

The exploration of the mountain as a *dueño* aims to shift the focus from the human master of previous chapters. Besides the *sirkakuna*, there are other powerful masters to which the Inkawasinos *belong*: such as the Christian deities *amitunchik* (our little masters) or, until the Agrarian Reform, the landowners. In Inkawasi, as I suspect in the rest of the Amerindian world, people are just other owners in a world full of owners, human and non-human (Fausto 2012). The Inkawasinos are not obsessed with rendering humans the masters of everything, as in Western thought, but rather fully recognise their dependency to *sirkakuna*.

The appearance of the mountain as the main characters of (post)colonial exploitative regimes (landowners, *gringos*, cities, trucks) to capture human souls poses key questions on the impact of violent colonial practices of mastery and ownership over the Inkawasinos. Douglas Sharon points to northern shamanism as the result of the colonial exploitative regime of the Hacienda and religious evangelisation. He supports this due to the emphasis of northern shamanism on *daño* (malicious witchcraft) and its cause: envy. Undoubtedly, this dangerous aspect of mountains in the appearance of landowners or *gringos* has been key for the Inkawasinos to make sense of oppressive (post)colonial powers. Mountains and *hacendados* share the denomination as *dueño/amu*, and both have power over people.

The exploration of the relations between Inkawasinos and the *sirkakuna* is carried out through the examination of local shamanism, and the accounts of encounters people have had with mountain spirits, pathologies, healing practices, songs and oral narratives. Differently from what I have been doing in the previous chapters, here I omit the names of the shamans and clients, as shamanism is always controversial for its potentiality to

make *daño* (hurt). In my first fieldwork (2009-20) I had the opportunity to speak and participate in two *mesas* in the nearby community of Kañaris and one in Inkawasi. In subsequent fieldworks, I contracted or participated in several *mesas* of four shamans of Inkawasi, two women and two men, and participated in one *mesa* in the city of Ferreñafe. I also spoke extensively with other healers that use herbs and perform the so-called *limpia* or cleansing, and with many Inkawasinos about *brujos* and their practices.

This final chapter is divided into three sections. The first one explores the relations that Inkawasinos establish with the cosmic landscape in which they live. The *Sirkakuna* are thought of and named as owners—*dueñu*—of their own varieties of wild plants and animals, and the Inkawasinos recognise that they *belong* to them. The *sirkakuna* also appear as another powerful owner of (post)colonial control of the area: the landowner, which points to a way of understanding colonial mastery which is associated with sickness and potential death. The second section looks into local shamanism, to better grasp the relationship of people with their landscape. The shamans are also considered and named as *maestro* (master) *curandero* (healer) and their practices rely on a dynamic of appropriation of the landscape's powers. The third and final section reflects on the implications of recognising the existence of other owners beyond human beings in the way of being in the world of the Inkawasinos.

Sirkakuna: power, duality and alterity

In Inkawasi, as in other parts of the Andes (Bastien 1985: 37-50), mountains or *sirkakuna* are anthropomorphised, frequently described as being *kristyanuyupay* (like a Christian/human) or *nuganchik yupay* (like us); and as such, having their own soul (*sumra*), history and personality. Like people, these landmarks are also frequently thought of as the *duyñu* (master/owner) of those things and beings that they are capable of creating and sustaining. The *sirkakuna* are thought of as owners of large fields and abundant cattle, which are shown to people when the mountain 'opens' (*kićakar*) or is invoked by a shaman to use their power. Additionally, as discussed in Chapter Six, the *sirka* is named and addressed as the owner of specific varieties of animals, which grow up (*kriya-*) on them

abundantly. The figure of the ‘owner of the animals’ expands to the central and southern Andes (Flores 1974: 256, Dransart 2002: 66, Gose 2008: 241) and all over Amazonia (Fausto 2012, Costa 2017: 5).

Following J. Earls’ article on Andean mythology (1969), Peter Gose notes that in the central and southern Andes, landscape spirits are considered as ‘the true owners of particular territories and as custodians of the plants, animals and minerals therein’ (2008: 241). Because of this, people offer them a ‘sacrificial tribute’ in exchange for the use of the land, or for the necessary vital energy to make their crops and animals grow (Gose 2008: 241). In Inkawasi *sirkakuna* are also seen as owners and people as dependent on them, but there is no ritual sacrifice or feeding in exchange. Misfortune and death are caused not by hungry mountain spirits that were not fed by people (Allen 2008: 47-8), but by capricious or angry mountains, as described to me by Segunda Manayay:

[El cerro] *debe ser como nosotros, se enoja y se alegra. Si el cerro se enoja se empiezan a comer a los animales, o sea se mueren los animales de cualquier forma, ya se caen. Pero cuando está en sus momentos de buen humor los animales se crían.*

[The mountain] must be like us, it gets angry and happy. If the mountain gets angry, it starts to eat the animals, which means that the animals die in any way, they just fall; but when it is in a good mood, the animal population increases.

Here, there is no ‘social contract’ or ‘pact of reciprocity’ (Gose 2008: 280, 324) with the mountain/owner for allowing human crops and animals to grow; although in Cusco, where mountains are ritually fed, these are also depicted as capricious beings (Allen 2008: 47, de la Cadena 2015: 246). Instead, the reproductive capacity of the mountain is appropriated in terms of ‘luck’—when finding an *illa*—enhanced through music and dances—as in the frame of communal or *ayllu* work—or mediated by a shaman (*bruju*), a specialist who masters or controls the landscape’s forces.

For the neighbouring community of Kañaris, Marieka Sax also points to a significant difference between the place-based spirits in the northern coast and highlands, commonly known as *encantos*, and those of the southern highlands, the *tirakua*. Sax underlines that people in Kañaris do ‘not expect the *encantos* to provide for them in a mutual relationship of obligation and reciprocity, as in the southern Andes. Instead, people must consult a sorcerer if they wish to cure an illness attributed to their power, or be blessed with this same power to increase their productive capacities and state of luck’ (2014: 323).

This does not mean that there are no shamans in the Andes further south, for there are. Douglas Sharon, while trying to establish a common Amerindian substratum for shamanism, points to coincidences between northern and Cusco shamanism, where shamans are also capable of doing good and bad and use *mesas* as main devices to communicate with mountains. The *mesas* are the *despachos* or *ofrendas*, placed in white paper and burned, preceded and followed by ritual consumption of coca leaves in the form of *kin'tus* (Sharon 1980: 104-9). In Cusco, there is also an understanding of the world as essentially dual (Sharon 1980: 111).

Additionally, all along the Andes, mountains are considered as individualised entities, historically rooted and recognised as those from which the possibility of (re)production of their peasant communities comes from. One of the main ways of interacting with mountains, the *illas*, appears in both places as central for plant and animal fertility. However, the rituality around them is very different. In an article about these power stones among highland (*puna*) herders of camelids, Jorge Flores Ochoa describes the rituality associated to these objects locally known as *enqa*, *enqaychu illa* and *kbwya Rumi* (1974). Ochoa describes the *haywarisqa* ritual and the *señalu q'epi*, which is the bag where these stones and other power objects are stored. The *haywarisqa* is a fertility ceremony at whose centre is the *k'intu*, an arrangements of three coca leaves and the *despacho* offering wrapped in paper that is burned (Flores 1974: 247). In Inkawasi, *illas* must remain hidden and in the custody of the family, generally in a niche in the house along with a cross or religious image but there is no rituality associated to them besides the lighting of candles. *Illas* are the central elements, along with swords and sticks, of the shaman's *mesa* as the materialization of his/her power over landscape forces.

This does not mean that the Inkawasinos do not acknowledge their dependency on *sirkakuna* or that they do not establish social relations with them; on the contrary, they do both. The landscape is profoundly respected and feared, as it is capable of giving and taking life. There are also pacts between individuals, generally a shaman, and the mountain, usually called *compactado*, from the Spanish 'in a pact'. These pacts are also very commonly associated with the devil, and both provide the person with power or richness.

In the highlands and coastal plains of Lambayeque the mountain or *buaca* 'opens', making its normally invisible interior visible, as has also been described in the nearby community of Kañaris (Sax 2014: 255). The scene is a shiny and appealing world, usually a big city full

of cars and lights, where everything sparkles. These encounters with the mountain, generally called *encantos* (charms/bewitchments) may be good or bad for people, but are generally perceived as dangerous and the main cause of soul loss, that is, of sickness and eventual death if it is not properly cured. Lay people may see this invisible world, generally by passing near a place considered *sarqra* (bad) where it ‘opens’ to people, at dawn, sunset or midnight. The invisible world is also visible to people in dreams, while shamans can visit this world during their session through ‘vision’ or ‘shamanic travels’

When the mountain ‘opens’, the scene is almost always the same, a bright and attractive interior, with people, frequently *gringos*, calling them inside. If the person accepts the invitation, it will mean that the mountain has *ganay* ‘won’ their *sumra*, and the person will eventually get sick, lose their mind or die. People avoid going to *saqra lugarnin* (bad places), and when they do, they sing or listen to the radio to avoid fear, and with it the possibility of *manchakuy* (fright) and of losing their *sumra*. If someone’s *sumra* has been charmed, the person may start having dreams with *gringos* or with animals, both well-known ways in which the *antibu* or *jintil* (pre-Christian ancestors) appear to people. Dreams are also a key way in which people directly see the world of the *sumra*, and during them, the person may see what their *sumra* does. Dreams with *gringos* or large herds of animals are a clear signal that the *sumra* has been taken by the mountains.

Each landmark has its distinctive appearance, and the most common are animals (a white dog or sheep), a *gringo* or white person, or a big truck. Truck lights are a frequent example of what the bright and shiny interior of the mountain looks like; however, this may vary depending on the specific history and personality of each landmark. What characterises all these encounters is its appearance as luminous and shiny, as an inversion of the *sumra* world, as these examples of the bilingual teachers show: *Rikchi qaqqa kiçakar kusata achkirachikun*. When the mountain Rikchi ‘opens’, it illuminates a lot; and: *Nanpallqa qaqqa uranpi (çawpituta/çaypituta) achkiran*. The mountain Nanpallqa ‘opens’ (illuminates) at midnight.

For instance, on the road to Uyurpampa, there is a mountain that appears in the form of a backhoe, one that was broken during the construction of the road, and which it is believed was devoured by the mountain. Another example is when the mountain on which Inkawasi is located, San Juan, ‘opens’ to someone, the scene is frequently that of an

enormous avenue, full of cars, lights and *gringus*, like Lima or other big cities on the coastal plains. Once, teacher Julia Manayay and I went to the area for an interview but the person was not at home, and we started to talk with the woman next door about the danger attributed to a pond known as the ‘mouth’ of San Juan. I asked why it was a city and she said it was because it is like the town of Inkawasi.

For the Amazonian Achuar people, Ann Christine Taylor remarks that the Achuar will ‘endorse Wittengtein’s claim that the body is the best image we may have of the soul, not least for its reversibility, since it is equally obvious to them that the soul is also the best image we may have of the body as a generic personalized form’ (1996: 206). The Inkawasinos will also endorse Wittengtein’s claims. As has been described by Catherine Allen in Sonqo where the *tirakuna* (mountains), seem to be localizations or embodiments of the vitality that animates the earth, the *samiyuq* (2008: 55). As discussed in previous chapters, there is a relation between the *sumra* or *upay* and its material form. This is shown by Segunda’s account of saving her godson Walter from dying with her own breath, and how this made him tall, like she is. It can also be seen in the *illas* that embody a concentrated form of the soul of plants and animals they represent, or, in the *kwartu* relation. However here, as discussed in Chapter Five, the relation between soul and body is expressed in inverted terms, where there is always a risk of reversion, subverting the *sumra* (interior) and the sun (exterior) worlds and their relationships. This is possible within the understanding of the world as essentially dual, composed of two identical but inverted parts.

Encounters with the *sirka* are not always bad, though: they may provide people with great richness and prosperity, generally through a power object that must remain hidden from the eyes of others. Narratives on these encounters describe a person to whom the mountain gives riches, but for one motive or other, the secret of the good fortune is revealed and the consequence is the disappearance of all things given by the mountain. In these encounters, like the one with the Yaçapa mountain in the neighbouring Uyurpampa, gathered by Oscar Bernilla and Gerald Taylor (2000), the mountain usually appears as a white man dressed in a large white poncho and hat, resembling the landowner. In this narrative, a shepherdess met Yaçapa while grazing her cows near the mountain peak; he ‘opened’ the mountain and showed the woman his houses and richness guarded by a hound. The mountain told the woman to take coal back to her house and later, when she came back, her coal had been transformed into gold, and all her animals and fields grew in

abundance. The only condition given by Yaçapa was to not tell anyone about the origin of this wealth. In this narrative, and many others, the shepherdess' husband, while drunk, told everyone how they became rich and when he went back to his house he found that their house was again poor and their animals and fields had disappeared (Bernilla & Taylor 2000). In the mountains of the Peasant Community, it is not common to see the landowner and I think this is because the Peasant Community was never a hacienda. Nonetheless, very similar accounts are told in Inkawasi in regards to the great abundance given by the mountain.

