THE FOODPATHS OF *CHAWPIRANA* PEOPLE: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF LIVING INBETWEENNESS IN THE BOLIVIAN ANDES

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
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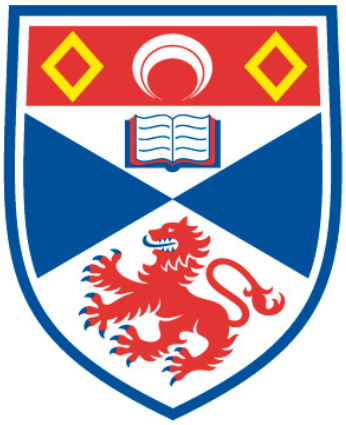
University of St Andrews



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PhD in Social Anthropology with Amerindian Studies

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THESIS ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the everyday lives of the people of Cabreca ethnographically. Cabreca is an Andean hamlet in the *chawpirana* of Northern Potosí in Bolivia. The *chawpirana* is a zone which lies in-between the highlands (*puna*) and the valleys. *Chawpi* is the Quechua word for middle/centre, *rana* means zone. While much anthropological work has been carried out in *puna* and valley, the *chawpirana* has so far been neglected. Through an ethnography from the middle I consider what it means to live in this in-between position.

My analysis focuses on the everyday spheres of the home, childhood, agricultural tasks and pastoralism, food and movement. The themes that emerge from my ethnography are local Cabreca ways of learning and knowing; feeding, reciprocity and the maintenance of relationships between humans, animals, plants and spirits; flexibility; and mobility. The latter two demonstrate the distinctiveness of the *chawpirana* particularly well: Cabrequeños move extensively within the zone as their fields lie in the surroundings of the hamlet. The flexibility of their households is manifested through these movements.

This study is an ethnography which pays attention to detail and provides minute descriptions of everyday activities in Cabreca. The emphasis on ethnographic detail is created in interaction with the intimacy which developed between Cabrequeños and me during 13 months of participant-observation. While living in a Cabreca household I had access to the daily activities and particularly to those which women typically carry out. My experience is embedded into anthropological literature on dwelling, kinship, ways of knowing, work, embodied practice, reciprocity, and sharing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have contributed to this thesis, and I am grateful to them all.

My thanks go to both my supervisors for their patience and encouragement. Prof Tristan Platt welcomed me into the department of Social Anthropology in St Andrews and introduced me to Northern Potosí and to Quechua. He met me in Bolivia after my first months in Cabreca and when back in Scotland shared his enormous knowledge of all things Andean with me. Dr Stephanie Bunn has been a constant source of advice and support since she joined the supervising team just before I left for Cabreca. Her time and effort, her care and reliability have always made me feel looked after. Stephanie's professional way of dealing with things never failed me, and her honesty and empathy concerning many different matters have been priceless. Both Stephanie and Tristan have taught me that the devil is in the detail.

At the University of St Andrews I would also like to thank Graeme Sandeman, cartographer at the School of Geography and Geosciences, for producing maps of Cabreca and its surroundings. Many Social Anthropology department members, staff as well as fellow students, and fellow anthropologists from other institutions have over the years contributed to this thesis in discussions and written correspondences. I appreciate their help very much but am unable to provide an exhaustive list of their names here. My viva examiners Dr. Maggie Bolton and Dr. Mark Harris were very supportive, and hearing their opinions and ideas helped me appreciate my own writing.

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In Cabreca, I thank everybody who received me as a friend although I arrived as a complete stranger and who made me feel that Cabreca was my home away from home. Many apparently small gestures meant a lot. Above all I thank Clemencia & Germán for their patience, trust, good humour and warmth, for welcoming me into their home, feeding me and sharing their lives with me. Many other people in Cabreca and surrounding places helped me on many different occasions. I think of them often and will never forget them. Some of them occur in the following thesis, and it will become apparent why I am grateful to them.

My friends have been there for me throughout the last years, particularly when I was going through difficulties. They have often accommodated me in Bolivia, Scotland, Ireland and Germany, have fed me, comforted me and celebrated with me. I hope that I have been able to show them individually how much I have been relying on them and appreciating their friendship and care throughout this time.

Like these friends, my brothers and their families have always been there in the background. It is invaluable to know that I can always count on them. Finally, a big, warm thank you goes to my mother for her constant love and support.

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In memory of

my father Otmar Nell (1943-2011),
who never doubted me and my motivations,

and

my grandfather Gustav Janke (1918-2012),
whose wisdom & curiosity have been an inspiration.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an ethnography on the people of Cabreca, a Quechua-speaking hamlet which lies in the *chawpirana* of Northern Potosí in Bolivia. My research focusses on their everyday lives and how they maintain their households. Before starting fieldwork I had hoped to work with weavers exploring characteristics of the region through people's textiles. I only had a vague idea where exactly I was going to go. It was the *chawpirana* as a zone that had attracted my interest. It lies between the highlands (*puna*) and the valleys of this Andean environment and had previously been neglected in ethnographic works. My research interests which evolved from my time in Cabreca and from subsequently working with my ethnographic data include the domestic sphere and how it is lived, local ways of learning and knowing particularly in the children of Cabreca, the important role of food in creating and maintaining relationships, people's relationships with their environment and how they move about their territory.

As it turned out, Cabrequeños did not overtly discuss their inbetweenness and particular position between *puna* and valleys with me. But a close examination of their life and the above mentioned areas allows us to see the *chawpirana* as a distinct zone which is a meeting point of two different ecologies. While *puna* and valleys have previously been talked about in dualistic terms and seen as complementary entities of one whole, the *chawpirana* has been mentioned as borderline, axis or territory which people travel through, but it has not been dealt with as a zone where people live in its own right.

Choice of fieldsite

As I had lived in La Paz in 2005 and '06, arriving at the high-lying city in September 2008 was not a novelty to me. What was going to be new was venturing into a rural area that could only be reached by walking on footpaths. During my first days in La Paz I gathered some information on practical issues and on how I should precede. From La Paz I went on to Sucre, a city of nearly 250,000 inhabitants. I had already encountered helpful and friendly advice from people at the MUSEF (Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, both in La Paz and Sucre) and the Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia when I met Verónica Cereceda, whose texts on Andean textiles (Cereceda 1986, 1987, 1990, 2006) had sparked my interest in weaving, at the institute and museum of ASUR (Antropólogos del Surandino). Her cordiality and practical hands-on approach to helping me meant that she picked up the phone and organised a day trip to Ocurí in Northern Potosí for me for the very next day. The next

morning, 1 October 2008, I was picked up by three members of the IPTK (Instituto Politécnico Tomás Katari), an organisation which implements development projects in the north of Potosí.[1] The day in Ocurí gave me the opportunity to talk to some development workers who had experience with work in Surumi and encouraged me to look for a fieldsite in the *chawpirana*.

When I travelled to Colquechaca the following week, IPTK members introduced me to the *subalcalde* (an important regional political post) of the *cantón* Surumi, Marcos. I explained my ideas to him and asked him for his permission to conduct research in his jurisdiction. Marcos did not seem very enthusiastic about my proposal and did not ask me any questions but agreed that I could live in Surumi and conduct fieldwork in one of the communities. He recommended going to the hospital as he thought the doctor was going to Surumi the next day. I followed his advice and was given a lift in the ambulance the very next morning. On the way I got to know Iván, the doctor, and once in Surumi town I met the male nurse, Hernán. The health post, one big room which was Hernán's bedroom as well as the office, became a place that I later often arrived at either coming from Cabreca or returning from Colquechaca from some travels. Iván and Hernán invited me to accompany them on their walking tour through several communities the following week. They were offering vaccinations to little children and dealing with health concerns of anyone else who came to see them. The trip to several of the communities allowed me to orientate myself and meet some people. In Cabreca people appeared to be friendly, open and less shy than in other places I visited. Although they probably did not expect me to really do so, they invited me to come back and stay in Cabreca. Apart from this openness, the physical outlay of Cabreca appealed to me, and most importantly it lay in the area that the atlas and other maps had identified as the *chawpirana*. Less than a week after my initial visit with Iván and Hernán I returned to Cabreca with my entire luggage.

Cabreca – ethnographic context

The road that allows car traffic closest to Cabreca is a three-hour walk away[2]. There is a wide net of footpaths that connects the inhabitants of Cabreca to the world around them. Initially I

[1] The IPTK had received criticism on their work in the past and I had been warned of any co-operation with them. Verónica Cereceda assured me that their methods had improved in recent years and that they were achieving commendable results now. The individuals I got to know were all extremely friendly and very helpful to me throughout the year. They introduced me to people, offered me a place to stay at various of their posts and helped organising lifts.

[2] I was often lucky to get a lift on that road with officials, medical staff or engineers working in the area.

walked to Cabreca from Surumi town as I had done with the medical team. This involved descending to a small river to then ascend on the other side, passing through a small community called Sikuta. One inhabitant, Santos, often invited me for a meal when I passed through and was very chatty and inquisitive. There was an easier walk which was not so steep from a place called Warqa which lies along the road from Colquechaca to Surumi.

Both ways one arrives in Cabreca on a wide footpath. Close to Cabreca there is a signpost on the ground, a stone that has "Cabreca" and an arrow written on it in paint. One arrives on a plain which is the highest point of the hamlet. Houses lie on a slope so that even within the hamlet there is a relatively high range of altitudes. The year that I stayed there Cabreca had 58 homes which I counted together with my host Germán from a hilltop. But this does not mean that there were 58 active households in the community at any one time. The *Atlas de los Ayllus del Norte de Potosí* (Mendoza & Patzi 1997) registers 45 families in Cabreca. Household numbers change as male children usually move out and build their own homes and female children move further away. Whole households move for temporary periods. I later realised that this mobility within a relatively small space was one of the characteristics of the *chawpirana*. The size of each household can change considerably as well because household members can be absent for certain periods.

A little stream runs through Cabreca, and there are several more water sources. Even during the dry season accessing sufficient water to supply all households was never a problem. The middle altitude of Cabreca means that there is ample vegetation for most of the year. Shrubs are available all year round and are used as firewood.

Fig. 1: A view of Cabreca from one of the surrounding hills.
*(*x *= Clemencia and Germán's homestead)*

Fig. 2: View from Clemencia and Germán's little garden.

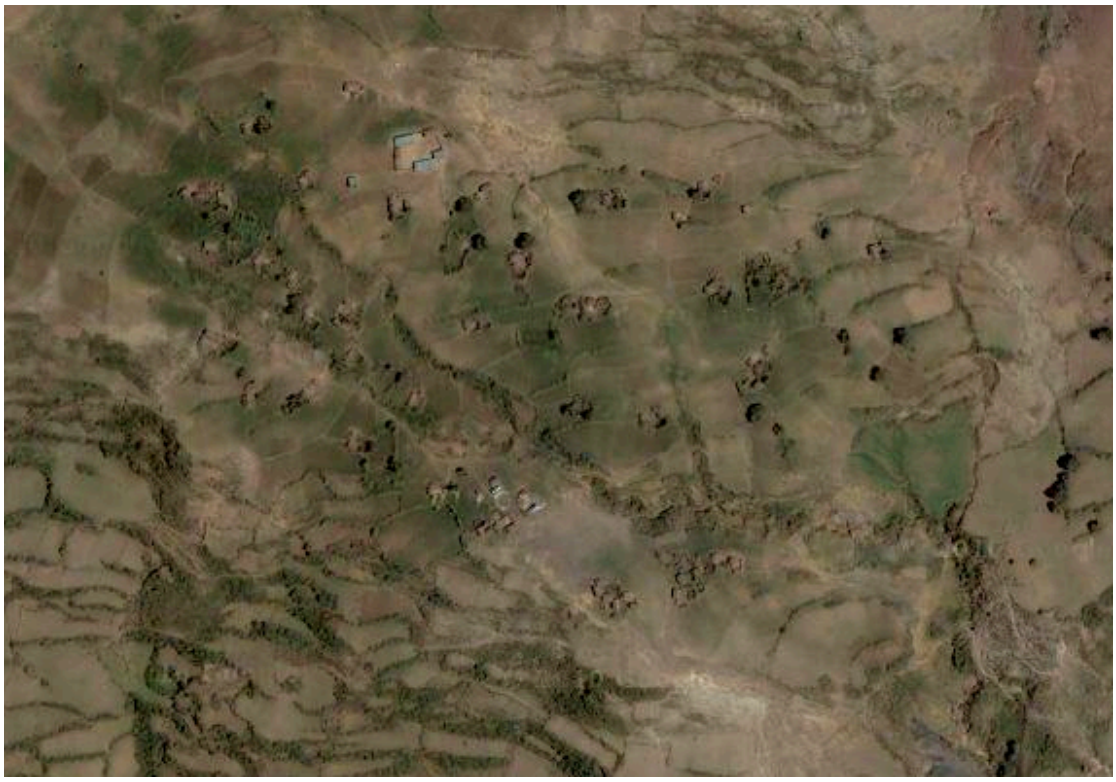

Fig. 3: Satellite view of Cabreca (maps.google.com, 16 December 2002)

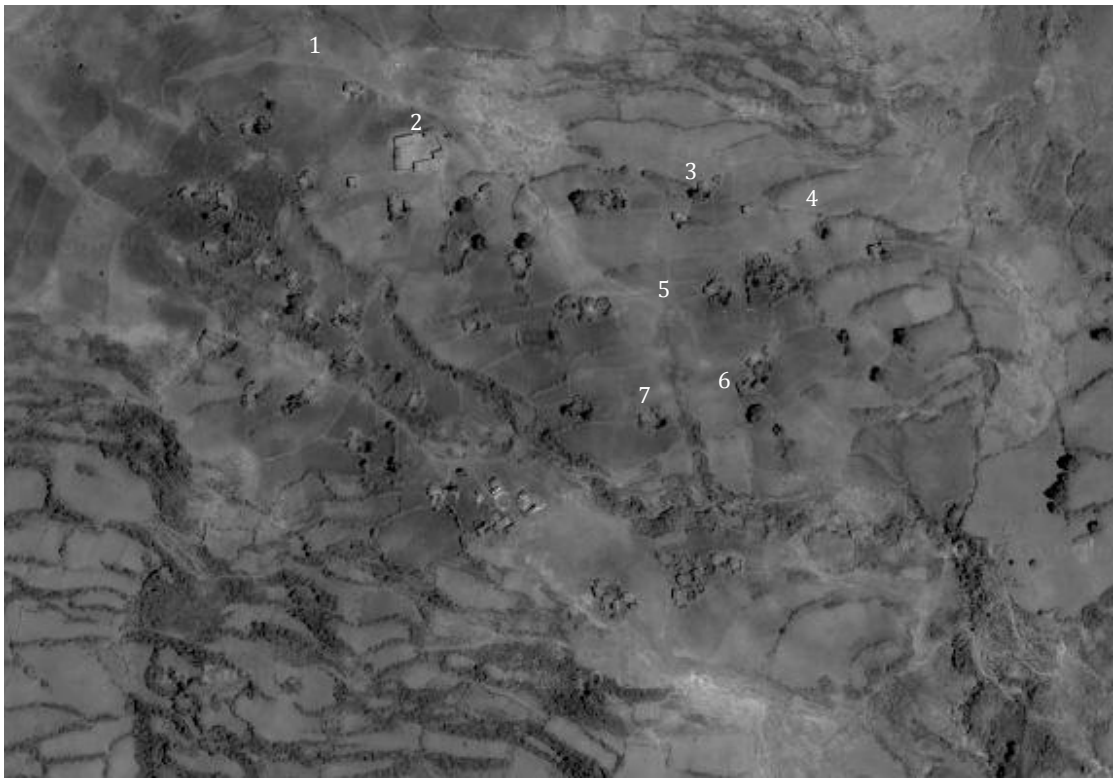

Fig. 4: 1: footpath from Surumi, 2: school & church, 3: Eulogia's home, 4: Clemencia's home, 5: water source, 6: Ester's home, 7: Lucia's home.

Previous ethnographies in Northern Potosí have often stressed movement. Typically they have linked the highlands with the valleys and focused on either one of them or examined migration to other parts of Bolivia or other countries. The assumption that the people in the *chawpirana* were more self-subsistent (Harris 1985) also implied the assumption that the *chawpirana* people would be less mobile. This is certainly not true. Constant movement of people and food is also typical of the communities in the *chawpirana*. Everyday tasks in Cabreca require short journeys; working the agricultural fields and herding the animals may require longer trips within the *chawpirana*; and visiting people in other communities or travelling to towns and cities account for journeys that may last several days or weeks. I will return to this mobility and depict the types of movement which are part of life in the *chawpirana* and characterise it as a distinct area from both highlands and valleys.

Like many peasants in other parts of the world Cabrequeños are economically poor. The north of Potosí is today one of the poorest areas in Bolivia, which in turn is one of the poorest Latin American countries, in terms of monetary income. While some descriptions of peasant life may seem idyllic and characteristic of independence and loyalty amongst peasants (Foster 1967: 297), their economic hardship also leads to a highly minimalist lifestyle. "Peasants themselves have demonstrated time and time again that they prefer a different, and what they believe to be a better life. Poverty, illiteracy, oppression, disease and early death, and a backbreaking life of sweating over a piece of land, have little nostalgic value to peasants" (Potter 1967: 378). The people of Cabreca are aware of their relative economic poverty and overtly complain about it. I will examine their views on poverty in more detail in chapter II. For my own time in Cabreca the economic circumstances and the lack of infrastructure services, such as electricity, meant getting to know a lifestyle completely new to me.

As described above I arrived in Cabreca with Iván and Hernán. On this first visit I briefly met Germán and Clemencia, a middle-aged married couple, as they invited the medical team and me to their house for a meal. When I returned to Cabreca the following week, I was not looking for them in particular. I had planned to go and talk to the teacher first, but she was away for a few days. So I thought it would be good to look for the *alcalde* (mayor) in order to introduce myself once more properly and ask him for permission to stay. While wandering along the paths between the fields I happened to encounter Germán who explained to me that Sebastián, *alcalde* at the time, was not in Cabreca. He invited me to come home with him. After getting there he left again soon, and Clemencia and I were left on our own. Clemencia was not shy but clearly not experienced in speaking to people with a very limited knowledge

of Quechua. She fed me and treated me well, but as communication between us was difficult, she put me to bed very early. The next day Sebastián was back and told me that I could stay in a little room beside the school which was reserved for visitors such as the medical team or the priest, Padre Andrés.

I only spent two nights in that room. A meeting was called, and my presence in the community was discussed. The teacher had returned and helped me translating and introduced me and my intentions. Although there was some uncertainty and distrust, the men present at the meeting decided that I was allowed to stay for the time being. The next meeting would be held in a month's time and I would be told then whether the people of Cabreca approved of my long-term stay in their community. The following meeting was held, but my presence had been accepted by then and was not mentioned any further. After being given the temporary permission to stay I explained that I would very much like to live in a family. Nobody volunteered promptly, but the teacher said a few more supporting words and then approached Germán directly as we had already met and, as she said, Germán and Clemencia did not have any children and would appreciate my company.[3] Germán did not disagree, and I accompanied him home after the meeting. For my entire stay in Cabreca I lived with Clemencia and Germán. The way they treated me and incorporated me into the household taught me much of what I know about life in Cabreca.

My fieldwork, which lasted approximately 13 months including breaks when I travelled away from Cabreca, allowed me to get insights into the daily routines of the people and to establish close intimacy with my hosts. Olivia Harris states that in her case "fieldwork tends to be 24/7" (Harris 2007: 140). For most of my time in Cabreca I felt the same way. I was surrounded by Cabrecaness night and day. Living with Clemencia and Germán meant numerous advantages to learning about life in the *chawpirana*. Thomas Abercrombie deplores that he did not have access to certain information as much ritual life happens in the family context and he was not living with a local family (Abercrombie 1998: 76). While my physical proximity to Clemencia and Germán meant that I had great insights into the home, it also meant that I did not have any space that belonged only to me. The feeling of being totally absorbed into the site was intensified by hardly ever spending the night on my own. Breaks away from Cabreca, either to visit other communities or to spend some time in either La Paz or Sucre, were important to distance myself occasionally. Additionally fulfilling certain tasks

[3] I learnt later that Clemencia and Germán did have one son, Javier, who had left Cabreca to find paid labour. His story will appear in chapter II.

implied spending time on my own. Although having to guard a field from birds was sometimes a tedious job, it also gave me the opportunity to spend time on my own and write fieldnotes. Anna Grimshaw talks of similar situations as "a precious time. I was alone and temporarily relieved from the strains of living in another language and culture." (Grimshaw 1992: 2)

Ayllus and affiliations

Approaching my initial research questions straightforwardly and finding explicit clues in terms of what it meant for the inhabitants of the *chawpirana* to live in the zone proved difficult. The *Atlas de los Ayllus del Norte de Potosí* (Mendoza & Patzi 1997) which I carried with me was a valuable tool for me and caused a lot of interest in Cabreca as well as in communities in the *puna* that I visited. Although I never saw people making or using maps of a similar kind, they were fascinated by these visual representations of their lands.

In this atlas Cabreca is designated as lying in the *chawpirana*. But whenever I talked to Cabrequeños about this, they did not seem to care much about that assignation. When asked where they were from, they said "Cabreca" and did not talk about any other geographical names or social or political affiliations. An exception was an elderly woman, Camila. She mentioned Cabreca's affiliation with *ayllu* Sullkhawi to me several times. However, she was the only person in Cabreca who stressed this level of belonging. Camila was rather immobile, using a walking stick and advancing very slowly when she left her home. Additionally she was unmarried and had no children. Her age and her isolation may account for her mentioning old *ayllu* affiliations to me.

In Macha, a town one has to travel through in order to get to Colquechaca from all bigger cities, I talked to a man, Severo, whom I met a few times later on at his home in Tump'i, Colquechaca. He was very enthusiastic about my interest in the area and told me to note down that he was from *cabildo* Aullagas, *ayllu menor* Warxata, *parcialidad* Alasaya, *jatun ayllu* Macha, *municipio* Colquechaca, *provincia* Chayanta, *departamento* Potosí. He ended this mixed list of *ayllu* and state categories by explaining "Es nuestra identidad." (It's our identity.) This awareness and the desire to communicate affiliations and belonging stand in contrast to conversations I had in Cabreca where, with the exception of Camila, nobody expressed the desire to explain any other affiliations to me but being *Cabrecamanta* (from Cabreca). Only when I explicitly asked Clemencia and Germán whether Cabreca was part of *cabildo* Qhari Purqu, as the atlas was telling me, they confirmed this to me.

After the national revolution in 1952 an agrarian reform led to *sindicatos* gaining more and more influence on local politics. According to Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui the "land reform in northern Potosí was seen as part of a centuries-old State effort to destroy the territorial and social integrity of the Andean *ayllus*" (River Cusicanqui 1987: 89). However, the *ayllus* were never silenced in Northern Potosí and continued to provide local authorities who organised the social and ritual life while "union leaders began to act as intermediaries between them and the national political system" (Rivera Cusicanqui 1987: 92). Until today authorities who are connected to the *ayllus* exist alongside authorities who are connected to the State.

The ethnic strip or *ayllu máximo* Macha remains divided into four levels, "and at each level the term 'ayllu' can be applied" (Platt 2009: 42)[4]. Macha is organised into two moieties. Moieties "characterized Inka socio-political organization and are found in many Andean regions today" (Gelles 1995: 713). They are called *alasaya* (upper half; or *anansaya*) and *majasaya* (lower half; or *urinsaya*) (Platt 1986: 229, Gelles 1995: 710). This level can be further divided into sub-categories. Rivera Cusicanqui likens the layered division of *ayllus* to "a set of Chinese boxes […]: Each territorial and kinship unit is part of a larger ethnic unit, within a framework that culminates in a large dual organisation whose two moieties relate to one another as complementary opposites" (Rivera Cusicanqui 1990: 100; cf. Platt 1986: 236). The maximal level Macha is divided into Alasaya and Majasaya. Each moiety has five minor *ayllus* which are further divided into several *cabildos* (local council) or minimal *ayllus*. The *estancia* or *rancho* (hamlet) Cabreca lies in *cabildo* Qhari Purqu which lies in minor *ayllu* Sullkhawi which lies in the moiety Alasaya.

[4] The division of *ayllus* into several levels goes back to the 16th century.

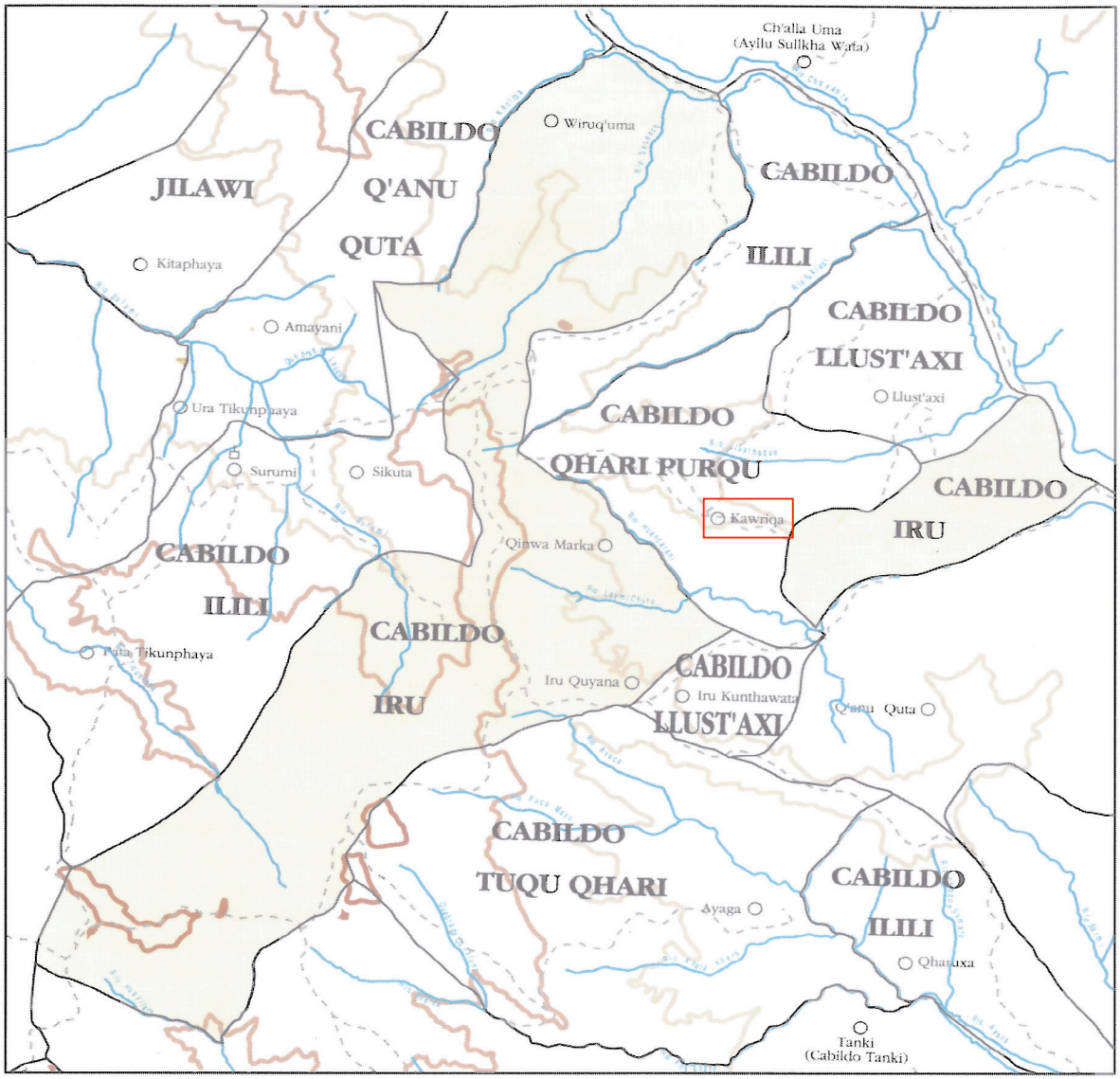

Fig. 5: Map of Cabildo *Qhari Purqu with Kawriqa (Cabreca) and surrounding cabildos (in Mendoza & Patzi 1997: 100)*

When asked where they are from or who they are Cabrequeños thus have a variety of answers to choose from. The "hierarchy of nested identities" (Platt 2009: 42, cf. 1986) allows them to align themselves to different groups in different contexts. Apart from *ayllu* membership they can choose to say that they are Potosinos or Bolivians, or they could reply in terms of an ecological category, i.e. say that they are from the *chawpirana*. When I asked them about their belonging, they chose to state that they were Cabrequeños.

In a document, *Revista de Macha*, from 1619 Cabreca (spelt Caurica) is already listed as part of *ayllu* Sullkhawi (spelt Sullcahavi) (Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, Harris 2006: 573). Hence we know that Cabreca is an old settlement with centuries of alliances in the *ayllu* organisation. Although Macha has a very rich and well-documented history, the people of Cabreca never felt the urge to talk about any historical events with me. I do not know whether they are aware

or not that these events happened or whether they chose not to talk about them. I suspect that some adults, particularly males, do while most others do not.

A famous rebellion which took place in Chayanta and predominantly in Macha was the upheaval of the 1770s which was headed by the Aymara leader Tomás Katari (see e.g. Serulnikov 2003). Although Tomás Katari had aimed to negotiate peacefully with Spanish authorities and mediate between Indian and colonial interests, violence dominated the rebellion. Directly relevant to examining the *chawpirana* is another Indian rebellion in Southern Bolivia in 1927 which Erick Langer documents (Langer 1990). One of the main reasons for this uprising was that land ownership had changed considerably in the decades prior to the rebellion: Indian communities had been abolished; haciendas whose owners were predominantly descendants of the Spanish had expanded (ibid. 228). Over the previous decades *ayllu* lands had increasingly been privatised. This led to the revolt with Indians attacking estates and sacking haciendas. One considerable attack happened in the Macha *chawpirana*: Indians attacked Hacienda Guadalupe, captured the owner, Julio Berdeja, and killed him. As Langer reports, one of the leaders of the Indians, Marcelino Burgos, ate portions of the dead body. Others joined him, and the rest of the body was sacrificed to the local mountain god[5]. As Cabrequeños did not mention any historical events to me, I did not focus on them in my study due to the scope of this thesis. However, an ethno-historical study of the region would bring forth valuable data which could support the ethnographic data provided here.

Cabreca & Northern Potosí – geographical and ecological features

Cabreca lies in the northern part of the Bolivian *departamento* (department) Potosí at an altitude of around 3,350 to 3,400 m above sea level (see map on p. 13). A big part of the area of Northern Potosí is divided into four ethnic strips: Sakaka, Chayanta, Pocoata and Macha cover ecological zones from high *puna* to the low valleys. Each ethnic group has thus access to all ecological zones. Each strip has a capital (*marka*) in the *puna*. As outlined above, Cabreca lies in the *ayllu máximo* Macha whose *marka* is Macha town.

[5] I will discuss mountain gods and their relevance to Cabrequeños in chapter III (p.115 ff.).

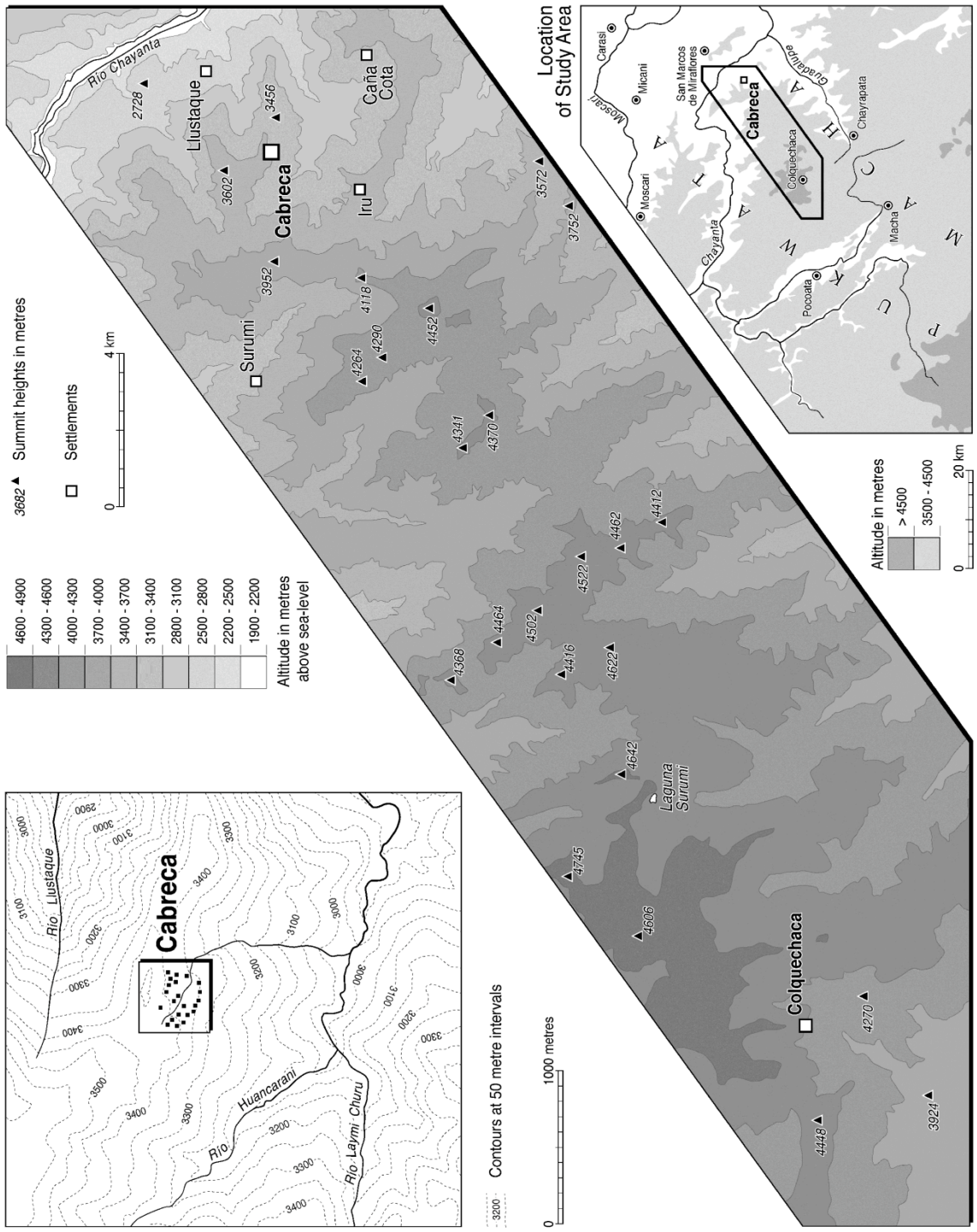

Fig. 6: Maps of Cabreca and its surroundings (produced by Graeme Sandeman)

A small town close to Cabreca is Surumi,[6] which is also the name of the *cantón* (jurisdiction) and parish in which Cabreca lies. Surumi town is the capital. The town lies close to the border between the two ethnic groups Macha and Pocoata. Both Machas and Pocoatas inhabit *cantón* Surumi (cf. Platt 1987: 169). Between these two groups a long conflict has been going on. In

[6] Although Surumi is called a town, its population is very small today. Most people I encountered in Surumi were based there temporarily as they were working on the road that was built from Surumi to Toro Toro.

1779 Surumi was separated from the main valley parish San Marcos de Miraflores and became the new parish capital. Politically Surumi did thus have an important position. In religious terms Surumi town is still of great importance to the area today. Before the separation in 1779 the miracle of Surumi took place (Platt 1987: 176). People explained to me that Mama Surumi had appeared near Lake Surumi. The miracle is commemorated by the shrine of *Nuestra Señora de Surumi* in an old basilica. Every year in early September many pilgrims travel to the shrine to commemorate the occurrence of the virgin and to worship Mama Surumi. These pilgrims come from the surrounding communities as well as from San Pedro in the valley and even as far as Cochabamba, one of Bolivia's major cities. Additionally the people of Cabreca and some other Macha and Pocoata communities also travel to Surumi during the fiesta of *Cruz* in early May when the ritual fight *tinku* is traditionally carried out between Macha and Pocoata.[7] Surumi also has a boarding school and the health post mentioned above.

Another important place for Cabrequeños is the mining town Colquechaca which has around 1,800 inhabitants and lies at about 4,200 m above sea level. It is the capital of the Province Chayanta. There is a road from Surumi to Colquechaca. However, most Cabrequeños do not have the means to use any of the infrequent transport available on that road. Instead they walk the whole way from Cabreca to Colquechaca, a journey which takes roughly 14 hours.[8] I walked from Cabreca to Colquechaca with a group of Cabrequeños to visit the *feria* (fair, market) at Easter, and I walked sections of the way on my own several times. I regularly met Cabrequeños when I was passing through Colquechaca. They travel through it in order to go to any Bolivian city, but it is also sometimes their destination for example to buy provisions there before a fiesta.

Within Northern Potosí, like elsewhere in the Andes, there are drastic differences in altitude which has led anthropologists to think of the area in terms of its vertical zones. John Murra referred to the Andean ecology as "vertical control" (Murra 1980). This concept explains how

[7] In 2009 there was no *tinku* as church and police authorities had prohibited it. Some locals from Surumi told me that there were much fewer Pocoatas present than Machas and that the *tinku* would have been very unbalanced. When a fight was about to break out, the two police officers present used teargas in order to diffuse the people involved.

[8] Distances are always measured in walking time. This points to the strong relationship between time and space in the Andes (cf. Bouysse-Cassagne & Harris 1987: 15). As will become clear, walking is the predominate mode of mobility in and around Cabreca. How long it takes someone to get from one place to another depends on their individual speed but is also determined by other factors such as the seasons and whether they are accompanied by animals or children which slows travelling down (cf. Harris 1985: 314, Godoy 1990: 23).

people who belong to one ecological area control land in other ecological zones and thus gain access to resources of those zones. This way of managing land may have resulted from necessity, i.e. the need of products from other ecological zones (Mujica 1985: 122). Much Andean ethnography following Murra has dealt with the vertical organisation of the Andes (e.g. Godoy 1990, Abercrombie 1998, Mayer 2002).

Anthropologists have primarily contrasted the *puna* and the lower valleys and examined relations between the two. Topics of investigation which deal with identity and touch on the high-low dichotomy of the Northern Potosí ecology include, amongst others, music (Solomon 2001, Stobart 2006), textiles and dress styles (Torrico n/d, Crickmay 1992, 2002, Van Vleet 2003a), gender (O. Harris 1980, 2000, Paulson 2000, Van Vleet 2008), fiestas and ritual (Platt 1986, 1987, 1997). The different zones are characterised by different agricultural potential. While the typical *puna* products include potatoes, *chuño* (freeze-dried potatoes) and llama wool and meat, the valleys are predominantly associated with maize, whose cultivation is possible at 3500 m and less, squash, hot peppers and wood (cf. Solomon 2001: 397).[9]

The chawpirana *and inbetweenness*

The *chawpirana* has not been given much attention by ethnographers so far. Several marginal references suggested to me that it was, however, an area of high importance and that ethnographic fieldwork in the zone itself would produce relevant data that could begin to fill a gap in existing work. *Chawpi* is the Quechua word for middle or centre while *rana* is translated as zone. The *puna* is also sometimes called *patarana* (upper zone) and the valley *urarana* (lower zone). *Pata* (up, above) and *ura* (low, below) are in Cabreca used in the very specific context of the geography of the *chawpirana*. What *urapi* (down below) means may depend on the speaker's position. In Cabreca *urapi* mostly meant some agricultural fields that lay further down from the hamlet but still within the *chawpirana*. *Patapi* (up above) could be the hamlet of Cabreca when the speaker was in those fields *urapi*, or it could be a place further above Cabreca when the speaker was in the hamlet. Thomas Solomon describes a similarly refined distinction in the highlands of Chayantaka: "*pata lado* [upper side] and *ura lado* [lower side] are more subtle ecological distinctions within the overall *puna* zone. Another way of understanding *pata lado* and *ura lado* could be as 'high puna' and 'low puna,' respectively." (Solomon 2001: 341-342)

[9] Others identify 3400 m as the upper limit of maize cultivation (e.g. Mendoza & Patzi 1997: 9).

The German geographer Carl Troll divided the mountainous region of the Andes into different zones naming the following limits: ~ 3000 m lower limit of frost; ~ 3500 m medium limit of corn cultivation; ~ 4100 m upper limit of agriculture; ~ 4700 m upper limit of vegetation cover. He acknowledged the existence of the *chawpirana* as a line at 3500 m (Carl Troll 1968: 33). Tristan Platt adapts these zonations and names three tiers: High Andean herding 4200 - 4600 m; Puna agriculture 3500 - 4200 m; Valley agriculture 2000 - 3500 m. At the same time he describes the *chawpirana/taypirana* as "the intermediate area between puna (*suni*) and valley (*likina*)." (Platt 1982: 30 + 31)[10] These zonations are only a schematic guide. The borders between them are not as clear-cut as they sound. The transitions between zones are gradient (Mayer 1985: 50). And "there are various microclimates within each region" (Platt 1986: 232). Like the other zones the *chawpirana* combines different topographical characteristics. Furthermore naming a zone depends not only on what one is looking at but also on where one is in relation to it. Defining the *chawpirana* as a fixed, enclosed area is not possible.

For several reasons the definition of the *chawpirana* is more ambiguous than definitions of the other zones. It is not clear what territory exactly it covers and how it relates to its surroundings. Although much ethnographic work has been done in the north of Potosí, the above mentioned ethnographers have typically chosen either a fieldsite in the *puna* and/or one in the valleys for their studies and have then often contrasted those two zones with each other. The *chawpirana* has up to now only been marginally mentioned in ethnographies. In the glossary of his monograph on music in Kalankira on the Macha *puna* Henry Stobart defines the *chawpirana* as "central region of medium altitude, which is situated midway between the highlands and the valleys. It appears to be understood as a conceptual axis articulating between the upper and lower regions of *ayllu* territory." (Stobart 2006: 290) Kalankira *puna* inhabitants travel through the *chawpirana* in order to reach the valleys. However, Stobart does not expand on that experience. The reference of the *chawpirana* as a region and as an axis in one implies that there are different notions of the *chawpirana*. While most descriptions of the *chawpirana* include references to altitude of both the *chawpirana* and the two zones that it is separating (the *puna* and the valley), it is not defined as one specific terminated area.

[10] *Taypi* is the Aymara word for *chawpi*, *suni* and *likina* the Aymara words for *puna* and *valle*. Although there may be slight differences between the Aymara *taypi* and the Quechua *chawpi*, I am using them interchangeably here. In a glossary Olivia Harris defines *chaupi* as "Quechua word signifying mid-point or intermediary position" and *taypi* as "Aymara word for intermediary position or centre line" (Harris 2000: vi + ix).

Roberto Arturo Restrepo Arcila, for instance, calls the *chawpirana* an imaginary strip of transition (Restrepo Arcila 2004: 38). The depiction as a line is connected with conceptual representations of reality that concentrate on dualistic concepts, here the relationship between *puna* and valleys. Different representations of the *chawpirana* thus vary from being a transitional zone to being a reduced conceptual line in maps which divides and balances *puna* and valley (cf. Troll 1968, Platt 1986). The *chawpirana*, however, is also a zone in its own right (Platt 1986), a zone that is inhabited by people and that has its own microcosm of vertical organisation.

Olivia Harris (1985) suggested that in the Laymi territory landholding patterns were mostly organised symmetrically around a centre. The higher one's lands were in the *puna*, the lower one's lands in the valley. And accordingly the closer to the centre one's "*puna* lands", the closer one's valley lands. This symmetry, however, has not been confirmed as such a clear-cut pattern across Northern Potosí. Furthermore Harris assumed that the *chawpirana* people were possibly "more self-subsistent than those cultivating further away from this intermediate zone" (Harris 1985: 322) admitting that its inhabitants would probably need products from the other ecological zones in order to supplement their own production. I can now confirm that in my field experience self-sufficiency does not apply in the *chawpirana* of Macha. The people there acquire products from other ecological zones. While these symbolic allusions to what the *chawpi* can be in conceptual thought exist, the *chawpirana* is at the same time clearly a concrete zone where people live. I went to the *chawpirana* in order to find out what it meant to live in this in-between space that was in conceptual thought reduced to a dividing and/or mediating line.

Many people, not only in Cabreca, laughed when I asked specifically about the *chawpirana*. Only one woman that I met in Colquechaca when travelling said she was *chawpiranamanta* (from the *chawpirana*) when I asked her where she was from. I did not know the community that she named afterwards, and our conversation was then interrupted. This brief encounter suggests that some other *chawpirana* communities might make their inbetweenness more explicit than Cabrequeños do and stress their difference from both *puna* and valley. As Tristan Platt notes, "most peasants often 'know' only those aspects of social organization that directly concern them" (Platt 2009: 46). While Cabrequeños know that they are *chawpiranamanta* and are likely to be aware of their *ayllu* affiliations, they did not feel the need to express them verbally. In the situations in which I accompanied them they represented the community Cabreca. Marriage in Cabreca is virilocal. When I asked women who lived in

Cabreca where they were originally from, they replied that they were from Llustaque or Iru, i.e. other *ranchos*.

Two visitors to Cabreca who looked at the atlas told me that Llustaque was *chawpirana*. Cabrequeños, however, called Llustaque *valle* as it lies further down from Cabreca. Again the situational context was decisive for them. While Llustaque lies lower in altitude than Cabreca, the two visitors saw Llustaque in contrast to places that were even lower and hence "more valley" to them. The same is valid on another scale: Cabrequeños confirmed that Cabreca lay in the *chawpirana*, but when I was travelling in the *puna*, I asked people whether they knew Cabreca. Most of them replied that they knew of that place in the *valle*. Tristan Platt recalls how "people of this area [the *chawpirana*] are sometimes crudely classified as puna people by the valley Indians, and as valley people by the puna Indians" (Platt 1986: 232). The context of who is talking about the zone is what matters. As Olivia Harris explains, "[i]t is clear that to some extent the term selected to classify a particular ecological zone will depend on the position of the speaker" (Harris 1985: 322). The speaker interprets geographical and social relationships and positions the zone in a wider framework. Cabrequeños see themselves as *chawpirana* people when asked but otherwise do not attach much value to the term. They have relations to the valley and to the highlands but do not stress their in-between status. The inbetweenness is rather determined by people's activities and use of territory than by their talk. Moving up and down within their own territory is typical for this in-between place as it allows the inhabitants to grow a wide range of products. Travelling to the valley and to the highlands allows them to gain further products and strengthen their social networks.

The everyday life that revolves around this mobility and around the maintenance of the household offered me clues as to how the people of Cabreca experience their in-between position without explicitly stating it. Particularly through examining the maintenance of the household and food production and consumption I depict the *chawpirana* as a meeting point of two ecologies. The title of this thesis points to the interdependence of food and mobility in this inbetween space.

Fig. 7: On the way down from Cabreca (~3,400 m above sea level) to Llustaque (~2,600-2,700 masl). View of the Río Grande.

Andean models of dualism and triadism

In order to understand the different ways of seeing the *chawpirana* and its particular in-between position better Olivia Harris suggests a consideration of the "*conceptualization of space*" in Andean thought (Harris 1985: 323). *Chawpi*/*taypi* is translated as centre or as middle. It is used in compounds to describe the second child of three, the middle finger, midnight etc. (Urton 1997: 74, 77). Harris explains that "*taypi* refers most commonly to an intermediate position. […] The position of *taypi*, then, is defined by what is on either side" (Harris 1985: 323). The *chawpi*/*taypi* may thus be seen symbolically as a line that divides or mediates.

Duality and the notion of pairs of things are very common in the Andes. One of the dualistic concepts which is often discussed in literature on 'Andean thought' is *yanantin* which Tristan Platt defined as describing things that always come as pairs, like eyes or hands (Platt 1986; also cf. Webb 2012). Bouysse-Cassagne and Harris compare this concept with another form of pair which is *awqa*. Unlike *yanantin* the two elements of this pair cannot exist together. They are opposites rather than two equal halves of one whole (Bouysse-Cassagne & Harris 1987: 29-30).

In many ethnographic accounts of rituals models of dualism appear. In dances and other performances pairs are of immense importance. In Cabreca, libations and offerings which are given to deities in order to secure good yields are *yanantin* as they come in two. Another prominent idea of dual organisation is *chachawarmi*. "The lifelong cooperation that is enjoined between a woman and a man […] is clearly seen as a cooperation between unlike categories." (Harris 2000: 179) Although the expression is Aymara and the Quechua equivalent is *qhariwarmi* (cf. Platt 1986), the people in Cabreca responded to the term *chachawarmi*.

The title of Olivia Harris's essay on gender relations 'Complementarity and Conflict' (Harris 1978, 2000) suggests cooperation between men and women which contains differences at the same time. Harris states that the Laymi people of Northern Potosí use the concept of *chachawarmi* to describe themselves "in terms of their divided territory." As the Laymis have territory in both *puna* and valley, "the two zones are perceived as being in a relation of complementary unity, even though they are separated by several days' walk and the territory of other ethnic groups." (Harris 2000: 167) They resemble the married couple who as a complementary unit maintains the household.

While anthropologists have often described Andean dualisms that either oppose the binary pairs or see them as complementary, there is an opportunity of an alternative conceptualisation of the same organisations which leaves room for the in-between. Rosaleen Howard states that "[t]he notion of a conceptual 'space between' that acts as a place of regeneration is an enticing one for Andean scholars, insofar as it can be related to a properly Andean construct, that of the *chawpi*" (Howard-Malverde 1997: 17). However, examples of the *chawpirana* being viewed as such an in-between space are very rare. Relatively few descriptions of organisations or structures that include the *chawpi* as a centre or middle entity exist.

An example which deals with the *chawpi* as a central musical space of a meal can be found in Barbara Bradby's (1987) study of the *chaupimesa*. It is a piece of music that is played at a fiesta. Bradby describes how the piece is played during a fiesta when people are half-way through the second course of a three course mid-day meal. The piece is written in a tritonic (three-tone) scale. The organisation of two alike entities around a centre also appears in the order of fiestas. Bradby describes three fiestas in September that are held in San Diego de Ishua in the Peruvian Andes: two religious fiestas, one of a male and one of a female saint,

around a fiesta of irrigation canal cleaning. Each fiesta lasts for five days and is organised around the central day as the one with most ritual activity. Bradby concludes that the triadisms she discusses "are variations on the idea of the symmetry of above and below around a centre" (Bradby 1987: 214). The order of a symmetry of odd numbers, particularly five and nine, around a central day in the middle contradicts structures of four or dualisms that are often depicted elsewhere.

Body parts and their naming in Quechua also show that the body is not seen in simple dualistic terms. Constance Classen states that "[i]t is not only the oppositions of the body that are important in Andean culture, but also the 'in-between' parts of the body." She illustrates how there are specific terms in Quechua "for the space between the nose and the mouth (*simi pata*), the area between the shoulder blades (*wasa waycu*), the furrow between the chest and the stomach (*q'asqu puxyu*)". Classen makes clear that "[t]hese areas serve both to divide and to mediate, and the fact that they have separate names demonstrates the importance of in-between spaces and dividing lines for the Andeans." (Classen 1993: 14) Although Classen does not mention the *chawpirana*, either, she stresses the relevance of the centre and confirms that "Andean dualism becomes tripartite" when the in-between spaces are considered (Classen 1993: 16).