Another possibility is an encounter with no good or bad outcome, which is often attributed to the strength of the person who 'won' over the mountain. When the *sirka* emerges victorious and takes the person's *sumra* the term *ganay*, from the Spanish *ganar* (win), is used. People may also defeat permanently a mountain, as in the case of the San Juan mountain. Today, many houses are surrounding the pond considered as the 'mouth' of the mountain. Talking to inhabitants of these houses, some told me that San Juan *sirka* was no longer a threat to people, that he was defeated. One also mentioned the performance of a shamanic rite with this purpose.

A way in which the Inkawasinos try to avoid the loss of the soul is by consuming spices: chili or salt, or both. This is because it is believed that *sirka* eat their food *lampaq* or bland. When shamanic rites are performed, avoiding spicy foods is also a requirement, as this would 'cut' the effect. The *sirkakuna* are also believed to *kambyamasha* or to change people's place. These changes of location take place when the path is covered with a dense mist, after which the person appears in a completely different place far away from their intended destination.

Encantos, colonial mastery and alterity

The appearance of the mountain as landowners and more recently as *gringos*, has been interpreted by Peter Gose as an 'Andean' way of transforming these foreign rulers into indigenous ancestors, thereby maintaining a 'pact of reciprocity' with them (2008). For Gose, the presence of the ancestors in the landscape was due to the displacement of the ancestors' cult of mummies and idols to the mountain, driven by religious evangelization

and ‘extirpation of idolatry’ (Gose 2008: 139). A similar argument is used by Catherine Allen: for her, the mountains became the most important point of religious attention because they absorbed the regenerative and protective power of ancestors, caused by colonial pressure of the extirpation of idolatries (2008: 34).

In the case of Inkawasi, the worship of ancestors seems to have been, to an important extent, re-elaborated into the *mayordomías* system, in which the patron saint—*amintunchick*—of each *mayordomía* acts as a deified ancestor, and as a ‘true’ owner of the cultivated fields (*âakra*), while the distant or pre-Christian ancestor, the *antibu*, *jintil* or Inka still remains in the landscape. The *jintilkuna* or *antibukuna* are part of the landscape, because their bodies and houses, roads and irrigation channels are still there. As we explored in the introduction, the Inkas almost always appear linked to the *Qhapaq Ñan*, or Inka road, along which they came to this area to build a great city that was planned to be the ‘new capital of the north’. The pre-Christian ancestors, we argue, are in the landscape not just due to an ideological displacement, but to a physical one ideologically driven thought. The *antibu*, like the mountain, also generally appears to people in the form of a *gringo*, but also generally as an old woman (*Ââakay*), as an animal, or even as a machine.

The representation of the landowner or a *gringo*, the embodiments of colonial and post-colonial exploitative systems, points to key questions of identity and alterity, as well as on the impact of exploitative systems in the Inkawasinós relations of ownership and control. The encounters with *encantos* or *sirka*, often also referred to as *dyablu* (devil) or *inimigo* (enemy), are a real thread to Inkawasinós. We must bear in mind that encounters with these entities are generally prejudicial to people, resulting in sickness or death, although they can also grant richness and wealth to people. Encounters with places’ spirits are frequently referred to as encounters with the devil (*dyablu*) or the enemy (*inimigo*).

Similar accounts of towns or stores appearing to people on the road in the middle of the night have been made by Catherine Allen (2008: 133). In a brief foot note, she relates this to Michael Taussig’s argument in the Devil and the Commodity Fetishism (Allen 2008: 133), in which Taussig analyses the perspective of the exploited ‘class’ of Capitalism through the study of the figure of the devil among sugar cane workers in Colombia and miners in Bolivia. Something in Taussig’s line is suggested by Douglas Sharon, who points to the spread of shamanism through northern Peru as being a result of the exploitation

and religious evangelization of indigenous populations started by the colonial regime, and which continued after the independence with the hacienda regime (1980: 43-54). Envy and witchcraft (*daño*), says Sharon, are the result of the tensions created by the culture clash between indigenous, mestizo and Western cultures, where shamanism acts as a ‘escape valve’ (1980: 49-54). Sharon attributes the ‘institutionalized envy’ using Wolf’s analysis behind the *daño* (damage, hurt), or malicious witchcraft, to the situation of exploitation of local populations by the Hacienda regime (1980: 46). In Inkawasi, the emphasis on the evil characteristics of the landscape associated to its appearance as a landowner, gringo or city, is undoubtedly related closely to colonial and postcolonial dynamics of oppression.

The appearance of the landowner as an aspect of the power of the *sirkakuna* also points to a link between their conceptualisations. Undoubtedly the power over people of the mountain has been key for the Inkawasinos to conceptualise and deal with (post)colonial power. In a book dedicated to the relationship between *runakuna* (people) and *tirakuna* (earth beings) in Cusco, Marisol de la Cadena discusses one term used to refer to mountains: *munayniyuq*, which is traduced as ‘the owner of the will’ (2015: 243-72). The *munayniyuq* is the one who has power to decide over people’s lives (de la Cadena 2015: 243). This very term is also used to refer to the landowner, as he had the capacity to decide over *runakuna* lives. The *munayniyuq* has both (super)natural and political power over *runakuna*, resonating with the use of *dueñu/amu* in Inkawasi to refer to the power of both the landowner and the *sirkakuna*.

The mountain does not just appear as a landowner or *gringo* but also as animals (usually a white ram), trucks or entire cities. One of the most commons ways in which shamans invoke the power of the mountain with shamanic chants (*tarjos*) is by calling the cattle of the mountain owner, emphasising its power. But one of the most common ways of depicting the *sirkakuna* is as a truck, making particular emphasis on their lights. This show the importance of objects and animals in imagining the *sirkakuna*, which contains the fields and cattle they own, as do human owners. The emphasis on light and bright is part of a constant game of inversions of a dual world, where the interior, invisible and immaterial world of the *sumbra* is shown to people in the most luminous way possible.

The depiction of colonial and postcolonial power in the mountain is also an accurate representation of power relations in the Inkawasinos’ world, as the soul is the best image

of its material counterpart. Technological advances that characterise 'modern' societies are capable of defeating mountains in their materiality. Marisol de la Cadena, in her book about the relationship between indigenous people and the landscape in Cusco, talks about current mining technology which demands the destruction of the mountain to extract minerals. This technology 'represents the ultimate threat to earth-beings: the mountains that they also are and exceed faces nothing less than their destruction and so may the world where *runakuna* are with *tirakuna*' (de la Cadena 2015: 273).

Northern shamanism: vision and control

As we saw in Chapter Two, *brujería* is undoubtedly the main 'cultural' characteristic of the coast and highlands of northern Peru, as is shown by the abundance of anthropological bibliography (Sharon 1980, Polia 1996, Skillman 1990; 2006, Glass-Coffin 2003; 2010, Sax 2014). This complex shamanic tradition operates through *mesas* of power objects (swords, stones, pre-Hispanic objects, Christian saints), the consumption of *wachuma*, or San Pedro cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi*), other hallucinogenic plants such as *mishas* (*Burgmansia*), and the sniffing of tobacco (Bussman & Sharon 2009: 5). The power of the shaman is controlled through vision and shamanic travels (Sharon 1980, Polia 1996). The use of *wachuma* can be traced back to the Cupisnique-Chavín cultures, or at least to the Moche (Bussmann & Sharon 2009: 2). This shamanism continued to be practised throughout the colonial and republican times, and was violently repressed as shown by the 17th and 18th century extirpation of idolatries from the bishopric of Trujillo (Larco 2008, Sharon 1980: 65-6), and prosecution as 'witchcraft' during the Republic (Tomoeda 1989). Today, shamanism is still a widespread practice through the indigenous and mestizo populations of northern Peru (Glass-Coffin 2003; 2010, Polia 1996, Sax 2014, Skillman 1990; 2006, Sharon 1980).

Douglas Sharon points to northern shamanism as a syncretic practice between an 'indigenous ideologic substrate' and catholic religious forms, which is still alive after four hundred years (1980: 14-5). He is interested in an 'archaic' common substratum of all indigenous American shamanism. Taking Mircea Eliade's idea of shamanism as an 'archaic technique of ecstasy', Sharon looks for the archaic substratum of northern shamanism

mesas first in the Moche culture, and then in the Quechua, Aymara and Inca, looking for a Pan-Andean and even Pan-American indigenous ideology (1980: 132). The ecstasy is achieved through the consumption of the San Pedro cactus, which he claims is the medium used by the shaman Eduardo Calderón to connect, communicate or enter into the supernatural world of the *encantos* (Sharon 1980: 55.71

The shamanism in Inkawasi is one and the same as that practised in Penachí (Skillman 1990, 2006) or the Pacific coast of Trujillo (Sharon 1980), as the coast and highlands are integral parts of northern shamanism: healing and hallucinogenic plants come from both ecological regions, and the powers with which shaman deal are equally located in the coastal plains and in the highland peaks and lakes. In her study of ‘sorcery’ in the neighbouring community of San Juan Kañaris, Mariëka Sax (2014), situates the practice of the Kañarenses within what she calls ‘a distinctly “Andean” understanding of the world’ (2014: 49) and differentiates it from its immediate neighbours of the Pacific coast and the Amazon. She recognizes that the shamanism practised in Kañaris is ‘performatively’ ‘one and the same’ with the *brujería* practised throughout northern Peru (2014: 39), but points to differences in the motivations of clients and the understanding of the practitioner’s efficacy’ between the coast and the highlands (2014: 40). She argues that in Western Amazonia and the Pacific coast, clients and shamans do not seek luck, or to increase production, and only seek shamans to cure (or produce) witchcraft-related illness (2014: 53), and that in the coast shamanism ‘the power of God ultimately supersedes that of the *encantos*’, that is, of place-based spirits (2014: 54). This would coincide with the shamanism in the highland further north in Huancabamba and Ayabaca, as described by Mario Polia (1996).

Despite the idea that *daño*, or malicious witchcraft, is very powerful in the coastal plains, this does not mean that people there do not seek the help of a shaman to increase luck and productivity. It is important to consider that in the coastal plains there is still a segment of peasants and fisherman of indigenous descent, as well as many generations of *colonos* or settlers coming from the highlands, such as the paradigmatic case of Eduardo ‘El Tuno’ (Sharon 1980) and the case of Jorge Merino of Penachí (Skillman 1990, 2006). This means that there are also peasants in the coastal valleys, very much interested in increasing their agricultural production, as well as intense contacts between practitioners of the coast and

the highlands, which underlines the shared basis of shamanism in both areas. The idea that in the coast shamanism ‘the power of God ultimately supersedes that of the *encantos*’ (Sax 2014: 54), does not correspond with the variety of the coastal plains and downplays the impact of religious evangelization in the highlands of Lambayeque. Farmers in the coast also seek the help of shamans to increase their agricultural production (Sharon 1980: 40) just as those of the highlands, and they both go to shamans to cure illness produced by the *encantos*, to cure the *daño* (hurt) or malicious witchcraft, to win the love of someone (*guayanche* or *yerba*), or even to ask for luck in a lawsuit. As pointed out by Sax, it is also very common that the highlanders hire coastal shamans, and vice versa, particularly in cases regarding witchcraft (2014).

The area is considered one by both shamans of the coast and highlands, who use the medicinal herbs of the mountain peaks and the *wachuma* that grows in the hot and dry hills of the coastal plains. Shamans of the coast and highlands appeal equally to the power of mountains and other landmarks in both places. There is a narrative among shamans in the coast and highlands that long ago the Chaparrí (coast) and Yanahuanca (highlands) mountains were kingdoms ruled by powerful shamans. In the highlands were the *curandero* (good) shamans that used the power of the herbs that grow there, while the *malero* (bad) ones were from Chaparrí, where the *wachuma* and other plants to do evil grow (Sharon 1980: 56).

Shamans control the power of the mountain through their *mesa* power objects and the use of ‘visioning’ plants to cure, to enhance prosperity or to ‘hurt’ on behalf of their clients. Shamans are usually credited with controlling a specific place such as a lake or a waterfall, with which they may have a pact. Here the emphasis is on control, in other words, on the mastery of an *arte* (art) by an expert performer. The shamans of Inkawasi, called *bruju*, *sabyitu*—from the Spanish *brujo* (sorcerer) and *sabio* (wise)—or *maestro* (master), are also popular on the coastal plains as *maestro curandero* (master healers).

Through their *mesa* objects, the sniffing of liquid tobacco and the consumption of *wachuma*, shamans and their helpers (*alsadur* or awakened) are able to control the *sumra*, contained in the places from which these objects come from or which they represent. The shaman’s *mesa* takes place in both ‘this’ world and the world of the *sumra*, which the shaman accesses

through 'vision'. Vision may be obtained by the ingestion of *wachuma*, the sniffing of tobacco, and through dreams. Only those who have the gift can have vision. The *mesa* is a ritual that takes a whole night, and in which the shaman aims to control what happens in the inner world of the *sumra* and, with it, cause the desired effect in this world, as has also been described by Polia in the neighbouring highlands of Piura (1996: 154-156).

The way in which northern shamans operate is based on their understanding of the world as essentially dual, composed of two identical but inverted parts. As already mentioned, one part is the visible, solar and tangible world in which we live, and the other is the invisible and interior world of the shadows (*sumra*). This is similar to what has been described by Polia in the neighbouring highlands of Piura, which he links to the southern concepts of '*ukhu pacha*' (lower world) and '*hanan pacha*' (upper world) (1996: 122). In Inkawasi there is no explicit mention of these concepts, but there is a tacit understanding of the essential duality of the world. The fact that everything that exists in our world has a *sumra* counterpart means that everything also has a soul and vital force. This is also pointed out by Polia, who says that the 'shadow' does not just refer to people, but also extends to animals, plants, things, and it is what defines them as 'living beings' (1996: 159).

This also means that the shaman does not just act on landscape powers, but also on the souls of people, animals, plants, and of everything that exists in this world, as they all have their own *sumra*. Many illnesses, and particularly the *manchakuy* 'scare', are produced by the loss or retention of a person's *sumra* by a specific place or entity. The loss of the *sumra* causes illness, madness and eventually death if it is not properly treated. The choices of treatment depend on the age of the patient, the kind of illness and the entity involved, and range from a domestic cleansing with maize, lime and salt, to a shamanic *mesa*. In either case, the specialist calls back the shadow, trying to attract it with sugar, lime and songs, and attempts to convince it to go back to its owner. As described by Valeriano Céspedes in a long interview we had with teacher Julia Manayay:

chayta parlanaqpaq por que brujuja tariqar rimachiyen urakunapi sirkayasha ima kachuwani purikurmaqa wakma unaykunamapis trabajar ima purisha kasha manaqa alquna cosa yakukunapi ima manchakurmaqa sirkataq urqumuyan niyan ari cantachin niyan tal serro nir urakunapimaqa wakma serro de Lakipampa, serro de Iguirun niyan, kusatami takichir qayamuyan shutintaqa kumariy [Julia] kusata waknu nananan maypitaq kanki llervita tal qulanupa shutinta imapaqtaq aypashayki intregamayari nir chunqanata chaytaqa waqachiyen

It is said that the shamans (*bruju*), after they do the *tarya*⁷⁷, they start to sing. If we get sick by walking, or if we get scared by the mountain or in the water, they mention all of these [mountains] in their chant saying: ‘release the spirit’, they say it to the Laquipampa mountain, to the Higerón mountain: they call them all by name singing *kumariy* [Julia]. They also ask ‘where have you taken [the *sumra*]?’ ‘Why did you do that?’ And they speak the name of the patient and say: ‘give it to me’ and they make their maraca (*chungana*) sound.

As we mentioned in Chapter Six, singing is a way in which people interact with the landscape. Multiple examples show how people communicate with the interior world of the landscape through singing, whistling or playing an instrument. Analogously, the shamanic *tarjos*, or verses, in which the shaman enunciates the desired action and names those involved, seek to sanction the ritual action that is taking place in the *sumra* dimension. The shaman also whistles and shakes his maraca to call the patient’s *sumra*, or to communicate with the mountain, which itself whistles and sings, as if music were a common language between both worlds, as sound is perceptible (audible) but invisible and immaterial. The shamans request the power of specific mountains by calling their names—and power—as is shown in this extract of a *tarjo* of a well-known female shaman of Inkawasi. The chant took place during a session I contracted with her to break an *amarre*, *guayanche* or *yerba* for the daughter of a friend. She thought, and this was confirmed by the shaman, that the recent husband of her daughter made a *yerba* to her, making her unable to leave him.

puntatana cerro Pañuelu [ijun] puntatana, cerro Pariamarca punta,
 let’s go on Pañuelo mountain, let’s go on! Pariamarca mountain let’s go on!
cerro Chiñama puntatana, Encanto cerro mmmmmm,
 Chiñama mountain let’s go on! mountain of the charm mmmm
ayyy ayyy cerro Cutervano
 ayyy ayyy Cutervino mountain
puntata, cerro Provincia puntata, ayyy cerro Yuraqmachay puntatana,
 let’s go on, Provinciano mountain let’s go on, ayyy Cueva Blanca mountain let’s go on
mmmm cerro Kongacha puntatana, mmmm.... Cerro Rioja puntatana
 mmmm Kongacha mountain let’s go on, Rioja mountain let’s go on!
mmmm, cerro Bagua puntatana, cerro Moyobamba puntatana,
 mmmm, Bagua mountain let’s go on, Moyobamba mountain let’s go on!
cerro Motupe puntatana, cerro Cuevita puntatana,
 Motupe mountain let’s go on! Cuevita mountain let’s go on!
mmmm crucecita Chalpon ayyy,
 mmmm cross of Calpón ayyy

⁷⁷ *Tarya* is the action performed by shamans to embed or awake the vital force in certain objects, which shamans do to ‘activate’ their own *mesa* power objects, or to ‘create’ an *illa* for their clients. There may be a relation between the action of *tarya* and the shamanic chants *tarjos*. I thank Rosaleen Howard for this suggestion among her thoughtful comments on my thesis

mmmm cerro Tinajon puntatana nimayanchikllapa mmm ayyy ayyy
mmmm Tinajón mountain lets go on! I am calling you mmm ayyy ayyy
ayyy cerro Lambayeque puntatana, mmmm cerro, cerro Santa Rosa,
ayyy Lambayeque mountain let's go on! mmmm Santa Rosa mountain
cerro Pimentel puntatana
Pimentel mountain let's go on!

As is shown in this extract, shamans may work with mountains as far away as Bagua and Moyobamba in the Amazonian, and to the Pacific coast as far as the fishing settlements of Santa Rosa and Pimentel, configuring a sacred Landscape that covers the valleys in both watersheds of the Andean range and also includes the powerful crosses that we mentioned in the introduction.



Photo 23. Shaman of Atumpampa, singing with his *chungana* during a *mesa* in 2014

The shamans then act upon the tangible world through their *mesa* power objects. These objects could be the *illas* we described in Chapter Six, which are believed to contain a concentrated form of the *sumra*, or vital force, of the places which it comes from or represents. What the shaman does is to act on a mountain or landmark's *sumra* by controlling its *illa*. Besides *illas*, shamans have swords, *chonta* (*Bactris*) wood sticks, parts of animals, human bones, shells, archaeological objects (*huacos*), and saints and virgins on their *mesas*. All these elements are thought to be the *kutiqa* of a specific mountain spirit or entity. The *kutiqa*, also described by Marieka Sax in the neighbouring community of Kañaris

(2014: 276), is related to the idea of a shared vital force between things that look alike. These are parts whose materiality is detached but that are still linked with the places they come from in the *sumra* dimension. Here the *keutiga* points to the inseparability of the ‘form and force’ of things, that is, between its soul—*sumra*—and its material form.

The power of the sorcerer is the ‘virtuous sight’, the capacity to see the invisible (Polia 1996: 133), which allows the shaman to communicate directly with the mountain and to make use of its power. The shaman can intentionally access the hidden and inverted world of the *sumra*. The capacity of ‘sight’ in the shadow world is a shaman’s ‘gift’ that is ‘awoken’ by consuming *wachuma*, by sniffing or ‘raising’ (*levantar*) liquid tobacco and alcohol, and in dreams. According to Polia, everyone has the potential to perceive the invisible world (in the wind, the cold or the whistling of mountains), but just a few can see it (1996: 136). Shamans are capable of entering the world of the *sumra* by means of their own *sumra*, which they can voluntarily separate from their body.

The power to see is a gift that is generally revealed after a grave illness. Marisol De la Cadena discusses the idea of ‘luck’ with Mariano Turpo, when talking about what is required to become a *yaqchaq* or wiseman. *Suerte* (luck) is necessary to find the *misas*, small stones in the shapes of animals, and *misas* are necessary to become a *yaqchaq*. *Suerte* also called *strilla*, or star, ‘is a gift that an individual can use to enhance his or her ability to become *yaqchaq*’; without it, there is no point in wanting to become a *yaqchaq* (De la Cadena 2015: 48). Likewise in Inkawasi, it is a matter of *swirti*: some can see, some others cannot. *Swirti* is also important in acquiring power objects for their *mesas*, although many had inherited the *mesa* from another practitioner or purchased it in Chiclayo’s extensive witchcraft market. *Swirti* is key, in particular when a shaman goes to the mountain peaks to gather medicinal plants; you must have *swirti* to find the desired plants.

A world of owners

In his article on ownership in Amazonia, Fausto points out that the relationship implicated in ownership far transcends a simple relation of property, control or dominion. It is a

‘mode of relationship that applies to humans, non-humans and things’, whose model is the adoptive or parent/child relationship (Fausto 2012: 29). The term master/owner in different Amazonian languages is used to refer to the ‘owner of the animals’ landscape spirit, owners of material things and immaterial knowledge, chiefs in relation to their communities, shamans with their auxiliary spirits, or persons in relation to their bodies. In Inkawasi the ownership relation also links humans, non-humans and things; and it is used across very different fields. The relation of ownership is used to refer to power over people, like that of the landowner, Christian deities, or the *sirkakuna*. It is used to refer to Inkawasinos in relation to their artefacts (textiles, tools, musical instruments, trucks, etc.) and animals, and to the body in relation to the soul.

Susan Ramírez’s analysis of early colonial *caciques* in northern Peru show that these chiefs were named and conceived as owners of their people, *dueño de los indios* (the owner of the indigenous) (Ramírez 1987). Today *caciques* have disappeared, and the figure that replaced power in the area was the landowner, also named as master (*amu*). As we saw in Chapter Three, the Catholic saints and virgins are also named and conceived as owners of people, *amitunchik* (our little masters), which are connected with Inkawasino ancestry. Even persons are perceived as owners of their souls *sumra*, as is clear in curative practices to return the lost soul of a person, such as when the soul of a person is called back to its owner.

These multitudes of owners show a world that is not centred in humanity, unlike Western constructions of personhood. There is no obsession with rendering the human master of everything. In Inkawasi, and I suspect all over the Amerindian world, there are no Lockean ‘Men’ to whom the world has been given by God to be appropriated through labour, but rather people who *belong* to powerful owners on which they depend. The non-human world does not belong to everyone, nor is it without an owner, as everything has in principle an owner (Fausto 2012: 35-6). As proposed by Fausto, we can also imagine the human owner in Inkawasi as one more in a world full of owners (2012).

Although the Amazonia and the Andes are fundamentally different when it comes to hierarchy and asymmetric relations, both places share commonalities in the way in which the relation of ownership is conceptualised, and the recognition of other owners beyond humanity is central. Sharing the idea of a world populated by owners is recognising the

agency of those other owners, non-humans and things. They also have a common history of colonial and postcolonial oppression which have impacted relations of power in indigenous communities in both the Andes and the Amazonia.

Conclusion

The *sirkakuna* are thought of and named as owners *dueñu* of their own varieties of wild plants and animals. Inside, the *sirka* has fields, animals and even cities, showing people as powerful owners such as the landowners. The Inkawasinos recognise that they *belong* to *sirkakuna* from which they ultimately come from. The appearance of the *sirkakuna* as powerful owners of (post)colonial control of the area, as the landowners, show how the mountain's power is used by Inkawasinos to make sense of oppressive (post)colonial mastery. The mountain's power is absolute and unquestionable, as was the power of the landowner. It comes as no surprise that both are called the same in Cusco, *munayniyuq* or owner of the will, and in Inkawasi where both are *dueñu* or *amu*. The emphasis on sickness and potential death, but also as a source of richness when the mountain shows itself to people as a *landowner*, a *gringu*, a city or a truck, is a way of understanding exploitative practices which are a real threat to people. The way in which Inkawasinos and *sirkakuna* relate is determined by the understanding of the world as dual, composed of two identical but inverted parts: the luminous, exterior and tangible world where the Inkawasinos live and the shadow, interior and intangible world of the *sumra*. These dual worlds are always at risk of reversion.

The main way of interacting with the landscape powers is through shamanism based on the use of *mesas*, and the consumption of *wachuma*, floral essences and liquid tobacco. Local shamanism consists of acting in the world of the *sumra* to produce a transformation in the tangible world. Shamans are also considered and named as *maestro* (master) and their practices rely on a dynamic of appropriation of landscape powers. Although the rituality and language used to express the relations to mountains in the Andes further south are different from those of Inkawasi, there are also many commonalities.

The main implication of recognising the existence of other owners beyond human beings is the decentring of ownership from the human owner. There are no Lockean 'Men' who appropriate unowned land through labour, but rather places with their own history and personality to which the Inkawasino *belong*.