Andean weavings share some of the vocabulary of body parts and are often described as anthropomorphic. Verónica Cereceda suggests that textiles may not be just a representation of the physical world but carry more meaning which can be decoded systematically (Cereceda 1986: 149). Other ethnographers and archaeologists follow her and claim that textiles are encoded with information on cosmological views and cultural beliefs (Rehl 2006: 13; Heckman 2006: 171). In weavings the common symmetry along an axis or centre stripe reminds of some representations of highlands and valley mirrored along the *chawpirana*. Gary Urton describes a textile, the *axsus* (the woman's woven back-cloth) whose design is planned symmetrically including the centre (*chaupi*) or heart (*sunqu*) (Urton 1997: 123). The most original and ground-breaking work introducing this symmetry in textiles is Cereceda's study on textiles in Isluga, Chile. She, too, describes an odd stripe at the centre of the woven bags which is called *chhima* ('heart'). As she explains, "this heart is both the meeting place and the separating line of the two sides. It plays the ambivalent role of separator, creating two halves, and simultaneously it is the nexus, the common 'territory.'" (Cereceda 1986: 152) While the *chawpirana* is not "common territory" of *puna* and valley, this model nevertheless allows for a middle space which is in-between two halves and thus resembles the *chawpirana*.

Another study on weavings which is particularly interesting for the consideration of the *chawpirana* in a more explicit way is Cassandra Torrico's work on Macha *kustalas*, the bags that llamas carry from the *puna* to the valleys. While she compares Cereceda's study with the *kustalas* and points out similarities and differences, she makes some reference to the *chawpirana*. The three ecological zones are represented in the weavings. Torrico explains that each colour in the weavings corresponds not only to an ecological tier but also to a typical product from that zone. The white stripe stands for the *puna* and its black potatoes, the brown stripe stands for the *chawpirana* and wheat[11], and the beige stripe stands for the valley's maize. What is extraordinary is that the centre stripe of the weaving is not the one corresponding to the *chawpirana* but the one corresponding to the *puna*. The *chawpirana* is located at the border of the textile. In her interpretation Torrico concludes that the weaving represents a dual organisation in which the *chawpirana* is only a separating line (Torrico n/d: 22-25). The *chawpirana*, thus, literally takes the marginal position of the periphery of the weaving. As these weavings are from the *puna*, this is a representation of space from the *puna* point of view. When I discussed weavings with Cabrequeñas, no representation of the *chawpirana* or of any land was mentioned. Future studies in *chawpirana* weavings may still yield more fruitful results which will help to position the *chawpirana* in its context.

While the *chawpi* has thus been the subject of some theoretical considerations, the *chawpirana* as a zone where people live has not been given much attention. This ethnography takes a close look at a hamlet in the zone and the lives of the people who inhabit it.

Methodological thoughts

The recurring themes of this thesis highlight how Cabrequeños, and Clemencia and Germán in particular, maintain their households. Although fiestas and special occasions play a big role in Cabreca life and occasionally appear in my writing, I have chosen to stress everyday life and the daily activities of people. Partly this choice was due to practical issues of my fieldwork and the participant-observation that I was able to carry out. Denise Arnold and Juan de Dios Yapita have investigated gender issues and called for paying more attention to the female view and the important role that women play in social and economic aspects of Andean life (Arnold & Yapita 1998, Arnold 1997). For me the focus on the women's activities was rather a necessity than out of choice because of my possibilities during

[11] Wheat is grown in Cabreca. However, its yields are relatively small, and it does not play as crucial a role in the daily diet as this interpretation of the weavings may suggest. Before fiestas it is processed and the flour used for making bread.

fieldwork. While I was regarded with some suspicion as to whether I was able to fulfil the tasks that young girls in Cabreca learn to carry out, I was also treated very differently from how a male ethnographer would have been treated.

This thesis is about the people of Cabreca. At the same time my writing contains a considerable amount of reflexive ethnography as my own experience of being in Cabreca plays a big role in it. When I first attempted to write about Cabreca, I tried to omit personal reflexions. But the more time I spent with the material and shared it with others, the more obvious it became that the relationship between Cabrequeños and me was a crucial component of this ethnography. Particularly Clemencia and the bond that developed between us feature in my writing in a way that does not allow me to hide my presence. As Johannes Fabian remarks, "autobiography need not be an escape from objectivity. On the contrary, critically understood, autobiography is a *condition* of ethnographic objectivity." (Fabian 2001: 12) While I do not draw attention to autobiographical detail which is not related directly to my presence in Cabreca, I include myself as a participant of the on-going activities and critically highlight problems and remarkable situations that arose from my participation. In Barbara Tedlock's words "instead of a choice between writing an ethnographic memoir centering on the Self or a standard monograph centering on the Other, both the Self and the Other are presented together within a single narrative ethnography, focused on the character and process of the ethnographic dialogue" (Tedlock 1991: 69).

Large parts of this thesis are ethnographic and as such highly descriptive. Due to language difficulties at the very beginning of my fieldwork I trained myself in observing the everyday routines very closely. Because ethnographic material from the *chawpirana* is rare although much material is available from the wider area of Northern Potosí, this ethnography provides valuable material which acknowledges the *chawpirana* as an area which has previously been neglected. It also allows comparison with the surrounding zones. Like all anthropological works it is embedded both in the particular moment of my fieldwork and the time period spent on writing the thesis. This leads to certain difficulties when drawing comparisons. The temporality and temporariness of my data have led me to write much of the descriptive ethnography in the past tense. However, it is just as important to recognise that comparisons with other ethnographic material may be flawed because the comparative data might be dated. Cabreca's neighbouring community Iru was during my time in Cabreca being prepared for the arrival of electricity. Transport has also been developed much. These changes lead to changes in people's lives. Furthermore there is a big amount of variation between Andean

communities as geographical and topographical features differ and characteristics such as the size of community and the degree of isolation often get overlooked.

Krista Van Vleet relates that she "constantly reinterpreted and reevaluated [her] understanding of people's talk and actions and of events more generally" during the course of her fieldwork (Van Vleet 2008: 21). While this was true for me, too, the reinterpretation and reevaluation continued when engaging with anthropological literature and led to new insights and understandings long after I had left Cabreca. Reading other people's works also constantly led to the emergence of new questions that many times I could not answer. As Anthony Cohen admits, "I did not expect to feel quite so uncertain about my understanding and analysis of people I thought I had come to know quite well." (Cohen 1992: 341) Hopefully this thesis nevertheless manages to give an insightful and meaningful account of the people in a place in the *chawpirana* at a specific moment in time.

Breakdown of chapters

In chapter I, I introduce the Cabreca home and the household. In this chapter the flexibility of Cabreca people becomes a focus for the first time. As they erect temporary homes on the land that they own away from the hamlet, several or all household members move to these temporary homes. But the main home in the hamlet is used in flexible ways, too, as spaces are often not used for one particular activity only. I introduce some kinship relations in order to view who is part of the household and dwells in the home.

Chapter II follows on from the description of household life and focusses on one particular group of household members: the children of Cabreca. I examine local ways of learning and assuming indispensable roles in the household from a very early age. This leads to a discussion of my own attempts in learning what it might mean to be a Cabreca person.

Cabreca daily life is characterised by the agropastoralism which secures the maintenance of the household. This is described and discussed in chapter III. While the first part deals with the agricultural work, the second part depicts the relationship between humans, animals, plants and their animate surroundings. Reciprocity between all these actors plays a big role in maintaining the balanced relationships between them.

The activities described in chapter III are on the whole related to the production of food. Its preparation and consumption are the topics of chapter IV. My own involvement in the daily cooking processes as well as the important role that the women of Cabreca play in the

distribution of food feature in this chapter. Sharing food is described as a means to negotiate relationships and thus reconnects to the theme of reciprocity.

Chapter V resumes the topics of movement and mobility and summarises the particular characteristics of Cabreca as a *chawpirana* place in contrast to places in *puna* and *valle*. I emphasise Cabrequeños' particular use of different homes, the moving household and the intra-*chawpirana* mobility which is typical of the area and differs from ways of moving in *puna* and valley.

CHAPTER I

THE CABRECA *WASI*: HOME AND THE HOUSEHOLD

Introduction

Cabreca life revolves around the *wasi*. The Quechua word *wasi* is translated as house or as home. Correspondingly my analysis of the *wasi* includes a description of the physical characteristics of the home and of how people use the home. I depict Cabreca *wasis* as lived spaces naming visible characteristics but paying attention to the flexibility of visual boundaries. The flexible nature of the whole household is crucial in the Cabreca home and distinct from many homes described elsewhere in the Andes. Not only do things and spaces like the hearth or the place to sleep move within the home, but also the household moves at times when a temporary home is erected in a field: While every family has a permanent home in the hamlet, they also move around and erect temporary shelters in fields that lie outside the hamlet in order to let their sheep and goats fertilise those fields. These multiple temporary homes are built in or beside the fields that the people own. The *wasi* thus becomes incorporated into the mobility of people and animals. As I discuss the human-animal relationship in chapter III and aspects of mobility in chapter V, I will also return to traits of this flexibility then.

The home as lived space

The Cabreca *wasi* has flexible boundaries in that the members of each household use most areas of the home for several activities. Another feature which appears to be a pattern of settlement characteristic of the *chawpirana* is the way Cabrequeños use temporary homes outside the hamlet and are able to move their whole household temporarily without much preparation. The space within the *wasi* and the location of the *wasi* are thus flexible.

Regional Andean material often focusses on static or symbolic analysis frequently linked to a distinction of public and private space and notions of inside versus outside. Stuart Alexander Rockefeller's description of the house in Quirpini is an example of this. He states that in Quirpini "a wasi constitutes an increasingly exclusive space the farther into it one proceeds" with the kitchen being more private than the patio and the sleeping room being the most private part of the house (Rockefeller 2010: 80-81). According to Rockefeller's description, houses in Quirpini appear to have more unifunctional areas than most Cabreca homes and a clearer distinction between predominantly private and more public areas although Rockefeller also grants that during fiestas the house is more open and boundaries disappear (Rockefeller

2010: 86). His approach at large resembles that of Janet Carsten who clarifies, based on her work on the Malay and drawing from other, also Andean, ethnographies, that houses are often divided into a more public and a more private part (Carsten 2004: 47).

Denise Arnold's study of the house in Qaqachaka, Oruro, Bolivia in contrast is a much more symbolic analysis. It examines the house as representation of a textile, of gender relations, of Aymara cosmology and describes the different elements of the house in great detail (Arnold, Jiménez Aruquipa, Yapita 1992: 31-107). Marcia Stephenson comments on this symbolic interpretation that "[t]he physical and symbolic structures of the Qaqachaka house problematize the Western binary inside/outside, emphasizing instead relatedness and contextualization." (Stephenson 1999: 81) While the awareness of this problematisation is necessary, it cannot be ignored, either, that Andean people have acquired many Spanish elements into their living patterns both voluntarily and involuntarily (Gade 1992). My own experience in Cabreca is that dwelling in the *wasi* is a flexible dwelling which cuts across notions of public and private.

Authors from other regions have warned against the rash division into public and private. In an Amazonian context Joanna Overing and Alan Passes (2000) stress the separation of public and private as a Western notion and encourage overcoming this preconception when looking at local concepts of space and belonging. Similarly the separation of "the domestic versus the collective" is portrayed as a problematic distinction which needs to be examined closely in its local context (Overing and Passes 2000: 5 ff.). In contrast, in the Andes space is often associated with hierarchy and divisions between the State (in pre-colonial times the Incas) and the private. In the specific case of Cabreca, however, the re-thinking of the separation of public and private, social and domestic is helpful as boundaries seem to be more blurred than in other parts of the Andes. This could be due to poverty and the minimalist lifestyle that follows from it.

From a more generalised perspective I have found the work of Christine Helliwell on the Borneo Dayak Longhouse useful. Helliwell (1996) particularly warns against simply "mapping" a dwelling as a visual construct, critiquing the work of Bourdieu (1990), who depicts the Kabyle house as a microcosm which is organised by oppositions and homologies (Bourdieu 1990: 277), and others. She recommends paying close attention to "the way the space is lived and used in everyday life" (Helliwell 1996: 137) and argues that the often described architectural or perceived domestic structure behind such mapping does not necessarily reveal much about the relationships of the people living in the dwelling and the

sociality in the space. Thus she criticises that the direct link often made between the arrangement of domestic space and the social interaction and relationships occurring in that space tends to overstate the description of visible divisions of the space. The merely visible does not always relate to the actual dwelling in obvious ways. Divisions may only be ostensible ones as, for example, the walls in the Dayak longhouse have many holes that do in fact allow some transparency. Furthermore non-visual perception such as hearing plays an important role in the relationships of the inhabitants. Helliwell stresses sound and how the acoustics of this space provide intimacy among neighbours. The sonic relationship between neighbours would be completely missed if one investigated the visual divisions only.

Although the Dayak longhouse cannot be directly compared with the Cabreca home in any way, Helliwell's overall approach is very useful, and I apply it to my description of Cabreca homes in that I stress how the place is lived and used. This is also in accordance with Tim Ingold's dwelling perspective which indicates that the world becomes meaningful "through being inhabited" (Ingold 2000: 173). Sound plays a role in Cabreca because parts of *wasis* are open, and much of everyday life takes place outdoors. People often lowered their voices when they were talking about other people. The home is not restricted to an enclosed inside area where such gossip could be had without the fear of being overheard. But more importantly, although there may be visual divisions of living space into different areas, domestic space in Cabreca is very adaptable. Except for storage spaces there are no rooms or parts of the home that are only used for one specific activity. Consequently the descriptions below are specific to time. Certain areas are used for different activities at different times of the day. Furthermore seasonal changes occur. The flexible nature of a home means that the hearth can move depending on the weather or season. For most parts of the year our hearth was under the roofed shelter outside Clemencia and Germán's house, but this shelter was at the same time our shared bedroom, thus having more than one function. Only for some time during the rainy season we spent the nights in the main house while the hearth remained under the roof.

The wasi

Most of what I know about Cabreca homes, I know from living with Clemencia and Germán. Their *wasi* was familiar to me as I lived in and around it for most of the year. Some insights that I got into other homes allow me some comparison and to point out differences between individual Cabreca households or between households from Cabreca and other communities.

The Quechua word *wasi* can be translated into house as a building but also describes the dwelling and thus the place that people call the family home. Linked to the house as a home are kinship ties and the family as they occur in Cabreca. Cabrequeños speak of *wasi* when they talk about any house and when they talk about home. Temporary homes in the surrounding area are occupied for several weeks during the year. When living in a temporary home, this becomes *wasiy* (my house/home) or *wasinchis* (our house/home). At the end of the work day in the pastures I often heard the words *wasiman risunchis* (we will go home) or *jaku wasiman* (come on home) when Clemencia was announcing that we would return to the temporary home to cook, eat and go to sleep. However, I also heard Clemencia saying *q'aya wasiman risunchis* (tomorrow we will go home) when we were staying at a temporary home and the move back to the main residence was planned. When going up to the hamlet only in order to fetch new provisions for further days in the temporary home, Clemencia said either *Cabrecaman risaq* (I will go to Cabreca), *ranchuman risaq* (I will go to the hamlet) or *pataman risaq* (I will go up; as the temporary shelters lay at a lower altitude than the hamlet). In that particular situation the main house in Cabreca was not "home" but the temporary one was. The home was thus flexible in that it could move to a different place. However, the *wasi* in the hamlet always remained a home to return to at the same time.

Clemencia's wasi

Clemencia's homestead lay on the eastern edge of Cabreca and consisted of one fixed adobe building, a smaller shelter, a patio and a garden (*huerta*). Although the main building at first glance appeared to be the prominent part of the home, there was a roofed shelter under which the couple spent a lot more time while the building was used mainly for storage of their belongings and food. I will henceforth refer to the fixed building as the "house" and the roofed shelter as the "hut" (also see photo on p. 32).

The house

The house had two doors: one wooden main door that led into the ground floor and one metal door that was reached by a ladder made from a log with steps carved into it (see photo on p. 67). Mostly Clemencia climbed up and down this ladder in order to get food or wool. The first floor was not used for anything else but storage and resembled an attic rather than a habitable storey. The ceiling of this upper floor was not very high, and the roof was slanted so that at the lower end one could not stand upright on the unstable logs that made up the floor. Some of Clemencia and Germán's clothes, wool and food were stored up there. There was a

window built into the wall which was covered with cardboard. The walls were built from big adobe bricks.[12] As they were not very even inside the house, small objects were stuck between bricks into little gaps and hanging from hooks and nails. On the outside wall facing the patio the same was done. There was also a shelf on that outside wall. Small objects like plastic bottles or bowls were placed on it.

The metal door that led into the upper part was always locked with a padlock. It was the only entrance; there was no connection between ground and first floor inside the house. A slant tin roof (*calamina*) covered this first floor. Only two other houses in Cabreca had a tin roof. All other ones had thatched roofs. In other Andean places the tin roof has been identified as a prestige object (Albó et. al. 1989: 101; Gose 1991: 43). However, during the wettest time of the year, it did not stop rain from entering the house, either. Water even reached the ground floor. A couple of times Germán climbed up a shaky ladder and onto the roof in order to fix a few holes. Like the thatched roofs the tin roof needed maintenance and repair.

The ground floor of the house was not very high. It was hard to stand upright especially because of many objects dangling from the ceiling, from beams and from the walls. These objects could be clothes, buckets and baskets with foodstuffs, tools, spindles, torches or anything else that the family possessed. When entering the house, one found an elevated area to the left resembling a bed made of adobe bricks. However, there was no mattress or any other soft lining. We only spent a few nights during the rainy season inside the house. The rest of the year we slept outside the house, mostly in the hut. A lot of the time the elevated space was covered with foodstuffs and with my bags. Apart from this "bed" there was no furniture in the house. All the space was taken up by things placed on the floor and hanging from the walls and ceiling.

The hut

Most of the everyday life at home happened outside in the patio or in the hut beside the house. I never noticed a special Quechua name for the hut and often called it the "kitchen hut" in my fieldnotes as the fireplace was under this roof for most of the year. But this description is not accurate as we also slept there. When I arrived in Cabreca and visited Clemencia's house for the first time in October 2008, the fireplace was outside in the patio beside a short wall, approximately 1.5 m high, which confined the patio on that side, separating it from the

[12] For a detailed description of the making of adobe bricks, see Orlove 1998: 210.

field that lay beside the house. This wall gave shelter from the wind, and as it was dry during that time, Clemencia cooked there. During the rainy season the hearth was moved under the roof of the hut into the right corner beside the entrance. As the roof was mainly made of *ichhu*, long highland grass, and there were no walls, the smoke could escape, but at the same time the fireplace was protected against wind and rain. A small piece of corrugated metal standing up beside the hearth and leaning against the roof served as a protective wall. When it was dry, the hearth was moved outside again, this time to another spot at the margin of the yard.

Fig. 8: Clemencia and Este in front of the newly thatched hut. Smoke is rising from the hearth under the roof. In the background small thatched shelters for the hens and the pig.

The hut was unique. Although other homes had open shelters, too, I did not see another hut like Clemencia's. It consisted of six poles and some slim timber logs which formed the skeleton of the roof. When newly thatched the roof was impermeable. However, when it was worn and during the heaviest rain, like in the main building, water entered. The hut was not high enough for adults to stand upright in it. Under the old worn roof it was even hard to sit upright. There was a bench consisting of two rocks and a plank on top of them on the left and the hearth on the right hand side. Apart from that the floor was bare. Like the beams and openings in the house the roof of the hut was also used for storing small objects. Clemencia stuck her spindles, wool, spoons, small plastic bags or single maize cobs into the roof.

Fig. 9: Clemencia and Germán's wasi. *Clemencia is cooking in the hut.*

Fig. 10: Ribu and Este (her nephew) under the thatched roof of the hut. Small objects are stuck between the beams and the ichhu.

Spaces in Cabreca are flexible in their layout and in their usage. While in other Andean places it is sometimes stressed that the kitchen is separate from the main living part of the house and as such a separate space characterised as female (e.g. Brush 1977: 28, Ferraro 2008, Weismantel 1989: 57), in Cabreca this is hardly ever the case. The hearth is almost universally used by women but is not easily separated from other living spaces. In other, bigger households, the "kitchen" was sometimes within a solid adobe house rather than just under a thatched roof. However, other activities always took place in those enclosed spaces as well. When it was raining, we had the meals in the hut and any form of social gathering took place under the roof. And at night blankets were spread on its floor as for most of the year we slept in it as well. It was also the space where much conversation happened just before going to sleep.

The patio

The patio was only confined by the main building, the hut on one side of it and a high wall which was only about 2 m long on the other side. Consequently it only had two corners but was open and had no clear boundaries. This was not the norm. Other patios in Cabreca were confined by walls on all sides. Much of everyday life and smaller *fiesta* celebrations happened in patios. When it was not raining, most of the different steps of food preparation were often performed outdoors. The grinding stone was in the patio. Guests sat down on a weaving on a rock or the ground in the patio, we ate in the patio, and when it was not very cold, we slept in the patio a few times as well.

*The garden (*huerta*)*

The small "garden", an area contained by stone walls, was behind the house on the side that was facing the rest of Cabreca. This area was hardly ever used. In the dry season Germán grew some lettuce there. Gardening is not common in Cabreca as there are no effective ways of guarding fruit or vegetables from animals. Germán once asked me if I could bring some carrot, tomato and lettuce seeds back from town which I did. But he only ever succeeded in growing some lettuce. Clemencia used the garden once when she put up her weaving loom in the shade of the house because it was too hot and sunny in the patio.

Renovations, maintenance and change

In January 2009 Germán and Leo re-thatched the hut. On a dry morning they took down the roof, taking all the grass off and the skeleton of logs apart. Afterwards Germán and Leo took

a few drams of alcohol and made a libation. My task on that day was to mind our two donkeys, so I took them to a nearby hillside where they could graze. When I returned in the afternoon, the hut had been completely renovated. Germán and Leo had rebuilt the wooden framework and covered the roof with fresh *ichhu* which they had collected nearby. The hut was now higher so that I could sit upright in most parts of it. A few days later Germán arrived with some long, narrow pieces of corrugated metal sheets. These were placed on top of parts of the new *ichhu* roof, and thus we were more protected from incoming rain. *Ichhu* is the Quechua name for the bunch grass that is found in the Andean highlands. There are several types[13], but all show the characteristics that make the grass suitable for roofing: it grows in "dense, deeply rooted clumps 5 to 20 centimetres in diameter and 15 to 60 centimetres high, composed of many single blades" (Orlove 1977: 82). Above all each blade is very strong and not easily torn. In Cabreca *ichhu* can be found on the mountains surrounding the hamlet whose peaks are around 3,450 to 3,600 metres high. I soon learnt another use of *ichhu*: In order to light the fire Clemencia sometimes pulled a small bunch out of the roof and used it as firelighter. Especially on wet days when the firewood was damp, this was helpful.

As renovations and maintenance work take place, the Cabreca house is regularly changed which contributes to the flexible nature of the home. Houses, as Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones say, are "dynamic entities" rather than being fixed (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 37). Similarly Tim Ingold, following Suzanne Blier, calls houses "living organisms" with "life-histories" (Ingold 2000: 187). In Stuart Brand's words "[v]ernacular buildings evolve. As generations of new buildings imitate the best of mature buildings, they increase in sophistication while retaining simplicity. They become finely attuned to the local weather and local society." (Brand 1994: 132) Although Clemencia's house did not appear to be sophisticated in any way, the small changes that were made to it changed and improved our usage of the space. A historical study could possibly confirm long-term changes in Cabreca which would show the increase in sophistication of houses over time.

[13] Orlove specifies the three genera *Stipa*, *Festuca* and *Calamagrostis* (Orlove 1977: 82).

Fig. 11: Clemencia at the hearth as it has been moved outside and to the margin of the patio. A particularly big cooking pot is used: Clemencia and Germán are making chicha.

Other* wasis *and characters of Cabreca

My experience of staying with Clemencia and Germán and spending days and nights in their *wasi* gave me a particularly good knowledge of their routines and the space as used by them. However, I also got an insight into the routines of other households and into their use of space. Other homes in Cabreca looked slightly different although each home was characterised by the typical flexible nature. Often they were bigger and had an additional building when the household group that lived there was bigger. I got to know some of the homesteads better over time, especially when I stayed overnight and was able to observe the family's evening and morning routines including the meals. Other homes in Cabreca had other layouts. The hut at Clemencia and Germán's was unusual, and the open patio differed from other, more closed ones. Some others had a complete small wall around their patio. The detailed description of features of other *wasis* also allows me to introduce some characters with whom I spent much time. As I spent most time with women and these often used other women's first names when talking about a *wasi* or a whole family, I am adopting this way here.

Felipa's wasi

Felipa and her family often invited me especially during the early months of my stay. The four children between four and 16 years old, Candelaria, Luisa, Teofilo and Zacarias, were always keen on asking me things and spending time with me while her husband Reynaldo was suspicious of me and my presence in Cabreca and occasionally expressed these suspicions.[14] One day, when I was alone at home, Felipa's daughter Luisa (approximately 12 years old) came to visit me and told me that I should go home with her, so that the two of us did not have to spend the night alone. The rest of the family were staying at a temporary home, but Luisa had been sent to the hamlet to make sure the two hens that had been left behind were protected overnight. As a newcomer I was hesitant because I was not sure if Clemencia would wonder where I was and whether it was acceptable to leave without letting her know. Luisa assured me that Clemencia had actually sent her. The two had met herding and talked about me being alone at home. Later I also learnt that it would have been no problem for Clemencia to find out where I was as Cabrequeños know a lot about each other's whereabouts. It is not unusual for household members to disappear without communicating it directly.

I followed Luisa to her home which I had visited before. However, I had only been to the patio which was rather big, elevated and completely enclosed within a low stone wall with a small entrance. Additionally the home consisted of two buildings that were fixed and had adobe walls. As it was raining badly, we went into the house with the hearth, and Luisa prepared dinner indoors. A little neighbour girl of about 6 years joined us and stayed for the night as well. When we had finished dinner, we moved over to the second house where we spread out blankets and spent the night. This night was the only time I ever experienced such obvious spatial separation of hearth and sleeping space. In drier weather Felipa and her family spent most time outdoors both cooking and sleeping in the yard.

[14] Particularly when drunk Reynaldo questioned my motivations a few times asking what I was doing for the community, e.g. if I could help with road building, and made some remarks on my incapacity to share and invite.

Fig. 12: A corner of Felipa's patio. A stone wall separates it from the slope. Blankets are left out to be aired. The four poles that are stuck into the ground are part of a weaving loom.

Leoncia's wasi

Leoncia is Clemencia's sister. As she married a Cabrequeño, Pedro, she lives in Cabreca, too. I spent the evening with them once. I had spent the day at their house, and as they knew I would be on my own for the night (Clemencia had travelled to Llustaque), they insisted that I stayed at least for dinner if not for the night. Leoncia and her six children were always very talkative with me even though we had difficulties at the start trying to understand each other. I much preferred their teasing me, often without me understanding much, to those people who gave up on communicating with me because of initial problems and misunderstandings. Their home also had a more enclosed patio than Clemencia's. And again there were two buildings. However, in this home one was used for storage and one for cooking, eating and sleeping. The night I stayed for the evening meal the two youngest children fell asleep even before the meal was ready. And as it was getting dark, two of the older children got comfortable and ready to go to sleep immediately after the meal. The grinding stone, unlike in most other households where it was outside in the yard, was inside that house as well.

Ester's wasi

Ester and her husband Herminio were the first people to ask me whether I would be their son Severo's godmother[15]. Before that our relationship had been strengthened by visits and conversations already. They lived close to Clemencia's *wasi* and collected water from the same water hole. Not only Ester and Herminio had always invited me to food; even the little children always wanted to share their food with me. Their home had a remarkable layout as it was attached to another household, that of Pastora and Nicolas and their children. The two patios were attached in a way so that one could not see each other all the time but could via a few steps reach the other patio. Again Ester's patio was more enclosed than Clemencia's. There was a building whose door was reached by several steps. I only ever saw this building used for storage of food and clothes. One part of the patio that was enclosed was covered by an *ichhu* roof. Under this roof Ester cooked and the family slept. Pastora's adjoined home had two buildings.

Eulogia's wasi

Eulogia and Martín were the second couple that asked me to be their daughter Senoya's godmother. As our nearby neighbours they often knew when I was at home alone and towards the end of my stay often invited me over.[16] Martín was often away so that I spent most of that time with Eulogia and her six children. Additionally Martín's mother lived in the same home. While this home was very close to Clemencia and Germán's, the family strikingly had a second smaller home in Cabreca. This second home lay along the way out of Cabreca towards Surumi. It was also close to Leoncia's home. I had passed it many times and only seldom seen people there from afar. Only later I realised that they were Eulogia and Martín and that they had two *wasis*. As Martín's mother was a widow, they shared the household with her and stayed together in the bigger home most of the time. The smaller second home was mainly used for storage of some things. The main home consisted of two buildings. One was used for storage. So was the other one, but when I stayed overnight at Eulogia's, some of the children also slept in it. The rest of us slept outside in the patio. Eulogia and her daughters also cooked in the patio. I did not spend much time with them yet during the rainy season but assume that they cooked in one of the buildings then.

[15] The relationship of people involved in godparenthood (*compadrazgo*) is discussed below.

[16] There is no word that Cabrequeños use to talk about neighbours. Houses are scattered around the hamlet. I use the term "neighbour" in order to talk about those who lived closest to us.

As one of their temporary homes lay on the way between the hamlet and one of our temporary homes, I also spent some time with them there a few times as they invited me in when I was on the way down (*uraman*) to our maize fields or back up (*pataman*) to Cabreca from those fields. Eulogia and Martín had erected a temporary shelter in a field consisting of a simple roof and a hearth and grinding stone. Although this field of theirs was only about 20 minutes away from their main residence in the hamlet and this was a big family with six children, at least part of the household moved down during the time of fertilisation when goats and sheep were kept in that field. As will become clear later, this close relationship of people and their goats and sheep and the common movement in this particular form are a characteristic of the *chawpirana*.

Lucia's wasi

Lucia and Anastacio are Germán's parents. As the relationship between Clemencia and her parents-in-law is not a very warm one, she did not like to see me at their house. However, they were always very friendly and helpful to me, and I enjoyed spending time with them. Although I recall spending time there only once together with Clemencia, I spent time at their *wasi* more often with Germán or with others, often during fiestas. Lucia and Anastacio had two buildings; one was round and one rectangular. Round houses are associated with earlier times and pre-Inca construction styles.[17] The round house was used as kitchen, but I also slept in it once. Felipa and Anastacio were there as well that night. The rectangular house was used for storage, and I also saw Lucia spending the night in it. The grinding stone was outside near the entrance of the round house.

[17] Spaniards who had arrived to the Andes favoured rectangular buildings as the straight walls conformed to the furniture that they regarded as indispensable, i.e. beds and tables (Gade 1992: 471).

Fig. 13: Lucia's homestead.
The round house is framed by green plants after the rainy season.

Variation

The differences between *wasis* may have several reasons. On the one hand the way a home looks is pragmatically connected to the size of the household. Mary Weismantel (1989) describes the gradual separation of children in households in Zumbagua in Andean Ecuador: While young children sleep with their parents in the kitchen, older children might sleep in a storage room, or small separate dormitories might be built. The latter is also the case when children marry and stay at the household. Only when they have several small children themselves, they start building their own household, which means having a separate hearth. In Cabreca these processes are not so obvious and happen with more flexibility. But some homesteads may have developed in a similar way and were thus more elaborate than Clemencia and Germán's home, having two or even three fixed buildings. Furthermore the appearance of a *wasi* depends on its position. Not much everyday traffic passed Clemencia's house. This may be one of the reasons why the patio was not enclosed by a small wall which surrounded most other patios in order to shelter the home. As Clemencia and Germán do not have a big family, the house may not have developed as much as those of bigger families do. In many of the living arrangements in Cabreca having a storehouse is priority. Foodstuffs are protected and stored in stable buildings while all other elements of living space are more

flexible. The idea of a fixed building is more connected to a granary and storehouse than to a dwelling house. Dwelling happens in the space that is part of the *wasi* but used flexibly. The focus of the subsistence activities of the inhabitants is reflected in this. Their produce needs to be stored and protected inside the house while other areas are not bounded.

Nights in the home

When sleeping in the hamlet, Clemencia, Germán and I mostly spent the nights, alone or together with any visitors that might have been staying, in the hut. Only during the rainy season, before the roof of the hut was re-thatched, we spent some nights in the main house, and during some warmer but still dry nights we slept in the patio. While Mary Weismantel observes the clear separation of eating and sleeping as separate categories in Zumbagua (Weismantel 1989: 60), this boundary is missing in Cabreca. When sleeping in the hut, we occasionally had the very first or the late evening meal while staying or getting comfortable under the blankets. Every night blankets and sheep and goat skins were laid out as padding and insulation. Further blankets or ponchos were used as pillows and as covers. I had a sleeping bag with me that I used and also carried with me when travelling to other communities. As it was a very light one, most people who investigated it mistrusted its usefulness. I was always given additional blankets despite my reaffirmation that I was warm enough. In order to get ready for the night Cabrequeños take their rubber sandals, which are made from old car-tyres, and hats off. They do not take any other clothes off but huddle under the blankets.

Every household in Cabreca and in nearby communities that I visited had plenty of blankets and covers, bought or woven, so that visitors could be catered for. During June and July they were particularly needed as temperatures dropped dramatically at night. As the days were mostly sunny during that dry season, the difference between day and night was felt strongly. During that time it was not unusual to wake up in the hut in the morning and be able to glance at a thin layer of hoarfrost covering the ground of the patio. Due to the strong insolation during those months this layer would disappear soon after sunrise. In the morning the blankets were sometimes spread out in the sun to dry or to be aired. Most of the time they were folded up and left in one corner of the hut or in the house. Every now and again people spread the blankets and looked for fleas. This required good eyesight and quick reaction as the fleas jumped about erratically. Once I had caught a flea, I squeezed it between my thumbnails to make sure it would not jump off again. Clemencia and some other women I observed catching fleas stuck them in their mouths and killed them by biting on them. In lower altitudes there

are more fleas. In Llustaque, which, although it can be reached in two to three hours walking, lies about 800 m lower than Cabreca, there were many more than in Cabreca.

Some nights Clemencia and I were sleeping alone in the hut as Germán was travelling or visiting other households overnight. More often, however, there were additional people staying with us. Faustina and her two little sons, Esteban and Efraim, were our most frequent overnight visitors when Germán was away. Faustina's husband Virgilio and her parents-in-law travelled a lot.[18] As she had strong ties with Clemencia – both are from Llustaque – she often spent time with her when Germán was away as well rather than being at home on her own with the small boys. Clemencia was delighted to have her company, and they often prepared food later than usually and talked until late. Wishing for company and social exchange instead of being alone, as the children would sleep earlier, was one reason for these visits. Another reason might be fear of the *kuku*. In the dictionary *kuku* is translated into the Spanish *duende, fantasma* (Laime Ajacopa 2007). It means spirit, ghost or bogeyman. Inge Bolin mentions "*kukuchi*, ghosts that are believed to appear at night, speaking [to children] in a high voice" (Bolin 2006: 31). They are sometimes talked about in order to intimidate children. Clemencia also told me a few times that *almas wañusqa* (dead souls, the souls of the dead) would come and visit at night. A few times, when both Clemencia and Germán were away or when I was staying in one of the temporary shelters on my own for a few nights, I encountered people asking me if the *kuku* had not or would not come and if I was not afraid to be on my own.

Spending the night together with others did not only mean sharing the sleeping space. Especially when visitors were around, it was not unusual to wake people up in the middle of the night. I often woke up from other people having conversations. And sometimes they woke me up specifically to involve me in these conversations. One very early morning, as it was still dark, Clemencia woke me up just in order to ask me whether I had slept well. Small children similarly would be wakened. No matter what age or how hard they had worked the previous day, children were always wakened early in the morning, too. Early morning visitors sometimes arrived when I was still asleep. One morning around 4 o'clock I was woken up

[18] Clemencia often told me that Faustina's husband Virgilio was in Cochabamba, while her parents-in-law spent much time in Colquechaca. I met her mother-in-law in Colquechaca once where she told me that they had another home there.

because someone was looking for a diarrhoea remedy.[19] Overall the social exchanges between household members and other kin continue at night. Being alone is avoided.

Household representation

Rockefeller stresses the importance of the Andean house as "incorporated into circulations of people, water, goods, and information" and connected to other houses and places (Rockefeller 2010: 71). Beside the home some ethnographers in the Andes have described the *chakra* (agricultural field) as the other main location of household activity, as "a powerful object and symbol that conveys states of being and feeling" (Mayer 2002: 2). As such the *chakra* has been seen as the site of much nurturing and activity, particularly male activity. In ritual contexts women's fertility is linked to the virgins (*wirjinas*) in specific *chakras*. This spatial distinction was in Cabreca life, as I experienced it, not necessarily always as clear-cut as it sometimes comes across in the existing literature. This is also due to the existence of multiple homes that lay beside or even in the *chakra*. It is generally true that the domestic sphere is linked to the women. Clemencia often asked me if I had been to Felipa's, Ester's or Leoncia's instead of mentioning other names from the family.[20] For Quirpini Rockefeller describes the opposite, i.e. that households are talked about in terms of male household heads and their first names (Rockefeller 2010). This could depend on who is speaking. Clemencia used female names as she was socialising more with other women than with men and associated the homes with their female heads. As a household member and a female I gradually gained some access to the domestic sphere, certainly that of Clemencia's household.

In official community meetings (*reuniones*) in Cabreca, however, men represent their households, which seemingly supports Rockefeller's observation in Quirpini. The only time that women attend a meeting is when their husbands are travelling or are otherwise unavailable. Women can then substitute the males and represent the household. Although always curious at what was being discussed I did not invite myself to the meetings and

[19] As my first ever appearance in Cabreca was when I came together with the health care team, some people assumed that I had medical knowledge and had brought a lot of pharmaceuticals. One day Anastacio was feeling unwell. I did not have anything left that I thought was going to help him. Because I did not want to appear mean and because I felt sorry for him, I gave him a multivitamin supplement. Fortunately he was better soon. Particularly when elderly people asked me to bring back a remedy for their fading eyesight, I could not help them but said I would see whether there was something appropriate available in town.

[20] Surnames are hardly ever used. I mostly encountered surnames mentioned in formal contexts, for example when written documents were involved, or when people were specifically trying to explain kinship relationships to me. Even though the same first name can occur up to three times in Cabreca, people can always easily deduct from the context which Mario or which Faustina one is talking about.

interfere with this pattern. However, I attended three meetings: the first one just after my arrival, where I was introduced and asked the attendants for their permission to stay in Cabreca, and two other ones that I was explicitly invited to. At one of these later meetings Germán was not present. But Clemencia had not gone, either.[21] When the teacher, who was leading this meeting, was checking the attendance and nobody confirmed to be representing our household, somebody suggested that I was there and hence the household was represented. Only later I realised that there were penalties for not attending. Perhaps the heckler was only suggesting my official attendance jokingly. Or perhaps he considered me as a full member of the household that could substitute the male head, Germán, at that stage. In connection with the attendance at such meetings it is important to note that, although the male typically represents the household at these meetings, decisions are taken by the married couple as a unit at home.[22]

Enrique Mayer describes how getting information was easier for him when talking to people, i.e. mostly men, in the *chakra*. For me as a female ethnographer it was harder to get information that way. I was not taken along so much but spent a considerable amount of time at home. There I gradually gathered information and knowledge about Cabreca life. When a male friend of mine came for a short visit, he was immediately invited to a football training match and thus met a lot of people in only one afternoon. And even though he had no knowledge of the Quechua language, he was somehow told a lot of things in that short time which he reported back to me. My role in the household and in Clemencia and Germán's lives meant that I did not spend as much time with men as a male anthropologist would have.[23] My

[21] I am not sure whether Clemencia was too busy with tasks that she could not delegate to someone else or whether she was avoiding these public occasions. I sometimes had the feeling that she was shying away from certain social fiesta events as well.

[22] Catherine Allen draws a beautiful and accurate analogy between such male-dominated meetings and a theatre production: "If my experience in Sonqo had been limited to these formal public occasions, I would have thought that women had no voice at all in the running of the *ayllu*. The assembly creates the impression that decision-making is the province of vigorous males, with women and old men excluded from the political process. But like a stage play, this public drama fixes our attention on the actors alone, obscuring the fact that the action is produced and directed behind the scenes." (Allen 1988: 120) Andrew Canessa states that at his fieldsite in Northern La Paz "women are considered heads of household even though men represent the household at the community level and beyond." (Canessa 2005: 142)

[23] Before going to Northern Potosí I had enjoyed Henry Stobart's work on music in the Andes very much (Stobart 2006). But from the start it was clear to me that I would not be able to conduct a similar study and investigate the music of the *chawpirana* in a similar way as all instrumentalists are male. When I borrowed a *kitarra* (small guitar) at a fiesta once and tried my hand at it, a young man told me that I should not play as only males do. Women sing as do men.

frustration about this faded with time as I learnt to value the knowledge that I could gain by spending time with the women of Cabreca, particularly Clemencia.

Kinship and the family

During the early weeks of my stay in Cabreca visitors, who came to see Clemencia, frequently asked her if I was eating well. This question was not only related to worries about my physical nutrition but also to my settling in and belonging to the household. Ethnographers of the Andean region have stated that eating together leads to relatedness. Emilia Ferraro, for instance, concludes that "in the Andes, eating – rather than sex – provides the master metaphors for kinship" (Ferraro 2008: 269). Feeding creates kin (Harvey 1998: 74), and "only sharing of food creates membership in a household and a family" (Weismantel 1989: 67).[24]

As visits are very common in Cabreca, there are often people present, during day time as well as at night, who do not belong to the household per se but are frequently kin. This does not change the way household members move and act in their home considerably. As every space is flexible and often multifunctional, there is not much gendered division of space. The hearth is the domain of the women, but as it is not surrounded by a big exclusive area or even in a separate room, i.e. a kitchen, the distinction from other space is not big. Household members move freely in the home, and while guests do usually not enter the storage, they quickly get incorporated into most other parts of the *wasi*. When visiting during the preparation of a meal, female visitors often take over some of the tasks of the food preparation process. All visitors, when staying overnight, join the household members to sleep amongst the hosts. Discussing the household and family in Cabreca means disengaging from contemporary capitalist views "of the household as a separate, private sphere" (Harris 1981: 138). The *wasi* in Cabreca is more open and flexible as a space. It is also part of a tight net of households. It is "a set of ongoing economic activities, a relation of production, consumption and reproduction" (Weismantel 1989: 56).

It was difficult for me at first to understand the kinship ties in Cabreca. I understood late and after a lot of confusion that *subrinus* (from Spanish *sobrino*: nephew) could be one's siblings' sons but also one's cousins' sons. Germán introduced me to many *irmanus* (Spanish *hermano*: brother), and later I realised that some of them were cousins. Germán and Clemencia

[24] For more general discussions of eating and relatedness see Carsten 2004 and Sahlins 2013.

explained to me once that it was good of me to lend some money to a young man who had asked me for some because not only was he a good boy but also a *subrinu*. I know that his parents were not siblings of either Germán or Clemencia. What caused further confusion was that Clemencia said about people: *'kay waway'* ('This is my child.') when she wanted to express that a young woman was *like* a daughter to her. Also some children that would visit from the neighbouring community called Clemencia *'jatun mamay'* (my grandmother) while she at the same time was complaining so much about not having any children apart from Javier who had left. She called the mother of these children *'waway'* (my child) but also introduced me to the woman's biological mother.[25] Another term that was used occasionally was the word *kuraq*. It means elder, and I had come across it in literature as being used to address one's oldest sibling. However, as I learnt, it was also used as a respectful address of an older person.

Relatedness in Cabreca can indeed mean being related by blood. Additionally affinal relations enter into households and thus open them up to new social networks. Residence in Cabreca is virilocal. That means that young women from other communities generally move to Cabreca when they get married. Many wives in Cabreca are from the two neighbouring communities Iru and Llustaque. Clemencia has one sister in Cabreca (Leoncia), one in Llustaque and a brother and a sister in Iru. Her parents were from Iru and Llustaque. When young women arrive, they get incorporated into the husbands' families. Krista Van Vleet describes this incorporation in Sullk'ata in Macha's neighbouring *ayllu* Pocoata as a long process. A young woman does not only have to learn practical skills that might be performed differently in their home communities. The process of being incorporated into a new family and a new community implicates a transformation of the woman's body which happens "over a long period as a woman eats food grown in the same plot and cooked in the same pot as her in-laws, as she sleeps in the same bed with her husband, as she bears a child nurtured with her blood and milk" (Van Vleet 2011: 857). She moves away from her network of kin at home, and "she also moves away from the material sources through which her body developed, and the familiar pantheon of sacred places" (Van Vleet 2002: 578). Relatedness is achieved through "feeding, eating, and working together" (ibid. 579). A difficult relationship with her mother-in-law is often another issue a young woman has to deal with (ibid. 567, Harvey

[25] Other authors discuss the confusing use of kinship terminology elsewhere in Bolivia and in the Andes, e.g. the use of *tía/tío* (Spanish aunt/ uncle) for addressing many different adults (Spedding 1998: 119) and the use of sibling terms for cousins (Custred 1977: 119, Isbell 1985: 99). Billie Jean Isbell explains that the Spanish terms have replaced Quechua vocabulary which referred to the exact relations more accurately (Isbell 1985: 100).

1998). Henry Stobart describes young women's move to Kalankira as "a radical disjunction in social relations and way of life" (Stobart 2006: 104). Leaving everything behind "a woman metaphorically 'dies'" (ibid. 115). While marrying can thus mean a painful departure from her home for a young woman, it is also an opportunity for the newlyweds' respective families to establish new ties with their new in-laws. The search for and choice of a wife or a husband may even be motivated by this opportunity as "marrying into a family means entering into a new set of social relations that must be delicately negotiated" (Leinaweaver 2008: 97).

Compadrazgo

While marriage is one way of forming new kin ties, the system of *compadrazgo* (godparenthood) is used by everybody in order to expand their net of close ties to people who are not kin by blood. It has also been described as "spiritual kinship" (e.g. Gose 1991: 43, Rengifo Vasquez 1998a: 91) or "fictive kinship" (e.g. Diaz & Potter 1967: 157).

I have already mentioned that two families in Cabreca asked me to be their children's godmother (*madrina*). Ester one day came to our house in order to ask me if I would be Severino's *madrina* and hence the *comadre* (literally co-mother) of the whole family. I had already spent time with the family and found them very friendly. I was delighted to agree, and Ester kissed my hand and thanked me several times. This was in June, and the baptism would be a few days later at Corpus when the Padre was due to visit. I told Clemencia later that day that Ester had been there to ask me to be Severino's *madrina*, and she seemed delighted, too. At first I thought she was perhaps proud and also relieved that I had settled in well. Later on I also realised that the link between *compadres* (co-parents) does not only involve individuals but also whole households and networks of already existing links. Hence this was a connection between our two households. In this case the connection already existed, as Clemencia later told me that she was also Severino's older brother Tibu's *madrina*, and was strengthened through a second godmotherhood.

Eulogia only asked me on the day of the baptism whether I would be Senoya's *madrina*. In contrast to the previous request of Severo's family I was surprised at this request as we had not communicated much up to that moment. Senoya's father Martín had become *alcalde* (mayor) of Cabreca a few months earlier, and I had helped him by reading a letter that was calling him to a meeting in Surumi. Apart from that we had not spent much time together or got to know each other well. From Senoya's baptism on our relationship grew very strong.

Even more spontaneous was the third time that I was asked to be a godmother. I was at the fiesta in Surumi at the beginning of September. During the previous weeks I had walked to different communities in order to be able to compare Cabreca with some other places in the area and contextualise my observations. After a month of being en route I had returned to Cabreca in order to get on the way to Surumi again the following day together with Clemencia. After the first night, which I had spent in a little bedroom together with two women belonging to the Padre's staff, I was standing in the door which faces the square and looked at the busy goings-on. Occasionally people started chatting to me or invited me to drink some alcohol in order to bless the virgin of Surumi.

After a short conversation with a very friendly young man from Qalasaya, who introduced himself as Juan, he asked me whether I would be his daughter's godmother. It had been a very nice and friendly conversation, and although I had never seen Juan before, I agreed. Juan must have known that he and his family would not see me much and that I would not be able to be in close contact with Albina, a shy little girl I met a few minutes later. Juan first went to get a bottle of beer in order to toast to our agreement. Then he left again in order to look for his wife Victoria, their daughter and their younger son. We spent some hours together that day, and I visited the family in their home community Qalasaya a few weeks later. Through the baptism I had become Albina's *madrina* but also the family's *comadre*. They knew that I would not stay for a very long time after we had met, and yet they chose the tie between us. On the one hand their choice may have been connected to their own social status. While one achieves a better reputation the more *compadres* one has (see also Molinié-Fioravanti 1982: 225), having a foreigner as *comadre* might have the same motivation. And as Allen says, "influence and access to money may prove advantageous" (Allen 1988: 88) when choosing *compadres*. Sydney Mintz and Eric Wolf define two different types of godparenthood: a horizontal relationship "when linking together members of the same class" and a vertical one "when tying together members of different classes" (Mintz & Wolf 1950: 342). In my case my *compadres* chose a vertical bond as I appeared very wealthy in comparison to them.

Soon after the baptisms in Cabreca I planned to go to Sucre. When I started planning the trip and said that I would be away for a few days, Clemencia asked me if I would bring back clothes for my *ahijadus* (Spanish *ahijados*: godchildren). She mentioned this again and again, and some other women asked me the same question. Bit by bit I realised that I was expected to do so as the newly appointed godmother. I bought a dress for Senoya and a pair of trousers for Severino whom I had never seen wearing trousers. Toddlers mostly wear a top only and

gradually become "toilet-trained" before they wear trousers. I always saw Severino in a jumper that was very big for him. Lindsey Crickmay points to a close link between dress and language which is also observed in small children. Only when they begin to speak, do they start wearing clothing marking their sex. According to her observations both language and dress signify that the child is becoming a person (Crickmay 1992: 5; cf. Harris 1980: 72). In Cabreca it is also a material and practical issue. Severino was always wearing his older siblings' old clothes. Apart from the dress and trousers I bought a few blouses and sweatshirts. Both families were very pleased with the new clothes and changed the children into a new set immediately.[26] Through this traditional gift the bond between us as *compadres* was formalised further.