Chapter 9

Conclusion: Appropriation, ownership and dependence

Throughout this thesis, I have tried to show how making (houses and textiles), growing (cows and children) or owning (land) are central in articulating Inkawasinos commoners'—*comunero*—sense of *belonging* to a specific land, community and *ayllu*. Ownership of the land is at the centre of relations with the colonial and post-colonial State and economic powers, with which the Inkawasinos have been struggling for centuries to defend their way of life. The analysis of technical and ritual procedures involved in the ownership of the land, the building of houses, the weaving of clothes, the raising of cattle and the process of bringing children to the world, point to a common conceptualisation as appropriations, expressed in the language of kin. In the case of land ownership, the analysis of the *mayordomía* system shows that the land does not belong to people but to the *Amitunchik*, or 'our little masters' Christian deities. The land—and the Inkawasinos themselves—belong to the *Amitunchik*, strongly associated with the patrilinear extended family ancestors. In the case of houses, textiles and cows, ritual and technical procedures involved in their (re)production point to an appropriation as a familiarisation, transforming things or beings into one's own children. As explored in Chapter Seven, bringing children into the world is also conceptualised as an appropriation, in this case of the person from its origins in the mountains. This appropriation of the person is key to Inkawasinos' thinking in other

creative processes. In all these processes, the ultimate owners of what the Inkawasinos appropriate are the *sirkakuma* or mountains.

The idea of growing crops and raising animals as a process of transforming them into humans, and of kin-making, has been described elsewhere in the Andes (Allen 2015: 3, Arnold 2017: 19), in Siberia through the raising of hunting dogs by Evenki people (Safonova & Sántha 2012), and in the Amazonia (Fausto 2012: 31). In Inkawasi, the model is the parent-child relation, as expressed in the *Wasi Lanta* rituality where the house is placed in the position of the child in the homologous human ritual, in the way in which weavers think and speak about their waist loom, and in the *kwartu* relation that links owners with their cattle. The conceptualisation of these processes as an appropriation of human reproduction is shown by the understanding of unbaptised newborns as children of the mountains (*sirkapa wamran*), as well as in children's pathologies and the therapies used for them.

Making, growing or owning implicates the creation of a relationship which continues after the 'making/birth' took place, a bond locally denominated by the terms *duyñu* or *amu*, as well as by various Quechua suffixes (-*yjun*, -*pa*, -*y*, -*n*). The establishment of relationships with other people, the land, and one's own domestic animals and clothing is what defines an Inkawasino as *kabal*, a complete person and a full member of the community. This is someone who has learned, depending on their sex, a set of skills necessary for their reproduction as a household within a network of households, and who has established the necessary relations with specific Christian deities, animals and artefacts to support themselves and their children.

From very early in life, around two years of age, when the *Lanta* rite takes place, children start to learn how to establish these relationships. At this rite, children receive as gifts from godparents their first set of adult clothes and their first animal to raise. Learning to weave or to build houses, depending on the sex, takes place during childhood through observation and experience, as well as in the early participation of children in daily household chores. They learn, as we explored in Chapters Five and Six, that there is a moral obligation between owners and their belongings, expressed in terms of reversion in an essentially dual world that can turn backwards any time. This is clear in the idea that if

you mistreat your *awana* or loom, you will be punished with a lack of capacity for weaving again, as well as in ideas around the inhabiting houses and the raising of cattle.

The building of a house by a married couple is the materialisation of their becoming a household, so they will engage with other households in a mutual help (*minka*) relationship. Building a family house entails the establishment of the ritual kinship relation of *compadrazgo* or co-parenthood, with the builders and with all of those who helped in the building process. The ties established through the building of the family house are essential for the functioning of the household, through mutual help relationships between the new household and those supporting its establishment. Households compose the extended patrilinear kin groups which conform the community and which are linked through the ownership of the land, as expressed in the *mayordomía* system.

I borrow Carlos Fausto's proposal to imagine the Amerindian person as an owner, magnified through its belongings, to highlight the importance among the Inkawasinos of relations of mastery/ownership when thinking about themselves and their relations to others, as well as when imagining the power of the mountain, and oppressive (neo)colonial regimes. The creation of these relations (with humans and other-than-humans), necessary for their existence and reproduction, is what determines the emergence of an Inkawasino as a *kabal*, a 'complete' person—a *warmi*, or woman, or an *ushqu*, or man—who is a full member of the extended kin group and the community. This stresses the constructed character of personhood, and the inadequacy of the individual/society binary to think about Inkawasinos' personhood.

The intimate link between people and their belongings is evident in the idea that after the person dies, all his/her belonging also die, or are extinguished (*akabakasha*). People and their textiles are so intertwined that clothes can be used as substitutes of the person in shamanic practices and funerary rituals, as we saw in detail in Chapter Five. Houses are the materialisation of the household, one that differs from the *chachawarmi* (man-women) monogamous family described in the Andes further south, As in Inkawasi polygamy is a common practice. Despite this, in both households, there is a clear division of labour by sex. Mutual help or *minka* relations are articulated between households, where this strict division of labour replicates. The building of a house is the confirmation of interhousehold relations, as expressed in the house roofing ceremony, when the builders and the owners

of the house become *compadres* (co-parents). Looking at the emblematic term to refer to relatedness in the Andes (the *ayllu*) through the household, permits a vision of its dynamism, including ritual relatedness, based on mutual help (*ayni* in the southern Andes and *minka* in Inkawasi) and proximity; in other words, the shared relationship with a specific place or *lugar*.

The family and communal houses—its building and maintenance—articulate different dimension of the *ayllu*, from the very household to the extended family and ritual kin (*compadres*), to the community itself. The Inkawasi church rethatching reflects the social and territorial organization of the community and allows the re-enactment of the communal ties. The Inkawasi church represents the community, which is in turn articulated by the extended patrilinear kin groups—the *mayordomías*—around the ownership of the community land. The communal and interhousehold dimensions of personhood are mediated by mutual help relations and common ownership of the land, of a house, of irrigation channels, etc. In Inkawasi, common making/owning builds and sustain kinship ties not just among those inhabiting the house, but also among all those that make up the household—the family fields and cattle and the house itself—as well as with other households linked by real or ritual kinship ties and mutual solidarity. The shared work, the common investment of effort, and the resulting things and beings are what binds people together.

As we aimed to show in Chapters Four to Six, making things and growing animals is conceptualised by the Inkawasinos as a process of appropriation of the Other's (animals, plants, mountains, etc.) capacities—through ritual and technical procedures—which is expressed in the language of kin and imagined as cycles of death and rebirth. Weaving is understood by women as a process of feeding which emphasises the transmission of vital force, the *sumra* (shadow), *upay* or *amay* (breath) from the weaver to the cloth. In Inkawasi, the production of textiles is understood as a vital process in which the fibres pass through different transformations thought of in terms of life and death cycles. Weaving, from warping to the final piece, is understood and named as the gestation and growth of a living being, in which weavers bring textiles to life with their own breath. After the poncho, blanket or bag is finished, it starts a new relationship with its owner(s) that lasts both their entire lives and even after death.

In Chapter Seven, we explored how the Inkawasinos bring their children into the world, a practise conceptualised very closely to other creative processes: as an appropriation, in this case of the person from their origins in the landscape and the ancestors. This appropriation is materialised through ethno-obstetrical procedures, feeding, caring and childhood rituality, and through the *kwartu* relationship. The appropriation of new persons starts in the mother's body during pregnancy, taking the form of the women's battle against death—and her own child—that has its highest point in childbirth. After birth, the mother's lost bodily equilibrium is restored through a series of ethno-obstetrical procedures (girdling, reclusion, diet, et cetera), while the appropriation of the newborn—not completely separated from its mother—continues through nourishing and caring, and through a series of integration rites. Childhood diseases and therapeutics emphasise the closeness of children to the mountain and particularly to the pre-Christian ancestors—the *antibu* or *jintil*. The soul of the newborn is progressively integrated into the human community through feeding, care and protection and sanctioned through rituality. The *Agua Socorro*, or naming of the child, is the first step; before this moment, children are named *sirkapa wamran* or children of the mountains.

The definitive separation of the child from its origins and its mother, and its integration into the human community, is sanctioned through the ceremony of the *Lanta*, or the child's first haircut, which is given when children start speaking and stop breastfeeding. As we mentioned, the *Lanta* rite has a key implication for the child, who receives an adult set of clothes and at least one animal—a sheep or more generally a cow/bull—from his/her godparents. This symbolises the first step in the child's transformation from being a dependant to becoming an owner, that is, someone with the capacity to produce food and shelter for themselves and others.

As in other productive processes, in human reproduction the moment of birth is just a step in a vital trajectory in which the point of 'completeness' comes long after when the Inkawasinos stop being dependent and become owners in their own right. Being a master/owner means having the capacity to create and/or sustain Others and by extension to reproduce oneself. Being a master/owner is, in this sense, central to the Inkawasinos' personhood constructions, to what it means to be a *warmi* (woman) and an *usbqu* (man) and a full member of the community.

The Inkawasinos, as also highlighted by Fausto in Amazonia, are not the masters of the world, as modern 'Man' is, but just one among many other owners on which they recognise their dependency. The Inkawasino recognise their dependency on what they master as well as from other owners such as the *Amitunchik* or the *Sirkakuna*. How the Inkawasinos interact with the animated, singularized and powerful landscape in which they live for cattle fertility points to the idea of mountains as ultimate owners of the animals, and of the water and pastures they need. This is materialised in the ideas about the *sumra* of the mountain, frequently depicted as the 'owner' of certain wild species of plants and animals; as well as in local shamanism and the use of *illas*. The relationship with the mountain is not thought of as a reciprocal feeding, in which people feed the mountains in exchange for what they appropriate. Instead, the interactions with the mountains are archived through music, *swirti*, *illas*, and the action of powerful shamans.

The category of the master or owner, in the local Quechua *dueñun* or *amun*, and the bond it implies, also give meaning to relations between the personified entities of the landscape and other supernatural beings such as the Christian deities. As in other parts of the Andes (Bastien 1985: 37-50), in Inkawasi the mountain, or *sirka*, is anthropomorphised, frequently described as *kristyanuyupay* (like a Christian/human), *nuganchik yupay* (like us); and as such having its own soul (*sumra*), history and personality. Like people, these landmarks are also frequently thought of as masters/owners of those things and beings that they are capable of creating and sustaining, with particular reference made to the wild varieties of plants and animals that live on them. In Inkawasi the *sirka* (mountain) or singular landmarks on them (lakes, caves, rocky peaks, etc.) are considered as owners of large fields and abundant cattle, which are shown to people when the mountain 'opens' (*keñakar*) to them or through shamanic practices to acquire 'vision'. Also frequent is the figure of the 'owner of the animals', which expands to the central and southern Andes (Gose 2008: 241) and all over Amazonia (Costa 2018: 5). However, how the Inkawasinos relate with these supernatural owners is not as a 'pact of reciprocity' (Gose 2008: 324) but instead is mediated by a specialist: the shaman. The art (*arte*) of shamans, frequently called masters (*maestros*), is precisely to master or control the power of the landscape owners, to their own benefit or that of their clients.

The *sirkakuna* are thought of and name as owners *dueñu* of their own varieties of wild plants and animals. Inside, the *sirka* has fields, animals and even cities, showing or 'opening'

(*kićakar*) to people making its normally invisible interior visible and in the appearance of a landowner or *gringu*. The Inkawasinos recognise that they *belong* to the *sirkakuna* and that they ultimately come from it. The appearance of the *sirkakuna* as powerful owners of (post)colonial control of the area, like the landowner, shows how the power of mountains is used by Inkawasinos to make sense of oppressive (post)colonial mastery. The mountain's power is absolute and unquestionable, as was the power of the landowner. It comes to no surprise that both are called the same in Cusco—*munayniyuq* or owner of the will—as in Inkawasi, where both are *dueñu* or *amu*. The emphasis is on the sickness and potential death of the mountain when it shows itself to people as a landowner, a *gringu*, a truck or as a city, expressing the real threat to Inkawasinos of colonial and neo-colonial powers. Although generally negative, sometimes the encounter with these manifestations of the mountain is a source of richness, although narratives about it show a brief enjoyment of the riches that suddenly disappear when the secret of the origin of the well-being is revealed.

As in the whole northern coast and highlands, the main way of interacting with the landscape powers is through shamanism based in the use of *mesas*, and the consumption of *wachuma*, floral essences and liquid tobacco. Local shamanism consists of acting in the world of the *sumra* to produce a transformation in the tangible world. Shamans are also considered and named as *maestro* (master) and their practices rely on a dynamic of appropriation of landscape powers. Although the rituality and language used to express the relations to mountains in the Andes further south are different from the one of Inkawasi, there are also many commonalities. The main one is the common understanding of the mountains as animate and active agents in determining the life of these Quechua-speaking peasants of the Andes.

The fundamental difference between the Inkawasino and our Western practices of mastery is in their understanding of the world as animated and humans as dependent on other powerful owners. The Inkawasinos understand the world as dual, composed of two complementary and interdependent parts: 'this world'—solar (visible) and tangible—and its inverted double, the world of the shadows—interior and immaterial; which implies that everything that exists in the world has *sumra* (spirit, soul or vital force) that animates it. In this context, processes of making are thought of as interactions with other 'subjects' rather than an imposition of a form over an inanimate material.

I tried to show the impact of colonial mastery or ownership in local technical practices, particularly in Chapters Three and Five. In Chapter Three we explored the historical fight against (post)colonial dispossession and exploitation, while in Chapter Five, we saw supposedly ‘good’ forms of mastery (technology and education), exhibiting the same ideas of colonial imposition and control. In Chapter Three, through the study of the *mayordomías* fiesta system, I aimed to approach local ideas of land ownership, which far transcend those of ‘private property’ or ‘communal ownership’ to connect with the *ayllu* ancestors and land fertility. In these ideas, the land is not inert matter to be appropriated by labour, but an entity—an owner—in itself, with its own history and personality. Cultivated land or *chakra* is the result of labour, of the appropriation by specific families and their ancestors, but one that does not deny the agency of the earth. The *mayordomías* system shows how colonial ideas of land ownership and legitimacy have deeply influenced the creation and continuity of the current Peasant Community. Common ownership was, through the *mayordomías*, what structured the community until the end of the 20th century, and still is with the figure of the Peasant Community. This points to a transformation of the cult of the ancestors in the first part of the Republic, which in Inkawasi did not displace the ancestors to the mountain but put the struggle over the land in the centre through *mayordomía* fiesta system.

Despite changes in the last third of the 20th century that radically transformed the *mayordomías*, they are still meaningful for the Inkawasinos as a link with their social memory and community identity, as well as the main loci of *ayllu*/*mayordomía* ancestor worship and fertility. The access to resources, including the indigenous workforce, has been at the centre of a long history of colonial and post-colonial relationships of power, exploitation and ethnic discrimination. Within this context, the struggle over the ownership of the land also connects to the group social memory and ethnic identity, as land rights are based on the previous habitation, on being originary dwellers.

The ‘good’ forms of mastery, supposedly in the service of a better future, such as those archived through language, education or technical mastery, when imposed in an intercultural context usually shows its underlying violent and colonial trails. This is the case explored in Chapter Five, of the imposition of tailoring over the waist-loom weaving for creating handicrafts for tourist markets. As we saw, the general resistance of weavers to

applying tailoring techniques to the cloth they have woven on the back-strap loom is due to a different perspective on how things are made and, in general terms, how things are understood. Weaving is thought of as a vital process, one in which the weaver infuses the cloth with her own breath creating a bond between weavers and their textiles. This emphasises that textiles are not a raw material onto which people project ideas or cosmologies but a direct result of a particular way of understanding the functioning of the world. Cutting the waist loom-woven cloth is transgressing the obligations of care and protection that the weavers have established with their textiles, so the fabric will stop fulfilling its part of the deal too.

Weavers negotiate and adapt their understanding of waist loom technical process to those of tailoring, imposed by the government and other institutions to produce textile handicrafts for tourist markets. They continue to understand loom weaving as a vital process and continue to have a close relationship with the woven garments they produce, but they have adapted to produce handicrafts for tourist markets. In the case of *mayordomías*, this system is in itself a creative form of dealing with the colonial power, in this case violent, of indigenous dispossession. These examples show that the Inkawasinos have been dealing with colonial mastery for quite a long time, resisting, adapting and transforming it to fit their own understanding of this relation.

The exploration of how the Inkawasinos understand asymmetric relations of mastery and ownership within a specific historical context, in which our Western ideas are forcefully imposed, also aims to contribute to the decolonial discussion. This thesis offers a detailed account of alternative understandings to our masterful practices and shows a violent and colonial trait even in the most well intentioned efforts of reducing inequality and exclusion. Examining an alternative understanding allows us to imagine a different future, where colonial mastery does not define the individual. In the line of decolonisation efforts, this thesis makes a detailed account of the Inkawasinos' history, which includes the active participation of the *Amitunchik* and the *mayordomía* system to defend the Community land.

As very little is known about the highlands, this thesis also tried to give a long-term and comparative view of this population, including a detailed ethnohistorical account of an area with scarce and scattered archaeological and historical sources. In the second chapter, we have analysed the singularity of this population through the study of the Quechua

variety they speak, suggesting that we must consider the consolidation and permanence of this language in the area as a colonial phenomenon, related to the fate of the *mitimae* population displaced by the Inkas during their expansion. Knowing more about the implantation of Quechua in the area is central for the continuity of this profoundly singular dialectal variety, which is today at a high risk of disappearing altogether. The study of the introduction of Quechua to the region shows a complex linguistic and cultural panorama of an area that has been described as a fluid frontier between the populations of the Pacific coast, the Andes and the Amazonia. Yet, it has been under the influence of certain shared phenomena, which gives it its own identity, among which the most significant is the shamanism based on *mesas* and the consumption of *wachuma* (San Pedro cactus) and tobacco. This is a type of shamanism that is still widely practised today throughout the coast, highlands, and Amazonian piedmont of northern Peru.

Archives

Archivo Arzobispal de Trujillo (AAT)

XX- 02 - 23. (1783)

Files: AA-02-33, EE 19-21, Q 04-28, Q 13^a-27, Q 14-05, Q-17-21, Q 19-10, XX-02-23, XX 04-06 e I 16-8. Fábrica de Iglesias, Penachí.

Archivo General de la Nación, Lima (AGN)

GO-BI 5 147-238 (1691-1774)

GO-BI 5 150-310 (1775)

Archivo General de Indias (AGI)

Lima 565, 2

Archivo Histórico de Límites, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Lima (AHL)

PIRA 20 box 429. Real Audiencia 1748-1788.

PIE 4 box 444. Eclesiásticos (1760-1761).

90 (1789).

LEB 4-22 box 91 (1825-1833).

Archivo Histórico Nacional de España (AHN)

Consejos, 50155. File 32 (1750)

Archivo Parroquial de Salas (APS)

Baptism books 1-10, S. XIX y XX.

Bibliography

ABERCROMBIE, T. 1998. *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History Among Andean People*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

ADELAAR, W., in collaboration with MUYSKEN, P. 2004. *The Languages of the Andes* (Cambridge Language Surveys). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511486852

ADELAAR, W. 2012. Cajamarca Quechua and the Expansion of the Huari State. In: *Archaeology and Language in the Andes: A Cross-Disciplinary Exploration of Prehistory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ALDANA, S. 2006. Lambayeque y el norte peruano en un contexto «mundializado». *Investigaciones Sociales Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos* X, 311-334.

ALDANA, S. *et al.* 2006. Les bouleversements des hiérarchies territoriales au Pérou. In *La mondialisation côté Sud: Acteurs et territoires*. Paris: IRD-Éditions Rue D'Ulm.

ALLEN, C. 1982. Body And Soul In Quechua Thought', *Journal of Latin American Lore* 8(2), 179-96

_____. 1984, Patterned Time: The Mythic History of a Peruvian Community. In: *Journal of Latin American Lore* 10(2), 151-174

_____. [1988] 2008. La coca sabe: coca e identidad cultural en una comunidad andina. Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Bartolomé de las Casas.

_____. 1998. When Utensils Revolt: Mind, Matter, and Modes of Being in the Pre-Columbian Andes. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* X, 18-27.

_____. 2015. The whole world is watching: new perspectives on Andean animism. In *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Exploration of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes* (ed.) T. Bray. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

ALVA ALVA, W. 2009, Lambayeque Perhispanico. In *Guía Educativa. Identidad Cultural Lambayecana*. Chiclayo: Dircetur. Gobierno Regional de Lambayeque.

ALVA MARINÑAS, P. 1989, El Sitio Arqueológico de Chiñama. *Alternativa. Revista de análisis del norte*, 111-126.

_____. 1995 Congona: un sitio formativo en la serranía de Lambayeque, *Avances. Apuntes para la investigación regional 1*, Instituto de Desarrollo Regional, Chiclayo.

_____. 2008, 'Don Víctor Huamán Reyes: el «cacique moral» de Cañaris', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 37 (1), 257-70.

_____. 2009. Pachacamac en la Serranía Lambayecana. In *Guía Educativa. Identidad Cultural Lambayecana*. Chiclayo: Dirección Regional de Comercio Exterior y Turismo del Gobierno Regional de Lambayeque.

_____. 2013, Los Cañaris de Lambayeque. Sus títulos coloniales. *Revista Avances. Aportes la investigación regional*. Chiclayo: INDER.

ANDRADE, L. 2010. Contactos y fronteras de idiomas en la Cajamarca prehispanica. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 14. *Lenguas y sociedades del antiguo Perú: hacia un enfoque interdisciplinario* (eds.) P. Kaulicke, R. Cerrón-Palomino, P. Heggarty & D. Beresford-Jones, 165 - 180.

_____. 2011. El léxico del telar de cintura en la sierra norte del Perú. In *Estudios en lenguas andinas y amazónicas. Homenaje a Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino* (eds.) W. Adelaar, P. Valenzuela, & R. Zariquiey, 53-72. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la PUCP.

_____. 2012. El castellano andino norperuano: contacto lingüístico, dialectología e historia. PhD thesis. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Escuela de Posgrado, Programa de Estudios Andinos.

ANDRADE, L. & G. JOFFRÉ 2014. Toolkits and Cultural Lexicon: An Ethnographic Comparison of Pottery and Weaving in the Northern Peruvian Andes. *Indiana* 31, 291-320

(available on-line: <http://www.iai.spk-berlin.de/en/publications/indiana/previous-issues/indiana-31.html>, accessed 2015).

APEL, K. 1996. De la hacienda a la comunidad: la sierra de Piura 1934-1990. Nueva edición. Lima: Institut français d'études andines (available on-line: <https://books.openedition.org/ifea/2515>, accessed 2015).

ARNOLD, D. 1997. 'Making Men in Her Own Image: Gender, Text and Textile in Qaqachaka'. In *Creating Context in Andean Cultures* (ed.) Howard-Malverde, 99-134. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

_____. 2014. La Casa de Adobe y Piedras del Inka. Género, Memoria y Cosmos en Qaqachaca. In *Hacia un Orden Andino de las Cosas: tres pistas de los Andes meridionales*. D. Arnold et al.. Bolivia: ILCA

_____. 2017. Hacia una antropología de la vida en los Andes. In *El desarrollo y lo sagrado en los Andes. Resignificaciones, interpretaciones y propuestas en la como-praxis*. (ed.) H Galarza. La Paz: ISEAT (available on-line: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Denise_Arnold2/publication/317414967_Hacia_una_antropologia_de_la_vida_en_los_Andes/links/593998a3aca272bcd1cb2b67/Hacia-una-antropologia-de-la-vida-en-los-Andes.pdf, accessed 2018).

ARNOLD, D., et al. 2007. Hilos Suetos: los Andes desde el textil. La Paz: ILCA.

ARNOLD, D. et al. [2000] 2017. El rincón de las cabezas: luchas textuales, educación y tierras en los Andes. La Paz: ILCA (available on-line: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Denise_Arnold2/publication/319141537_El_rincon_de_las_cabezas_Luchas_textuales_educacion_y_tierras_en_los_Andes/links/59946a58458515c0ce652c47/El-rincon-de-las-cabezas-Luchas-textuales-educacion-y-tierras-en-los-Andes.pdf, accessed 2017).

ARNOLD, D. & E. ESPEJO. 2012. The intrusive *k'isa*: Bolivian struggles over colour patterns and their social implications. *World Art*. 2 (2), 251-278.

_____. 2013. El textil tridimensional. La naturaleza del tejido como objeto y como sujeto. La Paz: Fundación Interamericana, Fundación Xavier Albó, Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara.

ASA. 'Ethical Guidelines for Good Research of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth' (available on-line: <http://www.theasa.org/ethics/guidelines.shtml%3E>, accessed July 2013).

ASENSIO, R. 2014. Entre lo regional y lo étnico: el redescubrimiento de la cultura mochica y los nuevos discursos de identidad colectiva en la costa norte (1987-2010). In *Etnicidades en construcción. Identidad y acción social en contextos de desigualdad*. Estudios sobre Desigualdad, 7 (ed.) R. Cuenca. Lima: IEP.

ASENSIO, R. & B. PÉREZ GALÁN (eds.) 2012. ¿El turismo es cosa de pobres? Patrimonio cultural, pueblos indígenas y nuevas formas de turismo en América Latina. La Laguna (Tenerife): PASOS, Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural. www.pasosonline.org. Colección PASOS Edita n°8/IEP. www.iep.org.pe.