Through being a godmother, my social ties were strengthened including all the advantages, obligations and expectations that godparenthood entails, and not only the godchildren themselves and their parents and siblings but also their relatives were calling me *'comadre'*. My *compadres* in Cabreca would often invite me to food and hope to get something back from town. On many occasions our *compadrazgo* ties were manifested in gifts of food which supports Weismantel's conclusion that "[f]ood, not blood, is the tie that binds" (Weismantel 1988: 171). By the time I left Cabreca I felt that I had become part of my *compadres'* families almost as much as of Clemencia and Germán's.

In a looser sense *comadre* and *compadre* seem to be used to address what we would call "friends". Jaime was a young man from Llustaque who spent much time in Cabreca as his wife was from there (I passed their *wasi* in Llustaque by chance once and visited her as she was weaving and looking after her little son). They were very friendly to me, and Jaime asked me at a fiesta relatively early on during my stay if I would be his *comadre*. I was not sure at the time what the question meant exactly but agreed. From then on he called me *comadre* whenever we met, and I imitated him and called him *compadre*.

The anthropologist as household member

After I moved in with my hosts, I soon became a household member. At the beginning of my stay I felt like a guest and was not sure of my own role in Clemencia and Germán's lives.

[26] When I bought these clothes, I was reminded of how small and skinny Cabreca children were in comparison to the urban children that the clothes had been designed for. The clothes for two-year-olds were much too big for Senoya and Severino. This sort of difference was shown to me on another scale when I bought a little waistcoat for my new-born nephew to send it home. Although I did not even choose the smallest size available, my brother later told me that my nephew could only wear this waistcoat that was supposed to fit 6-months-old Bolivians for a short time after his birth.

However, very quickly they incorporated me into the household in such ways that I felt I was part of the family. A first indication of being integrated into the household as a member and not just as a visitor was language. When I asked Clemencia and Germán questions about ownership, e.g. about who owned certain fields or animals, they would use the pronoun *ñoqanchis* (inclusive: our). The first time I noticed it, this produced surprise and a sense of acceptance and achievement in me. The Quechua language uses two different pronouns for "we", an inclusive one (we = me + you; us + you) and an exclusive one (we = us without you). Consequently, when either Germán or Clemencia talked to me and used the inclusive *ñoqanchis*, they were including me. They were talking about *saranchis* (our maize, i.e. theirs and mine) or *uwijanchis* (our sheep). I was seen as part of the group of owners, part of the household as a unit.[27]

While I was made part of the collective household group when the inclusive pronoun was used, I doubted whether I was a fully-fledged member of the household at other times. When we suspected that the house had been entered and foodstuffs or things been removed[28], Germán and Clemencia decided to use a padlock and did not tell me where the two keys were kept. I am not sure if they were aware of excluding me. The padlock was affixed to a construction of simple wire. That wire itself was very easy to open, which I did a few times when I needed things from the house but found it "locked". The padlock seemed to be used as a device which showed that we had noticed people entering and that nobody should enter without permission. It was not a real security device. At the time I was wondering whether it was my fault that the household had been the target of such break-ins. I feared that in the eyes of other inhabitants I had brought wealth to the household. One day a solar charger for batteries that I had brought was missing. Around that same time a neighbour, elderly Patricia, came for a visit and in tears told Clemencia and me that a considerable amount of money had gone missing from her house. The thief was never caught. Although it was terrible for me to realise that these things were happening in Cabreca, I was also relieved that our household was not the only one experiencing those unpleasant events and that I had not caused Clemencia's house to be the only target. While anyone could enter the patio and the hut and

[27] Mary Weismantel's experience in Zumbagua is that ownership is seen as an individual quality. Little children may be given a row of plants in the field and then care for them (Weismantel 1989: 64). In Cabreca I did not come across individuals talking about personal belongings in the singular.

[28] Several times non-household members seemed to have entered. Many times Clemencia warned me that children would enter and help themselves to things if the door was not closed. Additionally animals were always seen as a threat as they would enter the house and eat stored foodstuffs.

guests were invited to eat and sleep under the roof, the house which was used for storage was restricted to Clemencia, Germán and me and to explicitly invited people.

Reciprocity and sharing of belongings

Sharing the things I had brought to Cabreca at least with Clemencia and Germán was part of being a household member. When I first arrived in Cabreca, I had to get used to this. Not only other household members but also strangers sometimes went through my bag and always asked me a lot of questions about the things I had brought. One day a pair of trousers was missing from my bag. I thought it very unusual for someone to steal trousers. Days later they appeared, and it turned out that Germán had taken them out of the bag and misplaced them in the house. I never found out why and what he had been doing rummaging through my bag in the first place. Although the opportunity would have been there, I never heard of food crops grown in Cabreca being the prey of thieves, neither from fields before the harvest or just afterwards when the crops were stored in the field for some time, nor from the home.[29] Reasons for this could be the high respect Cabrequeños have for each other's work and produce but also the very high risk of being seen.

Later on during my stay, when I had bought things for certain people and brought them back to Cabreca, I sometimes hid them away in my backpack until I would actually deliver them to those people. But during the course of my stay I learnt to share what I would have thought of as my "personal belongings". As I had walked to the community, I did not have many things with me. However, after a while I shared some clothes with my hosts and a few cosmetics. The most difficult thing to not share were foodstuffs. Every time I went to town I bought some tuna, *yupi* (a sherbet brand which everyone knows under this name)[30], sweets, coca and cigarettes: all things that were non-perishable and great to take along when visiting or wanting to thank someone for a favour. They are, however, also the things that people tended to ask me for most. As I did not want to lie nor appear to be mean, I often gave people some of these products and then had none left for several weeks before going back to town.

[29] Brush in contrast describes the surveillance of fields as necessary because crop thieves are common (Brush 1977: 95; cf. Gose 1991: 46). Gelles also speaks of "several incidents of maize theft at harvest time" (Gelles 2000: 20).

[30] *Yupi*, when available, is either drunk as a refreshment, particularly after hard work, or used for a *coctél* (cocktail) with alcohol. However, as each sachet costs Bs. 0.50 when bought individually, this is a special treat to Cabrequeños.

Although people always desired to have things from town, they sometimes did not show great interest in them after the initial joy had waned. Foods were usually guarded better. But one repeated image I remember is either Germán or Clemencia searching for things. Objects that were stored in the house, in the shelter outside and in the patio were not put in the same place every time they were put away. Many times Clemencia was looking for the knife, spoons or her spindle. The handling of material goods seemed contradictory. On the one hand, Clemencia and Germán, but also others, desired to possess objects that they could not easily acquire. They frequently expressed the wish to have certain things that they could not afford. Also the price of things, including food, was always a matter of discussion.[31] On the other hand, they appeared to be nearly careless when it came to looking after the things they did possess even though they had desired them so much and had paid a high price for them. In general, however, objects have a long life span in Cabreca. Stephen Gudeman mentions the creative use and maintenance of things in Colombia: tools are repaired and clothes mended. "Little is thrown away in the hope that it might be reused." (Gudeman 2012: 67) The same is the case in Cabreca.

Lying

Lying is sometimes an acceptable solution when one does not want to share one's belongings with somebody else. Not only did I witness Cabrequeños lying without appearing to find it shameful or morally wrong, also over my time with them I realised that they would not have been shocked had I lied to them. A few times they actually assumed I was lying in order not to share although I was not. We had endless discussions during which people kept asking me to go home and get more cigarettes or coca. I kept reassuring them that I did not have any cigarettes or coca left in Cabreca. They did not believe me and were implying that I was a liar or hiding them. Similarly people, who knew that I had not recently been away from Cabreca, repeatedly asked me to take photographs for them when I had told them that I had lost the camera and could not do so anymore. Perhaps they were assuming that, by saying that I had no camera, I was expressing that I did not feel like taking a picture at that very moment or that I did not want to take one for them. In such situations an evasion may have been a culturally accepted form to express otherwise rude refusals.

Janet Siskind relates about the Sharanahua of Peru that "a lie, even when discovered, as inevitably it is, may be shrugged off with a smile" and that she "learned the Sharanahua art of

[31] Olivia Harris observes the same phenomenon (Harris 1989: 243).

lying" (Siskind 1973: 7). Like Siskind I became more sensitive to the fact that lying was part of life in Cabreca and used in different ways in order not to explicitly deny anyone a share of something. At the time I saw people's asking for more cigarettes as an irritating form of begging. They knew as well as me that I was much wealthier in economic and material terms.

Lying might simply be more accepted than other acts and thus preferred. Margherita Margiotti refers to Cecilia McCallum and the Cashinahua for whom "[c]oncealing food becomes a strategy for sharing with one's closest kin, while not appearing ungenerous to others" (Margiotti 2010: 96). Similarly saying 'no' to someone who asks for something in Cabreca is a bigger offence than lying. One day Fausto, one of our closest neighbours, came to the house and asked Clemencia if he could buy some eggs off her. Regretfully she said "*mana runtu kanchu*" (there are no eggs) although there were six of them lying in a little bowl in the house. At the time I did not understand why she was lying to Fausto at all. But probably she wanted to share those eggs with someone else or keep them for an upcoming special occasion. However, telling Fausto this was out of the question as it would have been against the rules of Cabreca sociality. Whether he knew that Clemencia was lying or not does not matter much. More importantly she did not overtly deny him the eggs that she had.

'Borrowing'

During the first few weeks of my stay in Cabreca the following series of incidents made me consciously reflect for the first time on my role in the household and on the role I played in Clemencia and Germán's lives. Before I arrived in Cabreca, I had planned to study the weavings produced in the *chawpirana*. I had read literature on weavings and had looked at weavings from other regions in shops and in pictures. On a visit to Tarabuco, a popular tourist destination in the departamento of Chuquisaca, I found some very small weavings on sale which showed some features typical of the weavings of the area. Tarabuco weavings are often in black and white with few colourful strips in them. The design of these weavings typically contains human figures and animals (cf. Cereceda 2006).

I had bought four of these very small, square weavings, between about 5 x 5 cm and 8 x 8 cm. They were very easily carried and yet could perhaps be helpful in triggering some initial conversation between Cabreca women and me about weaving. It turned out that I hardly talked to women about weaving. To begin with, Cabreca women did not weave as much and as regularly as I had anticipated. Secondly, discourse about weaving was even more infrequent. Although women compared each other and each other's weavings, explaining to

me, a complete novice, anything about the material or the technique would not make sense. I would have had to learn weaving like a Cabreca girl, i.e. by seeing an older woman weaving and recreating the procedure. Clemencia, in my time with her, only got one weaving out a few times, a poncho that she wanted to finish before Carnival. Although I concentrated on other aspects in my research, the little weavings from Tarabuco provoked thoughts about sharing and possessions.

At an earlier stage I had shown the little weavings to Clemencia who asked me if she could have them. As I was hoping to show them to different other women in order to have conversations about weaving, I let her keep one but kept three of them myself. A few days later I was sitting in a maize field guarding the crop from birds and other animals when Candelaria, Germán's niece, came over from another nearby field and asked me if she could borrow the little weavings in order to study the designs and copy them: *pristami* (Spanish, "lend me"). I told her that I only had one of them on me and lent it to her. I also offered to show the other two to her at home if she wanted to come and see them. Candelaria agreed. Later on that evening I saw her approaching from far away and got the two remaining weavings from my bag inside the house. Candelaria had not reached the patio yet and I could see Clemencia being interested, so I showed her the two weavings again. Clemencia, who had seen Candelaria getting closer, took them off me in a hurry by grasping them from my hand, hid them away in her dress and silently signalled me not to disclose them to anyone. Although confused and a little angry with Clemencia I told Candelaria that I did not know where the weavings were at the moment and that I would look for them and let her see them the next day.

Candelaria left after a little chat, and Clemencia pretended that nothing had happened until later on when she presented the weavings from her dress. Germán was arriving that very moment and Clemencia explained to him and started talking to me in a loud voice. I did not understand what exactly she was saying but assumed that she was telling me not to give presents away like that. I tried to explain that the weavings were never going to be presents and that I only wanted to show them to Candelaria. I had only hoped to talk about the weavings. We moved on to cook dinner. But the issue was not resolved yet as became clear the following day. In the morning Clemencia told me again not to give anything to Candelaria. This time she argued: the *siñura* (Candelaria's mother Felipa) had children while she herself did not have any. And thus it was not right to give presents to them. I explained once more that I did not mean to give the weavings away. Once more we left it at that for the

moment. Most of these conversations were in Quechua on Clemencia's part and in a mix of Quechua and Spanish on my part. However, when talking about gifts, the Quechua adaptation of the Spanish *regalar* (to give as a present) was used; people often requested interrogatively: *rigalami* (give it to me as a present?).

When cooking a bit later Clemencia asked me again about the little weavings and wanted to see them. Again she continued telling me not to give them away. When Germán arrived back from some morning chore nearby, she brought the topic up a third time that morning and told him that I was giving presents to other people. At this stage I was becoming impatient and frustrated with my inability to communicate with her and defend myself. My use of the Spanish words *regalar* (give as a present) and *prestar* (borrow/lend) did not seem appropriate and clearing the situation in any way. I tried to explain again and again "*mana rigaluchu*" (it is not a present), but I could not convince Clemencia.

Later that day I was sent to a maize field again in order to watch it. I had been sitting for a few hours, reading, occasionally shooing away some birds and letting my gaze drift along the mountains on the other side of the river. A woman who passed the field with her two-year-old son sat down for a chat. I could not recall having met that woman before, but she clearly knew a lot of things about me. I enjoyed her company and the fact that she made an effort to have a conversation with me. She was not shy and also very nosy. Like other people had done before, this young woman grabbed the little backpack that I had with me and searched through it. After looking at some photocopied articles I had brought along that day and some coloured pencils, she discovered the two remaining Tarabuco weavings. She carefully studied them for a long while and then prompted me: *rigalami*. Being so fed up with the previous frustrating discussion at home, I agreed to lend (*prestar*) her one of the weavings. I was expecting there to be more questions and reprimand from Clemencia, but she never mentioned those little weavings again.

Much later I remembered the incidents and had to admit that neither Candelaria nor that young woman ever returned the weavings to me. However, what exactly were the reasons for Clemencia to be so upset about the situation? Did she perhaps foresee that I would not get the weavings back? Was she warning me from being too generous when it was not appropriate? And how exactly had the situation evolved in the first place? While the young mother found the weavings in my bag by chance, Candelaria approached me asking about the *awayus* (weavings). How did she know about them? I had only shown them to Clemencia at that stage. So did Clemencia herself tell Candelaria about the existence of these weavings? Did

she tell someone else about them who then passed the information on? Or did somebody overhear us talking about them? Judging from her strong reaction and from how much she disliked the fact that Candelaria should borrow one of the weavings it seemed unlikely that Clemencia herself had told her niece about them. When I helped Faustina setting up a new loom some time later, I realised that women often look at weavings in order to copy styles. Faustina had a weaving of Candelaria's with her when deciding how to set up the loom for her own weaving. So perhaps the discussions on the small Tarabuco weavings were not so much about borrowing or giving something material away but about letting other women see new weaving patterns and thus borrow ideas.

Fig. 14: Candelaria's younger sister Luisa sets up her loom beside a wheat field which she is guarding from birds. Luisa was often praised by others as a fast and accurate weaver.

A recurring theme in the whole episode is the use of the term *pristami.* In Spanish the verb *prestar* is used to express both receiving and granting a loan, borrowing and lending. Only from the use of grammar and the context the meaning of the word becomes clear. In Cabreca the Quechua speaking people frequently asked me for things using the Spanish expression *prestame* (*pristami*). At the beginning I translated it as "lend me". But later on I started wondering whether the Quechua-speakers' *pristami* could really be translated as "give me a lend of this".

Candelaria and the young woman "borrowing" the weavings and not returning them are only one example. Many times I was asked for money with the expression. Germán was the first person to ask me for money in that way. Even earlier than the incident with the Tarabuco weavings, less than a week after my arrival, he asked me if I could lend him Bs. 500 so that he could buy rice. This is a huge amount of money for people in Cabreca. I said he could but that I did not have the money on me because we were down (*urapi*) in one of the maize fields. Later on I thought about how much money he was asking for and decided that it would perhaps not be a good idea to start lending him that much money. I was also wondering where he would take the money from to pay me back when he said "*Bs. 500 pristami, ya? pur favur*". And indeed I was never given any money back by Germán. I accepted it as part of our living arrangements that I would occasionally give him some money in order to buy things for the household in town. I was always aware though as well that I should not give my hosts too much money as it could produce envy in the community and be to their disadvantage (cf. Krista Van Vleet 2003b). This first time, when Germán asked me for Bs. 500, I gave him Bs. 200 as a contribution and in exchange for their hospitality.

Germán and less so Clemencia approached me regularly for smaller amounts of money afterwards. Whenever Germán went to town, I gave him some money as I could see how he was spending it for food for the household that I was now part of. However, later on during my stay other people asked me for loans as well. One day a young man that I had got to know as a skilled musician at the fiestas came to our house to ask me for Bs. 100 for travelling to town. He, too, used the expression *pristami pur favur*. I did not know Mario very well and thought it was quite a lot of money. Clemencia took me aside to tell me that Mario was her *subrinu* (nephew) and a good boy and that I should lend him the money. I followed Clemencia's advice and gave Mario Bs. 100. Although I saw him again much later during the year when he had returned from town and mentioned the money to him, I never got the money back. A few days after Mario's petition Clemencia told me that, while I had been away for the afternoon, another young man had come to ask for money but that she had sent him away. Although I was a little annoyed at the fact that Clemencia was deciding who I should lend money to and whom not, I was grateful. I never worked out whether it was a coincidence that the two young men came asking for money in such a short period or whether Mario had told others that he had received the money from me and thus encouraged this second young man to approach me. Towards the end of my stay I encountered Mario's father, Julio, in Colquechaca. He, too, asked me if I could lend him money (again with the word *pristami*). Julio had always been very friendly and welcoming to me. Although I did not see him very

often, he always made an effort to explain things to me and invited me. At that stage I knew that I would not get the money back, also because I was about to leave soon. But I gave him some money anyway.

At the time I had a very narrow-minded view of what the use of the word *prestar* might mean in its specific context. Could the people who used the word and did not pay me back maybe think of a repayment in different terms, not in terms of giving back the same amount of money but something of the same value? Could my loans have been part of the reciprocal system? And could they have been seen as a loan from our household rather than from me as an individual and profited Clemencia and Germán in some way? Rodrigo Sánchez relates money loans to *ayni*, a form of reciprocating help at work. People may "return it when the requirement or opportunity arises" (Sánchez 1982: 159). Emilia Ferraro clarifies that in Pesillo, Ecuador, "[p]eople clearly distinguish and even contrast several categories of borrowing and lending transactions according to the content of what is exchanged, the status of the parties involved, the context in which the transaction takes place and its aim. All share a concern with owing and the moral imperative to pay back." (Ferraro 2004: 81) While I never managed to identify them, different usages of the Spanish word *prestar* were definitely employed in Cabreca, too.

There are examples of very small loans which people repaid without me reminding them. Alfonso, a young man whose wife was pregnant at the time, asked me if I could lend him Bs. 5 when the nurse was visiting Cabreca so that he could buy some medication for his wife. A few days later he came to our *wasi* and returned the money. Also our neighbour Fausto asked me for small amounts of money a couple of times and each time made sure to pay me back. With Fausto I had also done different other exchanges. He owned the little *tienda* (shop) which was a very small storage room where he kept some bought products to resell them to other Cabrequeños. A couple of times I had bought some *yupi* or biscuits from him. However, we had also exchanged some gifts. I gave him some batteries once; he gave me some potatoes from his garden when one day I was alone at home. I also gave him my alarm-clock. He had asked me if he could borrow it (*prestar*) and came to return it one day. But I told him that he could keep it as a present because I did not need it. In these examples with Alfonso and Fausto which concern small favours *prestar* was used in the Spanish sense of borrowing/lending.

Gifts

In addition to different categories of borrowing and lending giving gifts is an important social act. They are a medium with which relationships between people are created, changed and maintained (Sperandeo 2001: 292). Marcel Mauss and many after him have pointed out that "in theory these are voluntary, in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily" (Mauss 1990 [1950]: 3). In many examples of gift-giving that I came across in Cabreca this seemed to be true. In a Peruvian Andean context Enrique Mayer says about the gift that it "makes claims, collects on past obligations, and purposefully plucks the emotional strings of the receiver" (Mayer 2002: 134). Each transaction thus ties the people involved to each other, informs their relationship and requires a reaction later on (cf. Bourdieu 1977: 171, 1990: 98). A gift is hardly ever reciprocated immediately as this, according to Sebastiano Sperandeo, corresponds to a denial of the gift (Sperandeo 2001: 296). How one gives a gift, how big the gift is and of what quality all matter in this network of reciprocity (Mayer 2002: 107). However, one needs to learn the specifics of these rules. As Mary Weismantel says, "no one can be a successful social actor without understanding how to give and how to manipulate others into giving" (Weismantel 1988: 144).

I had to learn whom to give gifts and whom not to trust, but I never managed to acquire complete understanding of the rules during my time in Cabreca. Trying to identify them was a painful and long process as I often found myself caught between opposing parties. On the one hand I wanted to be loyal to my family, on the other hand I did not want to hear "no sabe invitar" (Harris 1989: 246): she doesn't know how to invite, how to be generous and share. Also I sometimes did not mean to give things away as gifts, but the recipient saw them as gifts and kept them. Once Germán asked if I had a cigarette. I explained where I had a box of cigarettes stored and expected him to take one out of the box. Instead he kept the whole box. Another time I saw Faustina washing her and her children's hair. Especially Este always had a lot of lice. I had brought an anti-lice shampoo back from town and offered it to Faustina. When I returned to her house with it, I thought she would use the shampoo and return the bottle to me. Instead the whole bottle disappeared in her dress, and she did not even use the shampoo on that occasion. Similarly I offered Clemencia a muscle gel because she felt some pain in her leg. While she applied the gel immediately, she also kept the whole tube to herself without returning it. On the other hand gifts that I wanted to give away were sometimes criticised. As the people of Cabreca could not understand my reasons for being with them, I am not sure if the kind of reciprocity that I often had in mind worked: I would give them gifts

in return for their tolerance, help and information (cf. Harris 1989: 247). When a little child spent some time with me explaining things, I felt like repaying them my way and giving them a little gift. But of course Clemencia, Germán and others did not see this connection, and many times I was asked to justify gifts or told not to give them anymore. These difficult situations are closely connected to the household and to how Cabrequeños value things and value owning them.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the Cabreca home as flexible in terms of how spaces are occupied: items do often not have a regular location where they are kept; different activities like cooking or sleeping can take place in different areas of the home as hearth and sleeping place are moved; and the whole household can move to temporary dwellings as animal care and the fertilisation of fields require it. Boundaries in the home are blurred in Cabreca, and with the exception of storehouses most parts of the *wasi* are multifunctional and accessible for all household members and, to a certain degree, visitors. In good weather, however, the patio is the area of the home where most of the everyday life takes place.

Just as the spatial set-up and the location of the household are flexible, so are families in terms of who is part of them. Although often one married couple and their children are the core of the household, there are regular additions. Kin relationships and connections between households are constantly expanded through new affiliations which are most often established through *compadrazgo*. Visitors who come to stay assume responsibilities and enjoy the same benefits as household members. They are fed, often stay for several days and sleep together with the other family members. When discussing movement and mobility I will return to aspects of visiting (p.180-182).

Responsibilities of household members and kin include reciprocity and the sharing of belongings. Although I was accepted as a household member very soon after my arrival, I had to learn what this meant. Sharing possessions and acts of borrowing and repaying link people together. The reciprocal relationships do not only occur with gifts and loans but also when people exchange work. I will describe this system (*ayni*) in chapter III (p. 120-121). In the following chapter, chapter II, however, I will concentrate on one specific group of Cabrequeños, the children, and demonstrate how they are integrated into Cabreca life.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD IN CABRECA

Introduction

In Cabreca people from all different age groups spend a lot of time together. Children are a very important component of the household and of the community. In the previous chapter I have commented on the household and its members. Children work from a very early age in food production and other jobs that help to maintain the household and the family. However, not only their practical accomplishment of household tasks is crucial to the well-being of all members of society. In addition the presence of children has positive non-material aspects which will be illuminated.

Child development

It is useful to consider some established theories of child psychology and cognitive behaviour when examining children and their surroundings in Cabreca. In particular I will here mention Jean Piaget, Lev Vygotsky and Barbara Rogoff. Piaget is considered the first influential developmental psychologist who saw the child as an active participant in the formation of thoughts and their understanding of the world. He asked questions such as "What conceptions of the world does the child naturally form at the different stages of its development?" (Piaget 1951 [1929]: 1) Piaget conducted extensive systematic analyses of the child's perception and has been praised for these advances and the findings of many original insights. However, his successors also criticised Piaget's work. Mainly his methodology has been criticised as he led tests and experiments isolated from children's real environments. Furthermore Piaget developed his work based on a staged theory that established children's consecutive developmental stages. One of Piaget's critics was Lev Vygotsky who stated that it was a mistake "to claim that the external reality plays no substantial role in the development of a child's thought" (Vygotsky 1986 [1962]: 47). Due to the artificial conditions of Piaget's studies "it is reality and the relations between a child and reality that are missed in his theory" (ibid.: 51-52). Vygotsky himself paid much attention to the social environment of the child as important to its development (cf. Keenan & Evans 2009: 44) but wrote mainly about children in a school environment.

Barbara Rogoff's work on child development is of particular importance to the examination of Cabreca's children as it links psychology with anthropology and pays much attention to the social context of learning and thus acknowledges the differences between schooled and

unschooled learning. Rogoff adopts some of Piaget and Vygotsky's theories and considers children as apprentices. In her eyes they are active learners who observe and participate in activities carried out in the community and are guided by other people. Rogoff continues in this tradition stressing "the complementary roles of children and caregivers in fostering children's development" (Rogoff 1990: 16). While Piaget acknowledged that learning is not a matter of one individual but that it is necessary to consider "the relation between individuals", he did not pay much attention to social influences on the child (Rogoff 1990: 31, 33). Vygotsky, on the other hand, referred to "the social milieu in which the child is embedded" (Rogoff 1990: 35), but Rogoff points to his focus on explicit didactic dialogue and the role of language as the most important tool (Rogoff 1990: 16).[32] In contrast to that she includes nonverbal communication as an important device in children's learning processes and coins the expression "guided participation" which stresses "shared activity with communication that includes words as well as actions" (Rogoff 1990: 17). Similar to the concept of guided participation is that of "legitimate peripheral participation" coined by Lave and Wenger, which entails that "learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of the community" (Lave & Wenger 1991: 29).

This theoretical background of child psychology and development helps to situate ethnographic material from Cabreca. Some references in this chapter come from other regions. Although not from the Andean region, they are relevant as they bear similarities with childhood phenomena in Cabreca and may hint at generalities in rural peasant communities of a similar kind.

Imitation as play

One of the areas that are often dealt with in a comparative mode in existing literature is playing. The children of Cabreca always struck me as very mature being left to do their jobs unsupervised a lot of the time. The sight of children playing games was rather unusual. As soon as they are old enough to physically do the required work, children are always busy fulfilling their tasks. Often when I met children, I asked them what they were doing. Either they told me they were letting some animals pasture and looking after them, or they were perhaps on the way somewhere. The most common answer, however, was *mana imapis*

[32] The title of one of Vygotsky's most influential works *Thought and Language* (1986 [1962]) illustrates this close relationship.

(nothing).[33] They never replied that they were playing. Playing was not so much a separate activity but rather a concomitant phenomenon. Children never used the word *pukllay*, which is the Quechua word given in dictionaries for *to play*, nor the Spanish *jugar* in order to explain what they were doing. *Pukllay* is also the word used to describe a big dance and musical festival in Tarabuco which I visited in 2009.[34] And in Macha *pukllay* is sometimes used to describe the ritual competition *tinku* (Platt 2009: 35). In other parts of the Andes Carnival is known as *pukllay* (Bolton 2005: 194; Bolin 2006: 46). In Cabreca people talked about C*arnaval* using the Spanish word, and children's play is not discussed in great length.

Zacarias, Germán's then 4-year-old nephew, and I were left in a field one day to watch some goats and sheep until they would be herded off and led to the pastures. As there was not much to be actively done, we started playing 'baseball' with a big stick we had found and a 'ball' that we made from some organic material that was lying around. I was the one who initiated the game. Zaca was enjoying it, but the two of us kept an eye on the animals and on whether someone was coming to take them over. Yumi Gosso argues that play is, in places where children spend much time working, often incorporated into work processes (Gosso 2010: 85). As a lot of tasks entail simply keeping an eye on things, for example guarding the fields from birds or assuring that no sheep and goats leave the group, there is ample opportunity to busy oneself with play. However, games with set rules are rare in Cabreca. Instead little children discover their surroundings in a playful way.

There are only a few exceptions where children play while not having any other task. For example I have observed children "playing" when they were instructed by the school teacher. During their break or after class they were encouraged to play football. Apart from those games in the schoolyard I often saw little children re-enacting things they had seen adults doing. During the fiesta of Santiago the adults of the community perform some role-plays celebrating the ploughing process.[35] A few days after these performances, four-year-old Este described to Clemencia and me how he had done the same with three other little children. They had also ploughed the field, and he explained in great detail who had been playing the bulls and who was the girl sowing. These children were copying what they had seen adults doing. They understood that bulls and farmers were represented in the act. The children were

[33] Adults often gave that answer as well when I met them on the way and asked them what they were doing.

[34] In 2011 the *Pukllay* of Tarabuco was nominated for UNESCO World Heritage recognition.

[35] I will return to a description of this performance in the next chapter (p. 123-124).

imitating the ceremonial action which is performed to encourage fertility in people's fields. Like in this re-enactment of a ritual performance children playfully explore their environment and imitate more experienced members of society.

Esteban, although he was only four years old, was already also a great singer following his father Virgilio who was one of the most active musicians in Cabreca. The little boy knew the lyrics of long songs and sang them when asked to sing or when he felt like it. However, he was not instructed or taught explicitly. As Jerome Bruner comments on similar situations and ways of observational learning, adults "serve principally as models and as sources of the necessary affection" (Bruner 1976: 44). Este overheard songs at fiestas and listened to his father in order then to render his own versions. Sometimes he would pick up a stick as a prop and strum it as if he had a guitar. When he was singing at our *wasi*, Clemencia and I often praised him. Music plays a big part in the socialisation of young people in the Andes.[36]

Este was by far the most musical child I heard, but I observed other children as well imitating adults. Towards the end of my stay I had become very friendly with the two Cabreca families that were calling me *comadre* as I was Severo's and Senoya's godmother. After my first traditional gift of clothes I always brought a few things back for those two families whenever I had been to town. While most of the things were food and things for the whole family like new plastic bowls and laundry soap, I also brought something specifically for Senoya and Severo. I had not thought about the fact that children did not seem to play in a way that I remember from my own childhood and that I had never seen any toys in Cabreca. I chose a little doll for Senoya and a soft toy, a cow, for Severo. When I saw them again after a while, they had the toys with them and were using them for role-playing and for imitating adults.

One day I accompanied Senoya's mother Eulogia and some of her children to a potato field. Like children here are given toy kitchen utensils, toy tools or a toy pram, Senoya was given a little cloth and was carrying the doll on her back like the women carry their children. I never saw any other dolls in Cabreca. Senoya was calling the doll "*waway*" (my child/baby), feeding it and laying it down to sleep like a mother. Her older siblings were asking her questions about her baby and thus supporting her role-play. This particular role-play often turns into a real responsibility when girls are not even in their teens yet. Young girls like Senoya's older sisters often help their mothers taking care of younger siblings. This is

[36] For extensive studies on musical production in the Bolivian Andes which cover the socialisation of young people, see Solomon (2001) and Stobart (2006).

common in all families that have daughters with younger siblings while sons particularly take younger brothers along to little tasks. Girls look after smaller boys and girls, and boys look after smaller boys.

Many times I met Marina, a very mature girl about ten years old, on the way. She was always carrying her little sister Francisca on her back. I became aware of the relatively big age difference between these two only children of a small family of four after seeing the family mourning two infant deaths at All Souls' Day. Perhaps this explains the particularly strong bond between Marina and Francisca. Beside this particular family history it is not unusual to see girls carrying infants. Barbara Rogoff states that in many communities in the world siblings play a very big role in childcare. Often "care of infants and toddlers is traditionally carried out by 5- to 10-year-old children" (Rogoff 2003: 122). Although the mother plays a big role in the care of infants in Cabreca and childcare is not exclusively allocated to children, older siblings spend considerable amounts of time with infants and toddlers.

Fig. 15: Marina carries her little sister Francisca with her while fulfilling other household tasks. Here she is going to collect milk in a small bucket.

As Senoya carried her doll with her imitating a mother, Severo also carried the soft toy with him a lot. His father Herminio told me that he did not go anywhere without it. The soft toy was a cow. Only later I thought that I had unconsciously chosen it rather well as Severo's parents and oldest siblings were herding the family's cattle a lot, and Severino could relate to the task. Perhaps he was imitating the herding activity that he had seen his parents, his older siblings and others around him carry out.[37] The toys seemed to complement the children's role-play activities. Toys which are miniature versions of artefacts used by adults stimulate the imitation of adults' activities and in Cristina Grasseni's words "can reproduce a miniature ecology of skill" (Grasseni 2004: 44)[38]. In Cabreca toys of that kind do not exist. Instead the children are not denied access to the real artefacts and use these to make their first experiences in the tasks they have observed in adults. The doll and the cow were unusual, too. But although children usually do not have toys, they enjoyed using them and were not unable to use their imagination and creativity when incorporating them into their mimetic activities.

The notion of playing a game which does not have to do with imitating adult lives is alien to Cabrequeños with the exception of occasional ball games. Hardly anyone in Cabreca owns a ball though, so mostly the games were limited to the school yard where the teacher encouraged the children to play. Football is the only sport that is played in Cabreca. Adult men sometimes play it as well. In August a football tournament was held in the neighbouring community Iru. As I wanted to travel to Colquechaca at the time of the tournament, I joined the all-male football team on their way to Iru for a detour. They had been talking about the football event for a while and asked me early enough to be their sponsor and get them jerseys which I brought from Sucre. Although the whole cantón of Surumi had been invited by the community of Iru for this tournament, only four teams showed up, a sign of Cabreca taking the game and being represented at the tournament more seriously than others. The Cabreca team had even taken some time to have training matches among themselves. This tournament and the keen participation of Cabreca stood in contrast to the otherwise striking absence of the notion of playing games as a means of pure enjoyment.[39]

[37] The handling of the cow could also be a manifestation of the Andean tradition of acquiring small copies of the things one desires to obtain in the future. These *alasitas* can be small bank notes, cars, houses, animals etc. and are sold in markets.

[38] Grasseni's example is exactly that of children playing with toy plastic cows (Grasseni 2004).

[39] Elayne Zorn, writing on Sacaca, sees "soccer rivalries between communities" as a subdued form of the *tinku*, the traditional ritual battle that is held between communities (Zorn 2005: 119).

Independence and responsibilities

Children's personification of adults was not limited to everyday life but could also be seen at different fiestas where I saw the children joining in the celebrations like adults. Most of the time they were not actively encouraged to join, but rarely were they sent away. A lot of the time they were tolerated amongst the adults, who performed rituals, drank a lot of alcohol and discussed matters that concerned life in the community. The children observed what was going on, that way learning about how things were done at these special events. During the holiday *Ispiritu*, which Clemencia and I spent in Llustaque, 8-year-old Sabina was helping herself to *chicha* and smoking a cigarette. She had not been invited to do so but was not scolded, either. Thus children grow into their adult roles gradually through imitation and become accepted as participants in those contexts. This process starts very early. I was surprised to see Faustina joining the group of travellers who went to visit neighbouring communities during Carnival. She was carrying her son Efraim on her back for the entire tour. Efraim who was under a year old witnessed the whole celebration from the carrying cloth.

Fig. 16: Este joins the Carnival celebrations where much alcohol is consumed; on the right behind a maize stalk his mother with baby Efraim on her back.

Sabina, the 8-year-old girl, was running the household on her own when we first arrived in Llustaque that time. She was looking after her two younger brothers and preparing all meals while the parents were away for a couple of days. As she had two older and two younger

brothers, Sabina was with her 8 years the oldest female household member after her mother Aleja. I had met Sabina before when she had visited our household on her own and stayed for several nights. She had also come together with her mother Aleja once and with her father Javier another time. Each time she helped Clemencia with the tasks that had to be carried out in the household. This time Clemencia and I were visiting Llustaque. We had taken a donkey along, and the journey had taken us about three hours. When we arrived in Llustaque, I followed Clemencia who was approaching the first household coming from Cabreca at the edge of the community. This was Aleja's house. Sabina welcomed us and explained that her parents had gone to a fair in order to sell *buñuelos* (deep-fried bread). The two older brothers were away as well. Sabina was looking after the two younger brothers and preparing the meals for them. I was impressed with her being in charge of the household for the day but later discovered that the parents even stayed away overnight. Sabina was busy getting water, peeling maize off the cobs, peeling potatoes, making a fire and entertaining her two younger siblings. She made *mut'i* (boiled maize) and served everybody including Clemencia and me.

As it was not unusual for Sabina to run the household and be left to look after it, the two small children seemed used to being away from both their parents overnight. A mother carries her baby on her back until the child can walk and becomes too big and too heavy to be carried everywhere. As soon as children are not breastfed anymore and thus can be fed by anyone, they are often left with other family members who feed them. The children will in return help with tasks in that household if they are old enough. The early separation from the mother is not a problem as infants are already used to being attended by different caregivers. Most infants are used to older siblings watching and feeding them. And if there are no older siblings, other kin might be secondary carers. Este and later his baby brother Efraim stayed with Clemencia regularly. Young girls often care for their infant siblings away from the mother and only when the child is hungry return to the mother so that the child can be breastfed. Breastfeeding usually takes place until a younger sibling joins the family or until the child is about two years old. I saw children, who could walk well already, walking up to their mothers and being breastfed while standing in front of them. Although having different caregivers involved in their up-bringing makes Cabreca children independent, "shared responsibility for care of infants does not seem to get in the way of close attachment to the mother" (Rogoff 2003: 116). When first separated from the mother for longer periods, the distress that these children experience does not last very long as they are used to having other caregivers around them (cf. Super & Harkness 1982: 15).

Fig. 17: Ribu minds Efraim (who is her nephew) while adults carry on with their tasks: Germán is skinning a goat in the background. The tree-like pole is used for storage of food so that animals cannot reach it.

When Clemencia and I arrived, Sabina also offered us some food. Afterwards Clemencia, being very familiar to the family, took control of things and gave Sabina orders for the preparation of further meals. She did not consider herself a guest but was another household member as soon as we had arrived. As she was kin to Aleja and her family, it was appropriate behaviour. And as the oldest female she stayed in charge until Aleja and her husband Javier returned the next day. She knew the *wasi* well and had little difficulties orienting herself. When she did not know something, Sabina could help her out. Even when Aleja was back and had reassumed her role as female head of the household, Sabina did a considerable amount of the work. Her two older brothers who had also returned were giving her orders as was Aleja.

As the family lived a few minutes' walk away from the nearest water source, fetching water was a more time-consuming and taxing task than it was for Clemencia and Germán in Cabreca. Aleja sent me along to fetch water several times as well as her youngest child

Efraim, who was only two years old. In the course of our stay I overheard a conversation between Clemencia and Aleja discussing this. While Clemencia argued: *wawalla* (he's only a baby!), Aleja explained that he was old enough to begin helping with little tasks. Of course it took him longer to get to the water source and back, and he could not carry a big quantity of water. But bit by bit he would get used to the task. Usually small children were very willing to help, and I never heard a child refusing to do a job. Of course they were clumsy at the beginning and much slower than older children and adults. But as they saw other people around them doing the same activities and internalised that the tasks were being carried out because they were essential to Cabreca life, it gave them a sense of belonging, achievement and self-esteem when they helped with those activities. Children become Cabrequeños by participating in everyday life. Meyer Fortes writes on the Tallensi children of Taleland in Ghana that "[t]he interests, motives, and purposes of children are identical with those of adults, but at a simpler level of organization. Hence the children need not be coerced to take a share in economic and social activities. They are eager to do so." (Fortes 1970: 205) This parallel suggests a certain generality. Children who grow up in small peasant communities participate in the everyday activities that adults carry out.

Sabina running the household, while her parents were away, is an example of a child's responsibilities, independence and maturity in one particular situation, i.e. both parents being away. However, the children of Cabreca and Llustaque also prove to be very mature and independent while carrying out their everyday roles in the household when their parents are present. Little girls stay with their mothers for most of the time and help them in performing all the tasks necessary to maintain the household. Very small boys stay with the mother as well. As soon as they are a bit older and physically able to, they accompany their fathers to the fields and on shorter travels. By accompanying and seeing the parents' work, children gradually learn how to accomplish the tasks themselves. They are hardly ever instructed or taught verbally how to do things. Rather children try things out, recreate what they have seen from older Cabrequeños. Although they are sometimes being thanked or praised, their efforts are mostly seen as self-evident and part of their growing up and growing into a mature person.

As soon as a child is physically able to help with household chores, he or she will. When exactly the different tasks can be managed depends on each individual child and not, as Piaget established, on sequential developmental stages in children. Cabrequeños do not use age as a

measuring marker in the development of children's abilities, either. Although the agricultural year plays a big role in people's life, they do not count the years of their lives.[40]

Assuming responsibilities

Life cycle rituals have been described as markers of children's entering different stages of life. Baptism in Cabreca involves a big celebration. This is partly due to the need of the priest's presence. Padre Andres visits Cabreca once a year, and this visit coincided with Corpus Christi in 2009. Eight children were christened during the service. As the Padre's presence was also necessary for weddings, two Cabreca weddings took place in Surumi during the fiesta of the virgin of Surumi in early September. A ritual which has been given much attention in ethnographies of the Andes and which does not require the priest but happens in a smaller setting is the first hair-cut of a child. Other accounts of Andean childhoods describe the ritual of the first hair-cut as a very important act in the process of a child's assuming responsibility. According to Lindsey Crickmay (2002) this first hair cut takes place as soon as the child begins to speak while Joseph Bastien defines the moment as the time when the child begins to walk (Bastien 1978: 103). Olivia Harris stresses that the children that have their hair cut can both speak and understand (Harris 1980: 72).The ritual symbolically marks the child's entrance into society with its division of labour (cf. Albó et al. 1989).

In Cabreca the ritual of the first hair-cut exists as well. When we were drinking *chicha* together at a small gathering, Delfin, a young father, asked me if I would be godmother and cut his first son's hair. Although I agreed and was delighted to be given the opportunity to form *compadrazgo* ties with this family, the event never materialised in my presence. Perhaps Delfin had chosen another godparent, or the ritual only happened after my departure. Similarly Clemencia once told me that Faustina had plans to ask me to be her son Este's godmother at the hair-cutting ceremony. Faustina never did in the end, and I did not witness the hair-cut or any more talk about it. At this stage Este was four years old and already a very independent and hard-working individual. Although the hair-cutting ritual existed in Cabreca, when exactly it happened did not seem so significant. Este and also Delfin's son were already

[40] Often people cannot tell their age, and different documents exist with different birthdates on them for one and the same person. Germán once told me that Clemencia was to get a new ID that would allow her to pretend that she was older than she actually was so that she could claim state benefits. Older people often did not know what year they were born. Nobody ever celebrated their birthday, either, and thus people did not keep track of how old they were (cf. Bolin 2006: 9). The age indications I am giving in this thesis are either what people told me or - especially for children - my own estimations.

able to speak fluently. Clearly in Cabreca the children whose hair had not been cut yet and who walked around with unkempt, longer hair had already started to assume a role in society as this process did not happen from one day to the next. The hair-cutting is an important ritual but does not in practice mark a clear-cut distinction between being a toddler and being a responsible member of society as is described in other accounts. It is, however, the celebration of that process and a symbolical moment in the child's development. This celebration occurs in a much more private circle than the baptism.

As children learn how to be a working member of Cabreca society from a very early age on, they are given a lot of freedom and are not over-protected. I saw a two-year-old girl trying to peel potatoes with a large knife, and her mother proudly told me what a great help she was. The result was of course proportionate to her age. Nevertheless adults did not see such actions as too dangerous or degraded children's efforts as play. Rather they saw them as valuable contributions to tasks and as steps in the child's learning process. The children did not seem to perceive any of those actions as play, either. In Gregory Bateson's words the "metacommunication" which recognises play as play was missing (Bateson 1973). While playing "implies a reduction in the seriousness of the consequences of errors and of setbacks" (Bruner 1983: 60), first steps of performing tasks in the shared world of adults and children are valuable contributions to the maintenance of the household.

Four- to five-year-olds are sent off to do jobs connected to pasturing, and they can stay away for considerable amounts of time or be left alone for most of the day without anyone worrying that something might have happened to them. Dangers such as traffic or crime are minimal in and around Cabreca as no roads exist in the nearby surroundings, and not many strangers arrive in the area. Little children know their way around and learn to avoid dangers that the physical surroundings might hold as they have grown up not only in Cabreca but have also been taken to the surroundings all their lives (cf. Bolin 2006: 43).[41] Most importantly the community as a whole serves as a caregiver. Rogoff observes that in communities where children are incorporated into the everyday life, as they are in Cabreca, the community shares responsibilities of childcare much more than in communities where only one or two caregivers are the norm or the care is carried out by an institution. "Children belong to the community and everyone is expected to comfort, instruct, and correct them." (Rogoff 2003:

[41] Although Cabrequeños lead a very active life and walk fast in very rugged territory, I have not seen or heard of any accidents. Nobody had a broken arm or leg in the whole time of my stay. The only injuries I saw originated in fights when people were drunk.

128) Adults and children live and move in the same sphere, and adults watch out for children, no matter whether they are kin or not.

On the night of All Souls' Day I found myself walking back from the cemetery to Cabreca with a four- and a five-year-old taking me by one hand each. It had got dark, and we were walking within a bigger group scattered along the path. The two children's parents were nowhere near us but knew that their children would be safe somewhere within the group. I was glad to hold on to them as I could not see where we were going in the dark. They knew the way and led me back to the hamlet. This treatment of children who are, on the one hand, very skilled and able to look after themselves and who are, on the other hand, cared for by the community as a whole allows them to move around freely and to grow up fast. The children know all members of the community and are always surrounded by familiar people.

Looking at a Highland community in Western Kenya Charles Super and Sara Harkness notice that "the cast of characters for daily life remains stable and relatively small". Following from that they observe "that fear of strangers is more intense and sustained for Kipsigis children than it is for Americans" (Super & Harkness 1982: 15). And Jean Briggs describes the perseverative fear of strangers of the Canadian Inuit children whose upbringing she observed (Briggs 1970, 1998). While some children in nearby communities that I visited were very shy and hid from me, Cabrequeño children, as well as adults, were rather curious to see who I was, and almost all children showed little fear. Paradoxically two of the children I would spend most time with were an exception. Zaca was scared the first time I talked to him and ran away to hide. Some adults and older children around him were laughing at him and mocking him. He lost his fear very quickly as he realised that none of the others present were afraid of the stranger. The other child who was afraid of me for a longer period at the beginning of my stay was Este. As he spent much time in our household, we got to know each other well later, but at the beginning he was often frightened of me. Faustina and Clemencia did not help the situation when they told him that I would eat him if he was refusing to behave. I did not like the role they were crediting me with and protested. His fear was amusing to them and faded away later.

Children as team workers in the household

For peasant families it is generally desirable to have many children. Each child very soon becomes a working member of the household and helps to maintain it. Especially when staying with bigger families, I could observe everyone having a specific role in a certain work

process and the family as a whole being a productive unit. While I will discuss the preparation of food in detail in chapter IV, food preparation serves particularly well to demonstrate the inclusion of children as team workers.

One evening I stayed at Clemencia's sister Leoncia's house for dinner. While in our household Clemencia cooked dinner either on her own or with my help only, Leoncia had five of the six children present helping with all the household tasks. While the youngest was considered too small to work and was just observing the ongoings, his two older brothers were deployed for little tasks like fetching products from the storage and wood. However, the girls, three older sisters, were busy carrying out all the jobs that their mother was giving them. They had already gone through their apprenticeship, and each one of them would have been able to prepare a whole meal on her own. One of them was busy peeling potatoes and another one making the fire while the youngest of the three girls, 10-year-old Esperanza, was grinding the maize for the *lawa* (maize flour soup) which was going to be prepared. While this may sound like Clemencia had a lot more work preparing whole meals on her own, it is important to consider the quantities of each meal. The *lawa* at Leoncia's house that night had to feed her six children between two and 17 years old and three adults while Clemencia and I were mostly cooking for three adults only. Some of the components of the cooking process do not change much no matter how big the meal is going to be. However, especially the preparation of the individual ingredients is a lot more time-consuming the bigger the meal is. Esperanza was moaning a bit about having to grind so much maize that night. She had to do it in several steps. On the other hand, even though when preparing a meal as a team like Leoncia's family each task can be monotonous and time-consuming, it is a social event. Cooking the whole meal on one's own is a lonely process.

Lawa, the meal that was prepared at Leoncia's that night, was also the meal that was most commonly served in Cabreca. The maize flour soup is served a lot in rural highland Bolivia in general. But this dish is a particularly suitable *chawpirana* dish as it combines the use of maize and potatoes. In the *puna* maize is scarce, and *lawa* is not eaten as much and contains many potatoes. In the valley potatoes are scarce, and *lawa* consists mainly of the maize flour and only of a few added potatoes. In town *lawas* can contain additional ingredients like vegetables or meat. As both potatoes and maize are grown in the *chawpirana*, the dish that combines the two staples is cooked nearly daily. On many days we had a *lawa* at least two if not three times. It is always served with a *llaqwa*, a spicy chilli sauce.

Recipe

Lawa

Ingredients: water (yaku), lard (mantika), salt (kachi), maize (sara), potatoes (papa), llaqwa (chilli sauce).

Bring the water to the boil. In the meantime peel the potatoes. (If they are peeled before, they can be kept in cold water until making the lawa.) Cut big potatoes into smaller pieces. Then take the kernels off the maize cobs and grind them with some water on the grinding stone until they are a thick paste. Add lard and salt to the boiling water and the potatoes. When the potatoes are nearly cooked, add the maize paste stirring constantly. Reboil once more and then serve with llaqwa.

A few times I saw a similar *lawa* being prepared with toasted maize (*tustadu* or *jank'a*) instead of the raw dry kernels. It takes less time to grind the toasted maize and gives the *lawa* a different taste. Lawa is served in bowls and eaten with a spoon or drunk from the bowl.