- ASSADOURIAN, C. 1994. Transiciones hacia el sistema colonial andino. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos-El colegio de México.
- BABB, F. 2018. Women's Place in the Andes Engaging Decolonial Feminist Anthropology. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- BASTIEN, J. [1978] 1985. Mountain of the condor. Metaphor and Ritual in Andean Ayllu. Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press.
- BARANDIARÁN, A. & R. PAREDES 1933. A golpe de arpa: folk-lore lambayecano de humorismo y costumbres. Lima: Authors publishing.
- BENNETT, J. 2010. Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- BERQUIST, E. 2008. Bishop Martinez Compañon's Practical Utopia in the Enlightenment Peru. *The Americas* 64(3), 377-408.
- BERNILLA CARLOS, O. & G. TAYLOR 2000. Yacâpa. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 29(1), 109-127.
- BERRY, M., C. CHÁVEZ, S. CORDIS, S. IHMOUD & E. VELÁSQUEZ 2017. Toward a Fugitive Anthropology: Gender, Race, and Violence in the Field. *Cultural Anthropology*, v. 32, n. 4, 537-565. (available on-line: <https://doi.org/10.14506/ca32.4.05>, accessed 2019)
- BONILLA, H. & K. SPALDING 1972. La Independencia en el Perú: las palabras y los hechos. In *La Independencia en el Perú*. Series Perú Problema 7. Lima: IEP. Campodónico Ediciones S.A.
- BRADBY, B. 2002. Local Knowledge in Health: The Case of Andean Midwifery. In *Knowledge and Learning in the Andes: Ethnographic Perspectives* (eds.) H. Stobart & R. Howard. Liverpool Latin American Studies, New Series 3.
- BRIGHTMAN, M., C. FAUSTO & V. GROTTI 2016. Ownership and nurture: Studies in Native Amazonian Property. Oxford, New York: Berghan Books.
- BRIGHTMAN, M., V. ELISA GOULD & O. ULTURGASHEVA (eds.) 2012. Animism in Rainforest and Tundra: Personhood, Animals, Plants and Things in Contemporary Amazonia and Siberia. New York: Berghan Books.
- BRUINAUD, M. 2012. Las representaciones teatrales de «la muerte de Atahualpa»: ¿una herencia de «moros y cristianos»? *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines* 41(1), 81-121 (available on-line: <http://bifea.revues.org/1202>, accessed 2018).
- BRÜNING, E. 1989 [1922]. Estudios monográficos del departamento de Lambayeque. Lima: Pacific Press S.A.
- BURNEO, Z. 2011. El proceso de concentración de la tierra en el Perú. International Land Coalition (available on-line:

<http://www.landcoalition.org/sites/default/files/documents/resources/Peru%20ESP%20WEB%2020.06.11.pdf>, accessed 2015).

BUSSMANN, R., D. SHARON et al. 2007. Health for sale: the medicinal plant markets in Trujillo and Chiclayo, Northern Peru. *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 3, 37 (available on-line: <http://doi.org/10.1186/1746-4269-3-37>, accessed 2014).

BUSSMANN, R. & D. SHARON 2009. Shadows of the colonial past – diverging plant use in Northern Peru and Southern Ecuador. *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 5, 4 (available on-line: <https://doi.org/10.1186/1746-4269-5-4>, accessed 2014).

BUTLER, J. 2004. *Precarious Life: The Powers Of Mourning And Violence*. London: Verso.

CABELLO DE BALBOA, M. 1951 [1586]. *Miscelánea Antártica*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. Ediciones del Instituto de Etnología.

CAFFERATA, A. 1995a. Reforma Agraria, Comunidades Campesinas y Haciendas Semi-feudales: el caso de Incahuasi en Lambayeque (I). *Utopía Norteña 1, Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Históricas Sociales y Educación*, 173-187.

_____. 1995b. Reforma Agraria, Comunidades Campesinas y Haciendas Semi-feudales: el caso de Incahuasi en Lambayeque (II). *Utopía Norteña 2, Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Históricas Sociales y Educación*, 339-357.

CAFFERATA, A. & G.C. CAJO 1995a. Reforma Agraria, Comunidades Campesinas y Haciendas Semifeudales: el caso de Incahuasi en Lambayeque (I). *Revista Utopía Norteña (UNPRG)*, 2.

_____. 1995b Reforma Agraria, Comunidades Campesinas y Haciendas Semifeudales: el caso de Incahuasi en Lambayeque (II). *Revista Utopía Norteña (UNPRG)*, 2.

CAJO, G. C. 1995. Encuesta sobre economía y diferenciación campesina en la Comunidad 'San Pablo' de Inkawasi. Undergraduate thesis in sociology. Lambayeque: Universidad Nacional Pedro Ruiz Gallo.

CALVACANTI, R. 2007. Las muchas naturalezas en los Andes. *Revista periferia* 7, 1-11.

CAMINO, L. 1992. *Cerros, Plantas y Lagunas Poderosas: La medicina al norte del Perú*. Piura: CIPCA.

CÁNEPA, G. 1993. Los ch'unchu y las palla de Cajamarca en el ciclo de la representación de la muerte del inca. In *Música, Danzas y Máscaras en los Andes* (ed.) R. Romero. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Instituto Riva-Agüero.

CANESSA, A. 1999. "Making Persons, Making Difference. Procreation Beliefs in Highland Bolivia," In *Conceiving Persons. Ethnographies of Procreation, Fertility and Growth* (eds.) P. Loizos & P. Heady, 69-9. London: The Athlone Press.

- CARRASCO, A. 2013. Inkawasi Takin: El nacimiento de un programa cultural desde 1976. *Revista Municipal "Mushuq Yurqay" 2*.
- CARRASCO, A. *et al.* 2016. Iglisya Qatay. El Fervor popular en Incahuasi. Chiclayo: DDC Lambayeque, Ministerio de Cultura
- CARSTEN, J. 1995. The Substance of Kinship and the Heat of the Hearth: Feeding, Personhood, and Relatedness among Malays in Pulau Langkawi. *American Ethnologist 22*, 223-241.
- CARSTEN, J. & S. HUGH-JONES 1995. Introduction: about the house - Lévi-Strauss and beyond. In *About the house: Lévi-Strauss and beyond* (eds.) J. Carsten & S. Hugh-Jones, 1-46. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- CELESTINO, O. & A. MEYERS 1981. Las cofradías en el Perú: región central. Frankfurt/Main: K.D. Vervuert.
- CERECEDA, V. 1986 [1978]. The semiology of Andean textiles: the talegas of Isluga. In *Anthropological History of Andean Politics* (eds.) J. Murra, N. Wachtel & J. Revel, 149-73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CHAKRABARTY, D. 2000. Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- CHÁVEZ, F. 2004. Mamantún. Embarazo y parto en los cronistas de los siglos XVI-XVIII. Lima: Edición Seminario de Historia Rural Andina.
- _____. 1996. Mujeres que Curan, Mujeres que Creen: Un Perfil de la Medicina Femenina. In *"Despierta, remedio, cuenta...": adivinos y médicos del Ande*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- CITE SIPÁN 2009a. La Artesanía textil en Lambayeque. Lambayeque: Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo.
- CITE SIPÁN 2009b. Diagnóstico de la Actividad Artesanal en la Región Lambayeque. Lambayeque: Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo.
- CONKLIN, B.A. & L.M. Morgan. 1996. Babies, Bodies, and the Production of Personhood in North America and a Native Amazonian Society. *Ethos 24*, 657-694.
- COVARRUBIAS, S. [1611] 1995. Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española. Madrid: Castalia.
- COSTA, L. 2017. The Owners of Kinship: Asymmetrical Relations in Indigenous Amazonia (Malinowski Monographs). Chicago: Hau Books.
- CORNEJO, M. & F. OSMA 1906. Límites entre Perú y Ecuador Volumen VI. Barcelona: Imprenta de Henrich y C.^a en comandita.
- CRANDON-MALAMUD, L. 1991. From the Fat of our Souls. Social Change, Political Process, and Medical Pluralism in Bolivia. Berkeley: University of California Press.

DAVIDSON, J. 1983. La Sombra de la Vida: La Placenta en el Mundo Andino. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* XII(3-4):69-81.

DE LA CADENA, M. 2010. Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections Beyond “Politics”. *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 25, Issue 2, 334–370. ISSN 0886-7356, online ISSN 1548-1360. DOI: 10.1111/j.1548-1360.2010.01061.x (available on-line: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1360.2010.01061.x>, accessed 2014).

DE LA CADENA, M. 2015. *Earth beings: ecologies of practice across Andean worlds*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

DE LA CARRERA, F. 1939 [1644]. *Arte de la Lengua Yunga*. Reissued and introduction by Altieri, R. Tucumán: Instituto de Antropología.

DE MUNTER, K. 2016. Ontología relacional y cosmopraxis, desde los Andes. Visitar y conmemorar entre familias aymaras. *Chungara* 48(4), 629-44.

DELANEY, C. 1991. *The seed and the soil: gender and cosmology in Turkish village society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

DESCOLA, P. 1986. *La Nature domestique: symbolisme et praxis dans l'écologie des Achuar*. Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

_____. 1996. ‘Constructing Natures: Symbolic Ecology and Social Practice’. In *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives* (eds.) P. Descola & G. Pálsson, 82–102. London: Routledge.

DESROSIERS, S. 1997. Lógicas textiles y lógicas culturales en los Andes. In *Saberes y memorias en los Andes: in memoriam Thierry Saignes* (eds.) T. Bouysse-Cassagne & T. Saignes. Paris: Institut des hautes études de l'Amérique latine (available on-line: <http://books.openedition.org/iheal/825>, accessed 2015)

DIEZ, A. 1998. *Comunes y haciendas: procesos de comunalización en la Sierra de Piura (siglos XVIII al XX)*. Piura: CIPCA.

DILLEHAY, T.D. & P. NETHERLY 1998. *La Frontera del Estado Inca*. Quito: Fundación Alexander von Humboldt. Editorial Abya-Yala.

DRANSART, P. 2002. *Earth, Water, Fleece, and Fabric: An Ethnography and Archaeology of Andean Camelid Herding*. London: Routledge.

_____. (ed.) 2013. *Living beings: perspectives on interspecies engagements*. London: Bloomsbury.

DULANTO, J. 2008. Between Horizons: diverse configurations of society and power in the late Pre-Hispanic central Andes. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology* (eds.) H. Silverman & H. Isbell, 781-830. New York: Springer.

- DUVIOLS, P. 1978. Camaquem, uspani: un concept animist des anciens peruviens. In *Estudios Americanistas I. Homenaje a A. Timborn* (eds.) R. Hartmann & U. Oberem, 132-44. St. Agustín: Institut Anthropos 20.
- EARL, J. 1969. The organization of power in Quechua mythology. *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 1 (1), 63-82.
- ERIKSON, P. 2009. Obedient Things: Reflections on the Matis Theory of Materiality. In *The Occult Life of Things: Native Amazonian Theories of Materiality and Personhood* (ed.) F. Santos-Granero, 173-191. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- ESCRIBENS, A. 1977. Fonología del quechua de Ferreñafe. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
- ESPINOZA, W. 1967. El primer informe etnológico sobre Cajamarca. Año 1540. *Revista Peruana de Cultura* X, 5-14.
- _____. 1969. Los Mitmas Yungas de Collique en Cajamarca Siglos XV, XVI y XVII. *Revista del Museo Nacional* XXXVI, 9-57.
- _____. 1977. La poliginia señorial en el reino de Caxamarca, siglos XV y XVI. *Revista del Museo Nacional de la Cultura Peruana* 43, 399-466.
- _____. 2006. La Etnia Guayacundo en Ayabaca, Huancabamba y Caxa (siglos XV-XVI). Lima: Fondo Editorial del Pedagógico San Marcos.
- ESPIÑA, I. et al. 2019. La “princesa antropóloga”: disciplinamiento de cuerpos feminizados y método etnográfico. *Nómadas*, n. 51, 99-115 (available on-line: <https://www.redalyc.org/jatsRepo/1051/105163363007/105163363007.pdf>, accessed 2019).
- FAUSTO, C. 2012. Too Many Owners: Mastry and Ownership in Amazonia. P. 29-47. In BRIGHTMAN, M., V. ELISA GOULD & O. ULTURGASHEVA (eds.). *Animism in Rainforest and Tundra: Personhood, Animals, Plants and Things in Contemporary Amazonia and Siberia*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- FLORES, J. 1974. Enqa, Enqaychu illa y Khuya Rumi: aspectos mágico-religiosos entre pastores. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 63, 245-262.
- FORTIS, P. 2014. Artefacts and bodies among Kuna People from Panama. In *Making and growing: anthropological studies of organisms and artefacts*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, pp. 89-106. *Anthropological studies of creativity and perception*.
- FOSTER, G. 1987. On the Origin of Humoral Medicine in Latin America. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, New Series 1(4), 355-393.
- FRANQUEMONT, E., C. FRANQUEMONT, & B. J. ISBELL 1992. Awaq ñawin: el ojo del tejedor, la práctica de la cultura en el tejido. *Revista Andina* 10(1), 47-80.

GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, I. [1609] 2009. "Comentarios Reales". Edición Digital: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. Biblioteca Nacional.

GELL, A. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GLASS-COFFIN, B. 2003. La perspectiva de género en el curanderismo en el norte de Perú: Metáforas, modelos y manifestaciones de la diferencia. *Senri Ethnological Reports* 43, 67-94.

_____. 2010. Shamanism and San Pedro through Time: Some Notes on the Archaeology, History, and Continued Use of an Entheogen in Northern Peru. *Anthropology of Consciousness* 21(1), 58-82.

GONZÁLEZ DE HOLGUÍN, D. 1952 [1607]. Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua Qquichua o del Inca. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. Publicaciones Cuarto Centenario

GOSE, P. 1991. House rethatching in an Andean annual cycle: practice, meaning and contradiction. *American ethnologist* 18(1), 39-66.

_____. 1994. *Deathly waters and hungry mountains: agrarian ritual and class formation in an Andean town*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

_____. 2008. *Invaders as ancestors. On the Intercultural Making and Unmaking of Spanish colonialism in the Andes*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

GROENEWALD, R. 2002a. El tejido y la cultura: El significado de los tejidos en Inkawasi. In *Seminario de Tejidos Andinos: Continuidad Cultural*. XVI Reunión Anual del Comité Nacional de Conservación Textil, Lima.

_____. 2002b. El Teñido: un arte de las mujeres quechuas de Inkawasi. In *Seminario de Tejidos Andinos: Continuidad Cultural*. XVI Reunión Anual del Comité Nacional de Conservación Textil, Lima.

_____. 2011a. El Tejido y la Cultura: el significado de los tejidos en Inkawasi. In *Una mirada al mundo quechua: Aspectos culturales de comunidades quechuahablantes* (ed.) ILV. Comunidades y Culturas Peruanas 33, 206-57. Lima: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

_____. 2011b. Prácticas y creencias sobre el embarazo entre los quechuahablantes de Inkawasi. In *Una mirada al mundo quechua. Aspectos culturales de comunidades quechuahablantes* (ed.) ILV. Comunidades y Culturas Peruanas 33, 175-205. Lima: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

GUDEMAN, S. & A. RIVERA 1990. *Conversations in Colombia: The Domestic Economy in Life and Text*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GUHA, R. 2002. *History at the Limit of World History*. New York: Columbia University Press.

HALLAM E. & T. INGOLD 2014. *Making and Growing: Anthropological Studies of Organisms and Artefacts*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing.

HAMILTON, S. 1998. *The Two-Headed Household: Gender and Rural Development in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

HAN, S. & JASON A. 2016. The Editors' Note. *Cultural Heritage*, Volume 4, Number 1.

HARRIS, O. 1978. Complementarity and Conflict: An Andean View of Women and Men. In *Sex and Age as Principles of Social Differentiation*. (ed.) J.S. La Fontaine, 21-40. London: Academic Press.

HARAWAY, D. 2016. *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

HOCQUENGHEM, A.M. 1989. Los guayacundos de Cajas y la Sierra Piurana: siglos XV y XVI. Lima: Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos.

_____. 1990. Cambios en el sistema de producción de la sierra piurana, siglos XV y XVI. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 19(1), 87-101.

_____. 1991. Frontera entre 'áreas culturales' nor y centro andinas en los valles y la costa del extremo norte peruano. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 20, N. 2, 309-348. Lima. (Available on-line: http://www.hocquenghem-anne-marie.com/amh/2_piura_loja/91_frontera_entre_areas_culturales_nor_y_centro_andinas_en_los_valles_y_la_costa_del_extremo_norte_peruano.309.pdf, accessed 2014)

HOCQUENGHEM, A.M. & E. DURT 2006. La frontière Pérou-Equateur: Enjeu mondial, empreintes locales. In *La mondialisation côté Sud Acteurs et Territoires* (eds.) J. Lombard, É. Mesclier & S. Velut, EMS-IRD, 307-320. Paris.

_____. 2012. How did Quechua reach Ecuador? In *Archaeology and Language in the Andes* (eds.) P. Heggarty & D. G. Beresford-Jones, 345-373. Proceedings of the British Academy 173. London: Oxford University Press.

HOWARD, R. 1989. Storytelling Strategies in Quechua Narrative Performance. *Journal of Latin American Lore*, 15(1), 3-71.

HUAMÁN, J. 2008. *Mitos y leyendas de Kañaris*. Chiclayo: Ediciones Prometeo Desencadenado.

HUANG, M., V. LU, S. MACDOUGALL & M. STEFFEN 2018. Disciplinary Violence. *Anthropology News*, v. 59, n. 3, 20-23 (available on-line: <https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/AN.861>, accessed 2020).

HUBER, L. 2014 [1995]. *Las Rondas Campesinas de Piura*. Open Edition Book. Lima: Institut français d'études andines, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. DOI: 10.4000/books.ifea.2601 (available on-line: <https://books.openedition.org/ifea/2601?lang=es>, accessed 2015).

- HUERTAS, L. 1996. Patrones de Asentamiento Poblacional en Piura (1532-1850). *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 25, 91-124.
- HYLAND, S. 2007 *The Quito Manuscript: An Inca History Preserved by Fernando de Montesinos*. Yale: Yale University Press.
- INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION 1989. Convention n° 169 - Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (available on-line: https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_IL_O_CODE:C169, accessed 2015).
- INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTADÍSTICA E INFORMÁTICA (INEI) 2008. Censos Nacionales 2007, XI de Población y VI de Vivienda. Departamento de Lambayeque: Resultados Definitivos. Lima: Oficina Técnica de Difusión, INEI.
- INGOLD, T. 2000a. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling & Skill*. London: Routledge.
- _____. 2000b. Making Culture and Weaving the World. In *Matter, Materiality and Modern World* (ed.) P.M. Graves-Brown. London: Routledge.
- _____. 2010a. The textility of making. *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 34(1), 91-102.
- _____. 2010b. Bringing Things to Life: Creative Entanglements in a World of Materials. *Realities Working Papers* 15, 2-14 (available on-line: http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/1306/1/0510_creative_entanglements.pdf, accessed 2015).
- INGOLD, T. 2011. *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge, and Description*. London: Routledge.
- _____. 2013. *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture*. New York: Routledge.
- ITIER, C. 2013. Las bases geográficas de la lengua vehicular del imperio inca. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines*, 42(2), 237-60.
- JHONSON, A. (2017, October 5). Violence and vulnerability in anthropology. *Allegra Lab*. <https://allegralaboratory.net/violence-vulnerability-anthropology/>
- JORDAN, B. 1993. *Birth in Four Cultures. A Crosscultural Investigation of Childbirth in Yucatan, Holland, Sweden, and the United States*. Illinois: Waveland Press.
- JOYCE, R. & S. GILLESPIE (eds.) 2000. *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- KELLY, L. 1988. *Surviving Sexual Violence*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- KLOB, S.T. 2017, Sexual(ized) harassment and ethnographic fieldwork: a silenced aspect of social research. *Ethnography*, v. 18, n. 3, 396-414.

KONDO, D.K. 1990. *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

LARCO, L. 2008. *Más allá de los encantos: Documentos históricos y etnografía contemporánea sobre extirpación de idolatrías en Trujillo, siglos XVIII-XX*. Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Fondo Editorial UNMSM.

LA RIVA, P. 2012. *La Construction Sociale Du Corps-Personne Dans Une Communaute Des Andes Du Sud Du Perou*. Thèse de doctorat en ethnologie et sociologie comparative. Nanterre: Université Paris X, Ecole doctorale Milieux, cultures et sociétés du passé et du présent. AU PLUS PRES DU CORPS.

LEQUANDA, J. 1793. Descripción Geográfica del Partido de Piura. *Mercurio Peruano* VIII (May, Jun, July & August 1793), 167-229.

LESTAGE, F. 1999. *Naissance et petite enfance dans les Andes péruviennes : pratiques, rites, représentations*. Paris: L'Harmattan, D.L.

LONG, N. & A. LONG (eds.) 1992. *Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and development*. London, New York: Routledge.

LÓPEZ AUSTIN, A. 1980. *Cuerpo Humano e Ideología*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas.

LORENTE, S. 2005 [1879]. *Escritos Fundacionales de Historia Peruana*. Lima: Fondo Editorial COFIDE.

LECHTMAN, H. & R. MERRILL [1975] 1977. *Material Culture: Styles, Organization, and Dynamics of Technology*. St. Paul: West Publishing Company.

LECHTMAN, H. 1993. Technologies of power: the Andean case. In *Configurations of power: holistic anthropology in theory and practice* (eds.) J.S. Henderson & P. Netherly, 244-280. N.Y.: Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

LECHTMAN, H. 1984. Andean Value Systems and the Development of Prehistoric Metallurgy. *Technology and culture*, 25(1), 1-36.

LEINAWEAVER, J. 2009. Raising the roof in the transnational Andes: building houses, forging kinship. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.) 15, 777-796.

LOCKE, J. [1698] 2005. Segundo tratado sobre el gobierno civil. Un ensayo concniente al verdadero origen, alcance y finalidad del Gobierno Civil. Bernal: Univrsidad Nacional de Quilmes. Prometeo Libros.

MARISCOTTI DE GORLITZ, A. 1978. Los Curi y el Rayo. In *Actes du XLIIe Congrès International de Américanistes*, Paris 4, 365-376.

MARTÍNEZ COMPAÑÓN, B.J. 1978. *Trujillo del Perú*. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica.

- MARTÍNEZ, M. 1991. Comunidad indígena y haciendas españolas en Piura: el caso de San Francisco de Cumbicus (1645-1720). *Histórica* 14(1), 93-136.
- MARTÍNEZ, L. & V. MANAYAY RINZA. 2015. La música, el taki y la danza en Cañaris. In *Música y cantos tradicionales de Cañaris*, 25-41. Lima: Ministerio de Cultura.
- MARTÍNEZ, L. 2015. Cañaris en la Sierra de Lambayeque. In *Música y cantos tradicionales de Cañaris*, 9-20. Lima: Ministerio de Cultura.
- _____. 2017. *Música y Cantos Tradicionales de Incahuasi*. Lima: Ministerio de Cultura.
- MATOS, J. 1976. Yanaconaje y Reforma Agraria en el Perú. El caso del valle de Chancay. Series Perú Problema 15. Lima: IEP.
- MATOS, J. & MEJÍA, J. 1980. La Reforma Agraria en el Perú. Series Perú Problema 19. Lima: IEP (available on-line <http://repositorio.iep.org.pe/bitstream/IEP/665/2/peruproblema19.pdf>, accessed 2015).
- MAUSS, M. 2006. *Techniques, Technology and Civilization*. Edited by N. Schlanger. New York, Oxford: Durkheim Press, Berghahn Books.
- MAYER, E. 1977. Beyond the Nuclear Family. In *Andean Kinship and Marriage* (eds.) R. Bolton & E. Mayer, 60-80. Washington: American Anthropological Association.
- _____. 2002. *The Articulated Peasant: Household Economies in the Andes*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- MCCLAIN, C. 1975. 'Ethno-Obstetrics in Ajjic'. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 48 (1), 38-56.
- MEISCH, L.A. 1987. The Living Textiles of Tarabuco, Bolivia. In *Andean Aesthetics: Textiles of Peru and Bolivia*, 46-59. Madison, Wisconsin: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- _____. 2002. *Andean Entrepreneurs: Otavalo Merchants and Musicians in the Global Arena*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- MERINO DE ZELA, E.M. 1977. Folklore Coreográfico e Histórico. *Folklore Americano* 24, 67-94.
- MIÑO, M. 1982. Los cañaris en el Perú. *Cultura* 5(14), 79-131.
- MORENO, E. 2005. Rape in the field. Reflections for a survivor. In *Taboo: Sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork* (eds.) D. Kulick & M. Willson, 219-250. London: Routledge.
- MUÑOZ Y MANZANO C. 1892. *Bibliografía Española de Lenguas Indígenas de América*. Madrid: Estudio Tipográfico Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Impresores de la Real Casa.

- MURRA, J. 1980. *The Economic Organization of the Inka State*. Connecticut: JAI Press.
- _____. 2002. *El Mundo Andino. Población, Medio Ambiente y Economía*. Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP).
- NARVÁEZ, A. 2001. *Dioses Encantos y Gentiles. Introducción de la Tradición Oral Lambayecana*. Chiclayo: Instituto Nacional de Cultura.
- O'PHELAN, S. 1977. El norte y los movimientos antifiscales del siglo XVIII. *Histórica* 1, 199-222.
- OLWIG, K. 1999. The Burden of Heritage: Claiming a Place for a West Indian Culture. *American Ethnologist*, 26 (2), 370-388.
- ORTIZ, A. 1973. *De Adaneva a Inkarrí: Una visión indígena del Perú*. Lima: Retablo de Papel.
- _____. 1994. *Un Estudio sobre los Grupos Autónomos de Niños. A partir de un trabajo de campo en Campacocha en Andahuaylas*. Lima: Fundación Van Leer-Ministerio de Educación.
- PERALTA, V. 1998. Caminantes del desierto. Arrieros y comerciantes indígenas en Lambayeque, siglo XVIII. In *El norte en la historia regional, siglos XVIII-XIX* (comp.) S. O'Phelan Godoy & Y. Saint-Geours, 143-167. Lima: Institut français d'études andines. DOI: 10.4000/books.ifea.3282 (available on-line: <https://books.openedition.org/ifea/3282?lang=es>, accessed 2019).
- PITROU, P., VALVERDE M. & J. NEURATH (coord). 2011. *La noción de vida en Mesoamérica*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos.
- PLATT, T. 1987. Entre ch'azwa y muxsa: para una historia del pensamiento político aymara. In *Tres reflexiones sobre el pensamiento andino* (ed.) Javier Medina, 61-132. La Paz: Hisbol.
- _____. 1996. *Los Guerreros de Cristo: cofradías, misa solar, y guerra regenerativa en una doctrina Macha (siglos XVIII-XX)*. La Paz: ASUR, Antropólogos del Sur Andino. Plural Editores, D.L.
- _____. 2001. El feto agresivo. Parto, formación de la persona y mito-historia en los Andes. *Anuario de estudios Americanos* 58(2), 633-78.
- POLIA, M. 1996. "Despierta, remedio, cuenta...": adivinos y médicos del Ande. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- POLIA, M. & F. CHÁVEZ HUALPA 1994. Ministros menores del culto, shamanes y curanderos en las fuentes españolas de los siglos XVI-XVII. *Antropológica* XI, 8-48.
- POMA DE AYALA, F. 1615. *El Primer Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno* Copenague: Det Kongelige Bibliotek.