Having children and poverty

The sort of social cooking event described above was not possible in our household of three. Clemencia was often crying and complaining that she did not have any children but her son Javier, who had left Cabreca. On the one hand this made her very lonely, and she missed company and the sort of social conviviality described above which she could observe everywhere around her. She often complained to me that Germán and she were *pubri* (from Spanish *pobre*: poor). While the word *pubri* was used by her to describe her sadness over the lack of children in the household, there was also an economic side to it. As their household only has two members that are in Cabreca, it is a small working unit which cannot produce as much as other households. At the same time Clemencia does not have to feed many family members. The food supply for the household is relatively low. So is the need to buy clothes or other items from town. And thus it is not necessarily a contradiction that Ester, my godson Severino's mother, sometimes complained to me that her family was very poor as well. Having six children, two of them being very young, meant that they had to work very hard in order to be able to feed the family. Four of those six children, however, were very hard workers already who supported the food production considerably. Eric Wolf clarifies that the peasant household is not only "constituted of so many 'hands' ready to labor in the fields" but also contains "as many mouths as there are workers" (Wolf 1966: 13).

Robert Netting illustrates the economic benefits of raising children in peasant communities as the children repay the cost of raising them through their work force and adds that the "average daily product of their work in calories exceeds their average daily consumption". Light but

time-consuming tasks like scaring birds away from the crops, fetching water, collecting firewood and herding can be performed by young children, which frees adults from these necessary chores and gives them the opportunity to pursue other jobs. (Netting 1993: 70-72) Similarly Constance McCorkle remarks that "children are the preferred source of pastoral labor in the Andes because they are energetically more efficient than adults" (McCorkle 1992b: 88). Especially those jobs that involve animal care are taken up early by children.

My comadre Ester's use of the word *pubri* was related to the economic aspect. She sometimes came to ask me if I had some soap, and when I brought some plastic bowls back for her from town, the whole family was very grateful. The children were often dressed in clothes that seemed either too small as they had grown out of them or too big as they had been handed down to them from older siblings. One day I saw Tibu wearing two old sandals of different sizes. The respective pair had been too worn-out to be worn, but the two that were still intact made a new pair. Ester and Herminio's six children were aged between under a year old and about 10 at the time. The oldest sons Mario and Tibu were hard workers often herding cows or working in the fields with their father, and their sisters Carolina and Guadalupe were helping Ester with childcare, cooking and herding. But still this family seemed to struggle more than some others with securing their provision. Andrew Canessa relates that the people of the Aymara community Wila Kjarka in the Departamento of La Paz determine the ideal number of children as four (Canessa 2012: 134). He states explicitly that people speak of the burden of having too many children or having children that are not entirely healthy and thus are not productive members of the household. "Some people despair at the strain of bringing up children in very limited circumstances." (Canessa 2012: 131) Canessa and most others do not, however, comment on childless couples and the sorrow that not having any children can cause. Living with Clemencia and Germán I experienced this distress when they were lamenting their son's Javier absence.

Weismantel and Van Vleet speak of an additional pragmatic reason for wanting children in their respective fieldsites Zumbagua, Ecuador, and Sullk'ata, Bolivia. As well as being working members of the household they are useful for establishing new kinship ties with further *compadres* (Weismantel 1988: 170; Van Vleet 2008: 58). Each child will go through the rituals of baptism, first hair-cut and probably wedding and have *compadres* for each event. Each time new *compadrazgo* ties give parents the possibility of widening their social network.

Fig. 18: Mario and his four younger siblings, Guadalupe, Severino, Tibu and Carolina, are sitting in a field minding two cows.

The Quechua word for orphan *waqcha* is synonymous with poor (Gelles & Martínez 1996: 146, Van Vleet 2008: 55, Weismantel 1998: 84)[42]. Although Cabrequeños did not use the word *waqcha* but instead said they were *pubri* (from Spanish *pobre*: poor), this linguistic reference points to the way the family and particularly children are perceived in Quechua-speaking areas. An orphan initially has nobody who will feed them.[43] Likewise it is a sign of poverty for a couple to have no children. While children without parents are called poor (*waqcha*), I witnessed the inverse: parents without children considering themselves poor (*pubri*). While children are taken seriously as workers, the joy, company and conviviality, which having children means, are lacking, too. Krista Van Vleet equates being alone (*sapalla*) with being poor (*waqcha*) (Van Vleet 2008: 55) and summarises that "children are socially, emotionally, and materially important to Sullk'ata relatedness" (Van Vleet 2008: 58). While I do not recall the use of the word *waqcha* in Cabreca, *sapalla* (alone) was often used. Both Germán and Clemencia told me that Clemencia had been *sapa* before I arrived, and Camila,

[42] Some authors spell the word *wakcha*.

[43] In Cabreca there was one orphan who was six years old when I first met him. His parents had died, and he was growing up with other family members. Jesús was a very polite and quiet boy. I often met him like other children on the way to pastures, fulfilling other tasks or at school.

the elderly bachelor woman, was described as *sapalla*, too. In order not to be alone and hence poor one needs family. Billie Jean Isbell observes in Peru that the term *apu* (rich) "is applied to *comuneros* who not only have material wealth but also have a large network of kin that can be relied upon. A man with material wealth but without the necessary kin to execute his civil and ritual obligations is *wakcha*, poor or orphaned." (Isbell 1977: 96) John Murra reports the historical use of the word *waqcha* for widows and orphans (Murra 1975: 174). Jessaca Leinaweaver's study of kinship and adoption in Ayacucho, Peru, (2008) shows further meanings and connotations of *waqcha* in the past and the present. Amongst others she documents the use of the word for relatives of the unfortunate and links it to illegitimacy and racial mixing. Today it is often used not for someone whose parents have died but for someone who is far away from home or is not supported by his or her family anymore. A *waqcha* is thus someone whose social network has broken down noticeably. "*Wakcha* implies that someone without frequently enacted family connections is both socially and economically bereaved." (Leinaweaver 2008: 72) If Cabrequeños use *waqcha* in that sense, Javier might have been seen as *waqcha*, which might be one of the reasons of Clemencia's big sorrow.

According to Xavier Albó et al. being childless is generally seen as a sign of poverty while having children is seen as a blessing (cf. Albó et al. 1989). Strengthening and extending one's kin group is an important aspect as well as the practical ones described above. Although Clemencia never told me this explicitly, I suspect that she saw herself as disadvantaged and not as blessed as others, perhaps even punished. She often bore those who had many children a grudge and often told me not to give someone any gifts because they had children while she did not. When I once gave a small gift to Felipa, Clemencia scolded me stressing that Felipa had four children.[44] While she often mentioned her son Javier and uttered her concerns, she also said in some situations that she did not have any children. It nearly seemed as if Javier had stopped being her child as he was not physically present. Clemencia did not make many remarks about her sister Leoncia although she has seven children while only one is away from Cabreca. But once she told me that one of Leoncia's daughters was not a good girl and that I should not go and spend time with her. On another occasion Clemencia made a remark that led me to the assumption that it is more desirable to have sons than daughters or crucial to have at least one son. We were pasturing and had met a woman that Clemencia did not seem

[44] In Cabreca the biggest number of children I encountered in one family was seven while families can have a double-digit number of children in some other communities that I visited. Infant mortality and lower fertility due to malnutrition may be the causes of these relatively low numbers in Cabreca.

to know very well or at least had not seen recently. The two of them were exchanging news and catching up. When the woman told Clemencia that she had *kimsa imillas* (three girls), Clemencia exclaimed "*ayyyyyy imillas, supay*" (literally: ahhh girls, devil; Clemencia used this expression to say: ahhh girls, bad luck). Sons stay in the community after marriage, so Clemencia's remark may have referred to the future when the three daughters would move away from their parents. However, particularly in big families having at least one daughter is advantageous as girls relieve the mother of much housework. Generally it seems that an even balance between sons and daughters would be the ideal.

The only time I came across a different view on having children was when I was staying with my *comadre* Victoria in Qalasaya. When we were talking about the children, she asked me if I did not have any and whether I wanted any. Then she said that she did not want children because *rabiachikun* (they make me angry)[45]. She also sometimes called them *sonsa*/*sonso* (fool, idiot) but never in a harsh way. It came across like a loving pet name, and all her treatment of the two little children was very tender and affectionate. At the same time she was the only woman I met in the area who told me that she could imagine not having any children and talked of it as something positive.

The lost son

One Cabrequeño "child" that I actually never met but that was indirectly of great importance to my stay in Cabreca was Javier, Clemencia and Germán's son. When I arrived, 16-year-old Javier had left Cabreca in order to find work in Cochabamba.[46] His parents, but particularly Clemencia, were suffering from his absence. She cried a lot as she was worrying about him and was also lonely without the company that he had provided her with when he was younger. It was due to Javier's absence that I had been 'adopted'[47] by Clemencia and Germán. Nobody was volunteering when I first expressed my wish to live with a family in Cabreca. Only when the teacher approached Germán directly by saying that I would surely be good company for his wife, he accepted to host me at his home. The teacher had described them to me as a childless couple. And Clemencia sometimes mourned that she had no children while at other times she cried over her child being away. Apart from the new company to Clemencia I was

[45] Andrew Canessa relates a very similar conversation in which a woman tells him that her children make her angry and make each other angry (Canessa 2012: 129).

[46] Germán told me that Javier was 16.

[47] The word "adopted" is my choice here, Cabrequeños never used it but implied that I was like a daughter to Clemencia.

an additional worker that they were missing after Javier's departure. From the start Germán often told me that it was good that Clemencia was not on her own so much anymore. And after a while Clemencia herself often mentioned to visitors that I was good company (*sumaj compañia*). When Clemencia first talked to me about Javier, she explained that she had lost her child. As our first conversations were full of misunderstandings due to my poor knowledge of Quechua but also because Clemencia was very emotional at those times, I thought she was telling me about a miscarriage she had had. Only later I understood what the story of the 'lost child' was really about.

When I recently saw Isaac Babel's play *Maria* performed at the Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus, a German theatre, I was reminded of Javier's role. Set in the Russian Civil War the play depicts the lives of Maria's family and their environment. Maria, however, who is away fighting on the front is only quoted from letters but never appears on stage throughout the whole play. Yet her 'presence' always seems tangible through the other characters' talk, and the title of the play gives her much importance. Like Maria, Javier never returned to Cabreca during the year that I was there. And yet Clemencia and Germán were receiving news about or from him, expecting him several times and preparing themselves for his arrival. Once I had understood that Javier was 16 years old and away to work in Cochabamba, I thought he was away for seasonal work and would return to Cabreca soon. But as he did not return for the whole course of a year, it seemed that he had emigrated rather than just being away for one specific temporary job. It was clearly Clemencia and also Germán's wish that Javier would return.

Andean people have very strong links with the place of their origin and ancestors. Migration to towns and thus leaving this place and their home community can be difficult. Many migrants do not make the move easily and return to their home for fiestas in order to maintain the connection with the mountains and the earth. Many also keep fields and return for the sowing and harvest season (Canessa 1998: 241-2). Several young Cabrequeño adults were away for long periods of the year but back in Cabreca for fiestas like *Carnaval*, *Todos Santos* or *Cruz*. It was those moments of the year when Clemencia and Germán also looked forward to Javier's return. Perhaps their worrying was connected to a fear that their son would lose the connection with his homeland and the powerful surroundings of Cabreca as the relationship with the supernatural entities was reinforced during those fiestas. Another reason for their grief may have been the thought that Javier would not be in Cabreca when they would be old. Especially old widows and widowers are often reliant on help, and children serve as "old-age

security" (Netting 1993: 72). Particularly sons can help their old parents because they are more likely to stay in their home community with their new families. Germán often spent time with his parents. As soon as one of them dies, the widowed partner will be more reliant on such help. If Javier had migrated and would not come back to live in Cabreca, Clemencia and Germán would rely heavily on other kin and *compadres* in order to be able to sustain a household in old age.

Clemencia cried often, and a lot of the time this was related to Javier's absence. At first I tried to comfort her and told her "*ama waqaychu*" (don't cry!). Later on I decided to listen to her sorrows and try and understand why she was suffering so much. As Bastien says, "[l]oneliness is the worst tragedy of life in the Andes" (Bastien 1978: 92). This corresponds with Bolin's observation that "loneliness is considered a very painful state" in the Andean highlands (Bolin 2006: 45). While children do not cry much as soon as they can verbalise things, women regularly show their worries and troubles through crying in everyday life.[48] As Krista Van Vleet points out, there are also different speaking styles, and "the high-pitched, slower-paced speech of a person expressing sorrow sharply contrasts with the rapid, low-pitched, and almost monotone everyday speech" (Van Vleet 2008: 86-87). At the beginning of my stay I was occasionally worried that I had angered or upset Clemencia because of her often whiny voice. When I understood better what she was actually talking about I realised that she was often worried about Javier or about food issues. While Clemencia was expressing her sorrows relating to Javier's absence through crying, other people who had children showed much affection towards them.[49]

Affection

In Cabreca children are nurtured affectionately which is expressed in different ways. Infants are physically close to the mother for most of day and night. As much of Cabreca everyday life involves moving about and being active, infants spend a lot of the time being strapped to their mother's backs. Although they may be taken down and placed on a weaving when at home or visiting, there are no such things as prams, cradles or beds. During the day a lot of

[48] During fiestas, however, I have often found women restrained while men under the influence of alcohol cry. An exception was the one wake that I witnessed in Cabreca where women cried with high-pitched voices (cf. Van Vleet 2008: 86). Their proclamation of sorrow was performed in a theatrical way at certain moments of the ceremony, for example when the corpse was carried out of the house, through the yard and to the cemetery where only men accompanied the body on its last journey.

[49] Clemencia also told me that she would cry when I was going to be gone even before I went away for a visit to Sucre for the first time.

the time the infant sleeps in the vertical position on the mother's back while he or she is wrapped into a nappy and a cloth. The nappy is changed regularly and the cloth rewrapped. One day I was walking with Faustina who changed her baby son's nappy, a simple black square cloth, quickly when we came to a stream as she could immediately wash the dirty nappy and attach it to the carrying cloth in order to let it dry in the sun. Small infants are completely wrapped very tightly into a cloth with their arms pressed closely against their bodies in order to keep them warm and to prevent them from injuring themselves (cf. Bolin 2006: 27). When they are a bit bigger, their arms are left out, and toddlers are not wrapped tightly anymore but loosely into a carrying cloth. When they begin to walk, they are still carried around when their mother is travelling far. Around the house and for shorter distances they walk and start exploring Cabreca on their own. This very close contact to their mother during the first couple of years forms a very strong bond between mother and child. I never saw a man carrying an infant or toddler in a carrying cloth.[50] The father does not spend as much time with the small children but is always gentle when around the children and later takes them along to jobs and on longer travels, particularly sons. It is common though, as described above, for small children to be left with older children or other female caregivers.

The transportation in a carrying cloth allows infants to partake in everyday life. They can observe what is happening in the household, in the fields and on the way. Several authors have pointed to the view that they have from "their high seats in the slings" (Bolin 2006: 36). Infants are often carried along when the mother goes herding or to work in a field. They also get used to close contact with foodstuffs very early as often their mother might carry a cloth with crops home from the field. The baby is secured on top of the crops (cf. Panter-Brick 1992: 136 for the same technique in Nepal).

While this close contact to their mother is particularly strong through the first years due to being carried a lot by the mother, children, like adults, are also hardly ever alone at night. They sleep together with the rest of the family. Super and Harkness describe that in Kenya "Kipsigis households do not make major modifications in their living quarters or family routines to facilitate infant sleep" (Super & Harkness 1982: 13). In the same way there was no apparent difference in Cabreca between sleeping arrangements in a household with infants and a household without any. Babies and little children lay beside adults on the floor. Faustina often slept at our home. One night there were additional sleep-over guests which caused us to

[50] Inge Bolin, in contrast, states that in the Peruvian highland community of Chillihuani older male siblings and adult males also carry infants in the same way (Bolin 2006: 36).

sleep very close to each other in order to fit under the roof. As it was raining heavily, sleeping in the patio was not an option. Little baby Efraim was sleeping between Faustina and me, and I remember not sleeping well that night being afraid that I might hit or squash the child in my sleep. Carolyn Pope Edwards refers to studies which suggest that countries "where there are strong values favouring interdependency between generations, are more likely to allow children to fall asleep next to the parent's body and to come into parents' beds at night" while children from groups that favour independence sleep on their own (Edwards 1998: 172). Barbara Rogoff points to the parallel between daily life and sleeping arrangements at night: "Where toddlers share sleeping quarters with parents, nighttime does not involve segregation from the social life in which they participate by day." (Rogoff 2003:133; cf. 197ff.) As these children have the comfort and company of the people around them, they do not have any fixed bedtime routines and use no attachment objects to ease them into sleep (Rogoff et al. 1993: 62; Rogoff 2003: 197). Rather they are very much integrated into everybody else's routines and rhythms.

While this physical proximity causes the family members to have close relationships, explicit gestures of affection are very rare. In all my time in Cabreca I hardly saw any hugging, cuddling or kissing. Kissing according to Albó, Libermann, Godinez and Pifarre (1989) is in the Andes not used as a sign of loving affection but mainly as one of religious veneration. My experience in Cabreca would seem to confirm this. Only young infants were sometimes kissed. Clemencia fondled Efraim, Faustina's child who was under a year old, a lot and occasionally did some baby talk and sang to him. However, toddlers who can talk and walk and are already involved in the household tasks are not treated in this way anymore. I never saw kisses being exchanged unless it was an infant that was kissed.[51] When a friend of mine visited me in Cabreca and gave me a kiss on the cheek, this was discussed by the surrounding people who had seen it.[52] Este later came up to give me a kiss imitating what he had seen. This caused great hilarity in two adults who saw it.

[51] Of course the fact that I have not observed any of these affectionate gestures does not mean that they were not perhaps performed in very intimate situations. However, Catherine Allen and Andrews Canessa confirm that tenderness and kissing are seldom (Allen 1988: 78; Canessa 2012: 143-144).

[52] The people in Cabreca asked me many questions about my friend. For the whole continuation of his stay people repeatedly asked if he was my husband or my brother. When I replied that he was a friend (*amigu)*, people ignored that and kept interrogating whether he was my husband or brother. The same people asked me the question all over again and again day after day. Luisa asked me once how many friends I had and told me that she had one. However, that was the only time that someone in Cabreca talked about "friendship" to me using the Spanish words *amigo/amiga*. All relationships between people are either expressed through kinship terms or *compadrazgo* links.

When the male nurse Hernán came to Cabreca for one of the regular health care visits, he gave me a kiss on the cheek on his arrival and when he left. This caused similar astonishment. Clemencia repeatedly asked me afterwards how long I had known Hernán to be so familiar with him. I explained to her that I had met him less than a week before I first met her but that we had become friendly throughout the times that I stayed with him in Surumi. Although it is very common to greet friends with a peck on the cheek in urban Bolivia, Clemencia and other Cabrequeños were completely unfamiliar with this way of greeting each other. During everyday encounters a verbal salutation is exchanged. When meeting in an official context or after a long time people who know each other greet each other with a hand shake and simultaneous casual hug which is accompanied by a pat on the back with the left hand. While in Cabreca kisses were not exchanged between people, it was not unusual to affectionately kiss small animals. Particularly lambs and little goats are cuddled and kissed (cf. Canessa 2012: 144). Also Clemencia often kissed a kitten that was given to her. One day when we were walking together and passed a maize field, she stopped, investigated a plant, very excitedly showed me the developing crop and kissed it keenly. Respect and gratitude towards *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) and the crop were expressed that way.

In their play *Condor Qatay*, which is based on Catherine Allen's fieldwork in Peru, Allen and Garner give the following stage directions in order to set the scene between a mother and her daughter: "Although the two do not touch, their affection is evident." (Allen & Garner 1997: 18) That is also the impression that I often had when observing people in Cabreca. Although children were sometimes hurried along and propelled to work, the general sense of affection and care was present. When dogs barked, they were told *wawalla* (it's just a child) even though an adult or an animal might have been passing and caught the dog's attention. This expressed that a child was no danger and should not be attacked. Although they were not fondled, children were treated affectionately and attentively. Infants were breast-fed when they cried rather than being trained to hold back hunger. In Cabreca small children that could talk hardly cried. Only when they hurt themselves very badly, I saw children two years old or older cry. Generally they were treated very respectfully and as equals by adults. They were given a sense of being companions as well as co-workers.

Violence

Occasionally, however, I did see violence against children. One particular case struck me when I was sitting in a family's patio watching their *tiqti* cook, the residue of *chicha* (maize beer) which is regarded as a sweet treat. I had visited them in the morning, and they had asked

me if I could take on that task for a few hours as they had obligations to follow away from the house. It only involved making sure that the fire would not go out and stirring the gooey mass regularly. Three of the neighbours' children had come over to greet me and were curious what I was doing. We spent quite some time together. As my task was not very challenging, I was glad to have the company and involved them in a conversation. After quite some time their father returned to their patio and called for them. I could hear some shouting and then saw the oldest of the children running away, the father running after him and beating him with a stick. The little children's mother later told me that they themselves had been left in their own patio with instructions to look after food provisions. While they were with me and forgot to at least check regularly that the food was untouched, a cow had come into the yard and eaten a considerable amount of potatoes.

I was shocked at the angry outburst of violence. I knew the father of these children as a gentle, soft-spoken and generous man. His behaviour did not resemble the otherwise benign behaviour of this family. The children, on the other hand, had severely neglected their duties and caused the family to lose food which was not available in great quantities in this family of eight. The incident happened very fast. Later on I spent a lot of time thinking that I should have intervened to stop the father and regretting that I had not. Although I was never blamed by anyone, I felt partly responsible that the children had neglected their duty. Other incidences of violence I witnessed towards children were smaller, and children were punished by being given a light beating or slap. I was very impressed with Clemencia when I saw her outspoken during a couple of occasions and explicitly criticising people for hitting their children. Olivia Harris notes that Laymi children are never punished for something that they cannot understand yet (Harris 1980: 72). Children in Cabreca learn to respect food very early on, so perhaps the incident above was not seen as a violent act but as a justified punishment because the children had understood well what they had done. The morality about food that seems omnipresent in Cabreca meant that the children were well aware that they should have watched the provisions more carefully. Penny Harvey similarly observes in the Peruvian Andes that beating children for not looking after animals or younger siblings is not seen as violent (Harvey 1998: 75).

Language and social inclusion

Although there is no separate domain for children, the occasional violent behaviour towards children testifies to hierarchies within the family. Most interaction between children and adults is not explicitly characterised by hierarchy. Children are taken seriously as fully-

fledged members of society which is also reflected in the use of language. Language that is used towards or in front of children is not very different from the language used when adults only are present. On the one hand children overhear a lot of talk between adults; on the other hand the predominant treatment of children as equals from very early on is manifested linguistically as well. I heard some baby talk towards infants and sometimes from Clemencia to Este. But generally no special register was used with children, especially once they had started speaking themselves. As they were not instructed much verbally and were not over-protectively cautioned of dangers frequently, hierarchical structures like imperatives did not appear as often as in Europe (don't do this, don't do that). Very rarely the negative imperative *ama!* (don't!) or *ama jinachu!* (not like that, don't do it like that!) was heard when a child did something that they should not do. When helping with any jobs children were told what to do, what their task was by the adult in charge. They were told what to do but not how to do it. So were other adults present. Little Efraim, who was able to sit and crawl at this stage, once spilled a bag of salt. Clemencia reproached him "*Imátaq ruwashanki? Wasiykiman riy!*" (What are you doing? Go home [to your house]!) Although it actually sounded harsh, it was at the same time obvious that Clemencia was not seriously angry at Efraim and was only teasing him. While the older children had been severely punished for being responsible for food loss, Efraim was not considered old enough to realise what he had done. He looked at Clemencia with big eyes as if he understood both the words and the teasing but could not talk back. She also often called him *akasiki* (shitbum) and jokingly threatened "*makasqayki*" (I will hit you). But this was never carried out.

As well as being talked to in an egalitarian way, children also often overheard conversations that would here not be considered for children's ears. When children joined in the discussion, they were not hushed although mostly they were not encouraged to join in, either. Only once I heard someone saying that a matter should be dropped because a child was present and was getting upset. At Christmas there had been a physical fight involving Germán's 16-year-old niece Candelaria. Over the following days there were more rows involving more family members. I was involved in the growing feud as Germán and Candelaria's mother, Felipa, asked me if I could write a note to an authority in Surumi explaining that a young male whose identity I never discovered had come to the house that morning and beaten Candelaria. I failed to understand the details of the incident and tried my best to write down in Spanish what I had understood. After the next fight I was asked to take photographs of Felipa's bruises so that she would be able to prove that she had been attacked. While a lot of discussion around this

issue was under way, Candelaria's two younger brothers Teofilo and Zaca, then seven and four years old, were present. None of the talk was being concealed from them.

As this was between Christmas and New Year, there were a few sociable gatherings at different households around that time. One evening I was sitting in a neighbour's yard with a group of people. Music and conversation were alternating, and a lot of *chicha* was passed around. When the conversation turned to the fight at Candelaria's house, two parties were arguing. I did not understand well what each of them was saying. However, my point here is that Teofilo had appeared in the yard and was then present as the only member of the family that was in the centre of the fights. Not only was he overhearing the argument, but also suddenly one man who was obviously opposing Candelaria approached Teofilo directly and aggressively. Teofilo started crying, which was the only time that I saw a child of that age cry at all. Another man interfered, and a discussion followed on how the children needed to be left out of such matters. Teofilo was calmed and left a little later.

The incident described above was very unusual. As in other communities where many different caregivers are involved in nurturing children, the children of Cabreca were usually not separated from adults. As described above the children were tolerated at fiestas as well as at all other adult activities which they could witness openly without being sent away. Nothing was hidden from them, and nothing was considered inappropriate because of their presence (the above incident being an exception). Margaret Mead observes in Samoa that "parents do not hide anything from their children; they tell them no fairy tales about the birth of babies nor do they pack them off to a relative until after a funeral" (Mead 2008: 23; cf. Bandura & Walkers 1963: 48, Rogoff 2003: 133). What Fortes pointed out for the Tallensi in Ghana is true in Cabreca today, too: "Nothing in the universe of adult behaviour is hidden from children or barred to them." (Fortes 1970: 205) This social inclusion starts very early. As described earlier infants accompany their mothers or older sisters during the day. This accompaniment, as in many African, Asian and South American communities, rarely includes face-to-face contact with the mother (Edward 1998: 171). Instead the infants, whether carried around, held or sitting on the caregiver's lap, commonly face the same direction as the caregiver and thus have a similar perspective on other people present and on activities. The interactions between the caregiver and others can be observed, and instead of receiving "one-person-at-a-time attention" the infants "fit into the flow of ongoing social events, interacting as members of a group" (Rogoff 2003: 144; cf. Edwards 1998: 171). Cabreca toddlers who were able to sit on their own were often placed on a cloth on the ground. They could see the

other members of the group who were present and observe all interactions between them. The toddlers were not excluded from these interactions. Thus children take part in activities from early on. This social inclusion into the adult sphere is interrupted when children go to school, which provides a space that is in many ways separated from the adult sphere of the community.

A Cabreca approach to learning

Cabreca has a school which covers the basic primary education of children aged about six to ten. However, school attendance was scarce. When I discussed this and related topics with the teacher, he complained that the children came very irregularly and that that made it very hard for him to teach them efficiently. He often lamented that the children and their families were lazy and did not attend because they did not understand what the education was good for. I heard some other teachers from other communities arguing in a similar way. At the same time the teacher told me that the parents had decided that their children should be taught in Spanish, not in Quechua. This, however, he found impractical due to the high amount of days they were missing and the age range of students he had to cater for.[53] While the two Llustaque teachers were always complaining about similar problems, some schools in other communities that I visited seemed to have a more regulated daily routine. In the nearby Iru, which is a neighbouring community with a boarding school, and in Surumi, which caters for children from many different surrounding communities, there is more than one teacher, and the children are catered for in groups of smaller age ranges. Furthermore children who attend the boarding schools are away from their families and thus not distracted from class by having to work. I visited other communities in the *puna* that were connected to a major road, e.g. Pampa Colorada or Palqa, where the children attended school regularly and classes were a lot more regulated. The children wore white frocks and had utensils such as scissors available to them. In Cabreca these things are unavailable due to isolation and poverty. Teachers tend to stay longer in these schools that are connected to more infrastructure than the rather short-term teachers in isolated communities like Cabreca.[54] Thus they might be able to form

[53] Sarah Lund describes how in an Andean Peruvian highland community "on completing three years of 'compulsory' education, the vast majority of village children have learned to speak some Spanish, and they can write and recognise their names" (Lund 1997: 189) .

[54] When I first arrived in Cabreca, the teacher had been staying in Cabreca for three years and was preparing to leave. She liked Cabreca mainly because her husband was teaching in the neighbouring community Iru. After her a new teacher, Nestor, arrived who was hoping to leave again soon after only a short time. This was due to his loneliness, the long walk to means of transport and the difficulties he encountered in teaching.

Fig. 19: Clemencia minding Efraim. He is facing the same direction as her. Here a new loom has been set up for a weaving.

Fig. 20: A two-year-old boy is climbing over a wall and exploring the surroundings.

stronger relationships not only with the students but also with all community members. In these areas permanent migration is more common. Many children have access to secondary education, and it is not unusual to migrate to Bolivian cities or to Argentina.

When Cabreca children do not go to school, they are fulfilling their tasks and their role as a household member. They do the jobs that they are told to do by their parents and that make them Cabrequeños at an early age. As the whole family works in order to secure their nourishment, school is an extra activity that the children are sent to when they do not have to fulfil other tasks. When no adult or older sibling is available to herd the family's livestock, school-age children will have to watch the animals. I could understand the teacher's frustrations. But living in Cabreca I soon began to understand the reasons for the poor attendance. Like any member of society the children were part of the productive unit and helped with the jobs that they were able to do. They learnt while taking part in the community life. The concept of an institution like school contradicts this up-bringing amongst other members of the society as it keeps the children away from the adult world and creates a separate sphere for them (Rogoff 2003: 140).

Just as relevant to the question why school attendance is so poor is a consideration which makes allowance for a local approach to learning and knowledge. On the one hand it has already become clear that learning in Cabreca is situated. It is not achieved by being verbally instructed but by experiencing everyday life. Learning and the application of knowledge are site-specific and not in isolation from life (cf. Buechler 1989; Crickmay 2002: 46-49). Children accompany their parents, grandparents, siblings, *compadres*, neighbours, and learn early to participate in the activities they see. This process of learning is not accompanied by much hierarchical instruction. Inge Bolin quotes elders in Chillihuani to say "that it is better to set a good example for children to follow than to do a lot of talking" (Bolin 2006: 37). Rengifo Vásquez describes the whole process of nurturing in the Andes as "dialogue" (Rengifo Vásquez 1998b: 180). This dialogue does not exist merely between people but is constantly taking place between humans, deities and nature. All matter is alive and in dialogue. Nurturing does not mean teaching how to do something. Neither do people repeat the same action twice or repeat what other people are doing. Instead every act is attuned to the circumstances that are ever changing; it is thus a recreation.

This dialogic nurturance is valid for all actions including those of children who learn. They learn not through being taught. They see and then recreate what they have seen attuned to their ability and the given circumstances. There is no norm or formalisation of the learnt, and

there are no corrections. The recreation arises from the dialogue between all entities involved. (Rengifo Vásquez 1998b: 190-191) In that way children also learn from very early on that it is crucial to respect the other living entities, that nobody can live self-sufficiently but needs the world around them. As Blum remarks, no child even as young as four years old would destroy a cultivated plant intentionally (Blum 1995: 78). Respect for plants and the dependency between all living beings are internalised at an early age. This respect is particularly shown to food crops, which became clear to me when I was walking with four-year-old Zaca one day and he bent down to pick up a single maize kernel that was lying on the ground. He was taking it home where it would be incorporated into the next meal.[55] Inge Bolin pays much attention to this "culture of respect. Respect is not only given to other people and the deities, but is conveyed also to all forms of life […] as the Andean people see it. […] Children grow up knowing that without respect and compassion for life in all its forms, life cannot continue to exist." (Bolin 2006: 33)

Often Clemencia asked me to do something, and as I had never done it before, had never learnt how to do it, I often said *mana ... yachanichu* (I don't know …) or *mana ... atinichu* (I can't …), declarations never heard from children. Clemencia often replied with the encouragement *atinki* (you can). I had the physical requirements and had seen the action being carried out. Abstract distilled knowledge of how one did it was not necessary. In the Andean view I would be able if I did it in dialogue with the world around me and applied what I had seen to the present context. Hillary Webb gives an example of one of her Peruvian friends telling her that he wanted to speak Japanese. When she asked him whether he was going to study it, his reply was "No, I am just going to start speaking it." (Webb 2012: 31) In this instance again the acquisition of theoretical knowledge before one performs an action is unnecessary. Only the performance itself can lead to knowledge. A shaman told Webb "I know it because I am experiencing it. If I have so much knowledge and no time to practice it, then I know nothing. I only know about it. I don't really know it." (Webb 2012: 29-30) These examples show very well that the approach to knowledge is a different one in the Andean world than it is in places where institutionalised learning is the most prominent form of learning. Another description of learning that reminds one of learning in Cabreca is Vuojola-Magga's study of Saami reindeer herders: "There is a word in Saami that means learning, *calbme* (calbmeeadni), where a novice learns by seeing instead of having a large variety of

[55] Meyer Fortes relates treading on a shoot in Taleland once. An eight- or nine-year-old immediately replanted the shoot and reproachfully asked him whether he did not know that that was their food (Fortes 1970: 207).

verbal instruction […]. In this type of learning process the individual gains personal experience and uses her or his senses in relation to the environment […]; it is a construction of enskilment." (Vuojola-Magga 2010: 44)

Odland-Portisch refers to the social aspects of learning as an important point. She examines these social relations amongst Kazakh carpet makers in Mongolia but also comes to general conclusions on learning which could be applied to Cabreca. Although children who learn in school are in a group and developing social relations, children who work with family and neighbours instead of being isolated from the rest of the community become social beings (Odland-Portisch 2010: S66). Similarly, the division of children according to age is not common in Cabreca. The children benefit from learning from older siblings and neighbours as well as from spending time with younger children. "Interaction with a broad range of ages provides children the opportunity to practice teaching and nurturance with younger children and to imitate and practice role relations with older children. […], interaction with agemates seems to promote competitiveness." (Rogoff 2003: 126-127) Cabreca children do not learn how to be a Cabrequeño in school; they learn this while participating in the daily life of the community and interacting with all members of this community.

Schooling in the rural Andes has also been depicted as a colonial measure for indoctrinating Bolivian national norms among the rural population. Andrew Canessa summarises that "education since the Revolution [1952] has been primarily aimed at Bolivianizing, rather than educating, indians – a powerful form of colonization" (Canessa 2005: 134). He criticises that it is made plain to schoolchildren that they are uncivilised and should strive for cleanliness and civilised urban lives. At the same time though it has been made clear to Indians for over a century now that, even though they should be westernised and made into Bolivian citizens, they will never actually reach a different role in society but are destined to be peasants in the countryside (Stephenson 1999: 126).[56] As I did not study the school curriculum while I was in Cabreca, I am not sure how far the teacher aimed to teach national values and subjects like hygiene and cleanliness. One of his aims was to teach the Spanish language which he found a very difficult endeavour, but which according to him the parents had decided on.

I was surprised that several people asked me whether I could teach English to them. Rather than wanting to learn Spanish, the language of their colonisers, they chose English. Striving to be able to join discourses in the global world may have seemed more worthwhile than being

[56] For an in-depth study of ideologies produced in students in rural Bolivia, see Aurolyn Luykx 1999.

able to deal with officials in near-by towns. Several people, all men, expressed the wish to learn English from me. However, although I agreed to teach classes any time, they never materialised. Going to regular classes in order to learn a language was not practicable and did not match the local ways of learning. Instead Germán sometimes asked me what things were in English after we had gone to bed. Mostly we went through some animals, but he could never remember the English words and was finding them all very strange. And yet he never gave up or got bored with it. The same happened with some other people. I certainly cannot confirm the teacher's complaint that people were lazy and did not want to learn. The same applies to the children I spent time with. Although they might not have asked questions so much or demand instructions, they were curious and extremely motivated to learn in their everyday life.[57] Although I was glad that there was a teacher who would be able to help me with translations if any conflict should arise between my hosts and me, I did not spend much time with the teacher as soon as I was absorbed into the household.

The anthropologist as child

The separation of childhood in contrast to all other life stages is a construct that is not common in many parts of the world. Christina Toren argues for the use of data from children and the consideration of children as informants as they have to learn how to be functioning individuals in their respective society. They learn and apply knowledge "not because they are told to, nor because they are moulded, conditioned, socialised, or taught, but because children too have to live the world and make sense of it" (Toren 1999: 27). The learning process does not take place in isolation from all other social life. When I arrived in Cabreca, I did not know how to live in the Cabreca world and, like a child, had to learn how to do so. In Barbara Rogoff's words "infants' strategies […] appear similar to those appropriate for anyone learning in an unfamiliar culture: stay near a trusted guide, watch the guide's activities and get involved in the activities when possible, and attend to any instruction the guide provides." (Rogoff 1990: 17) If childhood is seen as an apprenticeship and my stay in an unfamiliar place likened to childhood, Clemencia and to a lesser extent Germán could be seen as such guides who provided me with help in getting to know Cabreca ways of doing things. As linguistic markers showed me that I was an accepted household member when Clemencia and Germán used the inclusive first person plural pronoun *ñoqanchis*, it was again language that

[57] According to Greenfield and Lave questioning on the part of learners is rare in communities where informal education prevails. In some places silence is even encouraged and questioning people of higher status or older people, i.e. the teacher, is seen as a lack of appropriate respect (Greenfield & Lave 1982: 187).

showed me explicitly that I was somehow accepted by Clemencia as *wawan* (her child) and also seen as that by other Cabrequeños. Especially the older women would sometimes talk to me about *mamayki* (your mother) when referring to Clemencia. My role in the household became more and more that of a child as well. I was not necessarily a substitute for Javier in that I would fulfil the tasks he had fulfilled, but I became a child that learnt things by imitating others and trying things out. Although this analogy makes sense on many levels, there are also obvious differences between a child and an ethnographer. As Lye Tuck-Po points out, in many ways "we are *not* children (however childishly we behave). We arrive pre-designed, as it were." (Tuck-Po 2008: 29) On many occasions rather than learning something completely new we learn doing things differently, i.e. in the manner that is common in the fieldsite. We thus "superimpose new experience upon past embodied knowledge" (Okely 1992: 16).

Before I left for fieldwork, I had been warned that, although spending much time with children can have benefits for the language learning process, it carries the danger of not being taken seriously as a researcher by the rest of the community. In Cabreca my explanations of my reasons for being there caused a lot of puzzlement anyway. The concept of research was completely alien to the people, and until the very end there was some suspicion left as to why I was really in Cabreca. My explaining that I was there in order to "learn how you live" was sufficient for being accepted in the community. But being taken seriously as a researcher was never achieved simply because people could not understand my motivations and were alienated by my explanations of research. I often remembered the warning of spending too much time with the children when sitting around and doing children's jobs together with young children. However, as I had not learnt how to be a Cabreca adult of my real age, it was inevitable that I would be treated like a child in these situations. When the people of Cabreca asked me how old I was, they did not believe my answer. It was incredible to them that being 30 years old I did not have a husband and several children. The importance of having children has already been illuminated. Allen states that "single adults are considered not only unfortunate, but unnatural as well" (Allen 1988: 81, cf. Harris 1980, Canessa 2012). My dress style left them puzzled further. I had arrived in trousers and did not swap them for the traditional dress that many older women wear or a bought skirt (*pollera*) that many of the young girls wear. In their eyes I was certainly not a man but not really a Cabreca woman, either. I can relate very well to Billie Jean Isbell who claims that she "was treated sometimes as if I were a man, sometimes like a child, and sometimes like a woman, which turned out to be a great ethnographic advantage" (Isbell 1985: 8). My incompetency in many tasks added to

this feeling of being different from a Cabreca adult. Not only had I not learnt the social aspects of what it meant to be Cabrequeña, but also I had not learnt the skills and the practical knowledge necessary for Cabreca life. Young children's jobs were often simply the only ones I was able to do. And perhaps I was assigned and readily fulfilled these tasks because both Clemencia and Germán and I were insecure. Often it was easier for me to spend time with children than dealing with adults and getting lost in misunderstandings. At the beginning I often felt that at least being a male ethnographer might have had more advantages and that men were excluding me from activities that seemed particularly interesting. However, with hindsight I realise now that I gained much of my knowledge on how Cabrequeños live their lives through being like a young girl that was learning to be a woman.

Conclusion

Cabreca children are integrated into most activities and learn how to be Cabrequeños by imitating adults. This is manifested in occasional role-play when they are apart from adults and in their daily contributions to the maintenance of the household. They are independent from an early age on and assume responsibilities, for instance for animals and other children. As team workers they fulfil tasks in the household, agricultural tasks and tasks related to animal care. Having no children is seen as a sign of poverty, not only because the childless household lacks those valuable workers. Children are good companions and bring about sociality. While I observed the occasional incident of violence against children, they were generally treated with much affection.

I have singled out the children of Cabreca and treated them in detail in this chapter because their upbringing struck me as very different from the ways young children learn and are integrated into society in Western Europe. This insight partly developed during my time in Cabreca. But the difference sank in more and more in the months after my fieldwork when I had returned to Germany at first and then Scotland where childhood seemed to be an entirely different sphere from the rest of society. In the following chapters the children of Cabreca will emerge again and again as they are integrated into the everyday lives of all Cabrequeños and play such an important role in the maintenance of the household in economic as well as social terms. Chapter III deals with agricultural tasks, which children join from an early age on, and with the relationship between all humans, their animate surroundings, animals and plants.

CHAPTER III

AGROPASTORALISM IN CABRECA: AGRICULTURE AND HUMAN-ANIMAL-RELATIONSHIPS

Introduction

The agricultural practices in Cabreca are particular to the *chawpirana* lifestyle as are the Cabrequeños' work relationships with the domestic animals that can be found in the region. The everyday agricultural tasks that Cabrequeños fulfil are connected to securing provisions and associated with the maintenance of the peasant household. All tasks are carried out by household members, either on their own or with the help of additional workers who can be neighbours and/or relatives, i.e. blood relatives, in-laws or fictive kin (*compadres*). It is necessary to discuss a local approach to 'work' and describe the agricultural tasks in detail in order to understand what they mean to Cabrequeños. Libations and offerings that are made during the cultivation processes and the reciprocal relationships between people who work together are part of this discussion. Looking at socio-economic aspects of agropastoralism only does not provide a complete account. Instead it needs to be seen as a cultural process which includes beliefs about humans and their relations to their environment. The first part of this chapter focusses on agricultural work including the relationships between Cabrequeños and their land and products. The second part then deals with the relationship between humans and domestic animals in Cabreca.

'Work'

The Cabreca working day is characterised by bustling activity. In the mornings everybody rises as soon as there is daylight, sometimes earlier than that. As there is no electricity supply and hence not much artificial light in Cabreca, daylight is utilised from dawn until dusk.[58] Sleeping late is unacceptable. Occasionally I was wakened and told that *tata inti* (*tata* = father, *inti* = sun) was out already. The only time one is allowed to stay in bed late is when one is ill or when it is raining very badly and the whole family stays under the shelter. Every day began in a hectic rush, and Clemencia especially was always very panicky about getting her daily chores done. However, this was the case even when there was no apparent reason (to me) for such a rush. Clemencia was driven by a general urge to constantly be active and not be idle. This did not seem to me a matter of wanting to appear busy to others but a genuine

[58] Torches and batteries are desired goods in Cabreca. They are used in order to do little tasks or walk in darkness.

need to make good use of her time. "*Ama killa*" (don't be lazy) is part of an Inca slogan: "*ama llulla, ama suwa, ama killa*" (don't lie, don't steal, don't be lazy). While lying, or at least concealing the truth, is a practice which is often employed in Cabreca not to appear ungenerous (see chapter II) and I have come across theft, people are never idle.[59]

Often Germán told me after breakfast that we would go and work. *Vamus trabajar* was the expression he used (from the Spanish *Vamos! A trabajar* or *Vamos a trabajar*). While this would usually be translated as an appellative "Let's go! To work!" or an indicative "We are going to work.", I noticed that this direct translation was not necessarily what Germán was really saying. It took me some time to realise that, when he used *vamos*, he often meant only himself rather than the first person plural.[60] Instead of saying *risaqlla* in Quechua, which I often heard from other people ("I will go now"), he used Spanish and said *vamos* which really means "let's go" but then went off on his own. When asking me to come along Germán mostly used the Quechua *jaku* (let's go!).[61] This confusion of different grammatical categories led to me being disappointed a few times when I thought he was taking me along to a job where I could learn something new, but really he was only saying good-bye. Possibly he meant "let's all go to work" implying that each of us would perform the tasks we had to, not go to work together. However, not only the first component *vamus* of his sentence *vamus trabajar* caught my attention and caused confusion but also the word *trabajar* (Spanish: work).

Although the people of Cabreca, when speaking in Quechua, use the word *trabajay* which is derived from the Spanish verb *trabajar* and translated as "to work", the meaning is not as straight-forward as it might seem[62]. From my own use of the word and the bewilderment that this usage caused as well as from their use of the word I gradually realised that *trabajay* and work, as we use it, cannot mean exactly the same. One of the repeating episodes during my

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[59] Virginia Nazarea, Juana Camacho and Natalia Parra record several Quechua sayings regarding this avoidance of idleness, for instance: *chawpi punchapi puñushpaka, ñawi ismurinka* (When you sleep during midday, it is said that your eyes can rot.) (Nazarea, Camacho, Parra 2006: 125).

[60] Later on, in contrast, Germán often invited me with his *vamus* although we had previously discussed that we would be travelling in different directions. This happened once when we met by chance in Macha and once in Colquechaca. Once he said *vamus Cabrecaman* (let's go to Cabreca), but then he left for Iru himself. Clemencia and I later went up to Cabreca. So that time Germán by using *vamus* had tried to convey the idea that we (Clemencia and I) would go to Cabreca but not him.

[61] Later on I learnt a song which starts with the words *jakulla imillitay* (come on, my little girl). Often, when I heard the word *jaku*, I started singing it, and Clemencia or Germán joined in.

[62] The Quechua word *llamk'ay* is not familiar to me from being used in Cabreca everyday speech.

time in Cabreca was the discussion about what I was doing when I was writing things down in my notebooks. Months after my arrival Clemencia still asked me *imataq ruwashanki* ("what are you doing?") or *chay imataq* ("what is that?") pointing to my notebook nearly every time I sat down to write something down. I experienced these very repetitive conversations as amusing at first, nerve-racking after a while and fascinating when I realised that both our confusion was related to considerable differences in the interpretation of the word *trabajay*.[63] From the start I found it difficult to explain why I was in Cabreca. Cabrequeños did not know what universities or research were and often questioned my motivation.[64] Later I realised that also my use of the word *trabajay*, which I used in order to explain that my notes were part of my work, did not make sense to them.

Writing and reading are very alien activities to the inhabitants of Cabreca and certainly not seen as work. Germán told me that he would like to learn how to read and write although, according to Constance Classen, writing "creates a state of alienation by separating the writer from the written and the reader from the writer. What is written has a disembodied existence; knowledge is no longer contained within human bodies but exists separately from them." (Classen 1991: 409) Despite not being used to this way of knowledge acquisition and the alienation and individualism that may come with it in comparison to oral ways of passing on knowledge Germán wanted to participate and not remain marginalised (Classen 1991: 420). From a trip to Sucre I took a textbook back for him which contained first writing exercises going through the alphabet. As the pictures and clozes required spelling of Spanish words which Germán often did not know, we were struggling with the exercises. And yet he was keen on doing the exercises and particularly on copying letters. Progress was very slow, but I admired Germán's patience and will power and was willing to help him whenever he wanted to practise. Sometimes he took my notebook and copied the last line I had written or wrote his name down. Copying someone who was able to write rather than having things explained and being verbally taught reminds us of the children's ways of learning described in the previous chapter. In any case Germán did not see doing the exercises as "work". The equalisation of intellectual activities and manual labour as work is a construct in our society which is not

[63] Olivia Harris gives account of very similar situations that I could relate to very well when I came across her descriptions after my fieldwork (Harris 2007: 139-140).

[64] The lack of knowledge about studies confirms Cabreca's isolation. In other communities in Northern Potosí *istudiay* (Spanish *estudiar*) is recognised (personal communication with Tristan Platt).

valid in many traditional societies (cf. Harris 2007: 140).[65] However, to equate physical labour with the word "trabajay" is too simplistic as well.

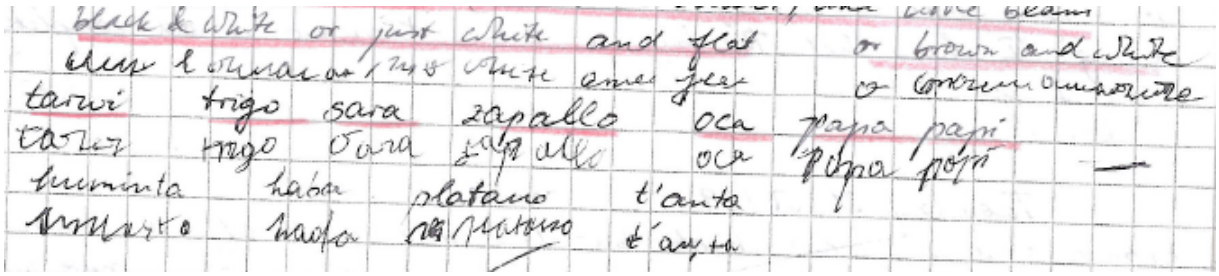

Fig. 21: Extract from my fieldnotes. I wrote a description of tarwi *(a pulse). Germán copied my writing (line 2), then asked me to write down specific words (line 3) for him to copy.*

Some ethnographers working in the Andes have stated that the use of the equivalent of "to work" which they had come across meant ploughing only and specifically described the work with oxen (Harris 2007: 142). In Germán's speech, however, I did not notice such a clear-cut distinction. Certainly he did not mean he was going to plough every time he said *vamus trabajar* to me. A connection to agricultural work in the fields, on the other hand, might be a criterion. In contrast to the tasks he described with *trabajar* activities like cooking, weaving and herding are in Cabreca always described with the particular verbs (*waykuy, away, michimuy/cabrawan riy)*, never with the verb *trabajay*.[66] At the same time, however, these activities are not seen as leisure activities, either. While we often make the distinction between work and leisure and tend to think in terms of being paid money for a task or not, this division is irrelevant here.

As Henri Lefebvre notes, the distinction "between man 'as man' on the one hand and the working man on the other" is a relatively recent distinction in our society. It has led to the separation of family life and productive activity as well as the emergence of leisure as a category that opposes work (Lefebvre 1991: 31). In many traditional societies, however, this

[65] In an Amazonian context Peter Gow establishes this distinction: "With *trabajo* the emphasis is on hard physical effort put into creating something, not knowledge." (Gow 1991: 103) Searching for food is opposed to this as it requires skill but not the physical production of something new.