- PIUG, E. [1985] 2007. Breve diccionario folclórico piurano. 3ª. Ed. Piura: Universidad de Piura (available on-line: https://pirhua.udep.edu.pe/bitstream/handle/11042/2141/Breve_diccionario_folklorico_piurano.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y , accessed 2019).
- QUILTER, J. 1990 The Moche Revolt of the Objects. *Latin American Antiquity* 1(1), 42-65.
- RAIMONDI A. 1965 [1876]. El Perú. Lima: Edición Facsimilar. Editores Técnicos Asociados S.A.
- RAMÍREZ, S. 1987. El “dueño de indios”: Reflexiones sobre las consecuencias de cambios en las bases de poder del “curaca de los viejos antiguos” bajo los españoles en el Perú del siglo XVI. *HISLA, Revista Latinoamericana de la Historia Económica y Social* 10, 39-60.
- _____. 1996. *The World Upside Down. Cross-Cultural Contacts and Conflicts in Sixteen Century*. Standford: Standford University Press.
- _____. 1998. La resistencia indígena a la producción racionalizada y a las rentas en dinero en el Norte del Perú, 1780-1821. In *El norte en la historia regional, siglos XVIII-XIX*. Lima: Institut Français d'Études Andines (avaliable on-line: <http://books.openedition.org/ifea/3303>, accessed 2014).
- _____. 2002. *El mundo al Revés. Contactos y conflictos transculturales en el Perú del siglo XVI*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- REAGAN, J. 2001. A la sombra de los cerros, las raíces religiosas de los pueblos de Jaén, San Ignacio y Bagua. Peru: CAAAP.
- RESTREPO, D. 1992. *Sociedad y Religión en Trujillo (Perú) 1780-1790*, 2 vols. Vitoria: Servicio Central de Publicaciones, Gobierno Vasco.
- ROEL PINEDA, J. 1988. Bailes y Danzas en el Perú. *Perú Indígena* 12, 105-113.
- ROJAS, B. 2000. Cuerpos tiernos y abiertos. Embarazo y parto entre las mujeres campesinas mucuchías. *Boletín Antropológico* 49, 75-92.
- ROSTWOROWSKI, M. 1977. Las Etnias del Valle de Chillón. In *Etnia y sociedad: Costa peruana prehispánica*, 21-95. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- _____. 1979. Breves notas sobre la estructura socioeconómica en la costa peruana precolombina. In *Amerikanistische Studien II* (eds.) R. Hartmann y U. Oberem, 207-211. Collectanea Instituti Anthropos 21, Haus Völker und Kulturen, St. Augustin.
- SAFONOVA, T. & I. SÁNTHA 2012. Stories about Evenki People and their Dogs: Communication through Sharing Contexts. In *Rainforest and Tundra: Personhood, Animals, Plants and Things in Contemporary Amazonia and Siberia* (eds.) M. Brightman, V. Elisa Gould & O. Ulturgasheva, 82-95. New York: Berghan Books.

- SALA I VILA, N. 1989. Revueltas indígenas en el Perú tardocolonial. Tesis para optar al grado de doctor en el Departament d'Antropologia Cultural i Història d'Amèrica i d'Àfrica, Universitat de Barcelona.
- SALOMON, F. 1998. How the Huacas Were: The Language of Substance and Transformation in the Huarochirí Quechua Manuscript. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 33, Pre-Columbian States of Being (Spring), 7-17.
- SALOMON, F. 1999. Testimonies: The Making and Reading of Native South American Historical Sources. In *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (eds.) F. Salomon & S.B. Schwartz, 19-95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SALOMON, F. & G. URIOSTE 1991. The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- SANTOS, F. (ed.) 2009. The Occult Lives of Things. Native Amazonian Theories of Materiality and Personhood. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- SAX, M. 2014. Sorcery and Morality in the Andes: Illness, Healing, and Brujería in Kañaris. PhD thesis. Ottawa, Ontario: Carleton University.
- SCHLÜPMANN, J. 1994. La structure agraire et le développement d'une société régionale au nord du Pérou Piura, 1588-1854. Thèse de doctorat. France: Université Paris VII Denis Diderot, UFR - Géographie, Histoire, Sciences de la Société.
- SCHNEIDER, L.T. 2020. Sexual violence during research: How the unpredictability of fieldwork and the right to risk collide with academic bureaucracy and expectations. *Critique of Anthropology*, vol. 40, n. 2, 173-193. (available on-line: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0308275X20917272>, accessed 2020).
- SEVILLA, J. 1995. La montonera del Cura Chumán, Ferreñafe 1910. *Utopía Norteña 1, Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Históricas Sociales y Educación*, 146-171.
- _____. 1996. El Mito de Inkarrí. En Lambayeque. *Utopía Norteña 3, Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Históricas Sociales y Educación*.
- _____. 1998. La Etnia de los Penachíes. In *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Etnohistoria, vol. III*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- _____. 2005. Fiesta de la Cruz de Penachí y la Danza rojo y blanco. Umbral, FACHSE (UNPRG), 38-51.
- SHARON, D. [1978] 1980. El chamán de los cuatro vientos. México: Siglo Veintiuno.
- SHAVER, D. 1992. Organización Socio-política de las Comunidades Campesinas: el caso de Inkawasi. Estudios Etno-lingüísticos II. Lima: Ministerio de Educación-Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- _____. 2011. La sal, la saliva y los seres espirituales: una breve mirada a la cosmovisión andina de Inkawasi. In *Una mirada al mundo quechua. Aspectos culturales de*

comunidades quechuhablantes (ed.) ILV. Comunidades y Culturas Peruanas 33, 161-73. Lima: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

SHIMADA, I. 1990. Cultural continuities and discontinuities on the northern north coast, Middle-Late Horizons. In *The Northern Dynasties: Kingship and Statecraft in Chimor* (eds.) M.E. Moseley & A. Cordy-Collins, 297-392. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

SILVERMAN, H. 2005. Embodied Heritage, Identity Politics, and Tourism. *Anthropology and Humanism* 30(2), 141–155.

SINGH, J. 2018. *Unthinking Mastery. Dehumanism and Decolonial Entanglements.* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

SKILLMAN, D. 1990. *Huachumero.* California: San Diego Museum of Man.

_____. 2006. Curanderismo at la Pescadera-Salas. In *Mesas & Cosmologies in the Central Andes* (ed.) Douglas Sharon. California: San Diego Museum of Man.

STOBART, H. 2006. Music and the Poetics of Production in the Bolivian Andes. Aldershot: Ashgate, SOAS Musicology Series.

STENGERS, I. 2005. Introductory Notes on an Ecology of Practices. *Cultural Studies Review* 11 (1), 183–96.

STEVENSON, R. 1968. *Music in Aztec and Inca territory.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

STRATHERN, M. 1990 [1988]. *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia.* Studies in Melanesian Anthropology. California: University of California Press.

STRATHERN, M. 1991. One Man and Many Men. In *Big Men and Great Men: Personifications of Power in Melanesia* (eds.) M. Godelier & M. Strathern, 197-214. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

STRANG, V. & M. BUSSE (eds.) 2011. *Ownership and Appropriation.* ASA Monographs 47. New York: Berg.

SULLÓN, K. *et al.* 2013. *Documento Nacional De Lenguas Originarias del Perú.* Lima: Ministerio de Educación, Dirección General de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe y Rural - DIGEIBIR.

SWANCUTT, K. 2012. Masked Predation, Hierarchy and the Scaling of Extractive Relations in Inner Asia and beyond. In *Animism in Rainforest and Tundra: Personhood, Animals, Plants and Things in Contemporary Amazonia and Siberia* (eds.) M. Brightman, V. Elisa Gould & O. Ulturgasheva, 175-194. New York: Berghan Books.

TARRILLO & VASQUEZ 2013. *Practicas culturales de la madre en el cuidado de la vivienda.* Caserío de Riopampa, distrito de Incahuasi-Ferreñafe 2011. Thesis for obtaining the degree of nurse. Lambayeque: Universidad Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo.

TAUSSIG, M. 1993. El diablo y el fetichismo de la mercancía en Sudamérica. México: Editorial Nueva Imagen.

TAYLOR, A. & P. DESCOLA 1981. El conjunto Jivaro en los comienzos de la conquista española del Alto Amazonas. *Bulletin IFEA* 10 (3-4), 7-54.

TAYLOR, G. 1982. Aspectos de la dialectología quechua. Introducción al quechua de Ferreñafe. Paris: A. E. A. Ass. d'Ethnolinguistique Amérindienne.

_____. 1996. El quechua de Ferreñafe: fonología, morfología, léxico. Cajamarca: AKU QUINDE

_____. 1997. Juan Puma, el Hijo del Oso: Cuento Quechua de La Jalca, Chachapoyas. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 26(3).

_____. 1999. *Método del Quechua Ferreñafo para Hispanohablantes*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación.

_____. 2000. Camac, camay y camasca y otros ensayos sobre Huarochirí y Yauyos Lima: IFEA-Institut Français d'Études Andines, CBC-Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.

_____. 2006. Diccionario Quechua Chachapoyas Lamas. Lima: IFEA, IEP. Editorial Comentarios.

_____. 2008a. Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí. Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

_____. 2008b. L'ogresse dans les Andes et en Amazonie. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 37, 393-328.

TOMOEDA, H. 2004. El curanderismo en el laberinto judicial republicano. In *Entre Dios y el Diablo: Magia y poder en la costa norte del Perú*, 121-128. Lima: IFEA.

TORERO, A. 1964. Los dialectos quechuas. *Anales Científicos de la Universidad Agraria, Lima II*, 446-478.

_____. 1968. Procedencia Geográfica de los Dialectos Quechuas de Ferreñafe y Cajamarca. *Anales Científicos de la Universidad Agraria, Lima VI*: 291-316.

_____. 1972. Lingüística e historia de la sociedad andina. In *El reto del multilingüismo en el Perú* (comp.) A. Escobar, 51-106. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. Reimpreso en *Lingüística e indigenismo moderno de América*. Trabajos presentados al XXXIX Congreso Internacional de Americanistas.

TORERO, A. 1989. Áreas toponímicas e idiomas en la sierra norte peruana: un trabajo de recuperación lingüística, *Revista Andina* 13, 217-257.

_____. 2002. *Idiomas de los Andes : lingüística e historia*, Lima: IFEA-Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos. Editorial Horizonte.

UNESCO 1972. World Heritage Convention (available on-line: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>, accessed 2015).

VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, E. 1992. *From the Enemy's Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

VALDIZÁN, H. 1944. *Historia de la Medicina Peruana*. Lima: Ediciones Hora del Hombre.

VALDIZÁN, H. & A. MALDONADO 1985 [1922]. *La Medicina Popular Peruana. Contribución al Folklore Médico del Perú*. Lima: G. Herrera-Eds.

VAN VLEET, K. 2008. *Performing Kinship: Narrative, Gender and the Intimacies of Power in the Andes*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

VENTER, M. & S. LYON 2014. Configuring and Commoditizing the Archaeological Landscape: Heritage, Identity and Tourism in the Tuxtla Mountains. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. 25, 74–82. ISSN 1551-823X, online ISSN 1551-8248. DOI: 10.1111/apaa.12049.

VREELAND, J. 1993. Danzas tradicionales de la sierra de Lambayeque. In *Música, Danzas y Máscaras en los Andes* (ed.) R. Romero, 179-217. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva-Agüero.

WATANABE, S. 2008. Dos Monolitos del sitio de Congona, sierra norte del Perú. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP*, 12, 53-67.

WEIGEND, M. 2002. Observations on the Biogeography of the Amotape-Huancabamba Zone in Northern Peru. *Botanical Review*, 68, 38-54.

WILLERSLEV, R. & O. ULTURGASHEVA 2012. Revisiting the Animism versus Totemism debate: Fabricating Persons among the Eveny and Chuckchi of North-eastern Siberia. In *Animism in Rainforest and Tundra: Personhood, Animals, Plants and Things in Contemporary Amazonia and Siberia* (eds.) M. Brightman, V. Elisa Gould & O. Ulturgasheva, 48-68. New York: Berghan Books.

YAMAMOTO, A. 2008. Inyatambo: un sitio estratégico de contacto interregional en la zona norte del Perú. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP*, 12, 25-51.

ZORN, E. 2004. *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, & Culture on an Andean Island*. University of Iowa Press.