[66] Ben Orlove conducted a fishery survey in a community at Lake Titicaca and specifically counted the uses of the word *trabajo*. In the fishermen's diaries animal care was usually not counted as 'work', cooking and childcare never appeared as 'work'. Of the just over 1,000 references to 'work' most were tasks in agriculture (554) and in construction work (368) (Orlove & Diaz 1999, Orlove 2002: 105-106). "*Ayuda*, the word for *help*, is nearly as common in the diaries as *trabajo*." (Orlove 2002: 106) This points to the social character of shared tasks. Sutti Ortiz explains that the Paez farmers of Southern Highland Colombia use the local word *mahin* which is translated to *trabajar* to describe farming activities, wage labour and day-exchange labour. But *mahin* "is not used to describe the act of washing, cooking, selling food, or cash crops, marketing, or of walking to far-off fields to give salt to their animals" (Ortiz 1979: 217).

separation does not take place. Mark Harris, for instance, reports that among Amazon floodplain dwellers "[w]ork is seen as everything that a person does. [… It] is not one type of activity over another, nor is it a separate part of daily life. Work is a lifestyle and a basis for an identity." (Harris 1998: 142) Work and life are one, and "social intercourse and labour are intermingled" (Thompson 1967: 60). While people in our society aim to achieve a good 'work-life balance', "there is no great sense of conflict between labour and 'passing the time of day'" in peasant societies (ibid.). The separation of work from social life involves tasks being measured in time (cf. Ingold 2000: 328). In Cabreca time is not used in order to divide life into work and non-work. Cabrequeños pursue their tasks not in isolation from all other social relations. While they perform tasks, people take breaks (*sama*), however, which are clearly distinct from the work as such.

After fieldwork in the Peruvian Andes Peter Gose notices that "although [the community members] sometimes distinguish between 'work' (*llank'ay*) and 'ritual' (*costumbre*), […] they do not do so with any rigorous taxonomic intent, and are just as likely to use *'costumbre'* to refer to labour processes, such as irrigation" (Gose 1994: 6). *Costumbre* marks activities through which social relationships are maintained and transformed (cf. Valladolid 1998: 73). In Cabreca I did not hear everyday activities described as *costumbre*. And yet all activities serve in order to situate the household into a wide net of relationships. These are relationships with other households as well as relationships with its environment, the land, animals, plants, deities. Regardless of whether Cabrequeños would call them "work" or not, the agricultural tasks that they fulfil all contribute to the maintenance of the household in social and in material terms and allow the people of Cabreca to maintain their relations with their environment and other humans.

Gendered work

The agricultural tasks and roles, which household members fulfil, consist of work in the fields. These include ploughing, sowing, weeding or harvesting and can also be tasks with the animals, mainly herding them. Nearly all of these tasks are in one way or another related to the production of food. All inhabitants participate in these activities: men and women, whether old or young, and children.

In Cabreca certain activities are gender-specific. However, I also often found that there was no strict line between them and that some tasks were exercised by men, women or children, by whoever was available to do them. Men often do the jobs that require a lot of physical

strength, but I was rather surprised to see them regularly pursuing duties like herding, after having read that this was a typical female task (e.g. Allen 1988, Arnold 1998, Harrison 1989). As little boys mostly spend time with their mothers until they are more mobile, they learn from them, and consequently men often know how to perform "female tasks" like spinning even though they do not execute them. During my first attempts to spin it was occasionally Germán who took the spindle off me to demonstrate how I could be more effective.[67] There are certain activities, such as cooking, that men only ever do when it is absolutely necessary, and activities, like weaving, that I have never seen carried out by men. In the agricultural sphere some tasks that are traditionally classified as male tasks are increasingly carried out by women. Mayer speaks of the "feminization of agriculture" (Mayer 2002: 27) which has set in due to migration to urban centres. While mostly men migrate to cities temporarily in order to find seasonal paid work, women are left behind in the rural communities and need to attend to all household maintenance on their own or with the help of males from other households. Male migration has in many Andean communities led to "demographic imbalances" (Brush 1977: 39).

Besides men I also met young female adolescents in Cabreca who had been or were going to go away for some seasonal work in Cochabamba. However, once they have children, women tend to stay in Cabreca while men travel more. Some authors note that it is easier for a woman to live on her own than it is for a man. A man when on his own does not have anyone to cook for him and feed him. A woman, however, can obtain help for the agricultural tasks that need to be carried out by men through the reciprocal work system (Mayer 2002: 7; cf. Allen 1988: 83). Clemencia and I sometimes stayed in Cabreca on our own when Germán was away overnight. On one of those occasions she said to me "aren't we well without a man?" Although moving the fences of the goats' corral was a strain, the two of us managed to do it together. During quieter periods of the year, it was no problem for Clemencia and me to be on our own. But during sowing and harvest periods a man's work input is indispensable and most Cabrequeños are in Cabreca.

In Andean literature activities have been described as gender-specific. Often lines are drawn between men doing certain jobs and women doing others. Dualities and the complementarity between man and woman are demonstrated. A term that is helpful in understanding the

[67] It is important not to overlook regional differences between Andean pastoralists. Catherine Allen states that at her Peruvian fieldsite "[m]en do almost as much spinning as women, and I have seen men weave" (Allen 1988: 78).

complementary nature of male and female household roles is *qhariwarmi* (Quechua, *qhari*: man, *warmi*: woman; or in Aymara *chachawarmi*) which is the unity of man and woman as a couple. While man and woman are different, they are mainly seen as complementary and make up one whole, *qhariwarmi* (Harris 2000: 167)[68]. In Macha this concept is also related to *yanantin* (Platt 1986), a term which describes things that come in pairs. As such man and woman complement each other in maintaining the household and carrying out different tasks. This is also true in agriculture. Most ethnographers acknowledge, however, that the distinction between activities that only men carry out and activities that only women carry out is a conceptual one that may differ in reality. Allen explains how, even though sometimes carried out by the other sex, "tasks are associated with either one sex or the other – and this affects how the job is done, its relationship to other jobs, and the attitude with which it is undertaken" (Allen 1988: 73). Economic reasons often appear to be a hindrance to the dualistic ideals. Migration and wage labour cause the disruption of traditionally gendered labour division. Enrique Mayer consequently records some "scepticism along with a questioning attitude about strict dual (*chachawarmi*-type) gender division of labor" (Mayer 2002: 13). In another context Tristan Platt points to local politico-economic and coercive pressures that can threaten idealistic dualities and cause people to align themselves in strategic ways (Platt 2009).

The agricultural year in Cabreca

Cabreca life is governed by the seasons and by the agricultural tasks that are required throughout them. The agrarian annual cycle is central to various previous studies in the Andes (e.g. Harris 1982, Gose 1994, Platt 1995, Stobart 2006, Rockefeller 2010: 99). Cabrequeños do not use a calendar measured in days, weeks and months. Rather the festivals, which are mostly religious, serve as markers throughout the year (cf. Stobart 2006: 49). Every community in the Andes has a local saint, and some fiestas differ between regions. Cabreca's local saint is Santiago (25 July). Furthermore local differences are apparent in the execution of the celebrations (Stobart 2006: 54). But in all Andean peasant communities the saints' days and fiestas punctuate the agricultural year and serve as markers for certain agricultural activities. The maize sowing season, for instance, coincides with the preparations and

[68] Krista Van Vleet also mentions the term *qusawarmi*, i.e. husband-wife (Van Vleet 2008: 226).

celebrations around All Souls' Day in late October and early November and marks the beginning of the agricultural cycle.[69]

Throughout the agricultural year people are busy carrying out work in their own household, but they can also work at other people's households in exchange for food or reciprocal work. Sowing, harvesting, weeding and keeping the fields in good condition are the main tasks. The middle altitude of the *chawpirana* allows its inhabitants to produce a range of crops that are not grown in equal proportions in other altitudes. While the highlands mainly produce potatoes and other tubers, the main product of the valleys is maize. In the *chawpirana*, both potatoes and maize are grown.

Families in Cabreca own a number of fields and grow different products in them. I will describe the products in more detail when talking about food preparation. Here I am naming them and describing the work processes that are involved in their production. Clemencia and Germán own fields that are cropped with potatoes (*papa*, *Solanum Andigenum*), *oca* (*Oxalis crenata*) and *papalisa* (*Ullucus tuberosum*)[70], maize (*sara, Zea mays*), wheat (*trigu, Triticum spp.*), barley (*granu, Hordenum spp.*) and fava beans (*haba, Vicia faba*). While potatoes are connected with the higher altitudes and the climate and soil characteristics found in the highlands, maize is associated with the warmer valley.[71] The logical conclusion for *chawpirana* fields would be the same collocation within their territory, i.e. tubers in the higher fields and maize in the lower fields. This microcosm of the high-low dichotomy can partly be found.

However, Andean agriculture is characterised by the rotation of products. During the year that I was staying in Cabreca, the very lowest fields in the territory were actually not maize fields but cropped with tubers. This contradicts patterns in other areas where maize fields always occupy lower zones although tubers would yield more there than in the higher zones (Mayer 2002: 250). Clemencia told me that in the previous year potatoes had been grown in the current *papalisa* field while Germán explained to me that the maize fields would stay maize fields for a second year and yield much bigger plants and crops in the following year.

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[69] Henry Stobart elaborates that the agricultural year of production also depicts "a microcosm of the human life cycle, where the loutish mountain peaks are ritually married to the *wirjin* ('virgin'), in order to make her reproduce during the rainy growing season." (Stobart 2006: 128)

[70] *Oca* and *papalisa* are two Andean tubers. *Papalisa* is also sometimes called *lisasa*.

[71] The varieties of potatoes which are most commonly found in middle altitude are *imilla*, *runa* and *puka ñawi*, maize varieties are *jank'a* and *yuraj* (cf. Platt 1982: 32-33).

The rotation does not only allow the soil to recover but also reduces the risk of diseases (Guillet 1987: 87). The altitudinal range within the relatively narrow *chawpirana* allows its inhabitants to practise this rotational system particularly well even though the long belt which is the *chawpirana* is not one distinct homogenous entity with one microclimate throughout. Apart from topographical variation within the *chawpirana* land quality can vary from one region to another as does irrigation (cf. Platt 1982). The suitability for certain crops is determined by "such features as protection from wind, drainage, humidity, and salinity" (Guillet 1981: 21).[72] Thus other *chawpirana* communities may well have different production patterns. In addition to the rotation of products most Andean agriculture is characterised by leaving some fields lying fallow (*poromas*) every year which reduces diseases and plagues further. Julio Valladolid Rivera cites Peruvian peasants saying that the soil is a being that gets tired and needs a rest (Valladolid Rivera 1998: 73). In the *puna* longer fallow periods are necessary (Platt 1982: 34) while the land in the valley is more productive and does not need these fallows (Harris 1982: 75). *Mantas*, communally controlled lands which are mainly found in the *puna*, do not exist in Cabreca.

From the start of my stay I was able to witness and participate in the agricultural tasks that occupy much of the Cabrequeños' time. As I was living in Clemencia and Germán's household, it was never doubted that I would fulfil my responsibilities as a household member. Germán and Clemencia integrated me into the household, and it was never an issue for me that I might not be granted permission to actively participate in work processes. Soon, however, my hosts realised how inexperienced I was in the required agricultural tasks. Instead of discarding me, they mostly ignored my incompetence and were very patient.[73] On the very first day Germán left me alone with some maize that was spread out to dry in the sun. He assumed that I knew what he meant when he told me to watch the maize. Germán had explained that birds would come and feed on the maize if I did not watch it. But it started raining, and I was not sure what I was supposed to do. I collected the maize and stored it in the hut. Without knowing me well Germán had entrusted me with the maize which was very important as it was to be made into *chicha* for All Souls' Day. I seemed to have done the right thing that rainy afternoon, Germán never complained to me that I had gathered the maize up.

[72] Irrigation is not such a big problem in Cabreca. According to David Guillet, it "is not important in middle zone agriculture […,] middle zone crops can be cultivated with available rainfall." (Guillet 1987: 82)

[73] Sometimes people laughed at me when they saw me struggling with a task or not understanding what I was supposed to do. Although this was a little hard to bear at first, I often reminded myself that it would probably make me laugh as well to see people that have so little experience and ability doing tasks that we take for granted and perform automatically.

As I arrived in mid-October, all inhabitants were busy preparing and sowing their maize fields. Clemencia and Germán had moved the household down to a place where three fields were going to be cultivated with maize. Goats and sheep were being kept in these fields at night in order to fertilise the soil. During those very first days of my stay I spent a lot of time on my own while Germán was away working in other fields and Clemencia went herding the goats and sheep every day. Getting an insight into the routines in the mornings and evenings was interesting, but the hours in between were beginning to make me feel frustrated. My only task was to watch the provisions from animals. I was glad when, after a few days, the actual work in the fields began.

Sowing

The first task in these maize fields was to clear them of rocks. More than other fields these three were covered in stones. We picked up the bigger ones and threw them onto big heaps at the foot of the slopes surrounding the fields.[74] This activity took two days with several people. Once the fields were cleared and manured and the goats had disappeared[75], the fields could be cultivated. Clemencia and Germán were sowing these fields in early November. Every sowing activity is accompanied by libations to *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) in order to achieve good yields. Two young women and a young man came to help with the task on the first day. Also Germán had brought two oxen to the fields the previous day. These were yoked in front of the heavy wooden plough which was steered by Germán. This was physically hard work, and Germán was often shouting directions at the animals. Furrow by furrow he drove the plough through the field. Whenever he reached the end, the oxen were instructed to turn around and begin the next furrow until one field was completed. One of the young women and I followed the plough and dropped maize kernels (*muju*, seed) into the furrows. The young man followed us pushing the soil back onto the kernels with a rake. This rake is called *kullpana* and consists of a stick with a piece of wood attached to it so that it forms a long T-shape.

Meanwhile the other young woman and Clemencia were busy the whole time preparing food. The work was interrupted for a long lunch break and for another shorter break with more food when another period of work was over. Two of the three fields were sown that day. The following day we sowed the third field. Only ten-year-old Mario, my godson Severino's

[74] One year later the field was covered in stones again, and the job had to be repeated.

[75] People rotate the care of goats and sheep. Although most people own these animals, they do not always herd them. In the same way when herding animals these are likely to be not only one's own but also those of one or more partners in this rotational system.

oldest brother, arrived to work with us. As I was not fast enough to do the female job of dropping the kernels into the furrows on my own, Clemencia took on this role and Mario and I covered them with soil. With this reduced workforce we managed to cultivate the third field. Again a very long lunch break interrupted the work. During this break both Clemencia and Germán fell asleep while Mario and I kept chatting. This was the only time that I saw people who were not ill sleeping during the day.

In the evening, when Mario had left after a long day of tiring work, Clemencia's 20-year-old nephew Cristian arrived. We spent one more night in the temporary home, a little hut, beside those maize fields. In the morning Germán announced we had more work to do (using the word "*trabajay*") and we would go up to Cabreca. The four of us chased the two oxen up, and the same sowing process began in a field in front of the house in the hamlet. A neighbour helped. Again Germán steered the plough leading the oxen up and down the field. The female neighbour and I dropped the kernels on the ground and Cristian followed us pushing the soil back on so it would cover the kernels. This time, however, we were not sowing maize only but mostly fava beans with a few maize kernels. When we finished the area in front of the house, we moved on to a field that belongs to the neighbour who was working with us and sowed beans and maize there. This combination of maize and beans is beneficial for the low nitrogen levels that generally prevail in the local soil types and helps to maintain fertility (Orlove 1977: 82, Valladolid Rivera 1998: 73). Grimaldo Rengifo Vasquez relates that some Andean peasants call beans and maize brothers (Rengifo 1998a: 92). Besides fertile soil the fava beans need water (Blum 1995: 117), which is the reason why they cannot be grown just anywhere. In Cabreca there is enough rain, but beans are not grown in Llustaque. When Clemencia and I went down to visit people, we took some with us which were greatly appreciated.

During the whole sowing activity Clemencia was busy cooking so that she could feed us during the breaks. The gendered division of work is notable in this important agricultural task. The sowing of other crops was carried out in the same way. Partly physical strength allows men to perform heavy tasks like the steering of the plough. However, even when there is no oxen-pulled plough involved but furrows are worked by a pick-axe because the territory is too steep or small, this is always a job performed by a man. The very first time that I participated in the sowing Germán let me try the plough. It was very heavy, and I had no idea how to steer it. I failed hopelessly, and those who were watching found it hilarious and were laughing at me. Perhaps the fact that I am not a man and even attempted to work the plough was enough

to make everybody laugh. After the furrows are ridged, one or more women place the seeds into the ground. Women always perform this step of the sowing process. Their fertility is linked to the fertility of *Pachamama*. In Cabreca this action is performed very fast and without much elaboration. Elsewhere in the Bolivian Andes women sing songs to the seeds (Arnold, Jiménez, Yapita 1991). When sowing potatoes in much steeper land Germán furrowed the soil manually with a hand tool and either Clemencia or I placed the potatoes in the ground. As the steep position of the field on a slope makes it impossible for goats and sheep to be kept there and provide fertilizer, an additional step is necessary: together with the potatoes collected dung is dropped into the furrows. As this was a new field, Clemencia had burnt all the shrubbery growing on that slope and thus opened up a new field.[76] During the harvest the division of tasks by gender is not as noticeable. The women are always responsible for cooking the provisions for all workers during that day. But apart from that the harvest is not divided so strictly into male and female exercises.

Maintenance and protection of cultivated fields

As I arrived during the maize sowing and left shortly after the maize sowing of the following year, I was able to observe the agricultural cycle that ranges over one calendar year. I happened to arrive at the beginning of the entire sowing season. Maize is planted first as it is much less tolerant to the cold (Valladolid Rivera 1998: 83). The sowing periods and the harvest of maize, tubers and other products, such as beans and grains, are the times when agricultural work is most intense. As different products are not sown at the same time and harvested at the same time of the year, these periods stretch over considerable periods. However, during the rest of the year the cultivation requires maintenance work and other tasks that are directly linked to the work in the fields. All work during the annual cycle of production contributes to the maintenance of the household in terms of securing food.

While fields are prepared through manuring and clearing them from stones, they also need to be attended to when the seeds have already been sown. Roughly two months after the sowing we spent a day and a half in the three maize fields weeding. Through the ploughing and loosening of the soil and the previous fertilisation weeds were thriving in these fields. Germán showed me how to pull the weeds out, and we worked our way through all three fields. When we were finished with the weeding, Germán's father Anastacio arrived with the plough and two oxen and ploughed the three fields again in order to loosen the soil around the new maize

[76] Stephen Brush describes this slash and burn method in more detail (Brush 1977: 93).

plants. Although I only witnessed and participated in this extensive work in those three maize fields, I am assuming that similar maintenance jobs were done in other fields.

One of the most time-consuming but also tedious jobs that can be listed under the work that secures the good condition of the crop was keeping birds from eating either seeds or crops. While the tuber fields did not require this guard, maize fields and wheat and barley fields needed to be watched as much as possible particularly early in the mornings and in the evenings. I was often sent down to fields after the sowing and later on when the plants were beginning to yield fruit in order to sit by the field and ensure that no birds were feeding on the crop either pecking the seeds out of the soil or from the maize cobs or the grain ears. I was given a slingshot (*waraqa*) and told to throw stones at the birds. But being present and occasionally making some noise would usually keep the birds from the fields. Typically this job was done by children or by teenage girls who were often weaving at the same time.

Fig. 394

Fig. 22: In the early 17th century Guaman Poma depicts Andeans scaring birds away from the fields in October after sowing and in March when the crop is nearly ripe. (Guaman Poma 1966:291, 294)

Fig. 23: A wheat field. A plastic band and sheets are put up to help keep birds away.

Harvest

The harvest of yields is the counterpart to the sowing described above. A field can be harvested gradually or in one go during one or two days. Most of the time it is a combination of the two: the harvest starts with some early crops that are consumed immediately, and the rest of the field is harvested in one big effort. Some early maize cobs might be collected from the fields in order to boil them and eat the maize straight from the cob (*choclos*) or make *humintas* (a traditional dish made from maize dough which is wrapped in the husks and boiled). The fresh maize is still soft and different in taste and in preparation methods than the dried maize cobs that are stored and consumed throughout the rest of the year.

Similarly when the provisions of the previous year are used up, a load of potatoes might be collected from the field to be eaten on that day and the following days. This started as early as February although the main potato harvest was only in April. A few times I went with either Clemencia or Germán and later on was also sent along with Faustina or some other neighbour to collect potatoes. We would either take a pick-axe with us or find it hidden away in the field from previous visits. A lot of the time there was only one pick-axe available, and we took turns in digging up the potatoes. The other person took a rest, did some weeding or collected firewood if we were to stay for a meal in the field. Clemencia never doubted that I would

know which fields were "ours". One day in the rainy season, she asked me if I could get potatoes from a field we had been to twice several weeks before. She assumed that I would remember the way and which field exactly I was supposed to dig in. I was trying to convey to her that I was not being lazy and would go but that I really was not sure how to get there. This incompetence in knowing the land after having been to the place was incredible to her.[77]

The procedure of collecting some crops to consume them freshly took place in *oca* and *papalisa* fields, too. The harvest of these two tubers was best handled by two or more people. One person pulled out the whole plant and left it on the ground while the next person followed and pulled the tubers off the roots and piled them. The same work processes were acted out when the time came for the entire rest of the harvest to be gathered at once. For these bigger harvest gatherings people from other households were often recruited. Especially for the maize and the *oca* harvest when no tools were necessary but the collection of the harvest was time-consuming, it was desirable to have additional helpers.

Potato harvest

The main potato harvest took place in early April. Around that time a couple from Surumi were visiting us. Don Geraldo who was the *corregidor* (a state authority at cantonal level who mediates cantonal matters to the *subalcalde*) and his wife Elena were part of our household for the first week of April. One day Elena, Germán, Clemencia, Este and I went to two potato fields that lay a twenty-minute walk away from the hamlet. While Elena left to visit some other people, Clemencia went up to her sister Leoncia's potato field which was the next one further up in order to prepare a *wathia* oven together with Leoncia. Germán and I dug up potatoes while a radio that Germán had borrowed was playing *cumbia* (dance music that is popular in South America). We were sometimes singing along, and I was dancing with Este when taking a little break. Although the potato harvest is straining work, the atmosphere was good. I always preferred the company and relaxed atmosphere to the days that I spent alone guarding animals or staying at home when Clemencia and Germán were away. Germán and particularly Clemencia seemed more relaxed during the harvest season as well. Although I was told that it was not a particularly good harvest that year (*kay wata mana allinchu* – this year is not good), the new crop meant that the maintenance of the household was secured. During other times of the year I often overheard arguments between the couple which were revolving around food shortage. In practice I never perceived the effects of any threatening

[77] I return to the knowledge of land in chapter V.

shortage: I was always offered food in abundance, both when being a guest and at home with Clemencia. However, as peasants who rely on their own produce Cabrequeños are always aware of such risks as food shortage through diseases or severe weather. The potatoes were stored in the field. Germán dug a hollow (*q'ayru*), and we gathered the potatoes in it and covered them with grass. In the following weeks I was sent to those fields on my own several times or accompanied Clemencia in order to collect a load of potatoes from that hollow.

Recipe

Wathia

Ingredients: potatoes (papa) or ocas, sometimes beans are added.

Wathia is an earth oven which is made for cooking potatoes or ocas in the field. Gather enough clay soil lumps or rocks and pile them up to build a dome with an opening. Push firewood into that opening and light the fire inside the oven. Fuel for an hour by pushing more wood in every now and again. Throw potatoes in through the opening (or ocas). Then collapse the dome so that the potatoes are covered by the hot clay or rocks. Leave for up to an hour. Then remove the rocks. The wathia is eaten with llaqwa. Everybody helps themselves from the pile of baked potatoes and peels them with their fingers. Wathia leftovers are also eaten cold.

Oca harvest

One of the most unforgettable experiences of my entire time in Cabreca was the last week of April when everybody was busy in their *oca* fields harvesting the tuber. Before I accompanied Germán and Clemencia to our own *oca* fields, I was asked to help Lucia and Anastacio, Germán's parents, with their harvest. For two successive days I went up to their *oca* field. Apart from me three men were there to work for the day. When Anastacio and Lucia's field was finished, I worked in our own with Germán and two more helpers for another few days. The *oca* harvest is not as physically challenging as digging out potatoes is. But doing the same monotonous task during that week, either pulling out the plant or collecting the tubers off the roots, was tiring as well. Like the work the diet was very monotonous during that time. We ate *oca* for breakfast, for lunch (in the form of *wathia* in the field) and for dinner. After a few days I was craving for a *lawa* which we usually had so often that Clemencia and I sometimes talked about being sick and tired of it. Especially the breakfast and the dinner of *oca* at home were something I was not looking forward to although I had previously liked *oca* very much. The tubers were simply boiled in water, and Clemencia wanted to save the bigger

and intact *ocas* for storage.[78] *Ocas* have a somewhat sweet taste and are not served with *llaqwa*.

Recipe

Oca

Ingredients: water (yaku), ocas.

Bring the water to the boil and add the ocas. Cook until the ocas are soft and can be squashed between thumb and index finger. Ocas do not need to be peeled. Serve them immediately or as provisions when they have cooled down.

A special food that, according to people on the *puna*, represents the *chawpirana* (Platt 2008: 8) is *qawi*. Similar to *chuño*, the freeze-dried potatoes from the *puna*, *qawi* is dried *oca*. In Cabreca Felipa is one of the women who make *qawi*. The *qawi* we consumed at our house came from her, and also I had *qawi* at her place. Although I never witnessed her undertaking the time-consuming task, Clemencia explained to me once how *qawi* was made. A similar, detailed account is given by Damiana Atalaya Zelada (1989) who makes *qawi* as follows: the *oca* is washed and then sun-dried for three days. After those three days she cuts the *ocas* into strips lengthwise. These strips are dried for three to four days, which can be done on the roof of the house. At night the *qawi* is collected and kept in the house. After those days of insolation the *qawi* has assumed a smaller wizened shape, is darker and sweet. It can be kept for up to a year (Atalaya Zelada & Arana Paredes 1989). As a meal *qawi* is prepared in a similar way as the *oca*.

Recipe

Qawí

Ingredients: water (yaku), qawi (dried oca).

Bring the water to the boil and add the qawi. Cook until soft. The stock can be drunk. It is sweet like the qawi itself. Serve qawi warm or cold as provisions.

During the "*oca* week" I conceived the lunches in the field as much nicer than *oca* meals at home. This is partly due to the earthy taste that the *wathia* oven gives the food and partly to the sociality that these lunch breaks meant. Weismantel remembers *wathia* as a less formal event where hierarchies do not matter as much as during other meals and sharing is more casual and relaxed (Weismantel 1988: 133-134). When we had *wathia* in Cabreca, people sat

[78] On my following visit to Sucre I saw *ocas* being sold in the market. The individual tubers were a lot bigger and faultless compared to the ones I had seen and eaten in Cabreca. Also when travelling through a community between Macha and Colquechaca I was invited to eat some *oca* which was much less faulty.

closer together and helped themselves rather than being handed a dish. Still the hosts would often encourage me to eat faster and more with the urging imperative *mikhuy, mikhuy* ("Eat, eat!"). As the work teams were slightly different every day during the *oca* harvest, there were always new things to be chatted about. Also the owners of the surrounding fields were equally busy harvesting with additional helpers. One day as we were having a break in Lucia and Anastacio's field, a neighbour approached us from a lower field to offer us a hatful of their *oca wathia*. Later on Lucia sent Anastacio down to that field with a load of freshly harvested and baked *oca* in order to give them the very same gift. This kind of reciprocity of exchanging the same thing is rather unusual. Normally a product would be repaid with something else at a later stage or work might be remunerated through food. On this occasion, however, sharing of the new harvest was the essential point even though it was not consumed together. In addition to being fed throughout the day I received a big bag of *oca* to take home with me by Lucia and Anastacio at the end of each work day. I delivered this bag to Clemencia who praised me.

The work in our own field was similar, but as it lay on the fringes of the *oca* area, there was not as much interaction with surrounding fields. We gathered the *ocas* into several piles in the field. Only about four weeks later we collected them. That day Clemencia and Germán had left with five donkeys early in the morning, and I followed them later. I found them in the *oca* field as they had nearly finished packing the crops in two *kustalas* (coarsely woven sacks), three sacks (industrial sacks from bought goods like rice) and three *likllas* (home-woven carrying cloths). While the donkeys were loaded up with the *kustalas* and sacks, the three of us carried a *liklla* each on the back. And so we walked back to the house where the donkeys were unloaded and the *oca* put away for storage. The following day Germán picked up three more sacks. The yield was then stored in the house.[79]

[79] I had been away for a couple of weeks at the beginning of May but later realised that the same procedure had been applied in the *papalisa* field.

*Fig. 24: A storage container (*pirhua*) made of canes similar to the ones used for* oca *and maize in Cabreca (Photo in: Arnold, Jiménez, Yapita 1991).*

Maize harvest

Another harvesting event that I participated in a few weeks later in June was the maize harvest. In April Germán and I had spent some time picking cobs which had been half-eaten by birds. In June Germán began cutting some of the maize plants while I collected cobs. Clemencia and I were often herding cattle near the maize fields during that time and would always take some fresh maize home or prepare some there for lunch. Later on in June the complete remaining harvest happened in two days. Clemencia and I were down below (*urapi*) in the three maize fields that I described earlier. Two neighbours, Jacinto and Mario, arrived to work with us on the first day. They collected the maize cobs off the plants row by row. They were filling the big sacks that they were carrying over one shoulder and occasionally emptied them onto a big pile. In the meantime Clemencia and I prepared their lunch. After lunch Clemencia started preparing more food while I carried a sack through the rows and filled it with maize cobs like the men. The following day two other men came to work with us in order to finish off the third field. The day after that I accompanied Faustina to one of her maize fields which lay much further down. After a long zigzag walk down we arrived in a field, and later on a little girl joined us. Faustina erected the storage container (*pirhua*) that I had carried down rolled up into a long tube, and we collected maize cobs and moved them into the container.

During the time of the maize harvest several seasonal meals that contain fresh maize are prepared. The cornstalks (*wiru*) are also sometimes broken off and sucked. They are very sweet.

Recipes

Chuqllu/Choclo *(corn on the cob)*

Ingredients: water (yaku), fresh maize (sara).

Leave the maize kernels on the cobs and cook them as a whole in boiling water until the maize is soft.

Humintas

Ingredients: water (yaku), fresh maize (sara), maize leaves (sara kaspa).

Grind the fresh maize kernels into a thick dough. Take the leaves off the ear of the maize. Wrap three spoonfuls of the maize dough in each leave and then cook the parcels in boiling water.

Harvest of other crops

Potato, *oca* and maize harvest were the major events that I participated in. Other yields were gathered more gradually or in my absence when I was away for some weeks during the whole harvest season. At the end of May *papalisa* was harvested. Bean stalks were cut down bit by bit and left in big stacks in the fields. The beans themselves were collected later. I completely missed the harvest of grains when away on a visit to Sucre in July. When I returned, I saw some individual people threshing from a distance. While I saw an old woman doing it with her sandal, Pedro, Clemencia's brother-in-law, was threshing some wheat on a stone. However, I did not witness the whole procedure and the actual harvest.

Recipe

Barley broth[80]

Ingredients: water (yaku), lard (mantika), salt (kachi), barley (granu) , potatoes (papa), llaqwa.

This broth is prepared similarly to the lawa, but contains barley instead of ground maize. Bring the water to the boil. Add lard and salt to the boiling water and then the barley. Peel the potatoes and cut big potatoes into smaller pieces. When the barley is nearly tender, add the potatoes. Cook until they are done, and then serve the soup with llaqwa.

Libations and offerings

During important agricultural tasks Cabrequeños, like other Andeans, communicate with their animate surroundings. Through libations and offerings they secure the good relationship with these powers who have an agency and "are seen to have human like needs and feelings

[80] Although we had this barley soup regularly, I never noted a Quechua name for it.

that can make them hungry, angry, or revengeful" (Ødegaard 2011: 340). On the one hand they are able to help humans to achieve good yields and to stay healthy. But "spirits are also capricious and destructive, powerful and thus able to destroy life as well as sustain it" (Harvey 2001: 199). In everyday rituals Cabrequeños constantly reaffirm their relationships with the spirits around them and try to not upset them. As Bill Sillar documents, "Andean animism is most clearly expressed within a series of practices through which people make offerings that seek to reciprocate the benevolence of the animate world, or stave off malevolence" (Sillar 2009: 372). This maintenance of relationships also occurs through the physical treatment of the land. "Land in the Andes is a vulnerable resource in constant need of labour, both in its preparation and cultivation, and in its administration, defence, ritual nourishment and ceremonial propitiation." (Platt 2009: 42)

Before work in the fields and sometimes when herding sheep and goats, Germán would give me some coca and tell me to pray to *tatanchis* (our Father). Meaning father, the word *tata* is used to denote different entities. It is used when talking about or to one's father. As a salutation it is also used when addressing a close respected male adult. Correspondingly *mamay* (my mother) can be used as an address when talking to a female. In the mornings *tata inti*, the sun, rises. *Killa*, the moon, is grammatically feminine and talked about as a personified female. The fourth denotation of *tata* is the religious one. As Catholics Cabrequeños have the notion of a Christian god beside other spirits. Although the Spanish *dios* (god) occurs in expressions like *dius pagarasunki* (literally: God will pay you back), which is used to say thank you, *tata* is a much more common address and denomination. Sometimes the sun and god are one, i.e. *dius* is the sun (Platt 1987: 140).

Other beings in the animated Andean landscape that are given offerings and talked about are *apus* (mountain gods), *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) and *supay* (loosely translated as 'devil'[81]). *Apus* are linked to ancestors and seen as masculine forces.[82] They are mountain deities who protect people and their crops and animals (Gelles & Martínez 1996: 175). Sarah Lund Skar notes that "[a]ll misfortunes affecting the animals arise out of the displeasure of the *apus*" (Lund Skar 1993: 35). In a very detailed analysis Tristan Platt describes a shamanic séance in

[81] The *supay* is not identical with the Christian devil. Rather he is an ambivalent being who is connected with the dead (Platt 2002: 135, Dedenbach-Salazar 2007: 23). He has positive as well as negative capacities (Crickmay 2008). Regina Harrison, for instance, records songs in which the *supay* is portrayed as positive and having a lot of power (Harrison 1989: 137).

[82] Although others have stated the existence of *Pachatata* (Father Earth) as the male counterpart of *Pachamama* (e.g. Platt 1987: 146, Baumann 1996: 22ff.), I have not heard him mentioned in Cabreca.

Liq'unipampa, Macha, in which the shamans summon the mountain spirits, here called *jurq'u*, in order to question them (Platt 1997). I never witnessed anything similar in Cabreca. But during fiestas, particularly Carnival, Cabrequeños gathered in mountain locations surrounding Cabreca, made offerings and danced and played music.

Pachamama is the Mother Earth who symbolises fertility and growth.[83] She is also called the *wirjin* (virgin). She is offered libations so that she will mean well and present the people with good yields while the *supay* is held responsible for events that harm the yield. Communication with the supernatural takes place especially before sowing and harvest. Among Peruvian farmers permission to open the soil is asked (Valladolid Rivera 1998: 74), and *Pachamama* is thanked for the crop. Before sowing as well as before the harvest coca is handed out to everybody present. Sometimes embers are left in the field as an offering before harvesting. After the harvest additional offerings are prepared. After our maize harvest in the three fields mentioned earlier Clemencia prepared two more offerings containing sweets, *jampi* (medicine), red wine and alcohol. These were left for the virgin (i.e. *Pachamama*) and had to be two as one was representing male and the other one female. February 2 is the Day of Candelaria, the saint of food crops. On that day Clemencia and I and many other women went to the potato fields and burnt incense for *Pachamama* and Mama Candelaria. We also gathered a few potatoes and some *papalisa* to take home that day.

In the evening we were sitting together and talking about Candelaria. Germán asked for alcohol. I think he was joking as both Clemencia and he looked surprised that I really did have one of the small 200 ml bottles left. We had a few shots, shared a cigarette and some coca and prayed to *Pachamama*. I noticed that Germán and Herminio had mentioned *Pachamama* that day while all the women were talking about Mamita Candelaria[84]. I learnt that evening that she is not just the Mamita for potatoes but for all food crops. Yet leaving the offerings in the potato fields is common. Germán and Clemencia continued telling me that Candelaria had appeared in a miracle in Pocoata and that mass was said on the Day of Candelaria there. Clemencia stressed that there was a market with many stalls and that after the mass one could buy many things: weavings, clothes, hats. Although she had never been to Pocoata for the Day of Candelaria, she described the market in great detail.

[83] Although my own experience of the *Pachamama* in Cabreca is that of a positive spirit who feeds people, she can also be represented as old and mean.

[84] Female saints are addressed as Mama or Mamita.

While *Pachamama* and Mama Candelaria are offered libations throughout the year in the hope that they will ensure a good yield, there are also evil spirits who can threaten the crops. In mid-January a couple of hailstorms afflicted Cabreca. The hailstones (*chikchi*) were so big that they damaged the maize seedlings which had appeared and were then about 20 cm high. Germán asked me if I could take some photographs of the particularly affected fields as he was hoping for some compensation if he could prove the extent. I took some, but he did not do anything with those pictures when I brought them back from town. The day after the hail I saw six men from a distance who were standing in a field pouring out libations of alcohol. Later on that afternoon the mayor's mother came to our house to ask if Germán had any alcohol he could sell her. I was alone at home and gave her another 200 ml bottle that I had left in my bag and six cigarettes. She said she would bring some eggs in return but never did. The men had moved to her patio and were pouring libations there.

Earlier on Germán had explained to me that the hail of the previous days had been a punishment (*kastigu* from Spanish *castigo*) of the people of Cabreca by the *mallku* and the *supay* and that a meeting would be held on the mountain. The *mallku* is a mountain spirit represented by the condor.[85] While libations are offered in order to placate the *supay*, another measure is implemented in order to scare him away and thus prevent further damage: people detonate dynamite. When we heard explosions far away, Clemencia told me that the dynamite was *supaypaq* (for the devil). In February, when more hail was imminent, the mayor came to our house one evening and together with Germán fired some more dynamite next to the fields surrounding our house. At the same time they were shouting and swearing. I was not quite sure if they were addressing the hail or *supay* who had caused the hail with their angry shouts. In Kalankira, in Henry Stobart's experience, people describe hail as punishment from god or compare it "to an unruly 'wild animal' that devastates the fields" (Stobart 2006: 50). Tristan Platt recalls that in the valley "[s]ome say that 'robber mountain-spirits' (*suwa jurq'u*) from the puna may come and eat up their maize in a storm of hail, unless scared off with explosions of dynamite" (Platt 2009: 41).

While severe weather conditions like hail and floodings are considered a punishment, standard amounts of rainfall are considered necessary for growth and seen as part of life. Although so much of Cabreca life takes part outdoors, people hardly ever complain about getting wet. Germán explained to me that the potatoes need the rain in order to grow, and this

[85] While *mallku* is the condor in Quechua, the word means 'chieftain' in Aymara (Bolton 2001: 229).

knowledge seems so internalised that complaining would be absurd. Many times we were drenched on the way somewhere, while working outdoors or at night when the *ichhu* roof could not resist heavy rainfall. One day during the rainy season we were working in a potato field when a sudden heavy shower completely soaked us. Clemencia, Germán and I huddled together under a blue plastic sheet that Clemencia was carrying with her. When the shower was over, I was sure that we would go back to the house, but instead we resumed work as if nothing had happened. Ben Orlove recalls "the Quechua equivalent for *drizzle*: *misti manchachi*, 'that which frightens the mestizo.'", a phrase which depicts mestizos to go inside as soon as a bit of rain appears while rural peasants stay outside working until the rain becomes too heavy to continue (Orlove 2002: 61). The whole week of Carnival celebrations was very wet as well. When it was not raining, the muddy ground and dark grey clouds reminded us that it was only likely to be a short break from more rain. During the whole week our clothes were damp. We clamped a big blue tarpaulin in front of the house in order to sit in a small dry part of the yard when having a *misa* (an altar, a table where offerings of *chicha* and coca are made, see photo p. 67). During the whole week nobody complained, and nobody seemed to get a cold from these conditions, either.

Fig. 25: Shelter for Carnival celebrations.

Reciprocal Help

The sowing and the harvest periods are particular times when not only relationships between humans and sacred beings are reaffirmed but also relationships between people. The above described agricultural tasks are often accomplished with the help of non-household members. These helpers are recruited for single days in order to work for another family and compensated with food. If they help during the sowing, they are fed generously throughout the day. After a day of harvesting work the owner of the respective field endows the workers with a part of the harvest in addition to the provisions of that day. Beside the edible remuneration that is consumed or enters the helper's household helping each other entails reciprocity between the two parties involved.

Several types of work reciprocity have been described in Andean ethnography. The most common ones are *ayni* and *mink'a*. *Ayni* represents balance and reciprocity (Classen 1993: 11). The person who needs help with a certain task can call on relatives, neighbours or *compadres* and ask them to help. The payment is the return of the day's labour later on. Ideally "an equal amount of time spent at the same kind of work" is repaid (Orlove 1977: 88). This makes *ayni* a symmetrical, egalitarian form of exchanging work (Allen 1988: 92, Gose 1994: 6ff, Mayer 2002: 109ff).[86] *Mink'a* is similar, but the helpers are remunerated with food and drink (Gose 1994: 6ff) and a repayment in goods rather than in labour (Orlove 1977: 88). During the harvest these goods are usually crops gathered on the day (cf. Harris 1982: 87). As the reciprocity of the same labour is not present in *mink'a*, it has been described as asymmetrical and hierarchical (e.g. Gose 1994 6ff).

There are regional differences in how exactly the two forms are carried out. Volker Blum (in Southern Peru) and Krista Van Vleet (in Sullk'ata, Northern Potosí), for instance, explain that *ayni* is deployed between people of the same sex. A woman can call a woman for help and then repay the same labour, men exchange labour with men (Blum 1995: 136, Van Vleet 2008: 16). Others do not note this gender division of labour in *ayni*. On the contrary Olivia Harris, for instance, mentions the possibility of a widow and a widower exchanging labour among the Laymi. As the widower ploughs the fields, the widow can in exchange sow (Harris 1982: 87). Regional differences and blurred boundaries between *ayni* and *mink'a* mean that the "different forms of reciprocity are not always clearly distinguished" (Rockefeller 2010:

[86] While it is used to describe reciprocal work relations, *ayni* also means vengeance, and "'returning the *ayni*' (*aynita kutichiy*), equalising a death with a death, is one of the aims of Macha warfare" (Platt 2009: 56).

105). When I helped Lucia and Anastacio in the *oca* harvest described above, I was fed generously during the work breaks and was given a share of the harvested *ocas* to take home. Although this fits the general definition of *mink'a* in Andean literature, Clemencia thanked and praised me on the first evening and said that I had performed a good day of *ayni*.[87]

Beside *ayni* and *mink'a* many ethnographers describe *faenas*. These are bigger work parties where people wear their best clothes and celebrate the conviviality of work (Harris 2007: 144-145). The atmosphere is rather a fiesta atmosphere with music and dance (Valladolid Rivera 1998: 59) and festive food as payment (Harris 1982: 85). These work parties are typically organised for tasks that require a lot of joint work, such as big agricultural tasks, house-building and roofing and preparing fiestas (ibid.). Enrique Mayer describes a work party where nine men worked together ploughing and sharing much coca, alcohol and cigarettes in the process (Mayer 2002: 112), and Peter Gose describes an elaborate house-roofing party (Gose 1991, 1994: 74-90). In Cabreca I never witnessed any such bigger fiesta-like work parties except for the days before fiestas. Making *chicha* required a lot of work that was often shared between people, and they were thanked with much food and shared coca and alcohol.

In Cabreca the recruitment of people for work purposes was often a mystery to me. I hardly ever witnessed the course of arranging such a work agreement. When I was working for other households, the people had just asked me spontaneously when I happened to come along or Clemencia or Germán made the arrangement for me. Once I witnessed a spontaneous recruitment. Clemencia and I were in the three maize fields. Nobody was arriving for work. Clemencia was getting impatient when a young man, Mario, appeared further up the hill. He was shouting something down. He was only looking for a lamb that had gone missing, but Clemencia shouted back inviting him to come and work for her for the day. Although he said he could not at first, he eventually arrived in the fields. Around the same time Jacinto, another neighbour, arrived. He had been recruited earlier on but had been held up.

Santiago and the ploughing ritual

While the system of reciprocal work strategies is crucial to successful agriculture in Cabreca, the relationships between humans, animals and crops also play a big role in performing agricultural tasks. The rituals described below celebrate this connection between Cabrequeños and their animate surroundings in a festive rather than an everyday context.

[87] In other regions other names are used. In Ecuador Emilia Ferraro, for instance, speaks of a *prestamanos* (Spanish; prestar = borrow/lend, manos = hands) which resembles *ayni* (Ferraro 2006: 35).

Santiago is Cabreca's local saint who is celebrated over several days in late July (25 July being the day of Santiago). While much social gathering with music, drink and food happened in those households that were the official hosts during that fiesta, two of the days were dedicated to the re-enactment of the sowing procedure. Everybody was very excited and in a festive mood when I witnessed this fiesta and the ceremonial representation of the sowing act. I will also describe some of the other ritual activities that I witnessed over the week but concentrate on the ploughing ritual.

On 16th July I had walked back to Cabreca returning from a trip to Oruro. I went to our *wasi*, unpacked my things and sorted them before Germán arrived. He told me that Clemencia was *urapi* (in the maize fields) and asked me to go and join her. We stayed *urapi* until 22nd July when we moved back up to the *wasi* in Cabreca. In the meantime the festive preparations in the hamlet had started.

On 23rd July I spent all day at Faustina's parents-in-laws' *wasi*. The household was one of the three households sponsoring that year's Santiago celebrations. Many people came and went. Faustina's husband Virgilio regularly handed out coca to everybody present, his mother welcomed me and gave me some food, and his grandmother told me that it was nice to see me back in Cabreca. The atmosphere reflected the anticipation of the forthcoming celebrations and the spirit of preparing the fiesta together. Three men, Francisco, Herminio and Anastacio, dug a big hole in the patio. This was to be the fireplace for three big pots (like the one that can be seen in the photo on p. 35) for making *chicha*. The women who were present started collecting water, and men arrived with firewood. The water was brought to the boil in the three pots. Ground maize and boiling water were mixed in big bowls and stirred regularly. More people arrived, and everybody joined in the work and was given food. Faustina was busy at the hearth all day preparing barley soup, *mut'i*, *oca*, rice soup. Beside coca Virgilio later also shared out two little plastic glasses of *tragu* (alcohol). In the evening Germán arrived. Although she had said she would, Clemencia never joined us.

The following day the preparations continued. Additionally a meeting took place in the school yard. It was a good day for a meeting as most Cabrequeños were at home for Santiago. I spent most of the day at home with Clemencia. In the late afternoon I joined a group of women outside Faustina's parents-in-laws' *wasi* who were preparing communal food. We peeled potatoes and later made a fire and boiled the potatoes and *mut'i* (boiled maize). In the meantime a group of men were sitting in the patio drinking and talking. The women were called into the patio one by one and also offered some *chicha*. Another group of men quickly

built three shelters a bit further down, and there were also some musicians and dancers who performed a dance through the fields. They were 15 men and one girl with a white flag, dancing in one long line and winding their way along the paths into the patio of Jacinto's home as he was another one of the three sponsors.

The beginning of the day of Santiago, 25 July, was quiet. The first noticeable difference to any other day was that Clemencia prepared a *qalapari* (also called *qalapurqa*). This is a *lawa* which is not cooked on the hearth but by adding hot stones to the soup. Clemencia made two different *qalaparis*, one was yellow, and one was red. She set the *misa* (table, altar), a flat stone in our patio, putting a weaving down as table cloth and placing the two soups on it. Germán and Clemencia prepared two offerings of embers, incense and *jampi*. They also placed some of the pink flower *kantuta* on the *misa*. Germán and Clemencia sat down by the "table" and said prayers facing the sun with the offerings in their hands. Then Clemencia went back to cooking more food, and Germán passed some *qalapari* on to two men who were visiting and to me.

In the afternoon the community gathered around a big field in the middle of the hamlet. I did not know what would be happening soon, and any questions I asked from then on about why things were happening were answered with the usual explanation that it was *costumbre* (custom, ritual). A "ploughing team" got ready in order to perform a sowing ceremony. Two young men represented the oxen, one man drove their plough. A second team prepared themselves and started ploughing the field. Although there were two teams at all times, it did not seem to be a competition or race. Each plough was followed by a girl pretending to drop seeds (*muju*) into the furrows and a fifth person with a stick covering the seeds. Some children ran behind the whole group with sticks in their hands, joining in the action. Like in the real ploughing process the plough was driven from one end of the field to the other, turned around and returned.

Especially those impersonating the oxen stayed in character for a considerable time. When the actual ploughing process was complete, they drank *chicha* from bowls, which were placed on the ground for them, kneeling down and without using their hands. During the whole time a disguised *vakiru* (Sp. *vaquero*, cattle drover) was present, too. His task was it to ensure that everybody was drinking plenty of *chicha* and stayed involved in the performance. He had a rope in order to whip people who were not obeying, a painted black face and was wearing a helmet. The next day the same performances were repeated.

Olivia Harris describes a similar performance where young men impersonate a team of oxen and states that the ploughing process and the importance of bulls are central to male work in the Andes (Harris 2007: 141). Tristan Platt also describes a ploughing re-enactment (Platt 1986: 240).[88] In his description local mestizos join the ritual and play the parts of wild animals, foxes or pumas, that attack the Indian actors, thus displaying power relations (Platt 2009: 39). This dimension is missing in Cabreca. But like elsewhere the ritual is a celebration of work and productivity and relates to the individual acts of ploughing in the sowing season. Beside singing and dancing this ceremony is part of what Thomas Abercrombie calls "the embodied and enacted forms of social memory" (Abercrombie 1998: 13).

Colombian peasants see the team of oxen not only as a symbol of work but liken it to the married couple: two are working together and pulling in the same direction (Gudeman & Rivera 1990: 101; cf. Platt 1986). In Qaqachaka, Oruro, children sitting two by two at their desks in school are compared with a team of oxen "so that the children's role in learning the foreign textual practice of reading and writing in the classroom is incorporated into communal interests in land" (Arnold & Yapita 2006: 92). At all fiestas in Cabreca *chicha* was offered in big wooden bowls with a pair of oxen carved into it. They symbolise work and fertility (cf. Van Vleet 2008: 36). I also saw a smaller wooden bowl with seven sheep carved into it and was told that they, too, symbolise work.

While all rituals and libations throughout the year have strong links to agriculture and fertility, the ploughing re-enactment at the fiesta of Santiago is one which directly celebrates one concrete activity which is a crucial part of the agricultural calendar, i.e. sowing. During the ploughing and sowing activity human-animal relations and human-plant relations meet. The ritual is one of the moments where the interplay between Cabrequeños, their animals and deities can be observed as it leads to the production of new plants and thus food.

[88] In Rosario which is between Macha and Colquechaca I witnessed another animal role-play. During a celebration a man disguised as *burro* (donkey) and danced in this role.

Fig. 26: A misa *(table/altar) after Christmas with a bull cup full of* chicha*. Decorations at fiestas always include the pink flower* kantu *(*Cantua buxifolia*) and sprigs of the* mulli *tree (*Chinus mulle*).*[89]

Animals

Domestic Animals and animal products

While wild animals (*khuru*) have played an important role in Andean studies, particularly in the study of mythology (e.g. Urton 1985), I am here dealing with the domesticated animals (*uywa*) that Cabrequeños spend time and cooperate with every day. In Cabreca every household keeps animals. There are sheep (*uwija*), goats (*cabra/chiwu*), donkeys (*burru/asnu*), cows (*waka*), pigs (*kuchi*), hens (*wallpa*), dogs (*allqu*) and cats (*misi*). Animal products are wool, sheep and goat skins, milk, eggs and meat. Eggs (*runtu*) are not only a popular special food but also a means of exchange (cf. Weismantel 1988: 103). In addition to the products mentioned above one of the main purposes of the sheep and goats that are kept in relatively large numbers is to provide manure. Their dung provides the soil with nitrogen and is crucial to the agriculture. During the day they are taken to places where they can graze and find enough food. But during the night they are kept in movable corrals in the fields that need

[89] Flowers and *mulli* sprigs are also stuck into people's hatbands during fiestas. This decoration symbolises reproduction and regeneration. The *mulli* sprig transmits vigour and health to the wearer of the hat (Calla 1995: 50-51). As an ever-green plant it is linked to fertility (Platt 2009: 37).

fertilisation before the upcoming sowing. Other animals provide further tasks. The donkeys are beasts of burden and needed for transportation mainly of foodstuffs. Cows are kept as the oxen are needed for the ploughing process described above. Dogs are of help with herding while cats protect the food stocks from mice.

While the relationships amongst humans and between humans and spirits are important in agricultural life, Cabrequeños also have very strong relationships to the domestic animals that live amongst them. Constance McCorkle criticises that agricultural scientists have often concentrated on the study of either cultivation or stockraising and have treated the two in isolation (McCorkle 1992a: 4). In many societies both plants and animals are part of a complex system of agropastoralism which does not allow classifying the peasants as either pastoral herders or peasant cultivators alone. In Northern Potosí the highlands are typically connected to pastoralism (mostly of llamas and alpacas) although they produce tubers, too, and the valleys are most famous for their maize cultivation although they also herd sheep. In the *chawpirana* the agricultural cultivation described above is supported by livestock. Animals play a crucial role in the household as an economic unit. They are all of great importance to the production of food and thus to the maintenance of the household.

Cabreca people generally do not kill their livestock in order to eat meat. Exceptions are some of the bigger *fiestas* when a couple of goats, a he-goat and a she-goat, are killed. One reason for this is the economic factor and extreme poverty in the area. Humans rely on their livestock too much to reduce the numbers voluntarily. Furthermore man in the Andes does not stand above nature. He sees that no one is self-sufficient and that everybody relies on cooperation (Rengifo Vásquez 1998b: 175). Valladolid Rivera gives examples of Andean shepherds calling animals their brothers, sisters, sons, daughters or parents (Valladolid Rivera 1998: 74, cf. Bolin 2006: 34). Humans do not consider themselves superior. Although I never heard anyone in Cabreca relating to animals in kinship terms or with ritual names, the social relations are expressed in the respectful behaviour towards them. Tim Ingold argues with a similar outlook when discussing humans and their *perception of the environment* in more general terms: “both humans and the animals and plants on which they depend for a livelihood must be regarded as fellow participants in the *same* world, a world that is at once social and natural.” (Ingold 2000: 87) Cabrequeños and their animals share the same environment and cooperate in order to maintain the social relations between them. According to John Knight “the relationship between livestock farmers and their animals may well be

understood in terms of notions of reciprocity according to which the animals are represented as volitional beings" (Knight 2005: 6; cf. Bolton & Degnen 2010: 6).

Fig. 27: A donkey with blankets, weavings and sacks on her back. On the way back to Cabreca she will be loaded with crops.

Cabrequeños are, however, not vegetarians. When an animal that is considered edible dies of a natural death, they are happy to eat the meat or sell it. When asked what food they would like to have more often most people will answer "meat". But as these animals fulfil purposes that assure a successful food supply, the relationship between their owners and these animals is not so much one of domination of one over the other but rather one of cooperation between the two entailing dependency on both sides. Animals are given much freedom, and people spend much time with them instead of tying them up or corralling them. Yet there clearly remains a hierarchy, and humans take decisions for the animals. Herders hold the animals at bay and stop them from going the wrong way by throwing small stones after them. Stones are also used in order to drive them on. Thus there is no egalitarianism between humans and their domesticated animals. But there is clearly an interdependency which is expressed through the generally respectful behaviour towards the animals and the cooperation between the two.

Herding

Pasturing in and around Cabreca entails leading the animals to areas where they cannot harm or endanger the harvest. I realised very early that, when left alone to watch sheep or donkeys, the one important thing was to keep them away from the cultivated fields and prevent them from eating food that is meant for humans. Especially herding sheep and goats requires a lot of time. Although it is typically said to be a job that women do, I often saw men leading the animals to the pasture ground. Also these animal care jobs were very often carried out by one or more children or teenagers. The changing environment requires different ways of looking after the animals and collaborating with them. The more crops are still in the fields, the further the herder takes the animals. There is an exchange system of goats and sheep between different households which can be compared to the labour exchange *ayni*. Whoever needs to manure a field is in charge of a herd of goats and sheep. After some time I realised that the size of our herd differed on different occasions. When Clemencia was minding a particularly big group of at least 150 animals, she explained to me that some of the animals were Faustina's and some had come from two other families in Cabreca. A few times I witnessed the separation of a big group into the individual herds. The rotation of animals was not restricted to Cabreca only. A herd was once separated and one section led back to Wirq'uma, a nearby community. This rotational system also meant that Clemencia did not have to herd animals at all times as her own animals might stay with other people at times. The same system is also in use with other animals: For a ploughing job a relative of Clemencia's arrived with two oxen from Llustaque. Similarly the herding of cows is shared and the number of cows one herds at the one time may vary. When large amounts of food had to be transported, Germán had access to an additional donkey. One that belongs to his father regularly stayed with us.

Those who keep a herd of sheep and goats milk them after the family has had the first meal of the day. The milk is kept to go sour and later that evening processed into *qisu* (Spanish *queso*: cheese). The quantities of milk are not very big though. Around April, when pastures are available (cf. Orlove 1977: 85) and a lot of lambs and kids are born, the milk is consumed by them. After the milking a few more household chores may be done. During this time the animals become active and often start leaving their fenced area. Somebody has to keep an eye on them so that they do not remove themselves too far. This task is often performed by children. When the herders are ready to leave, the sheep and goats are driven away from the fenced area where they have spent the night. Various groups of animals leave Cabreca or the

temporary homes, but there are never any collisions. Depending on what time of the year it is, the animals are brought to pastures around Cabreca. When the fields have been cultivated and the crops are in danger, the herders have to be particularly alert and tend to lead the livestock further away into the mountains.

Recipes

***Qisu** (cheese)*

Ingredients: goat milk (cabra lichi), acidifier[90], salt (kachi).

Leave the goats milk sitting in a container for the day after adding some acidifier. Kneed the curdled milk and add some salt. If available serve with tustadu (toasted maize) or bread.

***Arruz lichi** (rice pudding)*

Ingredients: water (yaku), cow milk (waka lichi), rice (arruz), sugar (azucar).

Boil the rice in water and milk and add sugar.

Clemencia used some unspun sheep wool as a sieve when some particles were swimming on the milk.

During the first few weeks of my stay with Clemencia and Germán, when we were staying *urapi* (down below) in the three maize fields, Clemencia was guarding a big herd of sheep and goats. As she did not know me very well and also had noticed that I might not be physically fit enough to accompany her on the herding trips, she initially asked me to watch the *wasi* and gave me little tasks to do during the day. In the late morning she left with the herd to come back in the late afternoon. A few days later, however, she invited me to accompany her. We led the animals further down the hills, and for some time they were left to graze on their own. When there are no fields nearby or all crops have been yielded, the herder does not have to watch them very carefully during this time. When there are fields nearby that have been cultivated, the animals are much more confined. I was sometimes staying with Clemencia or Germán, when he was taking me along, or I was placed at a point from where the animals roamed and waited there until they were rounded up and ready to return. Sometimes Germán asked me to whistle every now and again, so that the animals would hear

[90] Clemencia showed me what she added to the milk to make it acidify and curdle in just one day, but I did not note the name she told me down.

me and not go too far. Sometimes ill animals or lambs and kids were left at home with somebody who could look after them. Especially when the rest of the herd departed, the lambs needed to be held back and kept in check as they naturally followed their mothers. They were calm afterwards and pastured around the house but noticed early, before the first animals could be seen, when the herd was returning.

One day Clemencia and I were on our way back to a temporary home with a herd when she suddenly asked me to take them home on my own as she was going to go up to Cabreca to get something from the house. This marked a big step in our relationship as she trusted me with this task. But as I had only followed Clemencia and did not know the area around the temporary home very well yet, I did not know at all where I was and where I had to go. Via a detour through a lot of shrubbery the animals led *me* home. Perhaps Clemencia had not trusted me all that much but knew that the animals would know the way and could be trusted. I managed to drive them into their corral and sat down. I was relieved that I had managed and that none of the little lambs that I had kept counting (nine) seemed to be missing when a friendly teenage girl, Augustina, came along. She sat down with me and after a quick look at the animals told me that she thought three goats were missing. I was very worried that I had lost them on the way and that they might not find back on their own. I was not able to tell whether Augustina was right or not. But soon afterwards Clemencia arrived and after one quick glance confirmed that all animals were there.

Within our group of sheep and goats there was a ram called the *alcalde* (mayor) who had four curved horns instead of two. He was the leader of the group.[91] It was often much easier to herd goats than sheep as the latter would often follow any one sheep going astray. I agree with Ben Orlove that "sheep can be exasperating animals with which to work, because herds sometimes move as if at random" (Orlove 1977: 85). Stephanie Bunn relates that in Kyrgyzstan bringing home sheep is delegated to goat leaders (Bunn 2010: 106). As Penny Dransart states for llama-herding in the Chilean Andes, the gregarious animals "are incorporated into social relations between human owners, but they are also beings that participate in their own social organisation" (Dransart 2010: 85). The same seemed true for the sheep and goats in Cabreca. The herders acknowledge this independence and often leave the animals unsupervised when no food crops are in danger of being eaten as young animals

[91] According to Penny Dransart llamas in Isluga, Chile have a female leader (Dransart 2002b: 65, 2010: 96) while Ben Orlove observes a hierarchical male leader in camelids (Orlove 1977: 85).

can learn from the older animals in the herd (cf. Dransart 2010: 96). Despite the high degree of autonomy of herding animals in the Andes their owners also occasionally communicate with them verbally. Clemencia often imitated sheep sounds ("baaaaaaaaa") in order to keep the herd together as a group and make stray animals return.[92]

Fig. 28: Three parts of fencing are tied together to make up one side of the kancha*. Sheep and goats rest in this corral overnight and fertilise the enclosed area.*

My experience of being left with the animals on my own for the first time happened very unexpectedly, and again there was not much verbal instruction involved. Clemencia assumed that, because I had come along and seen how to do things many times, I would not have any difficulties. However, I had never before worried whether the herd was still complete as I knew Clemencia (or Germán) would make sure. I never saw Clemencia counting the animals in numbers. From a very quick glance at the group of animals she would know whether the herd was complete or not.

[92] Benjamin Smith studies animal-oriented interjections among Peruvian Aymara and recalls herders using the sounds "urro" and "shhk" as responses to misbehaviour and as guidance when animals are in danger (Smith 2012).

Manure[93]

In the late afternoon, after a day of pasturing, the animals are driven into the *kancha* (corral). This consists of several pieces of fencing, in our case ten pieces of a length of about 2.50 m and a height of about 1.50 m. These pieces of fence are held together by four long horizontal wooden logs and a lot of shrubbery which is vertically and horizontally bound into the logs (an unused fence part can be seen in figure 2 on p. 5). The *kancha* is moved every evening or every other evening. This depends on how big the field is that needs fertilising, on how long the goats and sheep are with the household and on when the field needs to be ready for sowing. In the evening, or ideally before the animals arrive, the fence parts are moved as well as the poles that get stuck into the soil. Each fence is leant against these poles and tied onto them and the adjoining fence parts with strips of cloth. Germán often asked me to help him with the moving of the fences. Although men are able to carry the parts on their own, it is very helpful to have help from a second person. The poles need to be stuck into the soil and held until the next part arrives. When Germán was away and Clemencia and I had to move the *kancha*, we did every step together as we could not lift the heavy fence parts without each other's help. A couple of times Clemencia asked Virgilio, Faustina's husband, for help with the moving.

The *kancha* has an open gap on one side so that the animals can enter. Somebody will always have to sleep near the *kancha*, usually near that gap. There is not much fear that the animals would escape during the night. They will stay with their herd while it is dark. However, a fox could enter the corral and steal an animal. Only in the morning, when goats and sheep are becoming lively, they sometimes leave the corral and start grazing in the surroundings. Every now and again they need to be driven back. When the field is fertilised, the goats move on to another area, and eventually to another household. The fence parts can be carried one by one to the next field. Occasionally maintenance work is carried out and new shrubbery added.

Missing animals

While in the example above Augustina was erring and no animals were missing, we had regular visits in the evenings by people who were looking for missing animals. Once the herds were back at home and in the movable corral, the herders sometimes noticed that single

[93] In the *chawpirana* enough firewood is available to fuel the hearth. In higher altitudes dung is additionally used as a source of fuel (McCorkle 1992b: 80).

animals had gone astray on the way back. Clemencia and Germán also occasionally left after dinner with a torch, if a working one was available, because they had realised that an animal or several were missing. One night Clemencia returned very depressed. She had not found the lamb that had gone missing and told me *supay apashanqa* (the devil will take it). Besides earthly dangers, such as a fox or wild cat that might catch the lamb, other powers like the devil may harm not only humans or their crop but also animals. They particularly threaten small animals. Bigger animals like cows and donkeys go missing, too, but that raises other fears for the owners.

Particularly when the fields are cultivated, people fear losing bigger animals because they might feed on one's own or somebody else's crops. One day in early June Clemencia and I had spent the day watching seven cows and three donkeys. As we were taking them back up towards Cabreca, one of the donkeys escaped. I ran after her, chased her through the hamlet so that she would not eat in anybody's field and finally caught up with Clemencia. A few times Clemencia and I were separated because of escaping animals. I would run after our two donkeys and then not find Clemencia as we had not discussed where we were going to go for the day. And sometimes the animals, particularly the donkeys, made me change my intended route. While cows are much easier to steer and guide, I was often reminded of why donkeys are in fables and proverbs depicted as stubborn characters (cf. Smith 2012: 317).

The first time I lost a cow, I was very much afraid that it would be a very serious matter. However, the only worry was that the cow might be grazing in somebody's field destroying the crops. When no endangered crops are to be found in the fields, cows and donkeys spent a lot of the time without supervision. One evening Clemencia asked me to bring the two donkeys home. I found five donkeys in the area she had described to me, did not manage to separate the two that I thought were ours from the other three, and all five followed me home via a considerable detour as I did not have them under control. I was very worried that I had made a huge mistake and been incapable of fulfilling the task. But as there were no crops in the fields at the time, the foreign donkeys could not do any harm and would have been grazing on their own anyway. It did not matter that they would spend the night with us. Clemencia did not scold me but laughed and praised me for trying. Of course she knew whose donkeys the additional ones were. Everybody, including children, has the ability and knowledge to recognise animals and assign them to their owner.

Another evening I was spending time with Leoncia and some of her children. Their two donkeys had been pasturing in the hills close to Leoncia's house which lies at the upper margin of Cabreca. In the evening three of the children asked me to accompany them in looking for and returning their two donkeys which had departed into the hills. We walked away from Cabreca but could not see the donkeys. When it started raining and was also beginning to get dark, the children decided that they would leave the donkeys for the following day. As no crops were endangered, the animals were no hazard.

During different moments throughout the year it is important, then, to guard the domestic animals: on the one hand because they need to be protected from wild animals and the *supay*, on the other hand because they are a threat to the produce, both in the fields and in storage. At night bigger animals, like donkeys and pigs, are often tied to a pole with a rope. Foals and piglets do not need to be secured as they naturally stay with their mother. Hens need to be protected from foxes.

Illness and death in animals

All sheep and goats are given salt a few times during the year as the mineral is recognised as strengthening them. Lynn Hirschkind relates how peasants in Highland Ecuador feed their cattle balls made from rock salt, vegetable lard and raw sugar. The salt is used for its medical qualities and to keep the cattle healthy. Hirschkind also points to salt being seen as a symbol of "civilisation, culture, and domesticity. Its lack signifies wilderness, savagery, and disorder." Feeding it to animals thus makes them "tame, docile and domesticated" (Hirschkind 2000: 298). In Cabreca big lumps of salt are left on a rock, and the animals lick them. Ill animals are given special attention. One day I observed Clemencia attending to a lamb that was infested with worms. She rubbed the lamb's anus, which was affected, with salt. Wanting to intensify the healing character of the salt she later on asked me whether she could spray some of the anti-flea spray on which I had brought from town. I recommended not to as it was an aggressive chemical designed to kill animals; she followed my advice. Another time I saw her rubbing urine onto a lamb's inflamed nose.

Early on during my stay, when I was not accompanying Clemencia on herding trips yet, she left an old he-goat with me at home. For the last couple of days of that time he was only lying in a corner and hardly moving. I wanted to help the animal but did not know what I could do. As Clemencia had not given me any instructions, I left him lying there and checked on him every now and again. He had been suffering from diarrhoea for days and eventually died.

Although this had been such an ill animal, Clemencia asked me the same evening to help her with the skinning and gutting because as soon as the animal was dead, it was a source of meat. The cause of death was not given any attention. Except during fiestas, killing an animal, even though its death seems inevitable, is not an option that would occur to Cabrequeños. Occasionally people would return from the pasture and carry a dead sheep or goat that had died on the way. One day Clemencia, Germán and I were herding a particularly big group. One of the sheep had injured itself and was struggling to walk. I was asked to carry it, but as it was quite heavy, I needed to put it down every few minutes. Eventually we left it behind and guided the rest of the herd and the donkey home first, before Germán returned to collect the injured sheep.

Although the relationship between humans and animals is a close one and animals are treated respectfully, the death of an animal does not upset people much. One day Sunya, a neighbour's daughter who was then about 8 years old, passed me with a young dead goat in her arms. She was far from sad or distressed by this death. We had a chat and were joking about other things, and before leaving she happily told me that they would be having meat that night. I was sometimes asked to assist with the skinning and gutting of a dead sheep. It did not occur to the people who asked me to help that I might never have dealt with dead animals and might find that task sad, disgusting or unbearable. In Cabreca this task is a routine like any other in the production of food. Both men and women do it. The skinning is best done with two people as one person can hold the legs back while the other one cuts the skin with the one all-purpose knife that every household possess and then peels it off.

Beside fiestas there were very few other occasions on which animals were slaughtered. When staying in Qalasaya where one of my god-children, Albina, lived, I was given a rooster as the traditional gift for me as the new godmother of the family's daughter. Only when I was given a knife shortly after, I realised that we were going to eat the rooster the same day and that I was supposed to kill him. I explained to my hostess Victoria that I had never done that before and was not sure how to best do it. We agreed to do it together. We caught the rooster, and while I held him tight, Victoria cut his throat. Unfortunately it was a very blunt knife that she was using, and it took her much longer than would have been necessary with a sharp one. The painful and slow death of the rooster was torture not only for the animal but also for Victoria who was struggling to cut the throat and for me who was holding the animal and seeing its suffering. We had chicken soup for dinner that very evening.

The other time I saw an emotional response to a death was when a neighbour's cow had an accident. The cow fell down a slope and died from the injuries. Clemencia and I were at the foot of the hillside and could hear a rumbling noise. Immediately after that we heard a woman wailing further up the slope. She cried openly for minutes. Her response hardly had to do with a particularly close relationship between herself and the animal. The fall itself must have frightened her. But above all the loss of a cow is a big economic damage. Stephen Brush calls oxen the most costly possession that a household can have. A team of oxen works like two to three men (Brush 1977: 92). I learnt afterwards that the dead cow was pregnant as well. Later on that day the corpse of the cow had been carried from the bushy slope to a field. The neighbours were signalling me to come over, and when I arrived, they tried to sell me the whole cow for 1,500 Bolivianos[94]. I explained that I did not have that much money in Cabreca, which was true. Nicolás, our neighbour and the owner of the cow, additionally told me that this was his second cow that had unexpectedly died within a short period. Because he had been very friendly to me whenever we had met before, because I felt sorry for him and because I thought that Clemencia and Germán would surely appreciate some beef, I offered to buy meat worth Bs. 300 off him. However, Nicolás did not respond to that offer. He was only going to sell the whole cow.

Other dead animals I came across were dogs. Both dogs and cats are given names. Perhaps their status is closer to that of a pet than that of the other domestic animals. They are not eaten. The dogs are often called by their name. After my first trip away from Cabreca I came back at Christmas to discover that one of our two dogs had died. Clemencia told me dryly and without much emotion *Chiku wañusqa* (Chiku [the dog's name] is dead). Another time she seemed a bit more moved, however not so much by sorrow but by anger. When we were passing a maize field together, she told me that Faustina's dog had been found dead because he had eaten pesticides used in that field. Usually all cultivation in Cabreca is organic because people do not have the means to acquire chemicals. However, once Germán showed me some pesticide in the form of a white powder that he had received from an agricultural NGO project. But he did not show much knowledge of how to use the chemicals.

[94] Roughly converted Bs. 1,500 were about £130 at the time. A middle-sized adult goat was offered to me for Bs. 80. Constance McCorkle states that in Usi, Peru, a cow "is worth roughly ten times the value of a sheep and six times that of a camelid" (McCorkle 1992b: 87). It is possible that Nicolás was aiming very high when trying to sell the cow to me.

Animals' fodder

Most animals live on the pastures, on fodder from the fields and, when young, on the dam's milk. Pigs are given some additional food, and dogs are fed an especially prepared *lawa* twice a day. As leftovers are too precious to give to the dogs, dog food is prepared separately after the meal. Mary Weismantel observes for Zumbagua/Ecuador that "human and livestock consumption is so closely integrated, and all forms of waste or excess are carefully controlled." (Weismantel 1988: 144) Most days in Cabreca the dog food is a *lawa* made from maize cobs that are of inferior quality and can be spared. Sometimes "kitchen waste" like potato peels is added to that lawa.

Recipes

Dog lawa

Ingredients: water (yaku), maize (sara).

While bringing the water to the boil grind the maize kernels on the grinding stone. The paste does not have to be very fine. When the water is boiling, add the maize paste and stir. Additionally potato skins can be added. Leave to cool down or add some cold water.

Clemencia fed the dogs in a long wooden dog bowl which consisted of a log with two hollows carved into it. When there were two dogs in the household, Clemencia made sure that each dog would only eat from their half respectively.

Swill

Ingredients: water (yaku), potato peels and other organic waste.

Boil the potato peels in the water. Leave to cool down.

Boiled potato skins from *papa waik'u* (boiled potatoes) are thrown on the floor for dogs or pigs to pick up.

Conclusion

In Cabreca 'work' is not something measured in time and seen as apart from the social sphere. Instead agricultural tasks are part of life and closely connected to the maintenance of social relations. This is valid for reciprocal relationships between humans but also for interactions between humans and animals and between humans and agents from their powerful environment, such as *Pachamama*, mountain deities and the sun. Humans, animals

and the animated environment are given agency in the completion of all agricultural tasks that are accomplished in Cabreca, and the tasks are a means to maintain balance between them. Although the production of food is the practical purpose of agricultural activities, Andean people "also grow crops as an end in itself, to make the earth come alive" (Gose 1994: 3) or in Olivia Harris's words "to make the earth bear fruit" (Harris 2000). The relationship between humans and their surroundings is also maintained through libations, offerings and rituals, such as the ploughing ceremony discussed above. The reciprocal relationship between humans and domesticated animals is reflected in their cooperation and in the animal care.

The relationships between Cabrequeños and the animate beings around them ensure productivity. The food crops which originate in these relations are on their part used again in order to establish and maintain relationships. The acts of processing the crops, feeding and sharing are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

FOOD PREPARATION, DISTRIBUTION AND CONSUMPTION

Introduction

The production and consumption of food are almost omnipresent and take up a considerable amount of time in Cabreca. The variety of products available to the people and the ways in which they are prepared and made into dishes are specific to the *chawpirana*. Furthermore the ways in which Cabrequeños share food and thus maintain their relationships within the community and with outsiders deserve a closer look as they tell us much about sociality and relatedness in Cabreca.

Due to early difficulties in communication in the field I began my time in Cabreca not so much by talking to people about their lives in the *chawpirana* and being explained things but by observing them and participating in their everyday routines. Our short and basic conversations were limited to everyday matters. As I was witnessing their routines, it only took me a very short time to discover that their lives, and consequently mine, were completely entangled with matters of food. Even activities that I did not at first connect directly with food turned out to be linked to either production, preparation or sharing of food. I realised that a large amount of my fieldnotes was about these matters as well. One day I was sent down to a maize field in order to guard it from animals. Having learnt that I would not have to be very active, I took a small folder of readings with me. Two of the articles contained in this folder were, as I discovered later, particularly relevant to the following weeks and months and my approach to fieldwork in Cabreca: an article called 'Scattering the Seeds: shared thoughts on some songs to the food crops from an Andean ayllu' (Arnold, Jiménez and Yapita 1991) and a literature review called 'The Anthropology of Food and Eating' (Mintz & Du Bois 2002).

In their paper Denise Arnold, Domingo Jiménez and Juan de Dios Yapita describe the performance of songs to the seeds of food crops before they are planted in Aymaya and Qaqachaka in Oruro and discuss the symbolism of these crops and their classification within the inhabitants' cosmology. The comparison of habits in the highland Qaqachaka and the lower Aymaya community which lies at the head of the valley points out differences and local variation of food crops even though the two places lie relatively close together. This variation is reflected in the respective inhabitants' evaluation of food crops, the myths they tell about them and the attributes they ascribe to the various food crops and meals. In Cabreca women did not sing songs to the seeds. Nevertheless I was drawn to the ways in which particular food

crops and techniques might be distinctive features of the *chawpirana* and reveal interesting information about the inhabitants of Cabreca in particular.

The literature review by Sydney Mintz and Christine Du Bois emphasises the view that an everyday topic like food had been acknowledged as an under-studied area and was recently re-discovered as an important anthropological subject-matter.[95] Although early anthropologists of food, such as Audrey Richards (2004 [1932]), had successfully treated food as a serious research topic, it was then neglected as such for a long time. I had not heard the people of Cabreca talking about the *chawpirana* at all. Instead I noticed early that everybody constantly seemed to be obsessed with something as mundane as food. Food thus became a focus of my early research. Through food and all the activities and conversations connected to it I would maybe be able to find out peculiarities of the *chawpirana*. Only later, when I returned from my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to further engage with the existing literature on anthropological food studies and embed my own experience in this corpus of ethnographies and anthropological works. Authors who had worked in the Andes, as well as those working in similar rural settings in other regions, explicitly confirmed my own experience: feeding, eating and the choices that are connected to these processes are an important part of people's social relationships.

The cooking process

In her book on the culinary art of Mexican cuisine (2008), Joy Adapon argues for an anthropological view of cooking and the preparation of food as art. The preparation of the Mexican dishes that she describes is regarded as an art form which requires a lot of skill and creativity. Examining the foodways of Cabreca I want to stress the aspect of skill and technique. In contrast to the Mexican cuisine described by Adapon I did not see much innovation in cooking styles. Furthermore the differences between households that I observed were minimal. Cooking rules were not verbalised, and I never came across any fixed recipes that were handed down between cooks or overheard women discussing new uses of the products available. The variety of products is very limited, and these are prepared in much the same way day after day and in the different households. Mick Johnsson describes the same for Aymara foodways in Bolivia (Johnsson 1986: 84). Young girls learn how to prepare meals by observing and assisting their mothers and eventually recreating the meals. After a short time

[95] A good earlier overview of anthropological food studies is Ellen Messer's *Anthropological Perpectives on Diet* (1984).

in Cabreca I knew most of the dishes that Cabrequeños prepared and ate. Only the few ones that were seasonal or exclusively served at special occasions, such as *humintas* (see p. 115) or the *qalapari* served at Santiago (see p. 124), appeared later during my stay. However, despite the repetitive pattern of meals cooking requires a lot of skill and knowledge. Every woman acquires this knowledge through lifelong engagement with the cooking process.

Although people talk about taste, they praise certain products and their availability rather than individuals and their creative skills. I have never heard anyone being praised as a good cook.[96] Neither have I heard talk about any woman who is unskilled and cannot cook. People do not talk about a meal having turned out particularly tasty, but they do talk about liking meat or not liking *lawa* in general. Clemencia once said to me that Francisco had grown many and very big potatoes that year. And while I was out herding and sharing lunch with a little girl, she told me that she preferred rice to *oca*. This preference might be influenced by cultural implications as rice is seen as a desirable food which is connected to whiteness, wealth and modernity (Weismantel 1988). But whether a matter of individual taste or cultural criteria, these are examples of people talking about the quality or preference of a single product or dish, not about any aspect of the cooking process. Clemencia and Germán also often asked me what products there were in Europe. They asked what vegetables there were or what fruit but never asked me how they were prepared or whether they were eaten in a specific way. Especially at the beginning, when I did not have much vocabulary, these conversations were limited to me telling them the names of groceries in Spanish and whether I found them *misk'i* (or *riku* from Spanish *rico*: delicious) or not.

Cooking is seen as a necessary chore, one that is essential. In Cabreca, like in all other surrounding places that I visited, virtually all cooking is done by women. Girls learn the skills and gain knowledge by being incorporated into the food preparation processes from a very early age. When the female head of the household is travelling, unwell or occupied with other responsibilities, it is usually the task of the eldest daughter to cook and attend to the family. By the time they are the head of their own household, young women already have years of experience of preparing meals and have thus become very skilled.[97] They know how to use the few ingredients and utensils most efficiently.

[96] People talk about skill, in contrast, when comparing weavers.

[97] For young women moving to the husband's community might entail having to learn new cooking styles as other products might be available and other methods customary.

When I arrived in Cabreca, I did not have these skills. Even starting the fire for the first time took me a long time. After several weeks other women were still laughing at me for taking so much time to peel potatoes. Perhaps more of a reason to laugh at me was the amount of potato that I peeled away rather than just the very thin skin.[98] Even though the knives that these women used were blunt, they managed to very quickly remove the potato peel in one go leaving a long, thin spiral which was later fed to pigs or dogs. I did not mind not being as quick as the other women, but it worried me that I was cutting off too much of the potato as food is precious and treated very respectfully. Nothing that is meant for human consumption ever goes to waste. When Germán brought a banana for each of us from Colquechaca, I observed Clemencia scraping the inside of a banana skin with a spoon in order not to waste a bit of the fruit. Many times I wondered what would happen if Clemencia or anyone from Cabreca could see the handling of food in Europe. When the other women laughed at me for not being able to peel potatoes properly, I was almost relieved because I preferred it to being scolded for wasting food. Clemencia proved to be very patient and trusted that I would learn over the weeks. When I sometimes use a peeler now instead of a knife, I often think back to that time in Cabreca and wonder why the blade is not adjusted so that less of the potato gets cut off. In such ways Carol Laderman (1994) speaks of the anthropologist becoming acculturated to their informants' beliefs and behaviours (Laderman 1994: 192). While I never felt like I had become completely acculturated and had learnt the skills that Cabreca women held, I felt that I had internalised a certain amount of Cabrecaness when I returned to Europe. Certainly observing shopping habits in Europe, the wastage of food and people who take the constant availability of products for granted has been difficult for me after a year in Cabreca.

Peeling potatoes is only one example of me not being able to do things the Cabreca way when I arrived. While I learnt most things I learnt about Cabreca by trying to do the same things that Cabrequeños were doing without being instructed, learning to cook is the activity that comes closest to an apprenticeship. From the start I was given little tasks by Clemencia until eventually I knew how to prepare a complete meal. While I learnt things from Clemencia, I also became more skilled by getting used to the materials and ingredients. Knowing how to make a Cabreca meal does not only mean understanding what steps are necessary. It means having internalised the skills necessary for it and carrying out the action.

[98] Allen recalls similar difficulties and being told "don't you try to peel them! You never learned how in your country." (Allen 1988: 69)

Food preparation as embodied practice

Cabrequeñas do not use recipes. Yet I am using such fixed, penned recipes throughout this thesis in order to give the reader an idea of the diet and cuisine. Susan Paulson sees such recipes, although not used by the women who taught her to cook, as "heuristic devices by which I translate ethnographic observations and experiences into text" (Paulson 2006: 655). When examining the use of guinea-pig in the Andean cuisine Eduardo Archetti points out that "[i]n order to avoid cultural bias, it is important to analyse the guinea-pig not only via recipes but also in its relation to those who consume it." (Archetti 1997: 69) Archetti stresses the symbolic meanings of the guinea pig and how they are embedded in the lives of rural Ecuadorians.[99] In my examination of the Cabreca diet and cuisine I pay particular attention to the embeddedness of foods, too. This entails looking at where the food comes from, how exactly it is prepared, how it is consumed and by whom. From reading the recipes the reader will neither know how exactly to make a Cabreca meal nor what this particular meal might mean to Cabrequeños. Sutton points out that "cooking from a recipe assumes a certain amount of embodied memory and 'taste'" (Sutton 2006: 97). One will have to know how the different steps are carried out and imagine the process of cooking. That complete knowledge can only be acquired in practice. However, from the recipes the reader will get some theoretical understanding of what ingredients are used and how they are processed. Additionally I am placing the meals in their context and in relation to the people who prepare and consume them.

I do not specify any measurements in any of the recipes. Cabreca cooks do not measure, count or weigh their ingredients. They choose the ingredients depending on how many people need to be fed. Their visual judgment as well as their experienced skill is used to determine whether an ingredient is enough or is not, whether the texture of the dish is right. Only sometimes taste is used in order to determine whether more of some ingredient is needed. As most ingredients are starches and do not have a very strong taste of their own, it is hard to over-season a meal. Only salt might be added to taste or sugar to sweet dishes. Later on, when the dish is served, the spicy *llaqwa* is added to most dishes. It adds taste to the dishes but also acts as an indication of appreciation. If the hostess serves a guest much *llaqwa*, she favours him or her.

[99] In Cabreca I never saw guinea-pig (*kuy*) being prepared or eaten, but Clemencia told me a few times that her son Javier used to catch one occasionally when he was younger.

Recipe

Llaqwa

Ingredients: chilli peppers (uchu), water (yaku), salt (kachi).

To make the very hot chilli paste which is added to most dishes grind the chilli peppers with some water on the grinding stone until a thick paste has developed. Add salt to taste. This llaqwa can be kept to be added to several meals.

There are different types of chilli (*Capsicum*). They can be either fresh or dried. Sometimes Clemencia showed me if she had obtained any particular variety. When I went to town, I always made sure to bring back at least two different varieties to increase the chance that I had brought one that was particularly popular. Weismantel claims that in Zumbagua, Ecuador, the "use of *uchu* (chilli) varies by gender to a much greater degree than any other food Eating *uchu* is associated with maleness; many women claim it is too 'strong' (*chinchi*) or bitter (*jayaj*) for them" (Weismantel 1988: 136). I cannot confirm this for Cabreca as in our household the opposite was the case. Clemencia loved *llaqwa* and was even able to spoon the leftovers from the little wooden bowl. Germán in contrast sometimes found the food too spicy and complained that Clemencia had given him too much *llaqwa*. At the beginning the amounts of *llaqwa* on my plate often made my eyes fill with tears. But I got used to the strong spice and valued it when it was served together with otherwise rather bland foods. A much more uncommon sauce that we had only a few times was *wakataya*. It is made from a wild plant called *wakataya* which has a flavour that reminded me of mint the first time I tried it. This green sauce is served with potatoes.

The actual process of food preparation has not been the focus of much anthropological study. Sutton argues with "a critique of food studies that have focused on symbols rather than on processes ('food as a symbol of identity'), suggesting that meaning, like cooking, is very much 'in the making'" (Sutton 2006: 110). While some foods symbolically stand for cultural and social values, the preparation of food deserves to be examined in detail. Along the same lines Francisco Pazzarelli, in an article which stresses the importance of women in maintaining the household, calls for a description and analysis of utensils, technical performance, the body and the time and places that contribute to the production of the daily soups in the Andean kitchen (Pazzarelli 2010: 177). He criticises that these aspects have been little considered in the anthropology of food. Especially in places where so much manual

work is involved in the process (there are no microwaves, bread machines or Bimbies[100]) the close study of the bodily practices involved is meaningful.

When I think back to my own cooking attempts, I remember the physical sensation of my fingers hurting from peeling heaps of potatoes with a blunt and rather big, unhandy knife. I once brought two new knives back from a market: one that was the same size, about 20 cm long, and one smaller one, about 12 cm long. But although I felt I could handle the smaller one better when peeling potatoes, Clemencia always encouraged me to use the bigger one. I also recall the cold of the heavy grinding stone that I had to rock from one side to the other for a long time and in a specific way until the ground maize was fine enough. Kneeling on the floor in front of the grinding stone I often felt my ankles or knees hurting after some time or pins and needles in my calves, and so I had to change my position. The women around me had much more endurance in these positions. Their bodies had been using the same "techniques of the body" all their lives according to the habit in Cabreca (Mauss 1992). I learnt the hard way that "many skills take a long time to acquire because they actually necessitate physiological change: stronger muscles, greater flexibility, more acute perceptual-motor ability, and slowly developed, incrementally learned patterns of behaviour" (Downey 2010: S33). I did not particularly dislike any one of these tasks, but they were physically hard work as I had not been trained in the same way, and I was often relieved that we were such a small household and any one task would not last as long as in bigger households.

In Cabreca the tools and resources used in cooking are scarce. In other communities I have seen clay hearths (*q'uncha*) like Mick Johnsson describes them: "The common rural hearth at ground level is an oblong half dome, molded from clay by hand. The fire is fed through an opening at the floor, and on top there are two or three holes in which the cooking pots are placed." (Johnsson 1986: 47) In Cabreca the fire is set among three rocks on the floor. As most dishes are cooked in one pot only, this pot is put on top of the three rocks. If two different dishes are prepared at the same time, the rocks can be moved apart a bit further, and both pots lean against each other. Additionally a fourth rock can be added. Once more this makeshift version of a hearth reflects the flexibility of Cabreca householders. The hearth can be moved within the Cabreca home but a new hearth of the same kind can also be erected

[100] The Bimby (or Thermofix) is a multi-food processor whose purchase and use Monica Truninger has investigated (Truninger 2011; talk at the EASA Conference 2010 in Maynooth). It is a multifunctional kitchen appliance and can cook, steam, blend, chop, mince, grind, knead, weigh etc. and thus produce whole meals. This constitutes the opposite of the cooking process in Cabreca where all steps have to be carried out individually and without the help of any electrical equipment.

very quickly at other places. Pots are completely black on the outside. The fire is lit with a match and the help of some dry grass or kindling. In order to keep it alive people blow at the fire. It is common in the Andes to use a metal tube (*phukuna*) for this purpose, and often Clemencia shouted *phukuy, phukuy* (blow, blow!) and pointed to the *phukuna* when she thought the fire was close to going out.

Fig. 29: The hearth of the temporary home in the maize fields.

Another instrument that is frequently used in food preparation is the grinding stone (*kutana*) (ours can be seen in figure 19 on page 89). This device actually consists not of one but of two stones: a heavy, flat stone that lies on the ground or ideally slightly elevated and a heavy halfmoon-shaped stone that is rocked back and forth in order to grind maize (*sara*) and chilli peppers (*uchu*). There is also a smaller round stone which is held in one hand and sometimes used for grinding the *uchu*. Further cooking utensils are not specialised and serve a variety of purposes. Clemencia used one big wooden spoon (*jatun kuchara*) for stirring the food and as a ladle when serving the food. The household had one knife only (*kuchillu* from Spanish *cuchillo*) which was used for all cutting tasks whether food-related or not.

I was so involved in the cooking processes that my hands were always black from the pot which was charred from the direct contact with the fire. Touching frequently not only the foods, which mostly do not come in tins, boxes or bags, but also the same few utensils,

together with the lack of much verbal instruction meant that the experience of cooking and learning how to cook the Cabreca way was a very physical one. In addition the experience was made more intense by the focus on cooking only. Activities in Cabreca are carried out with, what in contemporary psychology might be called, great "mindfulness". The cook does not interrupt one action to go and do something else. Nor is she distracted by a TV or radio that is on in the background or by any other noise that cooks in other environments might perceive permanently, e.g. street noise. Multi-tasking, i.e. doing other activities at the same time, is not common at all. Chatting with other people present and minding children are the only distractions that one might have from fulfilling the steps that are necessary to prepare the meal. But also multi-tasking within the cooking process is rare as one step follows another, and the dish is mostly prepared in one pot. When more than one woman cook together, they share these tasks between them or sometimes take turns. Andeans generally work by breaking down tasks into separate components that are worked either by one person in several steps or by several people who fulfil their part of the division of labour. This is true for agricultural work as well as for the cooking process. Tasks that are part of textile production are an exception as they are often carried out alongside some other task. Women spin while herding, young girls weave while guarding crops, men knit while attending a meeting.[101]

Preparation of warm meals includes the time-consuming tasks of fetching water, peeling potatoes, grinding maize and possibly other ingredients like chilli peppers, boiling water[102] and eventually cooking the dish with these and other additional ingredients. The processes are marked by close contact with the materials and by the rhythm of the iterative tasks. Cabreca women all have a great sense of rhythm (cf. Van Vleet 2008: 31). Many of the steps in food preparation are inherently rhythmical: grinding maize consists of rocking the heavy grinding stone back and forth, and peeling potatoes with a knife so that a long spiral eventually touches the ground requires going round and round. Most tasks are laborious, and to prepare a whole meal takes a considerable amount of time, particularly when cooking big quantities (cf. Camacho 2006: 15-16).

Mary Douglas, who has worked extensively on food habits, remarks that "anthropologists have always been particularly interested in what they call material culture and in the point at which social interaction makes use of material things" (Douglas 1982: 105). Stephanie Bunn

[101] While walking young men sometimes played the *charango* as well.

[102] Due to the altitude the boiling point of water is lower, and cooking times are considerably longer than they would be at lower altitudes.

points out that for a long time anthropologists took mostly the role of a passive observer in this study of material culture. She clarifies that "many anthropologists do not themselves work with materials" and are thus "bypassing an important part of the process" (Bunn 2011 [1999]: 23). In contrast in the Andes learning through contact with materials has been part of anthropological fieldwork for a considerable time. Ethnographies on weavings (e.g. Cereceda 1987, 1999, Crickmay 1992, 2002, Heckman 2005, 2006, Medlin 1986, Meisch 1986, Rehl 2006), musical instruments (e.g. Solomon 2001, Stobart 2006) and agricultural work and technologies (e.g. Lechtman & Soldi 1981, Morlon 1996, Ravines 1978) are examples which deal with material objects and often contain explicit references to the ethnographers having taken part in the handling of the materials. However, not all of these authors discuss the necessity of taking part in these processes for being able to relate to Andean peasants better.

Observing the rhythmical activities of Cabreca women when they are preparing food can lead to valuable insights into their practices. I gained a deeper understanding of the processes and the relationships between these women and the materials and ingredients they used not merely by observing them, but by learning how to cook with and like them. The involvement with these tasks meant handling utensils and food with my hands and also with other body parts, which moved the experience away from a mostly visual one towards a multi-sensory one. Especially the haptic sense was involved, and direct contact between my body and the materials allowed a more involved approach to the study of food preparation. Smell and taste are less significant as the food is relatively bland. Herbs and spices are not available with the exception of *llaqwa*.

Describing his fieldwork among flood plain villagers on the Amazon Mark Harris acknowledges that he "lacked their knack for effortless accomplishment" as he had not learnt the skills in the same domestic contexts (Harris 2007: 6). The villagers perceived that he was not carrying out skills the same way as they did. Similarly Cabreca women often commented on me not being able to peel potatoes or grinding maize as effectively as they did. Harris tries "to understand these people's history and identity as silently embedded in their practical knowledge" (ibid.: 6-7). Likewise the skills of Cabreca women embody their identity and history, and their techniques do not come naturally but are embedded in their context (Mauss 1992). Cooking on fire and using a grinding stone are activities which require specific techniques that stem from growing up in the Andes, that are "emplaced" (Harris 2005: 204). This does not mean that a newcomer cannot learn the activities later. However, he or she might never accomplish them in exactly the same way.

The experience of cooking in Cabreca, rather than just watching cooks or having the processes explained to me, gave me much more of an idea of what these processes meant to Cabrequeños. As Lindsey Crickmay puts it when specifically talking about learning in the Andes: "Watching without doing does not constitute knowing." (Crickmay 2002: 49) Tristan Platt observes that midwives in Macha become midwives through connecting with the personal experience of childbirth, through the succession "ver, saber y hacer" (see, know and do) (Platt 2002: 131).[103] Doing and knowing are closely related and occur together. Terhi Vuojola-Magga speaks of "the embodiment of praxis" (Vuojola-Magga 2010: 44). Through training and performance rather than "studying" skills the novice actively engages "with the constituents of his or her surroundings within the social world" (Vuojola-Magga 2010: 45). By being involved in the cooking process I learnt a set of skills. And even though I did not perform them in the same way as the other women did, I experienced them and could to a certain extent grasp what it felt like to be one of them. While not sharing the women's embodied historicity I gained some understanding of what it meant to be a woman and hence a cook in Cabreca. That way "anthropological practice is a corporeal process that involves the ethnographer engaging not only with the ideas of others, but in learning about their understandings through her or his own physical and sensorial experiences" (Pink 2009: 14).

The Andean kitchen or hearth has been described as "the locus of early socialization" (Weismantel 1988: 25; cf. Ferraro 2008). Interaction and communication between household members, whether verbal or not, often centre on food, and the cooking area is an important place. In Cabreca, however, as described in chapter I, living conditions mean that the hearth cannot be regarded as clearly separate from other living space. Like Clemencia a lot of people cook outside or in a corner of the main living space, and very few, if any, have a separate room or house which is used as a kitchen only. Often an indicator of people being at home is the smoke that is rising from their yard. When the weather permits it, the hearth is in the patio. Not distinguishing a separate room for cooking in is another indicator of how much food is interlinked with all other aspects of life. The hearth is not isolated but can perhaps rather be seen as a movable core of the home. I have not come across any other ethnographic descriptions of this phenomenon. This is in accordance with the general flexibility of the *chawpirana* people.

[103] Jean-Pierre Chaumeil's title of his study of Yagua shamanism in Peruvian Amazonia *Ver, Saber, Poder* (see, know, master/be able to) hints at a similar way of learning and knowing (Chaumeil 1998).

Household chores

Cooking itself takes up a considerable amount of time every day. Not only the preparation of the meals itself is time-consuming but also tasks like collecting firewood (*llant'a*) and water (*yaku*). While some people prefer to collect a big supply of firewood at once and store it stacked, Germán did this only once during my time in Cabreca. The rest of the year we had only a small stock either outside in the yard or at the far end of the hut. Firewood brought back from a day away from home was added to this stock. And when this small stock was used up and we needed more, we went to collect wood, sometimes daily. There are no trees in Cabreca. Firewood consists of twigs and branches that are picked up from the ground or broken away from shrubs. They are either collected near the house or, when further away, collected on a big enough square woven carrying-cloth (*llijlla*) to be bundled up and carried on one's back. The branches are not very heavy. But the first time I went on my own I learnt that bundling them, so that one can carry a big amount at once with no sharp ends sticking into one's back, is tricky. Of course this is another task that young people learn by doing it from early on.

Collecting water is not very arduous in Cabreca where the houses lie relatively close together and water sources are not far away from any one household. The closest water hole to our house was only about 100 m away. Most days fetching water was my first activity after getting up. While Clemencia asked me to do so in the beginning, I soon volunteered and fetched water as often as was necessary. I had discovered that it was a good opportunity to meet other people from the households surrounding that water source and getting to know our neighbours. The containers used for the transport of water were two yellow plastic cooking oil canisters of 5 l each. Although the fresh water from the spring was clean, I sometimes worried about the drinking water being stored in these canisters. They were hardly ever cleaned and always standing around open. Once I observed Clemencia trying to clean the dark green deposit off the inside surface with a stick. Twice, when we were down in the maize fields, I discovered mice in the water. They had fallen into the little opening and drowned. The first time Germán was with me. He shook the canister upside down until he was able to remove the bloated corpse. After he rinsed the container once, it was used again as if nothing had happened. The second time I was on my own and found two mice in the water. At that stage I was hardier and had got used to the Cabreca ways of hygiene and proceeded in the same way. During the whole year we did not acquire any new containers of that size.

Other issues relating to hygiene occasionally caused me to alternate between worrying slightly and wondering at the very high, possibly much exaggerated standards of hygiene in our society. For all sorts of washing, whether in personal hygiene or washing dishes or clothes, cold water either from a spring or river is used. Although people use soap for washing themselves and laundry soap or, very rarely, detergent, there is no washing up liquid or any other cleaner used for the dishes. The plates are handed back to the allocator of food after being wiped clean with one's index finger. They are stored, and only immediately before the next meal they are washed with hands and clear water. In order to save water Clemencia often poured the water of the first wash from bowl to bowl and only used fresh water for the very last rinse of each bowl.

Before fiestas Cabrequeños are busy making *chicha* (maize beer). One of the preliminary tasks is fetching a lot of water. As many big containers as are available are used and as many people recruited as possible. The traffic between the water source and the household in question does not come to a standstill. When I participated in *chicha*-making in Qalasaya, the distance from my hosts' house to the water hole was bigger and included a slope which made fetching the water more straining and required much more time. In Cabreca the distance to the water hole became longer once, when Clemencia and I were spending a few nights in the three maize fields. After a considerable rainless period the nearby stream that we got our water from had dried out. Clemencia showed me the spring of that stream further up the hill and one other water hole in the opposite direction. As the latter had not been used by anyone that year, we cleaned it thoroughly, removing dirt and algae. The spring of the stream had been used by one other family having a temporary home nearby. The temporary shortage of water prompted me to ponder on our use of water until then. The passage of the stream where we usually collected our water when staying in the maize fields was located only about 200 m below the spring. However, the footpath between the spring and the maize fields crossed the stream within that distance, and not only people crossed it, but cattle, donkeys, sheep and goats went through the water and drank from it. I had initially brought some water purification tablets. But I found that their use was hardly practicable in everyday life. Also boiling water before drinking it is not a habit in Cabreca. In general people do not drink very much water. The amount of soups that they consume every day protects them from dehydration.

Eating routines

While Cabrequeños buy additional food and barter, a core of staple foods are grown in Cabreca as described in Chapter III. Subsistence production and consumption are directly linked: the produced food is mostly consumed in the community. People rely on their own produce and are very aware of risks that might endanger the yield. However, while peasant societies generally attribute great importance to food and eating, the variety of products found in Cabreca is characteristic of the *chawpirana*. Cabrequeños, like everybody else, have particular attitudes towards "what it means to eat properly" (Mintz 1996: 4). Their choices are limited and heavily influenced by ecological factors and material constraints. Apart from those material limitations cultural choices determine what people eat. During my time in Cabreca I began to see the benefits of a minute description of the daily food habits as it can provide not only insights into Cabreca life but also give information on the peculiarities of the *chawpirana*. Parts of the previous chapters have already implied how omnipresent food is in the people's activities and discourses. The following account of culinary details of everyday life completes that impression.

On a typical day Clemencia, Germán and I would get up at daybreak, for most of the year between 5 and 5:30 a.m.[104], and immediately breakfast preparations would begin. I had only just arrived in Cabreca when Clemencia involved me in the cooking processes. Many times Germán woke me up with his Spanish invitation *vas a cocinar* (you are going to cook), or Clemencia did with her Quechua announcement *wayk'ukusunchis* (we will cook for ourselves). Cabreca people never lie in unless they are ill or it is raining very heavily. People get up at the crack of dawn and start with little tasks around the house. Sometimes the woman is the first one to get up and start with the cooking preparations. In higher altitudes and colder climates husband and children might stay in bed until a fire is going or the first meal is served. In Cabreca everybody tends to get up as soon as activities start and is busy with small tasks in the morning.

Sometimes some family members use the early morning to go and do some little jobs close-by or visit someone after a first breakfast or on an empty stomach. But they will return to have their *almuirsu*. The Spanish *almuerzo* literally means lunch. However, people referred to all hot meals eaten from a plate with a spoon (if available) as *almuirsu* no matter at what time

[104] Due to Cabreca's location the difference between the time of sunrise in the winter months and that in the summer months is a maximum of approximately 80 minutes.

of the day it was consumed.[105] Only tea together with some toasted maize is called *disayunu* (Spanish *desayuno*: breakfast). After eating the first *almuirsu* everybody fulfils their tasks and roles in the household. The activities and the work carried out often require travelling. When the people of Cabreca leave the *ranchu* (the hamlet of the community) in order to work in a *chacra* that is further away or to let their livestock graze, they take some lunch along with them. When the workers do not take lunch away with them, someone, mostly little children, might be sent after them later to deliver some lunch in a little saucepan, bucket or napkin. When people are working around their main residence in the hamlet, they will have lunch, the second *almuirsu*, there. Often Germán told me to be back at 12 o'clock as it would be time to eat, or he came home announcing he was hungry because it must be after 12 after all. However, in the field or during some other work this fixed time did not seem to matter much. The workers eat when they are done with a task, when time allows it and the food is ready.[106] After a day of work the people of Cabreca come home, and the woman cooks another hot meal, a third (or second) *almuirsu*.

Even when occasionally there were leftovers from the previous day, the freshly prepared meal was essential to the morning routine. I can hardly remember having only leftovers without an additional fresh meal being prepared. While most main meals are soups, the mid-day meal that people carry with them and eat when they are away from the hamlet is called *merienda* (Spanish, snack) which is something that is easily transported. An alternative, as discussed in chapter III, is food freshly prepared in the field. Especially during the harvest potatoes and *ocas* are cooked in utensils that have been brought along or in the earth oven (*wathia*). A lot of the time the *merienda*, which is prepared in the morning and taken along, is toasted maize or beans (*tustadu* or less commonly *jank'a*), *mut'i* (boiled maize) or boiled potatoes, rice or any other solid food.

[105] Weismantel states that all soups are called *almuirsu* (Weismantel 1988: 124).

[106] People also take noon as the moment when they change their greeting *winus días* (from Spanish *buenos días* – good day/morning) to *winas tardis* (*buenas tardes* – good afternoon). What time it is is important to them although people never have to be anywhere at a certain time. Having a watch is desirable, and people were surprised to see me without one. Carola Lentz identifies wearing a wristwatch as a form of opposing "stigmatization as uncivilized, dirty, dumb peasants" (Lentz 1999: 283).

Recipes

Tustadu

Ingredient: maize (sara).

To make this snack the maize kernels are taken off the cob and roasted in a small pot stirring occasionally with a stick until they pop. It is best to cover the pot when the maize starts popping. Take off the fire before the kernels become too dark.

Tustadu can be made from fava beans as well. Roast the beans stirring until they are brown.

Mut'i

Ingredients: water (yaku), maize (sara).

Take the maize kernels off the cob and place them into boiling water. Cook until the maize is soft and rinse. You may need to add more water.

It takes a long time to prepare *mut'i*. And the fire has to be fuelled regularly, so somebody has to stay near the hearth for the entire process. We did not have *mut'i* very often at our household. At first I thought this was due to Clemencia disliking it. But it may well have been a practical issue as Clemencia did not spend as much time at home as some other women may have.

Papa wayk'u

Ingredients: water (yaku), potatoes (papa).

Bring the water to the boil and boil the potatoes until cooked. Serve with llaqwa. Everybody peels their own potatoes.

Staples and other products

Ideally the day starts with a *disayunu* (breakfast). However, whenever people do not have any sugar, they will not have *disayunu*. Sugar is popular and in high demand in Cabreca. Having tea or coffee without sugar is unthinkable. Ellen Messer establishes that "[h]igh sugar intakes – where sugar calories are inexpensive relative to other foods – are often associated with the economic need to consume cheap food energy" (Messer 1986: 637). In Cabreca sugar is not easily obtained. Although not very expensive, it does presuppose that the buyer has some money. Additionally it needs to be transported to Cabreca. And yet it is very much sought-after. The same is valid for sweets. But rather than being pure nourishment sugar and sweets may be seen as contributing to bodily well-being on a different level. Stephanie Bunn relates that in Kyrgyzstan sweet foods are given to people in order "to help sweeten relationships and proceedings" (Bunn 2010: 113). In Cabreca people will always bring back

some sweets from town and give them not only to children but also to adults. When Clemencia had a toothache one day, she insisted on putting some extra sugar in her tea in order to combat the pain.[107] Another time she was ill, the nurse diagnosed gastritis. Clemencia asked for nothing but sugar, and the nurse had a bag on him that he left with us. Later on when she was better, Clemencia told me several times that she would have died if it had not been for the sugar and that the sugar saved her. The general preference of sugar here may also derive from the big value placed on some non-traditional foods, especially white foods like rice and sugar which has been documented in relation to race (Weismantel 1988). However, nobody in Cabreca ever verbalised a connection of this kind in my presence.

In order to avoid having to carry the weight of sugar I brought some stevia back from town the second time I returned to Cabreca. Stevia is a plant whose leaves are used as a sweetener. It is sold in the form of a white powder. Clemencia was reluctant to try it as she did not know it. Experience had shown her that sugar was very good, and she did not see the need for any replacement at the beginning.[108] However, I offered the stevia again and again, and one day, when she had run out of sugar, she tried it and quickly saw that the sweetening effect was very similar when only a tiny fraction of the quantity of sugar was used. Not only was the stevia much easier to transport to Cabreca, but Clemencia could also carry the small plastic container around with her stored in her dress. After a while lots of people talked to me about it as they had seen her using it or had heard about it. One day a woman that I did not know at all asked me if I could bring her back a little jar. Beside sugar we had some honey a few times after either Germán or a neighbour had found some honeycomb. The honey was eaten straight from the comb as a treat. This honey was called *miski* which is also the Quechua word for sugar. When talking about sugar, Cabrequeños used the Spanish word *azúcar*. However, the Quechua word *miski* is also an adjective and used to say that something is sweet or tasty. In the latter case it can be used to describe something that is not sweet at all. This linguistic link between sweetness and liking expresses the preference for sugar and other sweets.

Along with sugar several other products are imported and add to the local diet. It has been established in previous chapters that the *chawpirana* has a range of products which is peculiar to its specific altitude level due to its position between the very high *puna* altitudes and the

[107] Examining the history of sugar Sydney Mintz lists a mentioning of the "value of sugar as *dentifrice*" by the Englishman Dr. Frederick Slare from 1715 (Mintz 1986 [1985]: 107).

[108] Daniel Gade refers to the acceptance of new foods in the New World when he explains that "like many peasants everywhere, native Andean people initially were distrustful of innovations. Gradually they experimented with the available European elements while maintaining their own." (Gade 1992: 464)

lower valley lands. The ecology of the in-between place allows the production of both potatoes and maize, the two products that are typical of *puna* and valley respectively. When discussing the agricultural processes in Cabreca I introduced the crops potato, *oca*, *papalisa*, maize, wheat, barley and fava bean. The leaves of the *papalisa* plant can be eaten, too. The first time they reminded me of spinach. Additionally squashes (*zapallu*) can be found in some fields. Other products are bought or bartered.

Products that are obtained through barter are occasionally salt, chuño, additional maize and chilli peppers. *Chuño* is the name of a dehydrated, freeze-dried potato which is made in the *puna*.[109] Bought products include vegetable oil, rice, chilli peppers, salt[110], sugar and coca which every household likes always to have in stock. However, most people cannot afford these goods all the time. Some other products are occasionally brought home from town but used up quickly. These include onions, carrots, tomatoes, garlic, oranges, bananas, bread, sweets, tinned tuna and sardines. Mary Weismantel identifies tinned tuna and sardines as bought for special occasion meals in Zumbagua (Weismantel 1988: 104). But although canned food could have been kept for much longer, Clemencia always used tins up relatively soon after she had got them to enhance the *llaqwa*. Many times she told me that she loved fish. The only time I was offered some local fresh fish was in Llustaque which is by the river Río Grande. As Clemencia grew up there, her longing for fish is connected to memories of her life before moving to Cabreca.

I experienced the choice of products in Cabreca as limited by economic restraints. In many poor rural areas around the world meals consist of a combination of starch, or core, and "fringe" (Janowski 2007: 5). In a dialogic article anthropologist Sydney Mintz and nutritionist Daniela Schlettwein-Gsell (2001) discuss food patterns in peasant societies. They establish that the starchy core of every meal is complemented by a fringe which serves to make the core more palatable so that people eat more of the core. The core is a complex carbohydrate, i.e. a tuber or cereal or a cereal product like pasta. "Typically, the core is carefully prepared, eaten at most meals, homogenous in texture and color, bland in taste, and consumed in bulk."

[109] The alternating freezing and insolation processes are only possible at high altitudes. For a detailed description of the production of *chuño*, see Mamani 1978. Francisco Pazzarelli stresses the long storage life of *chuño* and explains that it is very popular as travelling fare as the dehydration reduces both size and weight of the potatoes (Pazzareli 2010: 163).

[110] There are two types of salt: rock salt which comes from big salt flats and bought iodised salt which comes in small bags and is subsidised by the Ministery of Health and Social Welfare (Ministerio de Salud y Previsión Social).

(Mintz & Schlettwein-Gsell 2001: 41) In Cabreca the fringe is minimal as vegetables and meat play a minor role in the local cuisine. Often meals consist of both potato and maize in the form of *lawa*. This gruel, soups, and rice and potatoes that are not prepared in the form of a soup are accompanied by the spicy *llaqwa*. This sauce enhances the core that is otherwise bland.

Schlettwein-Gsell criticises anthropological studies for tending to ignore data from nutritional physiology. She claims that traditional cuisines might not change much due to meeting dietary requirements after establishing them over a long time. She argues for the recognition of "the body's inner nature", as Mintz puts it (Mintz & Schlettwein-Gsell 2001: 42), rather than solely looking at political, economic or social reasons for reluctance to change. In her eyes many traditional diets meet modern dietary recommendations. When people are not content with their diet and long for additions, the diet is likely to be deficient. All Cabrequeños desire more sugar and more meat in their diet. These desires are often explained in cultural terms. While economic poverty in the area may stop them from eating more meat or sugar, a look at the nutritional value of the foods of Cabreca may partly explain their longings.

The Cabreca diet is characterised by its high content of carbohydrates. The need for fats and proteins might account for the desire for meat (Marvin Harris 1987: 74, cf. Sauer 1969 [1952]: 53). But the highly starch-based diet also entails the deficiency of several minerals and vitamins. Potatoes and maize supplement each other in some ways as for example the potato has a high level of vitamin C which maize is lacking, but the risk of a vitamin A deficiency is high (Orlove 1987: 482). Schlettwein-Gsell identifies beans as an appropriate fringe for maize, which makes them a good combination on the plate as well as in the fields, and dairy products as a good fringe for potatoes (Mintz & Schlettwein-Gsell 2001: 44-45). While beans are grown in Cabreca to a certain extent, dairy products are rare.

Although not necessarily seen as food, coca (*Erythroxylon coca*) is regularly consumed in Cabreca and provides people with many "nutritive components, e.g. proteins, carbohydrates, vitamins and minerals" (Johnsson 1986: 40).

Quantities of food

There was an unspoken rule of having three big meals a day. If there was no lunch or lunch was only a small, dry snack, people required a particularly big evening meal. I was often amazed at how much people ate. Although the varieties of food are very limited, people eat vast quantities. When I first arrived, I thought it would be impolite to refuse an additional serving and that I was only being invited so much because of my status as a guest. As I was not used to the big quantities of starch-based food, it filled me up much faster than the people around me.

When I realised that the quantities I was offered were normal for Cabreca people, I started occasionally refusing food at least when my hosts and I were amongst ourselves. During visits at other households this was difficult as I did not want to appear rude.[111] However, "at home" the size of my meals was a constant topic for discussion. Perhaps *mikhuylla* (Do eat!) was the imperative I heard more often than any other during the year. My hosts and I would have regular quarrels about my allegedly not eating enough; Clemencia would go as far as to tell me that I would die soon if I did not eat more. We had many arguments, particularly before long walks. One day I had announced I would travel. But when I was asked to join a group walking in the same direction earlier than I had planned to set off, Clemencia got very upset about me not having eaten properly before the journey. She came running with tears in her eyes to show me a squash that she had planned to cook later for my provisions. Germán joined in supporting the reproachful objections and asked me where I would eat reassuring me that people would not invite me and that I would starve to death. Clemencia and Germán always emphasised the importance of eating well before walking for several hours while I tried to explain to them that I could not move well after eating too much.

One day I was travelling to Colquechaca. The morning meal of that day contained many different dishes including foods that were only available in town. Clemencia made some pasta and rice in addition to the ordinary meal. She was feeding me well so that I would have endurance for the long walk. Colombian peasants relate that "a person must continually replace (*reponer*) the force expended." (Gudeman & Rivera 1990: 28) In Cabreca this applies, too, and people are fed more when working hard or travelling long-distance. The intake and use of energy correspond to each other closely, and so "work, meals, and sleep form the cycle of days and establish the balance of strength in the human body" (Orlove 2002: 114). Perhaps

[111] "Guests […] have not eaten enough until they have eaten too much." (Allen 1988: 151)

another component of the big farewell meal was to make sure that I would remember how well I had been fed when I was in town and had the opportunity to buy new provisions. The concept of replacing strength (*kallpa*) also plays a role when people are ill. Whenever somebody had a stomach ache, it was always explained with the cold (*chiri*). An ill person is always encouraged to eat more in order to regain strength.

Most of the time I defied Clemencia and Germán's warnings and worries about my diet. With hindsight I see the arguments as an indication of very different understandings of food and feeding. In their eyes food is nutrition, a means that secures good health and an instrument for negotiating social relationships. Despite the vast quantities always served, the fear of not having enough food is omnipresent. I hardly ever saw anyone refusing food. If possible, people sometimes took food away with them to eat it later or share it with others. But people would not refuse any offer.

In Cabreca being fat (*gurdu* from Spanish *gordo,-a*) is a desirable characteristic which indicates strength and health as well as having good social ties.[112] "Fat is a Pan-Andean metaphor for goodness. It embraces health, happiness, strength, well-being, even wealth […]. Any animal or person in evident good health is said to be fat." (Hirschkind 2000: 299)[113] Due to the diet and active lifestyle all Cabrequeños are very slim and agile. After my first few weeks in the community Alfonso, a young man who was always very chatty and friendly, pointed out to me that I was not as fat and white anymore as when we had first met. The results of the different diet, lifestyle and the sun affecting my skin were seen as something negative[114]. His next remark was the question whether my hosts were feeding me enough. At the time I understood this as a humorous comment, but when I reflect on that conversation now, I believe that his concern may have been serious and connected to the huge importance that is given to appropriate nutrition and to the relationship between my hosts and me established through food. I reassured him that I was given more than enough. With hindsight this was a statement about my relationship with my hosts, about their generosity and

[112] In her glossary, Catherine Allen translates *wira warmi*, literally fat woman, as "prosperous woman of substantial character" (Allen 1988: 263).

[113] Fat is also said to be a powerful ingredient in Andean cooking as "it is used to change the inedible to the edible" (Canessa 2000: 710).

[114] My hands were the only body parts that were constantly exposed to the sun and always burnt. When I put on sunscreen, people asked me for some, too, as they believed I was whitening myself with it.

hospitality. At that particular stage of my fieldwork they had accepted me as a household member and were offering me big quantities of food to make that clear.

Serving and receiving food

The hostess of any meal makes a lot of choices in regard to apportioning it. Although guests often seem to come along by chance, that does not mean that everybody is received in the same way and served the same food. Through serving different foods in different quantities and different manners messages are conveyed. And although the choices may sometimes seem arbitrary and decisions are surely not always taken consciously, they serve as means of expressing bonds. Some anthropologists have gone as far as talking about "the non-verbal language of food" (Bourque 2001: 85; cf. Caplan 1994: 5).

It has already become clear that food is one of the major concerns of the people in Cabreca. Most of everyday life is concerned with the production of food. Food is the constant topic of conversations, and a strong morality of worshipping crops and the deities who allow their good yield and not wasting any food is omnipresent. But what are the reasons for certain usages of food and *how* does the communication in this non-verbal language work? As Mary Douglas demonstrates "[m]any of the important questions about food habits are moral and social. How many people come to your table? How regularly? Why those names and not others?" (Douglas 1984: 11) After a short time with Clemencia and Germán I realised that guests to the household were given food in different forms. Furthermore I myself was a guest in many households. Although these visits did not seem to be guided by some defined code-of-conduct and nobody ever explicitly explained the etiquette of hosting guests to me, there were certain unwritten rules that were followed by everyone. The application of these rules provided for much interaction between the involved. Although Cabrequeño foodways may also be crucial when looking at other aspects of identity (see Bourque 2001: 86), I will here concentrate on the importance they have for the relationships between Cabrequeños and between them and others, e.g. me.

As in food preparation, women play a striking role in the process of food allocation. As previously described cooking is a task that is the responsibility of the women in the community. Whenever Clemencia was away or very ill[115], Germán made it clear that it was

[115] This happened twice during the time that I was staying with her. Once she was complaining about a very bad headache and did not get up for a few days. The other time the nurse happened to be in Cabreca for his visit and diagnosed a gastritis.

my task to cook just like the eldest daughter would cook when a mother was not available. He would sometimes toast some maize, but the only time he cooked an *almuirsu* was when Clemencia was ill and I was not very experienced yet. That time he tried to do everything very fast, and the result showed how inexperienced he was. There were few bachelors and widowers who lived on their own and sometimes cooked for themselves. However, most of them ate most meals at their mother's or a child's house. Women were the exclusive cooks in the household as well as during the bigger *fiestas* (mostly religious festivities) when the women pooled together in order to cook communal meals. During *Cruz* (3rd May), *Santiago* (25th July) and other *fiestas* I was sitting down with a group of about 10 women peeling heaps of potatoes for a big communal feast.

In Cabreca everyday life it is very common to visit other inhabitants of the hamlet, especially in the morning and evening hours. If the hosts are having a meal at the time or have some leftovers, the guest will in most cases be served some food. The person that is responsible for serving a guest or any other person is usually the woman who has prepared the meal. The hearth or the kitchen is often called a female domain. In her work on food preparation in an Andean village in Ecuador Emilia Ferraro points out that the "kitchen condenses a wealth of ideological meaning, and although not closed to men, it is openly associated with women and women's socialization" (Ferraro 2008: 265). In Cabreca, too, the hearth, while flexible as described in chapter II, is the place of women and their non-verbal negotiations of relationships.

In the existing discourse on serving practices, hierarchy is one of the topics that are given a lot of attention. On the one hand the hierarchy between different women involved in the cooking process is discussed (e.g. Appadurai 1981: 498). As I lived in a very small household with only one other woman, I did not observe women assuming their position in relation to other women in daily household life. But when visiting others I could often see how one woman tends to be in charge of a second or several other women or young girls, and I often saw young girls doing many of the cooking tasks according to their mothers' instructions. This was also true during the communal cooking for *fiestas*. One senior woman belonging to the sponsors of that fiesta would be allocating tasks to the others and taking the necessary decisions.

Andean ethnographies alongside studies from other rural areas have dealt with the hierarchy between the people served. Nicole Bourque describes how in the Ecuadorian Andes "status is indicated by the order in which people are served, the positions in which people are seated,

and even the size and quality of the plates used" (Bourque 2001: 93). Juana Camacho portrays the hierarchy depicting the father as being served first, followed by the first son and so on until the mother herself eventually receives her dish (Camacho 2006: 16). Although this is reminiscent of meal situations in Cabreca, the rules here are more flexible and food serving seems to happen more incidentally. Appadurai lists the very same criteria in South Asia and concludes that these "[d]omestic food transactions express the superiority of men" (Appadurai 1981: 498). I am critical of this conclusion in Cabreca and wary when it comes to these denominations in conjunction with hierarchy. While Enrique Mayer also distinguishes between male and female roles in the household, he says that in his Peruvian fieldsite "male heads of household were seen as the producers and female heads of household as the allocators or managers." (Mayer 2002: 11) Although in Cabreca households women take a big role in the production, too, they certainly are the sole allocators of food. Like women among the Laymi they have a lot of managerial control (Harris 1978: 27; cf. Lund Skar 1993: 37). The Laymi consequently see women as "dominant within the conjugal pair" (Harris 1978: 31). In the context of food consumption women have also been called 'gatekeepers' (cf. e.g. McIntosh & Zey 1998).

The woman in Cabreca has supervision of the servings. Only once, when staying with a big extended family in Llustaque and a goat had died and been slaughtered, I experienced father and son undertaking the task of serving everybody present. Even when Clemencia was very ill and Germán had to cook, he asked her to serve us when the meal was ready. She got up, dished out the food and then lay down again without having a meal herself. Similarly, when Germán and I were alone at home and about to eat, he would ask me to serve him his big wooden plate. When Clemencia was not there, I was the female who could do this task.[116]

Often Clemencia rewarded me at meals with an extra serving of a meal component that she would consider tasty whenever I had helped her with some hard work or when I had brought her some personal present that she liked. These treats were foods that were not common such as meat. However, I also often saw her putting something to one side to then later eat it herself. As described above there is not much variety of food in Cabreca. People do not have much of a choice as to what to eat. But the people who have more choice than others and not only concerning their own diet are the women: mothers, wives or the eldest daughters. The woman in the Cabreca household does not only decide what to cook, however, but also what

[116] Allen describes a similar experience (1988:78).

exactly every person present eats, how much and to a certain degree in what order people are being served. There also seemed a certain order of plates and, if available, cutlery. In our household there was one big wooden bowl, a new shiny plastic bowl, an old deformed plastic one, some tin ones with plugged holes in them and two smaller wooden ones, one of them cracked and leaking. Normally Germán got the big wooden bowl, I was always given the new plastic one, and Clemencia took a smaller wooden one for herself. I had brought the plastic bowl with me but had seen it as a contribution to the household. Clemencia, however, sometimes told me it was *platuyki* (your plate). Compared to the lack of private ownership of most other things, Clemencia seemed to have a sense of to whom each plate belonged. When there were visitors, the hierarchy could change. Germán still got the big wooden one. If he was not there, the most important (to Clemencia) visitor would get it. Women with small children were often given one plate to share; sometimes children got their own plate. Particularly when children had fulfilled some task for her, Clemencia would hand them their own plate and thus remunerate and reward them.

Most people did not have a lot of cutlery. Besides an old blunt and rusty knife for peeling potatoes, skinning animals and any other cutting tasks and one big wooden spoon or ladle people had a few metal tablespoons. Most people ate with their fingers or drank the soup straight from the bowl. The people that were served first received a spoon. I often heard Germán asking for one. If there were additional spoons, they were given to the next people in the serving order. I never asked for one and often started eating with my fingers when none was found immediately. Nonetheless Clemencia and other hostesses would make sure to give me a spoon as soon as they had found one.

Everybody received their dish and started eating on their own. Except for the above described *wathia* meals, there was not much of a communal experience during meals. People either sat down wherever they liked or were handed over a weaving or cloth to sit on and were allocated a spot. Often guests sat a bit away from the host family. My *compadres* Ester and Herminio asked me to sit up higher on a little wall instead of on the ground with the children. While positioning a visitor apart from the rest of the family and on their own marks the visitor as a person of higher status and shows respect towards them, it can also stem from a fear of that person and thus wanting to keep them at a distance (Albó et al. 1989).

When finished with a dish, the plate is wiped clean with a crooked fore-finger and returned to the hostess with the words ‘thank you’ (either Spanish *gracias* or Quechua *dius*

pagarasunki).[117] The hostess or woman of the house then decided whether to give the person a second and then possibly third serving or not. Occasionally the person was asked whether they would like more. The feeding situation was less formal with household members. Germán would sometimes demand more food or refuse another serving; Clemencia would normally ask the two of us if we wanted more but she would not ask guests. I have observed these serving practices in different households although I have also seen families where especially the children helped themselves to more food if they wanted it. While there seemed to be certain rules prescribing the course of meals, a lot of it depended on Clemencia's individual decisions at the time.

While there is discourse in the existing literature on how women are subordinate because of serving food (for example in Appadurai 1981: 497; Caplan 1994: 16f.; Weismantel 1988: 28), there is just as much discussion on the importance of these women and on how indispensable they are. Mayer describes how "[i]n Tangor terms, a man cannot live alone because he has no one to cook for him, whereas a lone woman can obtain male help for productive tasks." (Mayer 2002: 7; also see Pazzarelli 2010: 171) Not only is the woman important and essential to a well-functioning household, she also is in the position to "manipulate" the meal in order to get across a certain message and in order to negotiate the relationships that she and the whole household have (cf. Appadurai 1981: 501). Alison Krögel speaks of "Quechua women whose roles as preparers and distributors of food provide them with tools for socioeconomic and cultural self-defense" (Krögel 2011: 2). When a woman wants to show disaffection, she can do so through serving food in a certain way.[118] But she can also show approval by adjusting quantity and quality of the offered dish (Weismantel 1988: 168). Weismantel claims that the meal in a Zumbagua (Ecuador) household represents "the subordination of female to male and yet a locus of feminine power within the family" (Weismantel 1988: 29). I agree with Mayer that "[o]bsessive (Western) searching for gender and other equalities may also entail intrusive efforts to count, to measure, and to weigh that which one should not." (Mayer 2002: 14) The importance of everyday practices around food must be pointed out with little consideration of what *we* hold important. Rather than embedding the women's role in a

[117] Shortly after my fieldwork I sometimes caught myself cleaning the plate that way before I got used again to the thought that here people often do something that is quite the opposite, something that Cabrequeños would never understand: they leave some food on the plate.

[118] This reminds us of Pauls Stoller's story of a woman making a bad sauce in order to express her feelings. Her "horrible *fukko hoy* expressed sensually her anger" (Stoller 1989: 22).

discourse on hierarchy or control I want to illuminate the women's feeding of their family as an aspect of conviviality and nurturing. Feeding means appreciation and good will.

In the context of sharing and giving food big quantities or the lack of them can qualify the relationship between giver and receiver. Being given a second serving is proof of the hostess's approval of one's being there. It can also be the expression of gratitude, the remuneration for some favour or work or the preliminary preparation for asking for a favour or something else in return. But as Bourque points out, over-consumption and big quantities of food are not just evidence of the hosts' generosity but also "acknowledge […] their ability to provide." (Bourque 2001: 88) When people had acquired rice or some other product from town, they were very keen on sharing them. This was not only a sign of generosity but also entailed that the giver would be seen as successful and be talked about.[119] Likewise some people were very apologetic about not being able to offer me more referring to their poverty and lack of means.

While I have described the role of the cook and allocator of food, I have not talked about the role of the receiver yet. Others have interpreted avoidance or refusal of food offers and withdrawal from meals as the denial of the relationship between host and guest (see e.g. Appadurai 1981: 501). I hardly ever witnessed this in Cabreca, definitely not when the food was something that could be carried away. Everybody accepted food offers and showed gratitude. Accepting food did not necessarily mean consuming it at the same time. And the receiver did not have to consume it by themselves, either: "the act of incorporating food does not only involve food entering the body […] but also the household." (Bourque 2001: 87-88) Germán often brought some food home that he had been given in another house for work or some favour. He gave it to Clemencia who then decided how to use it. Janet Siskind remembers that among the Sharanahua "[e]ating with people is an affirmation of kinship. Refusing to share food is a denial of all relationship, a statement that the other is an outsider. When people are eating and offer nothing one feels more than hunger, one feels alien and alienated." (Siskind 1973: 9) While I do not recall feeling alienated and left out much, I know the opposite feeling: in Cabreca being included and offered food makes one an insider and sometimes even kin though not a relative of blood. Once Clemencia peeled an orange which somebody had brought back from town for her. She gave some to an elderly man who was visiting and the two children who were there, Alfero and Este, and then had some herself. It

[119] Sometimes the opposite seemed to occur as well, i.e. special products were hidden away or denied.

was four-year-old Este who asked Clemencia "and her?" pointing at me and thus challenging her way of sharing and distributing the orange. I would never have said anything myself as that was not appropriate. But modesty and refusal when I was offered something seemed rude, too. The same is valid for refusing alcoholic drinks during fiestas as it "can imply a lack of trust and a denial of mutual respect and affection" (Harvey 1994: 214).

To a certain degree I internalised the Cabreca way of thinking about sharing food and bonding through it. *Subalcalde* Marcos was one of the officials that I met in Colquechaca before I visited Cabreca for the first time. He holds the post of mayor of the whole *cantón* Surumi. When we met again, he was one of the very few people that never approached me with questions about my life in Cabreca or about Europe.

One day, as I was trying to travel back to Cabreca from Colquechaca, somebody offered me a lift to Surumi on his motorbike. A medical staff member offered to take my heavy backpack to Surumi by car the next day. From there I would have to walk anyway. I agreed. The motorbike ride went well. But the next day someone else arrived by motorbike and reported that my bag was in T'aqaraqi as the driver had been called back to a medical emergency on the way to Surumi. I stayed in Surumi for a few days, and others tried to arrange for my backpack to be picked up. After three nights I decided I would walk towards T'aqaraqi to get a lift with the ambulance on the way. However, the ambulance was held up by a woman in labour. I walked all the way to T'aqaraqi. It was beginning to get dark soon after I arrived, and I was stuck. My bag had been left at *subalcalde* Marcos' house. I explained to him what had happened, and after listening to me he quietly said that I could stay in a little room which was used mainly for storage of things. I was grateful although I did not think that he was very enthusiastic about me staying. However, when I settled down to sleep, two of his children knocked on the door, came in and gave me a big bowl of soup. Being fed was a big relief, not because I had been hungry, but because it showed me that it was not a problem that I was staying for the night. In the morning I woke up early and got on the way after leaving some Toddy (a powder to make a hot chocolate drink) and some pasta. During our following encounters I felt much more relaxed as the food exchange had changed our relationship.

Another example of food exchanges changing relationships was my relationship with Faustina. Although she spent so much time in our household, we never developed a very close relationship. But again my own perception of this changed when we exchanged some food. One night Clemencia had spontaneously travelled, and Faustina knew that I would be on my own for the night. She came over from her house and brought some maize making sure that I

would eat. Fausto had already given me some potatoes to say thank you for some batteries I had given to him. I offered Faustina half of those potatoes.

Denying food

While I have concentrated mostly on offering and sharing of cooked meals so far, the points made are often valid for gifts of uncooked staples as well. They, too, are used as a payment method and as a means of negotiating ties. While I did not see people being denied a cooked meal much, I occasionally testified how people, and again chiefly women, decided *not* to give gifts of uncooked food to someone.

In our household Clemencia was also the one that decided when to give people uncooked food gifts. I remember coming home from visiting an ill neighbour one day. A woman that I had never seen before was visiting with her little child. It was raining, and we were all sitting under the thatched roof of the hut. Clemencia served some food, there was meat that day, and I contributed the big boiled potatoes that a neighbour had given me in exchange for some herbal essence to help her stomach ache. When the rain ceased, the woman got ready to leave, strapped the toddler onto her back and slowly left the hut. Germán asked Clemencia in a suppressed voice if she did not want to give her some rice to take away. Clemencia refused and told him that that woman had enough and was not poor.

Many times Clemencia told me that certain people were *saqra*, and nearly always it was related to them being mean and greedy or begging for food. Catherine Allen translates the Quechua word *saqra* in Peru as "demonic" and later on relates that "[s]aqhras are demonic cannibals with a second mouth on the back of their necks for eating people." (Allen 1988: 39 & 111); Gelles and Martínez translate *saqhra demonio* as "devilish demon" and point out that *saqra* here means devil or demon but is also used as adjective (Gelles & Martínez 1996: 151). Stobart's translation "evil, nasty" (Stobart 2006: 45) comes closest to what I found it to mean at the different occasions that Clemencia used it: malign, very bad or evil. Clemencia used it many times to describe her parents-in-law to me. When I asked her why she thought they were *saqra*, she nearly always argued that they had been asking for food or that they had not shared their food with her.[120] She said the same about neighbours that would come to borrow some food.

[120] Krista Van Vleet witnessed a woman changing the lyrics of a song. Instead of "*k'acha swiritay*" (my good little mother-in-law) she sang "*saqra swiritay*" (Van Vleet 2002: 580).

My *comadre* Ester is also Clemencia's *comadre* as one of her six children, her son Tibu, is Clemencia's godson. Sometimes Ester came to our house to ask for help. Clemencia would often deny that help and afterwards tell me that Ester was *saqra* and that I should not give her anything. I had got to know that family, however, as economically poor and at the same time very generous. Even before I entered the relationship of godparenthood with them, they always invited me and treated me very well. The little children as young as 3 years old would always come and share with me whatever they had on their plate or in their lunch bundle. Also I never had the feeling that they were trying to exploit me but rather showed great gratitude for any things I gave them.

As described above it is common for a godparent to give their godchild some clothes. In exchange the family of the godchild gives the godparent a rooster. In Cabreca, many times, after I had brought back some clothes from town, Severo's parents came to explain to me that they had not been able yet to raise the money to buy one. On the eve of my final departure they both cried, apologised and assured me that we would have the rooster on my return. This family had not only been inviting me and sharing their food with me, from the start they had always talked to me when other people were too shy or found it too difficult because of my poor language abilities. I am much obliged and grateful for their friendship. Clemencia's calling them *saqra* meant a dilemma to me. I did not want to compromise my loyalty to "my family", the people that had taken me in, fed me and called me their *wawa*. However, I did not want to lose a deeply felt friendship or *compadrazgo*, either. Many times I asked myself whether Clemencia and to a lesser extent Germán were driven by envy, jealousy, the fear of losing me and the economic benefits they might have seen in my living with them or whether they really thought these people were *saqra* and were trying to warn and protect me. Perhaps both played a part in their behaviour.

Several times Clemencia would host neighbours or relatives and treat them in a friendly manner, but as soon as they had left, she would tell me how *saqra* they were, how she would not give them anything and how I should not, either. In contrast there were some people that she was obviously very fond of, that spent a lot of time with us and were given a lot of food gifts by Clemencia. She seemed to expect me to treat these people equally. The longer I was in Cabreca, the more I became aware of having a role as a Cabreca household member and thus having "inherited" some of the social bonds.

Both Clemencia and Germán often lectured me about presents I had given to children. They asked me to demand an egg in exchange for sweets or sell things rather than give them away.

The more incidences forced me to show loyalty one way or the other and the more I reflect on these incidences now, the more I realise that at that stage I was part of the household as a whole and that the things that I brought from town were possibly considered everybody's possession. Did I maybe not play my role as a household member well? Mary Weismantel confirms that "[t]o return home after a journey without bringing *wanlla* [gifts] would be unthinkable." (Weismantel 1988: 140) Whenever I came back from town, I immediately left the things I had specifically brought for our household with Clemencia. Germán did the same whenever he had been to town. I kept a few things that I had bought for other people without showing them to anyone until I delivered them. Only when asked what I had given to certain people, I told Clemencia and Germán because I did not want to lie to them, either.

Giving gifts, particularly food gifts, is an important social act. I had to learn whom to give gifts and whom not to trust. This was a painful and long process as I often found myself caught between opposing parties. On the one hand I wanted to be loyal to my family, on the other hand I did not want to hear "no sabe invitar" (Harris 1989: 246): she doesn't know how to invite, how to be generous and share. As the people of Cabreca could not fully understand my reasons for being with them, I am not sure if the kind of reciprocity that I often had in mind worked: I would give them gifts in return for their tolerance, help and information (cf. Harris 1989: 247). When a little child spent some time with me explaining things, giving them a little gift felt like sort of repayment. But Clemencia, Germán and others did not see this connection, and many times I was asked to justify gifts or told not to give them anymore.

Conclusion

Food is perhaps the topic which is most talked about in Cabreca. Everyday tasks are related to it, and so are the fiestas. Sharing food and feeding others are part of Andean modes of reciprocity. In Marieka Sax's words feeding in the Andes "is much more than the simple offering of food and drink. The act of feeding draws recipients into relationships that are anticipated to be productive in both material and social ways." (Sax 2011: 141) Through sharing food a kin-like bond between people is developed and maintained. Krista Van Vleet goes even further by explaining that by drinking water from a place and eating the food grown there a person can develop a relation with the environment and become from that place (Van Vleet 2008: 64).

In this chapter I have concentrated on practices of sharing food between humans. However, food (and even more so drink) is also used as offerings for saints or the dead. In Cabreca there

were food offerings for San Andres (30 November) and for Santiago as described above. The biggest fiesta that is linked to sharing food with ancestors is the fiesta of All Souls' Day (*Tudus Santus*, 2 November). Cabrequeños spend this day in the cemetery and place food offerings, particularly bread in the shape of babies (*t'anta wawas*), on the graves of the recently deceased (cf. Ferraro 2008). Through food offerings to ancestors and deities the relationships with those who guarantee well-being in the community can be maintained.

While men are very much involved in the production of food crops, the women of Cabreca are the agents who feed the people around them. They also prepare the food. Their managerial role is thus crucial to the maintenance of the household, literally as its members get fed and in a more figurative way as links with other households are maintained.

Fig. 30: Sharing food with the ancestors on All Souls' Day.

CHAPTER V

MOVEMENT & MOBILITY IN AND AROUND CABRECA

Introduction

As Cabreca is not attached to any road system, the inhabitants walk everywhere they need to go. They have very active lives as they walk within Cabreca, in the surrounding area and to Colquechaca which is a one-day walk away and offers public transport to different cities. They do not only need food in order to move but are also constantly moving in order to get food. All walking activities are thus intertwined with the maintenance of the household. Cabreca's position in the *chawpirana* means that they grow both potatoes and maize and move between fields of different altitudes. Moving about does not only enable people to get to their fields and to reach other destinations further away. It also leads to social interaction with other people and the animate surroundings.

Spatial and temporal flexibility

Whether in everyday life or during fiestas, Cabrequeños are not only very mobile but also highly flexible. The flexibility of the home as a whole has already been discussed. Individuals are characterised by the same mobility. Travel plans can develop within a very short time. They can also be long-planned and then changed very spontaneously; any planned trip leaves room for alterations. Although the planning is always flexible and prone to changes, to have a plan at all and some idea of when something was going to happen turned out to be very important to my hosts. As soon as I mentioned that I would perhaps travel in the near future, I was regularly asked when I was going. It did not matter whether I only had a vague idea or concrete plans; the inquiry was repeated regularly. People did not only ask me when I was going but also when I was coming back. My reply seemed irrelevant but somehow very important at the same time. Often people talked about what they were going to do and when but then did not do it as they had announced. Conrad Feather observes the same way of planning ahead amongst the Amazonian Nahuas: "The Nahuas never seemed to do what they said they were going to do." (Feather 2010: 28)

Temporary homes

Not only journeys and their planning reflect this typical flexibility but so does the way in which Cabrequeños move homes. As mentioned above every family has a permanent home in the hamlet and also moves around and erects temporary shelters at different other spots. These multiple temporary homes are built in or beside the fields that the people own. The need for

them arises in connection with agriculture and herding. Due to the high range of altitude within their reach and the relatively big variety of crops that Cabrequeños can grow, their fields lie further up and down from the hamlet and make moving the whole household worthwhile. When I had only arrived in Cabreca, Germán took me down to Clemencia and his three maize fields. I thought we had come for the day, but I did not return to Cabreca for 11 days. My ignorance and greenness were revealed when we finally moved back up to Cabreca. On the way down I had been distracted by absorbing all the new impressions around me, trying to orientate myself and communicating with Germán. The fact that we stayed for 11 days made me suppose that we were quite a distance away from the hamlet and were not returning every day because it would be too much of an effort and a waste of time. When we moved back up on the twelfth day, I discovered that the maize fields were only a walking distance of about 35 minutes from the homestead in Cabreca. Only much later I was able to comprehend the context and reasons for the move and for staying in the temporary home for extended periods. We had stayed because sheep and goats were fertilising the fields and could not be left alone over night. This temporary shelter was our home during that time. I also only realised later that everybody else had moved to their temporary homes in or beside their maize fields as well. The hamlet was deserted.

Clemencia had moved down to the maize fields before us, and Germán had only been up in Cabreca for some jobs and to pick me up but was spending the nights *urapi* (down below). The temporary home consisted of a hut between two of these three fields, similar to the one by the main house in Cabreca, with a grinding stone and a fireplace. There was another smaller fireplace under the roof for rainy days. Another time we stayed in a field which was going to be a potato field on the other side of Cabreca. The shelter there which was to be our home for several weeks was erected within half a day: a few poles supporting a roof of the strong grass *ichhu*. The roof was not completely finished when it got dark. As it was raining, Germán quickly covered the roof with a blue plastic tarpaulin. The whole hut was also quickly taken down again when we moved back to the hamlet.

As people have these multiple homes and stay in those huts for temporary periods, mobility also characterises the everyday life during those times. Some household members may go to Cabreca or to other fields to work them every day, others let the animals pasture. Provisions have to be collected from the hamlet and from fields that might lie still further up or down from the temporary home. On some days Cabrequeños resemble commuters: after the

morning routine at home they travel, i.e. walk to the work place of that day and eventually return for the evening meal and to sleep.

Fig. 31: Satellite view of Cabreca and the surrounding fields (maps.google.com)

Fig. 32: A temporary home in a field. The field is fertilised.

Fig. 33: Another field is fertilised: the fenced area is moved every day or every two days. There is no temporary home but a little shelter for one person to stay at night.

Although occupying more than one home and the movement of whole households or parts of it are something that is not uncommon in the Andes, the mobility that I observed and participated in in Cabreca seems to be characteristic of the *chawpirana*. Olivia Harris speaks of the *doble domicilio* (double residence) when she describes highlanders moving to their valley lands (Harris 1985). In Peru Catherine Allen describes that "[d]uring the dry season many women move with their herds and smaller children to a *wichay wasi* (high house) near the high marshy pastures, while her husband and older children remain in the family's main house." (Allen 1988: 75) Gelles and Martínez describe these herd steads in the high pastures as a "shepherd's hut and stone-walled corrals" (Gelles & Martínez 1996: 148). Steven Brush relates that people may maintain a separate house structure in another zone and stay there for a month or two (Brush 1977: 78). In Cabreca the movement of only a few household members can sometimes be seen but is unusual for long periods. But certainly the temporary homes of Cabrequeños are a lot more provisional than the examples described above. The movable corral fences that I described in chapter III mean more work than stone-walled corrals, but they also mean that people can move flexibly and fertilise the fields while staying there. For *puna* dwellers the move to the highlands is necessary in order to reach the high pastures in the dry season. Tristan Platt delineates how "animal fertilizer goes 'down' from the corrals and high pasture lands to the ploughed fields below; a flock may also be put out to

pasture on lands just entering cultivation" (Platt 1982: 35). These highland corrals are made of stone and not moved. In Cabreca the fertiliser is not moved but the animals are. And with them their corral and the whole household move.

The temporary homes entail some changes of the social network and people's relationships as one is likely to have other neighbours when staying there. All Cabrequeños have those multiple homes and move houses around the same time, i.e. when the annual agricultural cycle requires it. However, their fields do not lie in the same pattern of relationships as the houses in the hamlet. Thus the position of a field or a home has effects on the daily contacts. Neighbours change. And because of the positions of the temporary homes, passers-by change as well. Clemencia and Germán's house in Cabreca is at the edge of the hamlet with only one more house in that direction. Not too many people pass it on their way. One of our temporary shelters on the other hand was right beside a footpath which was frequented by many people on their way further down, back to the hamlet, herding or to other fields. Exchanging a few words with those people as they were passing was much easier than in the hamlet and I got to know some people better that I did not see much in the hamlet.

The organisation of any household reflects the flexibility that moving the whole household without much effort entails. A temporary shelter needs a fireplace and a roof which are both built with great skill and very quickly. A grinding stone will be put up if it is not there permanently. As we set up one temporary home in a potato field, Germán arrived with a heavy grinding stone. I do not know where he had got it from, but it was not the one from the *wasi* in the hamlet. All other things that are needed are taken along from the house in Cabreca. The most important ones are a cooking pot, a big spoon, matches, a knife, bowls, blankets and food crops.

Walking

All members of Cabreca society are mobile. Women are more attached to the household and do not travel to the towns and to faraway places as much as men (cf. Harris 1989). Clemencia told me that Llallagua, a mining town in the west of Northern Potosí, had been the furthest she had ever travelled. Women are, however, very mobile on a smaller scale through herding and visiting other households. Elderly people like Germán's parents go herding and to work in the fields regularly. They also do not avoid longer walks to neighbouring communities. One day elections were held in Surumi. Germán's father Anastacio left Cabreca before us, but Germán and I caught up with him on the way. A neighbour with a donkey had joined us on

the way as well. We all walked a bit together, then Anastacio fell behind. But when taking a break we made sure to wait for him and then set off again together. Old people keep very lean and agile. Especially at the beginning of my stay I was easily overtaken by them.

With time I got used to the altitude, and my stamina improved from living like the Cabrequeños and becoming nearly as mobile as them. I had begun to learn how to move around with and like them. Looking back I realise that I spent a considerable amount of time during my fieldwork walking.[121] As I was challenged by the particular conditions for the first time, I had to learn to move around like Cabrequeños do, had to learn "to walk competently" (Tuck-Po 2008: 27)[122]. In Jo Lee and Tim Ingold's words I got attuned to the Cabreca way of walking "such that both the ethnographer's pedestrian movements and those of the people she or he is with are grounded in shared circumstances" (Lee & Ingold 2006: 67). Griet Scheldeman discusses the participating component of anthropological fieldwork when introducing her research on walking. She makes "a case for lived experience – our own, and through that, as close as we get to that of others. […] A focus on lived experience, as method and subject, can give us a glimpse of what it might mean to be, and to walk, in someone else's shoes." (Scheldeman 2011: 131) I walked a lot with Cabrequeños in their particular environment and thus began to grasp their constant mobility very vividly. Accompanying particularly Clemencia and Germán allowed me to "literally see the perspectives" (Vergunst & Árnason 2012: 152) that they have of their landscape. The paths that are used every day are not just routes which enable transport. They are "tracks which embody people's lived daily experience of the landscape" (Solomon 1997: 14), and social memory takes the form of pathways (Abercrombie 1998).

As discussed in chapter II children learn to travel even before they learn to walk. Strapped to their mother's or an older sister's back, babies and toddlers are taken along to let the livestock pasture, to visit other people, to work in the fields. As soon as they can walk, they learn to walk along and travel for longer periods as well. Children laughed at me on several occasions when I was not able to find my way back home, did not know where I was or could not fulfil simple tasks that they had been doing all their lives. As they trot along on short and long

[121] Andrews Canessa says about the people of Wila Kjarka in the departamento La Paz that they "use the word *sarnaqaña* [Aymara] to talk about their way of life, and it literally means *walking*." (Canessa 2012: 121)

[122] Although Lye Tuck-Po works with hunter-gatherers in Malaysia who cannot be compared to Andean agropastoralists geographically or in lifestyle, her accounts of "practical challenges" and "dealing with physical loads" (Tuck-Po 2008: 27) remind me of my experiences of walking in Cabreca.

walks they get to know the land and do not get lost when they are a little older and sent on journeys by themselves. Children as young as four years old often walk around Cabreca and its surroundings on their own.

Fig. 34: Anastacio. His clothes reflect his mobility.
He wears bought clothes, often very sporty outfits including trainers.

Seasonality and change

The essence of Cabreca as a place is changed by the movement of its inhabitants itself. Like other Andean people Cabrequeños are characterised by their mobility (cf. Rockefeller 2010). When many of them are away, Cabreca can seem a ghost town. Only very few houses have then smoke rising from the hearth, and one cannot see anyone walking about. At other times, when they are living and working at home, or during special occasions the hamlet is very lively.

The rhythms and changes of the agricultural cycle have been discussed in chapter III. In relation to the annual cycle there are also changes in the landscape as Cabreca is subject to visible, physical changes during the year. These affect people's mobility. The seasons and the changing climate influence the appearance of the hamlet as a whole, and the agricultural stages determine what Cabreca looks like. As the fields that lie between the houses are cultivated, the overall appearance of the hamlet is affected by when the owners sow, how well

the plants grow and when the crops are harvested. The annual cycle affects the vegetation. In winter plants die back or are eaten by livestock. When I returned to Cabreca after my first stay away, the appearance of the hamlet and its surroundings had changed considerably. As it was Christmas time, the rainy season had started and plants were prospering. Grasses and bushes as well as maize and beans in the fields that lie within the hamlet had grown and made the place green and lush compared to when I had left less than two weeks earlier.

During the rainy season the rivers in the area rise, whole footpaths can be washed away by the rain. Walking becomes more difficult. When travelling to Surumi at the end of February I faced several situations that made proceeding difficult. Instead of walking I slid down a part that had been eroded, and crossing a river became a challenge. The previously nearly dry wide riverbed that had only been pervaded by a narrow and shallow stream had become a torrential river that I ended up crossing on all fours in order to resist the force of the powerful current. Coming back in early March I faced similar situations while carrying a heavy backpack with provisions and gifts. During this time new footpaths occur as people have to find detours while they avoid damaged paths. The seasonal changes affect the speed and duration of journeys. In some cases journeys become impossible. Ricardo Godoy describes the trip between Jukumani highland and valley: while the trip takes three to five days walking when it is dry or a day by truck, it often becomes impossible to make the journey between November and April due to floods and landslides (Godoy 1990: 23).

The people of Cabreca incorporate the seasonal changes into their everyday activities and their fiesta celebration. Like that of the Amazon floodplain villagers whom Mark Harris describes, Cabreca's social life "has an intrinsic rhythmic character which is embodied in the history of practices and social relations in the environment" (Harris 1998: 65, 2000: 125).

Walking at night

During the week of Carnival in early February I had already learnt that walking during rain is very difficult. More than once throughout a communal excursion to neighbouring communities I had been grateful not to be on my own and gladly accepted help particularly when walking at night. Furthermore the consumption of much *chicha* had made us all brave and daring during that week. For Cabrequeños walking at night and being drunk is not unusual. Their knowledge of the land and experiencing of the landscape through walking (cf. Solomon 2001: 13) makes travelling by foot possible in all conditions. The land, as Weismantel describes it, apart from feeding them and being a legal unit, is "a land*scape*, a

constellation of familiar topographical features that serve as reference points in time as well as space" (Weismantel 1988: 32).

Fig. 35: During the rainy season footpaths are washed away.
This one is between Cabreca and Surumi.

I often had the feeling that Cabrequeños could not grasp how unfamiliar I was with their land. When giving me directions they often left out landmarks that I found remarkable or did not mention junctions that I was then confronted with on the way. Also they could not believe that I would not find a place a second time if I had already been there once. My total lack of orientation at night, when Cabrequeños walked around without any artificial light source, amused them further.

Contrary to the knowledge of the land and the busy activity I found during nights in Cabreca other ethnographers have stressed the opposite. Several authors relate how Andean dwellers do not walk alone, especially at night, out of fear of the figure that steals human fat and sells it thus harming, often even killing the victim. The fat-stealer is called different names in different areas: *pishtaco, ñakaq, kharisiri, lik'ichiri* (cf. Weismantel 2001: xxv, Van Vleet 2008: 81, Canessa 2000, 2012). In Cabreca I never heard any of the names mentioned, and nobody warned me from walking or travelling on my own or from walking at night. Only when sleeping on my own people asked me whether I was not afraid of the *kuku*. Although several people asked me this as related above (see chapter I), nobody ever made any serious

attempt to stop me from sleeping down below in the maize fields or in the hamlet on my own.[123]

Ben Orlove gives a material reason for the observed fear of walking in the dark in some Andean places. Deficiency of vitamin A in the diet of maize and particularly potatoes reduces visual acuity (Orlove 1987: 488). Many older people complained to me that their eyes hurt and their eyesight was decreasing. And everybody would use a torch if it was available. However, all Cabrequeños were perfectly able to move around in the dark without any light. They seemed know the paths in and around Cabreca with their eyes closed. Clemencia occasionally suggested walking down the winding and stony path to the maize fields after nightfall. It was nothing exceptional to her. Although the vitamin A deficiency may lead to a high level of debility of sight, it does not stop Cabrequeños from moving about in the dark.

Fig. 36: A group of girls walk to a fiesta location at night during Carnival.

Visits

While one household may be the host of the whole community during a particular holiday (as described above for the fiesta of Santiago), visiting different households also belongs to the

[123] Olivia Harris notes how Laymi symbolic roles of men and women would not always conform to their actual behaviour. As they are vulnerable to evil spirits, women cannot walk alone in the dark. However, Harris relates that women in reality do not conform to this ideal and do travel on their own at night (Harris 1980: 92).

everyday routine. In Cabreca there is no centre like a plaza or a main street that other, bigger communities might have although the school and church could be used as a public place. However, during my stay in Cabreca I only saw the building that is the church used once when the priest[124] visited. For the rest of the year it was locked up. When no classes take place, the school does not serve as a community centre where people meet regularly, either. Sometimes official meetings are held outside the school yard when the teacher is leading the meeting. However, social gatherings, whether small ones or big fiesta events, are held in the individual homes.

Everyday visits may have a specific purpose, such as making work arrangements or borrowing something. Very often they are about casually exchanging news and maintaining the social network that is necessary for keeping up working relationships and thus for life in the community. This network is constantly reworked and includes people coming from other places. During my whole time in Cabreca I was introduced to new people until the very end. Some of these were Cabrequeños that I had not met yet because they had been away. Others were visitors from other communities that come to visit regularly but not frequently.

In other communities it may be customary to follow only explicit invitations. Rockefeller describes waiting for a host's explicit invitation to enter the Quirpini home (Rockefeller 2010: 80; cf. Bacchiddu 2007 for Chiloé, Chile). In Cabreca visiting is initiated very much by the visitor. As the patio is often not completely enclosed by walls and much of the everyday life happens in that yard, passing by can often result in a visit. More often, however, visitors approach a home straightforwardly. Visits are mostly unannounced. Overnight stays are common even by spontaneous visitors as they do not require any preparation. The visitor will simply be included in the household routine and at night given blankets to get comfortable on the ground.

One evening Doña Ernesta, an elderly woman, was visiting us while we were staying at a temporary home in a potato field. She was offered some dinner but politely said that she would not have a second serving as she would have to get on the way and would eat at home. I fell asleep while Ernesta was still talking to Clemencia and was not surprised when I woke up beside her the next morning. Clemencia had convinced her to stay for the night instead of

[124] Padre Andrés, the priest, lives in the parish of Colquechaca. He travels throughout the district and comes to Cabreca on an annual visit at *Corpus Christi*. After meeting him in Cabreca, I often visited him and other members of his parish living in the parsonage who invited me to stay if I was spending the night in Colquechaca. At the fiesta of San Bartolomé in August I joined the parish dancing troupe for the procession through the town.

walking home even though she did not live very far away. Similar scenarios of spontaneous overnight stays are common. I had stayed with Ernesta once in a *wasi* of hers in Iru. Coming from Colquechaca we had met on the way and as I did not know my way around very well yet, I followed her assuming she was going back to Cabreca where I had got to know her. By the time I realised that we were heading to Iru instead, she was explaining that I should stay with her for the night and then continue to Cabreca the next morning. These spontaneous visits are closely linked to the local view of the home as flexible. Visitors are invited to stay and incorporated into the home for the duration of their stay.

Other overnight visits would be planned and last longer. The guests could be staying for a few days and become temporary household members that take on tasks in the household. This form of long-term reciprocal interaction means that the guests live and work in the household and in return are fed from the household's provisions. Sometimes guests also bring food gifts along with them. Helping with agricultural work can be the main purpose of the visit. Particularly Clemencia's kin from Llustaque often came to stay with us, often children on their own. The bigger a family, the less necessary these visits are for maintaining the household as a well-functioning economic unit. Gradually I became part of the visiting network myself and entered not only other households but also travelled to other communities. At the beginning of my stay, when I was travelling on my own, I often approached the schools as I was able to introduce myself in Spanish to the teachers and get some information and help. But later on I always accepted invitations and was welcome to stay with people from the community, complete strangers who fed me and let me sleep amongst them. I gained a lot more insight into the community life by seeing their daily routines within the home. Also seeing everyday practices in other communities taught me a lot about life in Cabreca and the peculiarities of it. In exchange for people's hospitality I helped with household chores or left small food gifts that I had on me.

Fiestas

Fiestas are a reason for Cabrequeños to move in different ways. A *fiesta* might be the reason for migrants to come home, and *fiesta* sponsors travel in order to organise the celebrations. They go to Colquechaca to buy alcohol and coca. Another type of moving around which is different from the everyday movements and migration but related to *fiestas* and big events is travelling as a group. Michael Sallnow has examined pilgrimage in the Andes in detail (Sallnow 1987). One occasion on which Cabrequeños walked to different locations together was Carnival. For weeks people had been preparing, and Carnival was the number one topic

in conversations after Christmas. Sometimes it was only mentioned as the next mark in the calendar and used as a time reference. But very often whole conversations revolved around the anticipation of the holiday and I was asked if I would go dancing and what I would wear. Although we had discussed this so much in the previous weeks, I was asked again, when Carnival began, if I was sure and if I really wanted to be dressed and go.

Like some other *fiestas* Carnival is characterised by movement to other communities and from household to household. As Solomon points out, one of the practical reasons of fiestas such as Carnival is the opportunity for young unmarried people to meet partners (Solomon 1997: 272). Sponsors, married couples, assume the preparations of *fiestas* and host visitors at their *wasi* (*cargo* system). On the first day of Carnival the whole community met in order to have *chicha* and food before a group of 25 of us left for a neighbouring community to continue the celebrations there. From there we travelled on to yet another community. Walking in rain and in the dark was part of the excursion as well as walking in a drunken state. Throughout that whole trip the group stayed together: men, some women, mostly young and unmarried, and a couple of boys[125]. There were regular breaks where the faster walkers would wait for the rest to catch up and rest, and it was made sure that nobody was left behind. There was a particularly big effort to make sure that the *alcalde* (mayor), Martín, was following us. He was very drunk at an early stage. Drinking together is in the Andes largely seen as a positive activity which serves commensality and the maintenance of good relationships (Harvey, 1994: 213-214; cf. Weismantel 1991). Drunkenness is thus largely accepted, even encouraged and embraced at *fiestas*. I overheard some other reactions at this particular event. Sebastián, who had been the previous *alcalde* was complaining about Martín and doubting that he would be able to fulfil his role in an apt way. It was crucial for the whole group to stay together and represent Cabreca. One way of marking the community identity when confronting other groups is the performance of music (Solomon 2001: 276, cf. Stobart 2006). The male members had flutes with them, the female members were singing a lot, and everybody was dancing during those days. I did not notice any difference between the music styles of different places at the time as I was not paying close attention to them, but the deliberate cacophony that Henry Stobart describes, i.e. all groups playing their individual tunes at high volume at the same time, is one of my memories from the Carnival celebration in Caña Cota.

[125] The two boys were about 6 and 7 years old. Also Faustina carried little Efraim on her back. They walked the whole way with us. Faustina did not participate in the dancing though.

Fig. 37: Flute players in Caña Cota at Carnival.

Fig. 38: Cabrequeños moving as a group at Carnival.

When at another *fiesta* in Surumi, Cruz at the beginning of May, I was trying to talk to other people in order to learn something about their places in comparison to Cabreca. I was scolded for not staying with the Cabreca group even though that time I had not arrived with them in the first place. Talking to and being invited by other people was not approved. I am assuming that in their view I belonged to the Cabreca group, had been accepted as one of them and was supposed to move with the group and thus express my belonging.

Dress

Beside music dress is a marker of identity and belonging. Textiles have played a big role in Andeans' lives for a long time. They were important in the Inca state in marking identity and status (Murra 1989). Today traditional clothes and homemade weavings still fulfil those functions in Northern Potosí (Zorn 2005). Before certain fiestas, particularly Carnival, it was common in Cabreca to see young women weaving outdoors. Likewise men could sometimes be seen knitting *chulus* (finely knitted woolly hats in bright colours which only men wear). The traditional dress is particularly common at Carnival in Northern Potosí while people wear purchased factory-produced clothes at other occasions, e.g. Cruz (Stobart 2006: 276). Weaving and knitting are both activities that can be practised at home or away from the house. So is spinning. Women of all age groups often carry a spindle with them. Although Cabreca women use more bought wool in their weavings nowadays, they are also always spinning and producing their own wool. The sheep are shorn early in the rainy season so that the wool can then grow back in the warmest time of the year (cf. Orlove 1977: 86). While the skins of dead sheep and goats are used as insulating layer to sleep or sit on, the wool is processed into yarn. Every woman has one or more spindles and often has one at hand even when moving away from the home. Clemencia often produced her spindle from under her dress when we were herding the sheep and goats. Like other women I saw, she was very skilled and did not need to look at the spindle or be stationary. While spinning she was able to walk and watch the animals. According to Maggie Bolton the provision of fibre for weaving was the original motivation for animal domestication in the Andes (Bolton 2010: 173).

In Cabreca and many other places weaving nowadays plays a smaller role than it used to in everyday life as people often wear bought clothes. The home-woven garments are worn during certain fiestas. During the rest of the year Cabrequeños mostly wear bought clothes. However, there is a difference between more traditional bought clothes and modern industrially manufactured clothes.

Men in Cabreca usually were a modern mix of bought clothes which Elayne Zorn refers to as "cosmopolitan dress" (Zorn 2005). This includes industrially made trousers, often jeans, jumpers and very often football jerseys or t-shirts. For women and girls there are two options: the more traditional *aymilla* or a *pollera*. Clemencia always wore an *aymilla*. It is a black dress with colourful embroidery at the cuffs and the hem. Underneath she wore an underskirt and a bought jumper or sweatshirt. When it was very cold, Clemencia covered her back with a weaving or blanket. Most older women and some younger ones, e.g. Faustina, wear this outfit daily. Some other younger women and young girls tend to wear a *pollera*, a unicoloured industrially made skirt. This is the dress that *cholitas* wear in town, indigenous women living in town. Compared to *cholitas* in town who wear very elaborate versions with many petticoats, Cabreca girls wear a simple outfit. At special occasions, such as Carnival, young girls wear an *aymilla*, too.

Fig. 39: Clemencia wearing the traditional outfit: an aymilla.

Fig. 40: Luisa wearing the typical cholita *outfit: a* pollera *and cardigan. The dark hat she wears is* not *the typical Cabreca hat.*

Fig. 41: Young Cabrequeños in a neighbouring community at Carnival wearing festive outfit. At Carnival young men wear boots.

Women use their dress for storing and transporting little things. Many times women produced matches or even things as big as their spindle reaching down their collar. Little things, especially bags with coca, also get stored in people's hats. Adults never walk without a hat. While most clothes are worn in all weather and for work, new hats are frequently kept for special occasions and protected from rain with a plastic bag put over them. Both men and women wear the same hat. All inhabitants wear *ojotas*, sandals made from car tyre. They are relatively inexpensive and, as Ben Orlove points out, effective in wet weather (Orlove 1998: 214).

While clothes do not only indicate belonging to a place, particularly during fiestas, they can also indicate the degree of mobility of people. Those who travel more and to places that are further away from Cabreca tend to wear modern, industrially made clothes more than those who do not leave Cabreca much.

Vision, the other senses and knowing

Even without meeting anyone and exchanging verbal information individuals can often see others and know a lot about what they are doing anyway. Watching others is often possible from a distance due to the landscape. Sometimes the view might be unidirectional; one might be seen but not see anyone or vice versa. Especially after the harvest, when high maize bushes or beanstalks have been cut down, the view is very good. When I first went up onto the hill that lies behind our house, I was surprised by the very good view over Cabreca that this lookout offered. The hill is steep, and the difference in altitude makes a big difference: one can see most of Cabreca from there. On the other hand, one day in January I was sitting in a yard which is on the other side of the little stream that runs through Cabreca and lower than our house. I discovered how well one could see the area in front of our house from down there. Clemencia came home with some firewood, and it was very easy to observe her. To observe the hosts who had invited me that afternoon from our house, however, was not so easy. It was only then, after three months in the community, that I realised how much other Cabrequeños might know about me by simply having seen me. I was not so surprised anymore when Clemencia, sometimes all of a sudden, felt the urge to tidy up and clear her patio asking me what *uj siñuras* (the other ladies) would say if they saw it so dirty. Although the patio is sheltered by a wall, one can see parts of it from different points in Cabreca. The Cabreca home is thus very much interlinked with its surroundings and members of other households. Rather than seeing the given transparency as an intrusion into privacy, however, it can also be seen as a way of conviviality.

When I dealt with local ways of learning in chapter II, I established that in the Andes seeing is previous to knowing, observation leads to acquirement of information. In Cabreca people's eyes are trained to see things from a great distance, and the people are familiar with personal traits and mannerisms or recognise clothes so that they can tell others apart. Catherine Allen describes how "everybody watches everybody else" in her Andean community in Peru (Allen 1988: 41) while Mary Weismantel specifies how "two neighbouring households live lives transparently visible to one another" due to the "naked topography of Zumbagua" in the Ecuadorian Andes (Weismantel 1988: 145). In Sullk'ata, in Macha's neighbouring *ayllu* Pocoata, the observed "carry out their everyday activities with a constant awareness of the attention and evaluation of others" (Van Vleet 2008: 31). In Cabreca there are similarities, and transparency characterises people's lives. I was sitting in a field with a couple of people one day. We could see four people walking along a path reaching Cabreca. But while they looked like little ants to me, the others began deducing who they were. Their eye-sight combined with the knowledge they had of who might be arriving and who might travel together allowed them to speculate who the travellers were. Objects, clothes and accompanying animals may have given them further clues. On another occasion I was in Aleja's patio in Llustaque with her family, a neighbour and Clemencia. The neighbour had come from Cabreca and met a woman who was crying because she could not find one of her cows. Everybody started searching the mountain slopes leading up to Cabreca, and somebody discovered the cow from a great distance. Even though the others were pointing at the direction where the cow was, I did not manage to spot it. Like the bodies of Cabreca women are trained to perform the tasks of the cooking process, the eyes of Cabreca people are trained how to look in their specific environment. Vision is thus "an embodied, skilled, trained sense" (Grasseni 2004: 41).

Not only observing *people* tells about their activities. Seeing changes in lived spaces can reveal information on the lives of people. For example changes in the fields will tell that the owners have worked in it. Or the smoke of the open fireplace often reveals that somebody is at home even though that person cannot be seen. A few times I returned to Cabreca after being away for some time and did not see any smoke coming from our house. Coming closer I found the home empty. Due to their knowledge of the others' movements our neighbours were always able to tell me where my hosts were even though it is not likely that Clemencia and Germán had told them. Even small children could often tell me that Germán had gone *uraman* or that Clemencia was herding the sheep. Odland Portisch, when observing Kazakh craftswomen, speaks of the "constant awareness of what others are doing and where they are"

(Odland Portisch 2010: S66). This awareness, however, does not lead to a lack of privacy. Rather, people might be described as looking out for each other. Anonymity, secrecy and privacy as we know them are not givens, partly due to the physical character of Cabreca.

Grimaldo Rengifo Vásquez points out the importance of vision in Andean life. He depicts how on old sculptures not only humans but also plants, the sun and animals have enormous eyes and concludes that "everything that exists shares the attribute of vision" (Rengifo Vásquez 1998b: 178). It helps people to see not only outer phenomena but also to see in a more figurative sense, i.e. to see interior sides of life and to know things. However, although physical vision is crucial to knowing, the other senses play an important role, too. Many anthropologists have in relatively recent works stressed the importance of the senses. On the one hand it has been stressed that scholars tend to focus on the visual sense and that the other senses that may play a big role in the sensory perception of the inhabitants of the studied area are neglected. On the other hand anthropologists themselves can benefit from their own sensory experience in the field which might vary immensely from what they know from their own culture. In writing paying attention to the senses and describing these sensory experiences can make the ethnography lively and accessible to the reader (e.g. Wulff, talk in St. Andrews 2012; Classen 1990; Helliwell 1996; Feld 1990; Stoller 1989, 1997; Howes 1991).

While I agree with the anthropologists above that the interplay of all senses has often been overlooked and that in different places the senses may have different priorities, I have concentrated on visual perception in this section as it is without doubt very important in Cabreca. Walking in the dark is not impossible, but in everyday life most tasks are characterised by seeing and observing which lead to knowing. Constance Classen stresses the sense of hearing in addition to vision. Andean myths are dominated by orality: "the earth tells people how they should act toward her, animals have conversations with humans, the sun speaks when it rises, and so on" (Classen 1990: 725). She argues that the physical characteristics of the Andean highlands cause this hierarchy of the senses as "touch is dulled by the cold and by layers of clothing, odors are poorly diffused through the thin atmosphere, and the range of food is limited" (Classen 1990: 731). Hearing and sight, on the other hand, are favoured by the acoustics and open views of the mountain environment.

The significance of sight and the link between seeing and knowing in the Andes is also apparent in language. In an appendix to her book on Inca cosmology and the body Classen lists colonial Quechua terminology for the body and the senses. The vocabulary for different

kinds of seeing is extensive (Classen 1993: 154-168). Additionally Regina Harrison who studies women's songs in Ecuador states that "[s]eeing, in its specific literal sense and as a broader semantic referent, is accorded special status in a number of contemporary Quichua songs from the lowlands." (Harrison 1989: 165) Linked to the notion of seeing is knowledge. Tristan Platt notes the difference between different verbs for "knowing". *Yachay* is used for knowing in a more abstract sense and also means 'be used to'/'be able to'. While *rijsiy* is used to say that one knows a person, *rikuy* is used in order to talk about knowing a place. *Rikuy*, however, also means "to see" (Platt with Quisbert2007: 118). Thus, according to contemporary Quechua usage, when one has seen a place, one knows it.

The flow of people – the flow of information

As people travel, certain kinds of knowledge travel. Temporary migration and mobility mean being able to maintain the household both in terms of securing food as well as building and cultivating social relationships. People that I met for the first time even after nearly a year of living in the community were often Cabrequeños that had been away and returned home. I understood early that many Cabrequeños must have moved away when Germán told me about his family. During the first *Todos Santos* celebrations that I experienced in Cabreca he introduced me to his younger sister who was living in Cochabamba, one of Bolivia's major cities, and to a brother who had come from Purqui in the *puna* to join the commemoration of an uncle.

The Cabrequeños that are not living in the hamlet might be away for seasonal work in other areas, or they might have moved permanently. One woman who came to visit had been living in Santa Cruz, a big Bolivian city in the east, for 11 years. When I talked to her just before her one-week visit with her family was over, she assured me that she would not be able to stay any longer as she missed the comfortable city life. After 11 years away from Cabreca she could not appreciate my voluntary stay in her home community, and her disbelief of my plans was enormous. I encountered the same disbelief in town where people did not understand that I was choosing to live in Cabreca. Whenever I walked down the main street of Colquechaca, many people, mostly women, greeted me and initiated a chat about my life in Cabreca. Some of these people I had met before, others were complete strangers to me. My story had been spread when people had seen me there more than once. None of them believed that I was voluntarily living in Cabreca even though they did not necessarily know much about the place. Migration, whether seasonal or permanent, is typically directed from the small hamlets to towns or cities, never the other way round.

Another guest who arrived from a neighbouring community shortly after my arrival in order to help with the maize sowing, which I described in chapter III, was Clemencia's nephew Cristian. As he had spent time in Cochabamba and been in the army, he had learnt Spanish very well. When he visited, I had spent the previous couple of weeks, my first weeks in Cabreca, communicating with my hosts and neighbours in Quechua. His visit gave me the opportunity to talk to him in Spanish and thus reduce some misunderstandings. I was looking forward to seeing him more often in the future because he was very helpful at mediating between Clemencia and Germán and me. However, he only returned once more for another agricultural job shortly after his first visit. For the rest of the year I did not see him again. Many other visitors were very familiar with Clemencia and Germán, but over the course of a year I only saw them once. Others returned more often, and we repaid some of those visits.

All these visitors were part of a wide network of people and always had news and information on other mutual friends and relatives. News also travelled between neighbours within Cabreca. People enjoyed talking and exchanging information about others. Clemencia and Faustina often lowered their voices when they were commenting on other peoples' behaviour or discussing incidents involving other Cabrequeños as the very same people might be overhearing them or some children might be sneaking about and catching bits of the conversation to pass on later. For me these conversations were at a later stage a useful source of knowledge. I do not know whether Clemencia and Faustina did not mind me hearing their talk because they thought I did not understand them or whether they accepted me as a passive participant of those hushed conversations. At later stages of my stay with her, when we knew each other better and my language skills had improved, Clemencia directed such gossip, both benevolent and bitchy, at me. Krista Van Vleet points out the usefulness of gossip as data, as it can reveal a lot of information on community life (Van Vleet 2003). As my language skills were getting better, seemingly irrelevant conversations often provided me with some information that made relations clearer. Overhearing people's gossip I gradually gathered information about those who were discussed.

Cabrequeños can sometimes be described as trotting rather than walking. Especially on short trips and when they are not accompanied by animals or very small children, they move briskly through the rugged, steep territory. Beside a greeting and the inquiry *walliqllachu* (are you well?) when meeting someone on the way, one is very likely to be asked one of the following two questions: *imataq ruwashanki* (what are you doing?) or *mayman rishanki* (where are you going?) (cf. Harris 2007: 140). I do not recall being asked *maymanta jamushanki* (where are

you coming from?). The present action and future plans for the remaining day were always more important than what I had been doing. As they are very useful when doing ethnography, I got used to asking the same questions. Although people often answered *mana imapis* (nothing) when asked what they were doing, the little conversations on the way would always lead to some information eventually. When the answer is not *mana imapis*, it is often a spatial response, e.g. *pataman rishani* (I am going up) (cf. Harris 2007: 140). Information on the direction of movement is provided rather than an activity. One can then add another question *imapaq* (what for?) to find out more. To avoid the answer *mana imapis* the question *mayman rishanki* (where are you going?) is a more efficient one as it was always answered *uraman* (down), *Cabrecaman* (to Cabreca), *wasiyman* (home, to my house), etc. never with "nowhere". Thus by asking the right questions one can find out about people's movements. These movements are telling with respect to their activities in general. This sense of upward and downward movement seems to be typical for the *chawpirana* as inbetween the high and the low. In an ethno-botanic study Ricardo Calla documents that for the community of Sarixchi, which he identifies as a *chawpirana* place, everything is up/above or down/below (Calla 1995: 43)[126].

News travels via a network of mobile people who spread them. When the priest was due to visit, there were regular updates on why he had not arrived yet and when he would arrive. This communication worked without phone conversations or any other technology. What always puzzled me most was when news arrived on my hosts' son Javier. As I described above, Javier had left the community before my arrival. He had gone with one of Clemencia's nephews. Every so often news reached the house that Javier would come and visit. A few times his parents were very excited because of Javier's alleged return. Especially before certain *fiestas* Clemencia and Germán proudly told me in great detail that Javier would arrive any day soon. Before Carnival I could sense not only Clemencia's excitement about the upcoming reunion with her son. When talking about the celebrations Germán was also telling me what the four of us would do over Carnival. Javier never arrived. I began to question where they had the information from and how they were in touch with him. Other Cabrequeños who live away and come home more regularly are the main distributors of information from far away. Once Clemencia even had prepared a special dinner for him, so

[126] "Para la comunidad de Sarixchi todo es arriba o abajo." (Calla 1995: 43)

sure was she that the information was accurate. It was a meal which did not only contain the usual components potatoes and maize, but also rice and pasta.[127]

At first I got excited as well every time there was talk of Javier's arrival. It would be nice to have a younger household member around, and I was also hoping that he had learnt Spanish while being away. Later on I was very suspicious whenever I heard Clemencia and Germán talking about Javier's forthcoming visit. Once when I returned from a visit to Sucre, Clemencia even asked me if I had seen Javier although I had never met him and he was in another town. Apart from asking other travellers there was another way to find out about Javier and where and how he was. When people were visiting who were able to read coca leaves[128], Clemencia would ask them to tell her about Javier. This often led to her crying a lot as she was so concerned whether he was well. Other young men travelled during my stay but mostly came home for the big *fiestas*. These young men were typically very good musicians and played a big role in the musical arrangements of the holidays.

Travels across the ecological zones

Although the range of food crops in the *chawpirana* is quite extensive, Cabrequeños still travel to increase their access to products. They go up to the *puna* in order to buy some products or use public transport to places further away, and they go down to the valley in order to exchange products. One day Clemencia and I went down to Llustaque with two donkeys. We took things with us that the lower and warmer Llustaque does not produce. Staying with Clemencia's relatives we also visited eight other households in order to barter. Llustaque does not have a variety of products as big as Cabreca. The main product is maize. The meals we were offered in Llustaque were *lawa*, *mut'i*, *pilasqa* (boiled and peeled maize) or *zapallo* (squash). It is not surprising that the people in Llustaque were delighted to receive what we brought. Clemencia had taken along some bought products like coca and sugar and some *chawpirana* products like beans and the tubers oca, papalisa and potato. As maize is grown there in abundance and people lack the other products, they are very willing to barter. An old man gave Clemencia 27 corncobs for a handful of coca. She received a similar amount for one cup of sugar. The value of the exchanged goods was relative to the availability and

[127] Both rice and pasta are considered special foods. As they need to be purchased in the market, they are seen as valuable and something people like to present to special visitors. As white foods they represent the life in the cities that white people can afford.

[128] Mostly elderly men know how to read coca. They spread some coca leaves on a cloth, and from the way the leaves fall they can answer questions. For detailed descriptions of the use of coca leaves, see Allen (1988) and Antonil (1978).

needs of the people involved. "In the distribution of labour, as in the circulation of products, the degree of calculation depends on requirements and the social relationship itself" (Harris 1982: 88).[129] Although Cabrequeños grow maize, they welcome the additional maize from Llustaque before fiestas when they make *chicha*.

In Llustaque where much more maize was grown than in Cabreca *pilasqa* was a popular and regular dish.

Recipe

Pilasqa (peeled maize)

Ingredients: water (yaku), maize (sara).

Pilasqa is made by boiling maize kernels in water to which ashes from the hearth are added. Because of the friction the peels come off. The maize is washed several times which is why a large amount of water is needed. When it is clean of all the ashes it is cooked with water for several hours.

While the people from the *chawpirana* travel to other zones, the *chawpirana* is also characterised by being travelled through. Predominantly llama herders travel from the *puna* to the valley with their herds in order to exchange products. The *llameros* take salt, potatoes and bought products down and return with maize. They need the maize as a supplement in their everyday diet and for ritual use, i.e. special foods and *chicha* (Arnold, Jiménez Aruquipa & Yapita 1991: 15). Henry Stobart talks about travelling through the *chawpirana* and particularly Guadalupe "where we stopped on our winter journey to the valleys" (Stobart 2006: 174). Unfortunately no more information on that stay is given. Olivia Harris talks about the length of the journey that the Laymi make varying between seven and 16 days depending on the load that both llamas and people have to carry. The way back from valley to *puna* is much longer (Harris 1985: 314). The journeys are described as "full of dangers" (Harris 2000: 86) as the *llameros* travel through foreign territory and are threatened not only by the people of those *ayllus* but also by the mountain spirits. Although Cassandra Torrico describes the preparations and some stages of the journey in detail, she does not describe the *chawpirana* nor any relationship of the *llameros* with the *chawpirana* people. The *llameros* stay in camps where they rest, eat and drink and feed the animals. They use full woven bags (*kustalas*) with which the llamas are loaded to build a shelter called *jara*. Each day they offer ritual dishes to

[129] Valley dwellers have been recorded as claiming that their relationship with the *puna* is unequal and exploitative as they complain that they give more products to the *puna* than they receive back (Harris 2000: 85; Platt 2009: 41).

the mountain deities. Torrico mentions the importance of the last *jara* in the *puna* because "[i]t is a point of transition between puna and valley" (Torrico: 7). There is no reference to the *chawpirana* here.

Olivia Harris states that nowadays travelling by foot decreases as people travel by truck or buy products in the markets. The links between *puna* and valley are thus declining (Harris 2000: 19). According to Tristan Platt this also becomes apparent from the decline of a formal ceremonial relation that once existed between *puna* and valley (Platt 2009). When I travelled to the *puna* in order to find the places that were traditionally linked to Cabreca, I found that these links were not maintained anymore and that these particular *puna* inhabitants did not walk down to the valleys. They are close to markets and can obtain maize there. However, some *llamero* families do still travel from *puna* to valley in order to exchange salt, coca and other bought products for maize. A family would usually travel with a train of 20-25 llamas that carry the food. I saw a few of them when I was travelling in the *puna* as they were going down to the valleys. But I also got to know one family that spent a night in Cabreca on their way home in July. Their 20 llamas were laden with maize. They had been in a valley community, Ilili, for their exchange and were now slowly travelling back up. Their camp for the night was outside Germán's parents' place. Interaction between these visitors and Cabrequeños was minimal. However, this could be due to most Cabrequeños being gathered at one household celebrating the saint of Cabreca, Santiago, that night. Germán told me that, while I had been on a trip to Sucre, an earlier *llamero* family had passed through from Salinas and that he had exchanged salt for maize.

Conclusion

Moving and mobility are a characteristic of Andean people. The life of the in-between people of the *chawpirana* is particularly characterised by their flexibility and constant movement both within their territory and to other regions. While people in the *puna* and valley do also travel to other zones, the short journeys and temporary relocations of their homes within the *chawpirana* are distinctive. The inhabitants of this transitional place make sense of their world by walking and thus maintaining a strong network of social relationships. They move *uraman* (down) and *pataman* (up) to reach their own fields and to travel further to valleys and *puna*.

Movement links the main topics which have been discussed in each chapter of this thesis together. Households move to temporary fields for periods of the agricultural calendar.

Children are very mobile and learn while they accompany adults on their daily routes. Herding requires movement of both humans and animals. And acquiring food is often the underlying reason for moving about.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have attempted to illustrate life in the *chawpirana* and to thus start filling an existing gap in the otherwise extensive ethnographic work which has been conducted in the north of the Bolivian *departamento* Potosí. Cabreca serves as an example of a *chawpirana* community. I mostly refrain from making definite generalisations about the *chawpirana* as a zone because comparative ethnographic material, which could confirm such generalisations, does not exist. As a place in the *chawpirana*, however, Cabreca features characteristics which differ from those found in the *puna* and those found in the valley and thus hint at particular *chawpirana* ways of living. Some Cabreca features additionally seem to point to the extreme poverty of the place which is linked to the isolated location and infrastructure of the place. In comparison with other descriptions of households in the Andes and even nearby in other parts of Northern Potosí, Cabrequeños have very few resources in material terms. Apart from the lack of generalisations and comparative data within the *chawpirana*, another limitation of my ethnography is the extensive examination of Clemencia and Germán's household. Although I had insights into some other households, my living with them meant that I observed their specific practices which may have been charcterised by individual particularities rather than by typical *chawpirana* ones.

Due to these limitations, instead of drawing definite conclusions from the five chapters above, I revisit the main themes that recur in the course of this ethnography, elaborate on why I have not included certain other topics, suggest further pathways that can be explored, by me and others, and return to some methodological concerns. While exploring the limits and discussing some questions that this work opens up, these closing thoughts will at the same time highlight the merits and achievements of this ethnography of Cabreca as an example of one specific *chawpirana* place.

Main themes

I have focussed on the everyday lives of Cabrequeños and chose to depict their everyday practices in detail. As there were no immediate explicit clues as to how Cabrequeños might position themselves between *puna* and valley, the participation in and observation of the daily tasks and customs provided me with information that made the description of life in a *chawpirana* hamlet possible. After establishing Cabreca's geographical position and depicting the setting I draw attention to the home. My investigation includes the use of space, kinship ties between Cabrequeños and sharing of belongings. Following on from that I single out one

particular group of Cabrequeños, i.e. children, and concentrate on how they grow into full members of the household. The following discussion of 'work' and thorough description of agricultural tasks leads to an analysis of the relationships not only between people but also between people and the other animate beings residing in Cabreca. In chapter IV I concentrate on the topic that was omnipresent during my entire time in Cabreca: food. Through a close look at the cooking process and the distribution of food I emphasise the role of Cabreca women as I had particularly good access to their activities. Food is also connected to mobility and the particular journeys that the Cabreca people undertake every day. The theme of movement is the subject matter of the final chapter.

The big themes that reappear in several chapters are thus learning, knowing, embodied practice and using the senses; reciprocity, feeding and the relationships between people, animals, plants and animate forces; flexibility; and mobility. Some of the activities I describe and situations I recall could be in other places of this thesis as they are related to several of the themes. The process of writing included having to make many choices concerning where to introduce characters, where to describe Cabreca ways of dealing with certain situations and where to place theoretical thoughts. The themes mentioned above run through the thesis like threads even though the links are not always explicitly made.

Learning and knowing

I have aimed to depict a local way of learning and knowing. It resembles methods in other parts of the world where learning is not institutionalised but rather achieved through observation and mimesis. From a very early age on children accompany adults and thus gradually learn to carry out the activities that are necessary for life in Cabreca. In chapter II I introduce this process of learning in children. However, these ways of learning re-emerge in different other parts of this thesis when I talk about adults and how they have acquired skills and particularly about my own attempts to learn in Cabreca. I stress embodied practices such as the processes during meal preparations. Closely related to learning and acquiring skills is the concept of teaching. Teachers who explain verbally how to do things are not common in Cabreca. This is one of the reasons why the school teacher might not be very successful in drawing students into his classes. Cabrequeños, like other Andeans, are not used to being told how to do things. They see, do and consequently know. For my own learning process this meant that I had to get to know not by being given detailed instructions but by observing and participating. Particularly Clemencia trusted that I would know how to perform the tasks that she asked me to fulfil simply because I had seen her performing them before. While

Cabrequeños do not have any experience in learning foreign languages, this was also how they expected me to pick up Quechua: simply through participating.

People, however, do not only know how to act because they have seen others perform in similar situations. They also have strong relationships with their animate surroundings. Animals, plants, mountains, deities all have agency and communicate with people. How one has to act emerges from these communications.

Reciprocity

The themes of reciprocity, feeding and animism are much discussed in Andean ethnography and ethnohistory. By resuming them I show how Cabrequeños negotiate relationships through sharing. Their ways of reciprocating agricultural tasks amongst themselves echo the often discussed system of *ayni*. The relationships that are negotiated through cooperation include those to *Pachamama*, mountain gods and the *supay*. While these relationships resemble those of other Andeans with their environments, some aspects appear to be typical of the in-between zone. As the *chawpirana* is a meeting point of potatoes and maize, the combination of crops is different from *puna* and valley. Thus features that are unique to the *chawpirana's* agricultural activities emerge when examining these activities in Cabreca.

I finish the discussion on agricultural tasks by concentrating on the relationships between humans and domesticated animals. Pastoralism also shows particular *chawpirana* characteristics. I concentrate on herding sheep and goats. Not only are they the characteristic livestock that is found at the *chawpirana* altitudes. The way in which Cabrequeños cooperate with them in order to fertilise their fields differs from human-animal-relationships in *puna* and valley. Cabrequeños move their households in order to be with their animals when these reside in fields that are not in the hamlet but in the surrounding area. This relocation of the household can happen very fast and without much preparation.

Flexibility and mobility

The broader themes that recur in this study and hint to *chawpirana*-typical characteristics most are thus those of flexibility and mobility which are very much interlinked. Although Andeans are known for their mobility, the movement of Cabrequeños within the *chawpirana* is distinctive from other typical Andean movements. First of all their *wasis* manifest flexibility as boundaries are relatively blurred. The storage of food crops is bound to one specific space which is closed to outsiders. People's activities, such as cooking, eating and

sleeping, however, can be done in different places, as the hearth or the sleeping place are occasionally moved. These activities are also frequently joined by people who do not belong to the household per se but are visitors. While the home is flexible in terms of the use of space, its flexibility also shows when the whole household moves to temporary homes which are occupied several times during the year. This particular mode of intra-zonal movement is typical for the *chawpirana* where both maize and potatoes are grown in the fields surrounding the hamlet and goats and sheep are kept in order to fertilise them.

Limits of the thesis

Olivia Harris stated that "ethnographic writing should aim to disturb established categories as much as to create meaningful and adequate accounts. Its role should be to challenge and put into context theoretical orthodoxies by constantly matching them against the particularities of ethnographic encounters." (Harris 2000: 224) By conducting an ethnographic study in an in-between space that had previously been given very little attention, I aimed to challenge the dualistic opposition of highlands and valleys, which appears in many ethnographies of Northern Potosí, and draw attention to the zone which lies in-between the two poles. I hope to have demonstrated that the *chawpirana* is a worthy zone for further examination as people live there and are an important component of the vertical organisation of Northern Potosí.

Due to the scope of this study there are, however, limitations to it. Areas which I decided not to cover in depths in this thesis but which will hopefully be developed further in future *chawpirana* studies include, amongst others, migration, religion and fiestas, music, weaving, mythology, linguistic particularities and development. Although I have mentioned these fields in passing, I often had to leave out details for several reasons. Political and economic topics such as local politics, money, access to and inheritance of land and the tax system are not included in this thesis. On the one hand they did not seem as relevant as other themes to me while I was in the field. Additionally Cabrequeños were reluctant to talk to me about these issues. I felt uncomfortable insiting on asking questions regarding these matters, and Cabrequeños did not feel the urge to tell me about them. Their inconclusive answers did not offer me sufficient material to discuss these issues. The same is valid for a deeper discussion of marriage and the kinship system. I did not feel that I had enough evidence to discuss them fully. This, however, does not mean that I regard them as unimportant.

With hindsight I was perhaps overly careful not to ask any inappropriate questions. Previous ethnographers in the region had encountered problems after being too direct or had been

suspected of fat-stealing, being a CIA agent, wanting to harm their host community in other ways or had been taken advantage of (e.g. Abercrombie 1998, Stobart 2006, Wachtel 1994, cf. also Rockefeller 2010). After reading those accounts I was wary of making mistakes. Now I believe that many of my worries were ethnocentric and that I did not need to be so afraid of offending anyone. Cabrequeños knew that I was a stranger who had come from a place where things were done very differently. Whenever I thought I had made a mistake, done something wrong or said something disrespectful, Cabrequeños either did not seem to care or proved to be very patient, tolerant and forgiving. Likewise I am assuming that I occasionally did upset them without even noticing it as my behaviour may have been appropriate in my view but not in theirs.

As mentioned above a further limitation of this work might be the fact that I spent the entire time of my fieldwork with Clemencia and Germán. Living in other households would possibly have given me more insights and certainly led to other conclusions. On the other hand the close relationship that evolved, especially with Clemencia, also added to this work. While in Cabreca I often contemplated leaving them and staying with someone else or even leaving Cabreca to spend more time in another *chawpirana* community. However, how would I have explained to Clemencia and Germán that I did not want to stay with them anymore? I was very much afraid of hurting the people who had adopted me and were sharing their lives with me, feeding me and looking after me in their own ways. I had no reasons to complain about their care and affection. And while at times leaving them might have been good for the sake of my research, I think it would have been very hard in terms of our relationship, my position in Cabreca and justifying the leave.

Suggested further research

The above mentioned areas deserve more attention. Apart from being limited to the subject areas that I chose to discuss, this anthropological ethnography leaves much room for interdisciplinary dialogue. Disciplines which I believe will be particularly helpful in placing Cabreca and the *chawpirana* into a bigger context are history, musicology, archaeology and geography. However, due to the topics I have chosen, subjects which are not so commonly connected to anthropological research, such as nutritional and agricultural science, would certainly also lead to interesting collaboration and be very fruitful. Apart from further studies in the *chawpirana* of Northern Potosí a comparative look at similar in-between spaces elsewhere in the Andes or in other mountainous regions, such as the Himalayas, would possibly allow to draw more general conclusions.

I hope to have the opportunity to return to Cabreca in order to visit Clemencia and Germán, my *compadres* and other inhabitants who I became friendly with over my time in the community. Having spent a year amongst them and subsequently thinking about them and their lives intensely when writing about them, means that they have become very important in my life. Due to the infrastructure I have been unable to remain in contact with them[130] and hence do not know anything about recent events in Cabreca. However, apart from visiting these friends and maintaining our personal relationships I can imagine returning to Cabreca for a period of time in order to conduct more research which will support this thesis.

While I would pay particular attention to the areas of migration and develop my work on the notion of the home, the form of anthropological research which particularly interests me and would lead to insighful results in Cabreca is writing a life history. The young people of Cabreca were friendly to me and engaging. To my surprise it was the elderly people of Cabreca though who showed most patience and often took the time to sit down with me. Although the younger generations had travelled more and got to know current day city life, the older people generally seemed more open and tolerant to me, were willing to put suspicions aside and shared their knowledge and experience with me.

Gregorio, a small, old man who I often encountered at fiestas, always engaged in conversation with me and ignored the fact that very often we did not understand each other well at all. The same is true for Germán's father Anastacio. When around him I felt that I did not have to explain and justify who I was and why I was there. He treated me as someone who had to learn how to live in Cabreca and realised that I would show my respect in return. These two old men were not afraid to ask me for help, either. The relationships between us followed the principle of reciprocity. Apart from these old men the elderly women of Cabreca were similarly open-minded and tolerant. While younger women of my age and younger were sometimes shy and less keen to talk to me, some older ladies made me feel welcome through their warm and sociable manners. Working together with Gregorio, Anastacio, Lucia, Patricia or Ernesta, granted that they are still alive and interested in such cooperation, would shed much light on questions I have not been able to answer yet. In practical terms writing a life history would require me to gain a more advanced level of Quechua conversational skills or to consider the help of an interpreter or translator. Unlike the participant-observation which I

[130] While I was in Cabreca, I tried to send some letters buy giving them to people travelling through Cabreca. I paid them some money for postage and hoped that the letters would eventually arrive in Europe. They never did. Even sending a message to the nurse in Surumi proved difficult. I have not even attempted to send anything from Europe to Cabreca.

carried out in Clemencia and Germán's household, the life history would be based on much conversation with the chosen person.

While the suggested life history is an idea which I or other researchers interested in the *chawpirana* might pursue in the future, there are also more immediate plans to develop the research presented in this thesis. The ethnographic material makes a significant contribution to Andean studies and several smaller contributions to sub-fields of anthropology, such as the anthropology of learning and knowing, the anthropology of food, the anthropology of the everyday. Rather than limiting myself to presenting the ethnography to other anthropologists only, I would like to engage with other audiences, both academic and otherwise. Re-writing chapter II for an audience specialising in childhood studies or developmental studies and emphasising the importance of ethnography and long-term fieldwork to them is one option. Similar use of the material in chapter IV is possible, i.e. re-writing it for interdisciplinary food studies. Above all I am thinking about re-writing this thesis as a non-academic account of my time in Cabreca and open it up to a wider public. From the questions that people ask me and the huge interest that I detect when talking about my time in Cabreca I gather that there is an audience who wants to know more not only about life in Cabreca but also about what anthropology is and does. Lastly I have started conducting some research on ways of exploring the ethnographic data in arts forms such as novels and documentary theatre.

Concluding methodological thoughts

Large passages of this thesis are characterised by a high attention to detail. The emphasis on ethnographic detail is created in interaction with the intimacy which I achieved with the Cabrequeños who shared their lives with me. This intimacy has, I hope, been conveyed through my writing. Throughout the previous chapters everyday situations, which I witnessed and influenced through my participation, build the framework of this thesis. They are characterised not only by the relationships between Cabrequeños but also by the relationship between them and me, particularly the bond between Clemencia and me.

The attention to detail and the often descriptive style have also been a consequence of my initial language problems. Although I had some basic Quechua knowledge, communication at first proved difficult. Cabrequeños had no experience at all in speaking to someone who is not fluent in their mother tongue. All outsiders that usually come to Cabreca speak Quechua. Padre Andrés had lived in the area for over 30 years and was fluent in his conversations with Cabrequeños. I also heard him saying mass in Quechua in Cabreca and Surumi. The doctor

Iván, the nurse Hernán, teachers and development workers had all grown up bilingually. My arrival in Cabreca thus caused a situation that its inhabitants had not experienced before. When I did not understand them, Cabrequeños did not repeat what they had said in a slower manner, with simpler vocabulary or accompanied with gestures. Many times they started shouting at me as if the fact that I did not understand them could only mean that I was deaf. Or they said "aah, mana intindinchu" (ah, she doesn't understand) and walked away. Although the initial communication in Quechua was difficult, I hesitated to use Spanish which is charged with connotations of colonialism. Whenever Germán and I did try to have conversations in Spanish, there were almost as many misunderstandings as there were in our Quechua conversations. Furthermore, the mobile Cabreca lifestyle and my integration into activities meant that I often did not have a dictionary or notebook on me in order to double-check new words or note them down for later. Rather than becoming frustrated with the situation I learnt to observe my hosts and pay close attention to their actions. What appeared to be a limitation at first thus led to the skill of very detailed description.

Lastly the minute description of life in Cabreca was possible because the Cabreca lifestyle allowed me close observations and the memorisation of them. After a short time in Cabreca I felt that my brain had been decluttered and my mind was never occupied with anything that was not directly relevant to the activity which was carried out at that very moment. As I am writing the final pages of this thesis, I remember many of the scenes described above vividly. My notebooks have helped me not only because of the fieldnotes that they contain. For some time after returning from Cabreca the smell of them also transported me back to Cabreca: to the hearth under the roof of the hut and to goats and sheep pasturing nearby. On the one hand I can in some cases relate to Anna Grimshaw who admits that she "was no longer certain that the images which [she] evoked were true reflections of what [she] had seen" (Grimshaw 1992: 126). On the other hand I remember many of my experiences in Cabreca much more intensely than things that I experienced only a couple of weeks ago. Like all ethnographic writing this thesis is highly subjective and to a certain extent fictitious. Penny Harvey states that "the objectifications of ethnographic monographs are at best partial, at worst erroneous and misleading representations" (Harvey 1999: 214). Not including my presence in Cabreca would have obscured the context of the discussed data.

When I talk about my fieldwork, people occasionally ask me what the hardest thing about it was. Without a doubt my answer is: returning to Europe and readjusting to life here. Cabreca life is far from romantic and easy. And yet I struggled with being back in a world which is

dictated by money, technology and lack of time, a world in which the mind is constantly bombarded with irrelevant information, noise and visual impressions which all have to be processed at the same time. What was particularly difficult to witness were the ways of dealing with food and of raising children which differed greatly from the Cabreca ways I had got to know. Going shopping in big supermarkets was unbearable to me for several weeks after my return. And even now I often think back to my time in Cabreca and wonder what Clemencia and Germán would say if they could see our shopping habits.

As my views on many things had changed, my body had, too. Living at a high altitude and spending all year outdoors meant changes to my body, and the activities that I had carried out in Cabreca were very different from what was expected from me back here. For a long time I was feeling abnormally warm in closed and heated rooms, and big crowds of people often made me feel uncomfortable. Apart from that the lifestyle that requires sitting down, often in front of a computer, for long hours meant that a backache returned which I had never felt in Cabreca where digging up potatoes, carrying heavy loads and being active had strengthened my back. My concentration was affected, too, and I almost felt that I had to relearn reading and writing for long periods.

The feeling of estrangement and difference was intensified by the impression that I had not missed much in this fast world. I asked people what news there were and what had happened in the 15 months that I had been away. Nobody thought of informing me about the economic crisis of that time as they probably saw it as a 'global' phenomenon which nobody could have missed. Apart from some personal achievements and experiences, most people of my own age could only think of one big internationally recognised event that I might not have heard about yet: Michael Jackson had died.

The fact that re-adjusting to my old life was so hard led to one good thing: it gave me a sense of having done good fieldwork. I had managed to situate myself in the field as a participant-observer who learnt and adjusted to Cabreca ways of doing many things. Even though I did not manage to become like them, feeling so alienated and dislocated back here meant that I had changed considerably. In this thesis I have examined Cabreca life through the lens of my own learning and changing. While I never wanted this thesis to become about me instead of about the people of Cabreca, my person recurs in it as part of the group whose activities I observed and participated in.

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